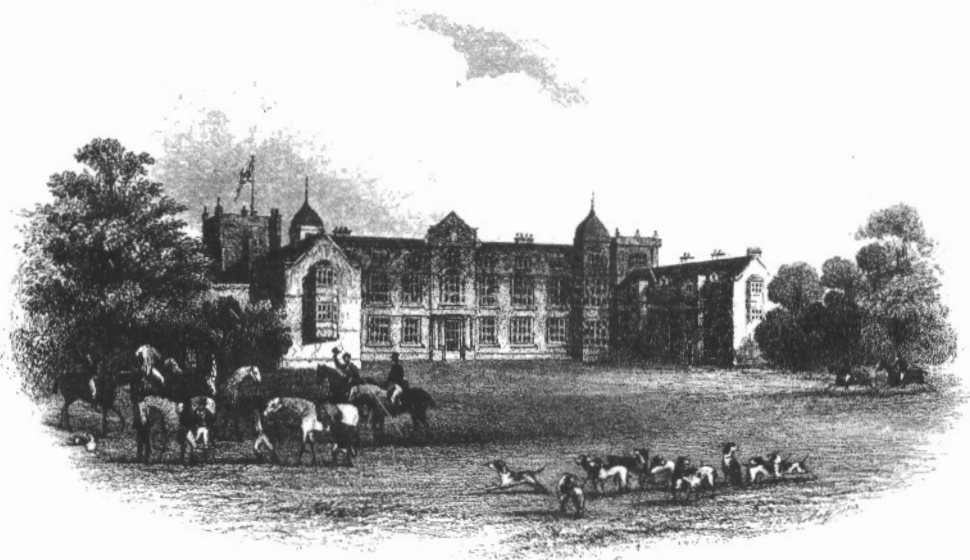


EAST YORKSHIRE
LANDED ESTATES
IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

J. T. WARD



*Burton Constable, Yorkshire
The Seat of Sir Clifford Constable Bart.*

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J. T. WARD

Professor of Economic History
University of Strathclyde

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In tracing family histories I have largely relied on the following issues of the Burkes' reference books (referred to only by date in the notes):

A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland . . . (3 vols., 1836), ed. John Burke.

A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary [History] of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire (1845, 1956, 1963 edns.).

A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain [and Ireland], 1898 edn. (2 vols., ed. Sir Bernard Burke, A. P. Burke); 1925 edn.; 1937 edn. (ed. H. Pirie-Gordon); 1939 edn.; 1952 edn. (ed. L. G. Pine); 1965 edn. (Vol. I, ed. Peter Townend).

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J. T. WARD.

EAST YORKSHIRE LANDED ESTATES IN
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

T In recent years historians have become increasingly interested in the development, organisation and management of the great English landed estates. Yet even preliminary surveys of particular areas are scarce. The East Riding affords particular attractions for such an examination. In 1873 the "New Domesday" Return reported that 706,683 acres in the Riding (excluding 4,049 acres of commons and wastes) were owned by 19,576 individuals and institutions. Of the estimated gross rental of £2,032,195, the Return showed that £752,985 was received by 15,012 owners of less than one acre, whose total property amounted to only 5,398 acres. The remaining 701,285 acres, with an annual value of £1,279,209, belonged to 4,564 owners. Such proprietors possessed anything from minute freeholds to vast estates. East Yorkshire was in fact proportionately more "aristocratic" than the other Ridings. At the top of its landowning hierarchy twelve families, each owning over ten thousand acres, had a total acreage of 213,606 acres with an estimated rental of £267,445; and the three largest owners received £101,781 from 87,519 acres. Many details in the Return were subsequently challenged and amended, but the general picture is clear: East Yorkshire was dominated by a fairly small number of landed families.

When examining any nineteenth-century rural society, the historian must take cognizance of the often dominant role of the squirearchy. It is not yet possible, however, to prepare a 'definitive' survey of East Yorkshire landowners and their estates. Undoubtedly there are manuscripts which have not yet been made available to the researcher; and, equally certainly, many personal experiences and memories remain unrecorded and unknown. The following account is based on those documents, publications and recollections which have been available to the writer. If it helps to provoke further investigation, particularly of the inevitably declining number of first-hand reports, it will have served a useful purpose.

East Yorkshire's nineteenth-century landowners were remarkably varied. Ancient dynasties like the Constables, Grimstons, St. Quintins, Vavasours, Saltmarshes and Hildyards had been joined over the centuries by newly-enriched mercantile families seeking to mark business success by social progress. Commercial profits had brought such names as Sykes, Broadley, Denison and Watt into the ranks of the Landed Interest; and railway promotion briefly added the name of Hudson. Gentility might depend upon ancient wealth, but *arriviste* squires were rapidly integrated with the old order. While "new" men (and all but the greatest of the "old" men) could not aspire to the rare heights of the Lord Lieutenantcy, "trade" connections provided no bar to such stages of social acceptance as appointments as J.P., D.L. and Yeomanry or Volunteer officer. Regional accents were only slowly overtaken by the standard upper-class diction of the 19th-century public school; uncouth old "Tatters" Sykes, 4th baronet, owner of 34,000 acres and the most popular sportsman of his day, was hidden away by his genteel wife and Harrovian son during mid-century London visits.¹ A country gentleman might have good taste in architecture, paintings and books; he was generally expected to have good taste in horses, dogs, livestock, crops and port; it was long before he was assumed to possess any metropolitan sophistication, play baccarat and holiday abroad. "Squire Western" survived well into the age of railways and cotton mills.

Squirearchical society produced many men of independence and even eccentricity. Colourful sportsmen like Osbaldeston and Sykes mingled with distinguished military and naval men like the Hothams, 'recusants' like the Constables, politicians like the Bethells and Woods and such recipients of Royal favour as the Denisons. Ancient names, varying from small squires, ruined by Cavalier loyalties, Roman Catholic beliefs or various forms of conspicuous consumption, to such grandees as the Dukes of Devonshire and Leeds, might disappear from the lists of county proprietors. But the new squires quickly followed the established conventions. Most landed families shared a common interest in agricultural improvement: old and new squire alike improved their property by enclosure; the Sykes family's creation of an empire on the Wolds was a dramatic saga of agricultural revolution; and the Legards, Stricklands, St. Quintins, Vavasours and Hildyards were keen improvers.²

Agricultural interests led many owners to support transport improvements, originally as promoters of 18th-century turnpikes; such families as the Grimstons, Hildyards, Constables and Bethells aided the schemes of town corporations.³ But, as elsewhere, land-

¹ Christopher Sykes, *Four Studies in Loyalty* (1947), 18. Tatton's father had, however, been worried about his "Yorkshire tone" as early as 1778.

² See Olga Wilkinson, *The Agricultural Revolution in the East Riding of Yorkshire* (East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1956), *passim*.

³ See K. A. MacMahon, *Roads and Turnpike Trusts in Eastern Yorkshire* (East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1964).

owners reacted in different ways to the railways. The "Railway King", George Hudson, was interested in the county both as a railroad imperialist and as a hopeful developer of such coastal towns as Whitby, Bridlington and Scarborough. In 1844 he was planning a York-Bridlington line, and as the best route would pass near Boynton he approached Sir George Strickland, courteously promising not to persevere if Strickland were hostile. "I am about to build a house at Octon", he frankly wrote, "and am naturally anxious to have the railway as near to me as possible. At the same time I will be no party to annoy my neighbour". But Strickland insisted that the valley near Boynton was very narrow and that a railway

would be totally destructive of that place which has been the residence of my ancestors and family for five hundred years. I should, therefore, feel it to be my duty to my family and to myself to make every exertion in my power, and to spend all the money I could afford in opposition to a plan so injurious to myself and, as I believe, uncalled for by the general public.

He thought that his neighbour, Alexander Bosville would also be hostile. "I consider that you are as much interested as I am in preventing the nuisance of a Railroad entering our valley," he told Bosville. ". . . I made use of your name, because I had heard from Miss Creyke that you were quite opposed to a Railway approaching Thorpe."⁴ Strickland later virtually killed a proposed Hornsea-Malton line. But Hudson had persevered. Partly to defeat the Manchester & Leeds Railway's plan to enter the preserve of his York & North Midland network, in 1845 he bought Londesborough Park and 12,000 acres for £470,000 from the 6th Duke of Devonshire. Several landowners—notably J. D. Dent—later became men of importance in the railway world, and many more, including Lord Galway, Colonel George Cholmley of Howsham, Ralph Creyke, Sir Edward Vavasour and Strickland himself, were investors.⁵

The rural world of farming, hunting and magisterial duties did not fill the lives of all squires. A handsome house, a landscaped park and a respectable library (despite Sir Tatton Sykes' example in 1832 of preferring hounds to books) were general interests. Some mixing with "genteel" society and "learned" societies at York, Beverley and Hull became as normal as subscribing to local writers' pre-publication patronage lists. Quarter Sessions, County balls and amateur military jamborees provided a round of public duties for many landowners, beyond purely local tasks. The more ambitious and more wealthy sought Parliamentary careers. The 1832 Reform Act did not greatly change their opportunities. Hedon's long history as a Parliamentary borough was over, and Sir Thomas Clifford

⁴ See K. A. MacMahon, *The Beginnings of the East Yorkshire Railways* (East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1953), 9-11; R. S. Lambert, *The Railway King, 1800-1871* (1964 edn.), 54, 93, 133, 146, 155, 272; Hudson to Strickland, 19, Strickland to Hudson, 22, to Bosville, 24 Oct., 1844 (Macdonald MSS., DDBM, 32/15).

⁵ See Lambert, *op. cit.*, 157-160, 272, 286; Return to Order of 2 Apr., 1846 [*Accounts and Papers*, XXXVIII (1846), *passim*].

Constable thus lost control of a seat (occupied by himself since 1830). But "the being deprived of sending members to parliament", asserted George Poulson in 1841, ". . . had not entirely prevented the old tacticians from exercising that ingenuity for which they were once famous in conducting election contests, [Hedon] still being one of the polling places for representatives of the East Riding." Hull, which had already witnessed memorable contests between the Tory mercantile corporation and Whiggish challengers, retained its two seats. Beverley also kept its ancient rights. Lord Yarborough had owned property there and in the 18th century "generally returned one member, but his lordship, becoming tired of the expense, disposed of his houses, which were called the bar interest, and . . . the borough became independent of patronage." Beverley's "freedom" provoked increasingly notorious corruption, which ultimately led to the borough's disfranchisement after the 1868 election. But during its last seventy years as a Parliamentary borough Beverley provided seats for members of such landed families as Burton, Wharton, Morrilt, Vyse, Lane Fox, Langdale, Towneley, Lawley, Denison and Sykes. On the whole, however, county landowners preferred the traditional social distinction of representing a county constituency. Yorkshire's early 19th-century Members included several men with East Riding connections, like William Wilberforce, William Duncombe, Fountayne Wilson, Richard Bethell and George Strickland. In 1832 the Riding received its quota of two Members, and until 1885 (when the division was divided between the constituencies of Buckrose, Howdenshire and Holderness) its representation was dominated by the Bethells, Broadleys, Hothams, Duncombes and Sykes on the generally successful Conservative side and by Thompsons for the Liberals.⁶

Despite the increasing attraction of the London season, clubs and salons, many squirearchic families either chose or were obliged to live mainly on their estates. As manorial lords, some maintained ancient rights which were generally obsolete survivals of the feudal past but which might (as with the Constables' grandiose claims over the seigniorship of Holderness) still produce very substantial dividends. The Church, and various connections with it and its property, remained important. In 1873 clerical landowners included the Rev. R. M. Taylor with 1,258 acres and Archdeacon Long with 1,286 acres. Such sizeable squires as W. H. Empson, Y. Lloyd-Greame and Joseph Dunnington-Jefferson were also Anglican priests. Tithes provided considerable revenues to some lay impropiators; nomination to livings might be used to provide sinecures for younger sons

⁶ G. Poulson, *The History and Antiquities of the Seigniorship of Holderness* (Hull, 2 vols., 1840-1841), II, 177, *Beverlac, or The Antiquities and History of the Town of Beverley* (2 vols., 1829), I, 397; W. W. Bean, *The Parliamentary Representation of the Six Northern Counties . . .* (Hull, 1890), 744-755, 659-667. The Riding's MPs were Richard Bethell (Cons.), 1832-1841, Paul Beilby Thompson (Lib.), 1832-1837, Henry Broadley (Cons.), 1837-1851, Lord Hotham (Cons.), 1841-1868, the Hon. Arthur Duncombe (Cons.), 1851-1868, Christopher Sykes (Cons.), 1868-1885, W. H. Harrison Broadley (Cons.), 1868-1885. See also J. H. Philbin, *Parliamentary Representation, 1832, England and Wales* (New Haven, Conn., 1965), 227-228, 230, 231.

deprived by primogeniture of any large share of their family inheritance; and patronage involved duties. Victorian landowners were often impelled by their beliefs to provide for the social, educational and religious needs of their dependants. Crumbling edifices were expensively Gothicised, and a rash of new (generally National) schools and (often Evangelical) churches spread across the Riding. The smallest squire donated something to church and school; the large owner built, rebuilt and 'improved' as many public buildings as possible.

Some East Yorkshire landowners played a special role, especially in South Holderness, as drainers and land reclaimers. Much of this expensive work was inevitably carried out by special authorities (backed by local owners), but it sometimes led to legal troubles. For instance, Cherry Cobb Sand was argued over by William Constable and the Charity for the Relief of Poor Widows and Children of Clergymen in petitions to the local court of sewers and to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury in 1751 and 1759. Constable contested the award of 500 acres (with a rent of £66.13.4) to the Charity and won his case at the York Summer Assizes of 1763. The Charity appealed and eventually a compromise agreement was reached and ratified by a private Act of 1766, under which the disputed land was divided. The Constables eventually obtained 1,914 acres, and in 1791 Joseph Hopkinson noted that the twelve farms on the rich reclaimed land yielded 27s. 6d. per acre against an estate average of 19s. 6d. In 1865 Sir T. A. Clifford-Constable joined an abortive promotion of further reclamation. But even 'reclaimers' could seize rather contradictory opportunities: the Constables sold quantities of beach-stones.⁷

Relations between landowner and tenant were generally good in the 19th-century East Riding, although few leases were granted—"many tenants", as Isaac Leatham noted in 1794, "being even without a written agreement." In a report on the West Riding in 1797 Robert Brown wrote that "the primary error of the Yorkshire husbandry consists in not giving the tenant a security of possession for a reasonable time." Local valuers had made similar comments. "I have found by conversing with some People who are lookt upon as good Managers, and who I believe are really so in other respects," Thomas Mitchell told Thomas Stapleton, in 1761.⁸

⁷ S. G. E. Lythe, 'Drainage and Reclamation in Holderness and the River Hull Valley, 1760-1880' (*Geography*, XXIII, 4, Dec., 1938). I am indebted to Professor Lythe for much further information. See also, June A. Sheppard, *The Drainage of the Hull Valley* (East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1958). James Caird, *The Times* commissioner, wrote of Holderness in December 1850 that "two thirds . . . were believed to be undrained, or very imperfectly drained. Drainage and increased accommodation for livestock appeared to be the chief defects in the farming of the district . . ." (J. Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850-51* (1852), 304). See also Act. 6 Geo. III, c.66.

⁸ I. Leatham, *General View of the Agriculture of the East Riding . . .* (1794), 59; R. Brown, *General View of the Agriculture of the West Riding . . .* (Edinburgh, 1799 edn.), 41-42; George Legard, 'Farming in the East Riding . . .' (*Jour. R. Agric. Soc.* (1848), IX); T. Mitchell to T. Stapleton, 19 July 1761 (Beaumont MSS., DDCA, 31/16).

yet in regard of the Term they chuse only to grant Leases for, which is for seven years or seldom more, I am of opinion they mistake their own interest; for can it be supposed that any Tenant will, for so short a term, lay out the money, manage and improve his Farm with so much Spirit as he would do, had he a much longer term granted him? Therefore, I own my thoughts are, that when an Estate is set upon a regular and reasonable footing, a Lease for twenty or twenty-one years is not only for the interest of the Tenant, but also for the Landlord . . .

A century later there had been little change. In 1882 John Coleman reported to the Duke of Richmond's Commission on Agriculture that there were "no leases as a rule" in Yorkshire. The permissive Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875 was rarely adopted, because owners could not recover on dilapidations until tenants claimed compensation and (thought Assistant Commissioner Coleman) Yorkshire tenants—especially in the West Riding—generally preferred customary relationships.

H. S. Thompson, a squire in the North and West Ridings, explained the proprietors' views in 1864. He considered that the case for leases was proved on economic grounds, but that social considerations mitigated against a general adoption:

Most landlords who let their land to tenants-at-will are aware that they could increase their rents by granting long leases; but before realising this additional income tenants must be changed, farms consolidated and farm-buildings augmented and improved. Of these obstacles the least are those connected with providing the requisite capital . . . One of the most general . . . is the dislike on the part of the landowners to dispossess deserving tenants . . . Another equally influential cause is the repugnance of the proprietors to give up so much of the control over their estates . . .

Thompson concluded that the landowners "let their land below its market value" partly for sentimental reasons ("personal ties . . . if rudely severed, would be most inadequately replaced by a few shillings an acre additional rent") and partly to retain power over the tenants ("the knowledge that such a power existed made it rarely necessary to use it"). Agreements or leases embodying some of the legislative recommendations had, however, "operated beneficially" by 1882, though permanent improvements were normally carried out by the owners, who charged interest on the capital cost.

In a sense, the general reliance on yearly agreements was a tribute to the mutual trust existing between owner and farmer. No doubt, the trust was sometimes abused—though certainly less often than has sometimes been alleged. In 1841 Poulson noted a remarkable example of an improving tenant. The Quaker Stickney family had farmed at Ridgmont, on the estate of the Roman Catholic Constables, for a century, adding 500 acres by drainage and improvement to the original 300 fertile acres; but "no lease [had] ever been executed,

a fact alike honourable to both parties". The farmers' lack of security was, in fact, more apparent than real, and personal relationships ultimately affected the landed estates more importantly than legalistic formulae or urban politicians' often ill-planned legislation. Mr. Robinson, who drained Hedon land at his own expense, without tenant right or other security, was "not an isolated case," reported Coleman: "on the old estates the feeling of confidence in fair treatment is so general that tenants often lay out money on landlords' work without security." James Caird had reported similarly in 1850.

East Yorkshire custom "consisted of an away-going crop". Coleman recorded that

A sort of tenant-right existed on Lord Middleton's and Lord Londesborough's estates, and also on Mr. Bethell's, but of a very excellent character and with very excellent results . . . Farmers in Yorkshire, confiding in their landlords, laid out money without security to a marvellous extent, and preferred to a lease a yearly holding with agreements for compensation for temporary improvements, landlords as a rule doing the drainage and charging interest . . .

But although Coleman favoured yearly agreements he acknowledged that

competition for land before the depression was very great, and rents were higher than the land would bear . . . [and] many farms were [now] vacant, principally in the East Riding . . . owing to imprudent bargains and the excessive competition . . . and misgrounded confidence in landlords, but now more caution was used in taking farms, much owing to the indirect influence of the Agricultural Holdings Act.

Yet, even at this time of agricultural decline, the tenants were scarcely mutinous. Jonathan Dunn, a tenant on the Moreby Hall estate, insisted that "the relations between farmers and landlords were satisfactory." He considered that a 10 per cent reduction, "though trifling, was an acknowledgment of the tenant's need of help" in hard times; but "a yearly agreement with six months' notice made the tenant dependent on the goodwill of the landlord and the agent, [and] a greater security of tenure than that was desirable." Simpson Staveley of Tibthorpe, a small owner and tenant, had paid the same rent for 35 years, thought it was high (though he paid more to his own brother) and approved of Lord Londesborough's liberal agreements. Lord Leconfield, who had only one Yorkshire lessee, had 4,000 acres in hand and planned to reduce rents. "The restrictions in his agreements," he stated, "were only for protective purposes and were not enforced".

Some writers apparently believed that a "fair" balance between owners and farmers was not achieved until the legislation of 1883, 1906 and 1908. But at least before the onset of the late-century depression (which seriously affected arable areas, while "flooding and defective drainage" harmed the South-East), local farmers

were apparently content with the operation of county custom.⁹ Until the bleak years began, ancient families of occupiers and owners could afford to trust each other in yearly agreements. And it was under this system, moderated only by tradition, that East Yorkshire land became valuable.

The Agricultural Depression started the decline of the squirearchy, and legislation, taxation and social changes hastened the process. The ordered, traditional and seemingly permanent hierarchical society lasted perhaps until 1914, when the Yeomanry and Territorial regiments went to war officered largely by the local gentry. In half a century it has largely disappeared. But it is not too early to examine some of its features. Statesmen, farmers, sportsmen, snobs, business tycoons, men of piety, soldiers, wastrels, colourless mediocrities and flamboyant extroverts all played some part in the creation of this rural society. They all have a place in the story of East Yorkshire's landed estates.

⁹ 'Agricultural Commission. Reports from Her Majesty's Commissioners on Agriculture' [*Parliamentary Papers*, 1881, XV, XVI, 1882, XIV: C.2778, 3309], *passim*; H. S. Thompson, 'Agricultural Progress and the Royal Agricultural Society' (*Jour. R. Agric. Soc.* (1864), XXV, 35-36); Poulson, *Holderness*, II, 369. "Farms are never let by tender," wrote Caird, "nor are the landlords at all prone to raise their rents by unduly taking advantage of competition. The best man is chosen, and the rent named to him. Indeed, so great is the confidence placed by the tenants in some landlords that they trust entirely to the latter to fix the rent . . . Corn rents are unknown in the district, and leases equally so. The farms are all held from year to year, and there is no wish on the part of the tenants for any other arrangement. In practice, this scarcely ever leads to inconvenience; and in many cases farming of the most spirited character may be met with where the tenant has no other security than his confidence in his landlord." Caird believed that tenant right did nothing to improve farming. (Caird, *op. cit.*, 316, 317, 328). During bad periods, the farmers blamed various factors. In 1848 tithes were attacked for restraining progress (G. Legard, *loc. cit.*, 60), while in 1895 Assistant Commissioner Hunter Pringle reported that "complaints of excessive railway rates were made on all sides", especially against the North Eastern Railway, which "appeared to enjoy a complete monopoly and to exercise it with a somewhat high hand". (R. C. on Agriculture [*P.P.* 1895, XVI: C.7735], 30).

According to the official Return, the largest East Riding owner in 1873 was Sir Tatton Sykes, 5th baronet (1826-1913) of Sledmere, with 34,010 acres. Claiming to have originated in Saxony, the Sykes family settled in Cumberland in the Middle Ages but commenced their rise to wealth when William Sykes became a Leeds merchant in the 16th century; two generations later, Richard Sykes was an alderman and joint lord of the manor, and his grandson Daniel became a merchant and mayor of Hull. Daniel's son Richard, a venturesome Baltic merchant, acquired the Kirkby family's desolate Sledmere estate by marriage in 1704. Social position rapidly followed the entry into landownership. Richard Sykes was followed by his sons Richard (High Sheriff in 1752) and the Rev. Mark (created a baronet in 1783), and by his second marriage left a son, Joseph, twice mayor of Hull, who established a Sykes line at West Ella. Political interests soon developed: Sir Christopher, the energetic 2nd baronet (who obtained the title for his father) was a Pittite Member for Beverley, and Joseph's son Daniel represented Beverley and Hull as a Whig. In 1801 Christopher was succeeded by the bibliophile Sir Mark, the M.P. for York in 1807-1820, but property at Frodingham, Hollym, Roos and Waxholme passed to the third son the Rev. Christopher. The 3rd baronet was followed in 1823 by his celebrated brother, Sir Tatton (1772-1863).

Sir Christopher had created a fine estate on the long-neglected Wolds, buying rough grazing land cheaply and converting much of it to valuable arable during the French wars. As one memorial recorded,

by assiduity and perseverance in building and planting and enclosing the Yorkshire Wolds, [Sir Christopher] in the short space of 30 years set such an example to other owners of land as had 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.

"Whoever now traverses the Wolds of Yorkshire", asserts the memorial tablet in West Heslerton church, "and contrasts their present appearance with what they were, cannot but extol the name of Sykes." At the centre of the great estate was a fine house built in 1751 and 1788 (and largely burned in 1911).

The Sledmere family maintained its interest in agriculture and Tory politics. "About ten Days ago", Sir Tatton told Lord Macdonald in December 1831,

Mr. Bethell sent round for signatures a Memorial of Thanks to the House of Lords for their Conduct respecting the Reform Bill, but at the same time there was also a Petition for what he called a more temperate Reform. The former I told him I would readily sign, but as it was accompanied with the latter I begged leave to decline signing it. If the one you propose doing me the Honour of sending is a Token of Gratitude for their throwing out

the Bill, I shall have the greatest Pleasure in signing it and will return it by the Post.

The popular sportsman who was the hero of the hunting, racing and boxing fraternities and the good "old Tat" of Surtees' novels was a much-loved squire and a much-hated father. He bred sheep and horses, reputedly pioneered in the use of bone manure, saw the St. Leger 74 times and sold his brother's Elizabethan library to maintain his hounds. With the passing of this almost legendary figure an old order changed. His harshly-treated sons, Sir Tatton and Christopher (1831-1898), reacted against his rough, uncouth character. Tatton inherited some 30,000 acres along with the title, while Christopher controlled over 3,000 acres (rented at over £4,500) in Brantingham, Ellerker, Ryhill, Burton Pidsea, Hedon, Hilton and Owstwick.

"It is impossible to be at ease and quiet in the country without manorial property", Sir Christopher wrote in 1792. Certainly, he left the family well-endowed with manorial rights. The 5th baronet was lord of Bishop Wilton, Brigham, Garton on the Wolds, Helperthorpe, Thixendale, East Heselton, Wetwang, Fimber, Hollym, Kirby Grindalythe, Thirkleby, Kirkburn, Wansford and Sledmere and owned land in a dozen other places. But he was an unhappy and lonely man, primarily interested in oriental travel and Gothic church architecture. He meticulously maintained the estate, though the depression rapidly changed his income (Table 1). However, his monument lay not in agricultural prizes or sporting trophies; instead, he left his mark by building, re-building or "improving" the churches at Thixendale, Weaverthorpe, Luttons Ambo, Wansford, Fimber, Bishop Wilton, Garton, Helperthorpe, East Heselton, Hilston, Kirby Grindalythe, Kirkburn and elsewhere.

The squire's brother shared his Tory views and represented Beverley in 1865-1868, the Riding in 1868-1885 and Buckrose in 1885-1892. But Christopher became a dandy, a smooth hedonist seeking the pleasures of High Society in London salons. Brantingham Thorpe descended to the status of an occasional house-party retreat and its owner to the positions of friend, host, entertainer and court jester of the Prince of Wales. The little estate could not bear the financial strains imposed by *fin de siècle* high life, and Christopher died a comparatively poor man. However, the Sledmere empire remained intact. The sums lodged by the agent, Owen Hughes, with Beckett's Bank at Driffield might decline from £51,106.17.10 in 1882 to £45,182.0.2 in 1885 and £39,226.7.11½ in 1889; arrears might mount, reaching £8,299 on farm rents in 1882 and £5,105 in 1885; and the ominous record of £793.2.6 "lost through Tenants having become insolvents" might appear in the 1882 accounts. But the estate expenditure was maintained, and about 34,000 acres provided a fine inheritance for Sir Mark (1879-1919), the adventurous Roman Catholic 6th baronet, soldier, M.P. for Hull and explorer, whose early death after (and as a result of) a brilliant politico-military career in the Middle East was mourned by Winston Churchill. Sir Mark was proud of his lineage and commented very

sensibly on it. As "the descendant of a mayor of Hull, who invested the proceeds of tallow, hemp and Baltic coast produce in enclosing, planting and cultivating," he declared, "I cannot feel superbly feudal."¹⁰

¹⁰ See R. V. Taylor, *Biographia Leodiensis* (1865), 337-342; Sykes, *op. cit.*, 11-39; Sir Shane Leslie, *Mark Sykes: His Life and Letters* (1923), *passim*; Sir J. D. Legard, *The Legards of Anlaby and Ganton* (1926), 191-195. Sir T. Sykes to Lord Macdonald, 17 Dec. 1831 (Macdonald MSS., DDBM, 32/13); 'Sledmere Estate Receipts' (Sykes MSS., DDSY, account books 23, 24). On Sir Tatton, see also Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, *The Squire and his Relations* (1956), 251-256; on Sykes farming, see George Legard, *loc. cit.*, 97, 121-122; for a hostile view of the 1st baronet, see the diaries of John Courtney of Beverley (Courtney MSS., DDX).

TABLE 1

SLEDMERE ESTATE RECEIPTS

	1881-2			1884-5			1888-9		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Farm Rents	41,210	15	6	34,508	1	0	31,164	0	0
Cottage Rents	1,606	6	6	1,583	12	0	1,703	2	5
Woods Produce....	8,043	15	6	6,677	13	7	3,417	13	8
Farm Produce	1,471	15	0	2,080	7	4	2,412	0	5
Miscellaneous	210	1	4	332	6	4	529	11	5½
Total	52,542	13	10	45,182	0	3	39,226	7	11½

TABLE 2

SLEDMERE ESTATE DISBURSEMENTS

	1881-82			1884-85			1888-89		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House	1,271	11	0½	3,943	9	6	1,126	8	3½
Stables	1,002	4	9	1,560	13	0	1,514	10	6
Garden	257	18	8	295	12	0	256	6	8
Game	162	15	10	216	6	3	151	11	3½
Woods	2,127	4	6	2,316	9	0½	1,708	14	6½
Farm	889	18	9	2,676	15	0	2,259	17	0½
Brickyard	824	9	4	411	4	11	213	18	5
Draining and Permanent Improvements	1,897	13	0	2,324	3	0	1,450	6	4
Buildings and Repairs	2,429	16	3	5,258	14	6½	7,245	16	0
Rates, Taxes and Permanent Outgoings	1,273	11	2	2,390	3	6	2,747	7	10
Agents' Salary Collection Stamps and Stationery	731	0	3	885	7	3	1,062	18	0½
Subscriptions and Donations	543	2	11	830	10	1	855	5	9½
Miscellaneous	3,304	7	4	471	15	0	1,134	18	11
Total	16,715	13	9½	23,580	9	6	21,727	19	8

Competing for the position of the Riding's largest landowner in 1873 was the 2nd Lord Londesborough (1834-1900), with 33,006 East Yorkshire acres producing £39,544 and a total acreage in all three Ridings of 52,655 and a rental of £67,876. His Denison family undoubtedly did "feel superbly feudal" on occasion, although a Whiggish Etonian veneer rested on comparatively recent city profits. Londesborough was lord of the manors of Willerby, Staxton, Spaldington, North Dalton, Elmswell with Little Driffield, Flixtun, Fridaythorpe, Goodmanham, Kilham, Market Weighton, Tibthorpe, Londesborough, Middleton on the Wolds, Nunburnholme, Routh, Shipton, Skerne, Speeton, Thwing, Watton and (jointly) Hutton Cranswick. The wealth of Joseph Denison (d. 1806), who had left Leeds to become a London counting-house clerk, had made these purchases possible. Denison established his own banking business, employed his former master, joined Heywood's Bank and bought Surrey and Yorkshire estates from Lord King and the Duke of Leeds, reportedly paying £100,000 to the latter. Despite several large legacies, on his death his real property produced £15,000 a year.

Denison's son, William Joseph (d. 1849), who refused a peerage, expanded the estates and fortune. He was Whig M.P. for Camelford in 1796, a candidate for Hull in 1802 and M.P. in 1806-1807, candidate at Liverpool in 1807, and Member for Surrey in 1818-1832 and for West Surrey in 1832-1849, a J.P. in Surrey and Yorkshire and High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1808. He left a fortune of £2,300,000 and land in Yorkshire (principally around Scarborough and Driffield) valued at over £500,000 with Surrey property worth £100,000. His nephew (whose £2,000 debts incurred in railway speculations he had refused to meet, thus—according to the *Gentleman's Magazine*—forcing a flight to Boulogne) inherited an annual income of £85,000. Meanwhile Joseph Denison's daughters, endowed with £50,000 dowries and ample personal charms, had married the 1st Marquess Conyngham and Sir Robert Lawley, 6th baronet (later created Lord Wenlock). Elizabeth Conyngham became King George IV's mistress and energetically promoted the social aspirations of her relatives through "Prinny's" reign.

The beneficiary of the Denisons' business acumen was Conyngham's second surviving son, Lord Albert Conyngham (1805-1860), a diplomat and Whig M.P. for Canterbury in 1835-1850. On inheriting the huge property in 1849 he took the name of Denison, and in 1850 he was created Lord Londesborough. A prominent antiquarian and archaeologist, he followed Denison's testamentary injunction to spend the bulk of his money on buying (and subsequently entailing) land. Londesborough Park, Londesborough Lodge and Grimston Park became centres of large properties in all three Ridings. By 1873, according to the official Return, the 2nd Baron had 33,006 acres in the East Riding, 11,883 in the North Riding and 7,766 in the West Riding, rented at £39,544.16s., £14,133.18s. and £14,199.12s. respectively, and the income briefly

reached over £70,000 a year. William Henry Denison, the 2nd Lord, had sat as a Liberal for Beverley in 1857-1859 and Scarborough in 1859-1860, supporting taxation and suffrage reform and the abolition of Church rates, and in 1887 was created Earl of Londesborough. Several members of the family served with distinction in the Royal Navy, and the peer was appropriately the Vice-Admiral of the Yorkshire Coast. The Yorkshire lands were retained into the 20th century, but the family latterly resided at Blankney Hall in Lincolnshire. Under the 2nd Earl (1864-1917) the sales of "outlying portions" of the estates began. Land at Skerne, Routh, Tibthorpe, Fridaythorpe, North Dalton, Shiptonthorpe, Nunburnholme, Watton, Goodmanham, Hutton Cranswick, East Lutton, Middleton, Holme on the Wolds and Meaux, on the Londesborough estate, was offered for sale in 1906-1907, along with acres at Speeton, Wold Newton, Thwing, Octon, Kilham and Rudston on the Seamer estate, North Riding property in Scarborough, Newby and Throxenby and West Riding land at Hambleton, Brayton, Barlow and Selby. In 1911 farms at Emswell, Kelleythorpe, Hutton Cranswick, Skerne, East Lutton, Fridaythorpe and Watton were sold. The 2nd Earl was succeeded by his son, George (1892-1920), for only three years. In 1920 the estates passed to the 3rd Earl's brother, Hugo (1894-1937), the last Earl, who continued the sales, offering about 6,200 acres of "mainly good barley and sheep land" at Middleton on the Wolds, North Dalton, Shipton, Market Weighton, Goodmanham, Nunburnholme, Watton and Hutton Cranswick in 1921.¹¹ Estates which had been rapidly amassed were equally quickly sold. In 1937 the earldom died with the 4th Earl, and the 6th Lord Londesborough, his cousin, inherited no land with the title. The Londesboroughs' principal memorials today are tavern signs and names.

The third very large proprietor had an entirely different background. The Stricklands claimed descent from an ancient line of Westmorland squires and traced their Yorkshire connection from William Strickland, who supposedly sailed with Sebastian Cabot to America, bought the Boynton estate and represented Scarborough between 1558 and 1585. Strickland's grandson William (created a baronet in 1641) was summoned to Cromwell's upper house, with his brother Walter. The 3rd baronet, Sir William, was an early 18th century County Member, and the 4th, Sir William, was King George II's Secretary at War. But politics never dominated the family's interests. Sir George, 5th baronet (1729-1808) and his son Sir William (1753-1834) extended and improved the estate. The Stricklands became lords of the manors of Boynton, Carnaby, Fraisthorpe, Auburn, Howsham and (jointly) Scrayingham, took a notable interest in livestock improvements and in plantations and

¹¹ Taylor, *op. cit.*, 228-232, 482-483; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 21 Jan. 1860; *Annual Register* (1860), 450; Bean, *op. cit.*, 869; John Bateman, *Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (1879 edn.), 269, (1883 edn.), 276; Londesborough Estates sales books (Londesborough MSS., DDLO, 30/7, 80). In 1848 George Legard (*loc. cit.*, 92) noted Denison's improvement of clay lands near Pocklington. Londesborough Park was bought from Hudson in 1849 (Lambert, *op. cit.*, 276).

remained active in county affairs. But Sir William's experiments with South Down sheep failed.

Sir George, 7th baronet (1782-1874), inherited his family's Whiggish politics and sat for Yorkshire in 1831-1832, the West Riding from 1832 to 1841 and Preston between 1841 and 1857. He was a rare Whig supporter of the early campaigns for factory reform and also a very successful breeder and owner of racehorses. His mother, Henrietta, was the third daughter and co-heiress of Nathaniel Cholmley of Whitby and Howsham, a member of a family which had developed the port and alum interests of Whitby. Lady Strickland died in 1827, but in 1865 her son inherited the Cholmley estates and assumed the name and arms of Cholmley by Royal Licence. In the year before his death Sir George Cholmley was reported to own 20,503 acres in the East Riding, with a gross rental of £26,365, to which 2,021 West Riding acres added £3,126 and 3,907 acres in the North Riding £4,179. Six years later his son, Sir Charles William Strickland, 8th baronet (1819-1909), owned about 16,000 acres in all three Ridings, worth about £17,000 *per annum*. There had been a major division of property: land at Helperthorpe, Weaverthorpe and Luttons Ambo had passed to Henry Walter Cholmley of Howsham Hall. But meanwhile Sir Charles' brother Henry (1821-1909) had inherited the Constables' Wassand estates.

A branch of the Constable dynasty was established at Wassand near Hull by William Constable of Caythorpe in 1529. For nine generations the manor passed from father to son, until Marmaduke Constable was succeeded in 1812 by his nephew, the Rev. Charles (1773-1852), who later inherited the Walcot Hall estate in Lincolnshire from another uncle, Thomas Goulton (1745-1826). The clergyman squire rebuilt the mansion at Wassand and his labourers' cottages. Poulson noted that "each occupier was allowed ground sufficient for the support of two cows, a practice which had contributed greatly to the comfort of that meritorious class of inhabitants and on this account came forcibly recommended to every country gentlemen." Constable's daughter married Strickland (Cholmley) in 1818 and died in 1865, when her second surviving son, Henry, who had already adopted the name of Strickland-Constable, succeeded at Wassand. In 1873 Strickland-Constable was reported to own 3,293 East Riding acres, with a rental of £4,501, and in 1879 he stated that he had 6,271 acres worth £10,500 yearly, in the East and West Ridings. His grandson, Sir Henry Marmaduke, was to succeed as 10th baronet on the death of Sir Charles' son, Sir Walter William (1851-1938). Meanwhile, Sir George's daughter, Lucy Henrietta, had succeeded to Walcot. She married the Rev. James Marriot, who assumed the name of Goulton-Constable. Her eldest surviving son inherited the Marriot estate at Colesbach in Leicestershire, and the next son, James (who assumed the name of Goulton-Constable in 1872) received Walcot, where 2,975 Lincolnshire acres produced £4,681 in 1879.¹² By their divisions of land (Strickland-Constable

¹² Bateman (1879), 421, 98, 99, (1883), 435; Poulson, *Holderness*, I, 430-433, 436; G. Legard, *loc. cit.*, 122; Burke (1845), 948-949, (1898), I, 313-314, (1925), 384-385, (1937), 470-471, (1963), 565-568.

was lord of the manors of Burton Fleming, Goxhill, Seaton and [jointly] Siggleshorpe) and regular permutations of surnames, the Stricklands—*cum* Constables, Cholmleys and Goultons—provided one of the most complicated ownership records and genealogies in the East Riding.

When Parliament was told in 1876 that three East Yorkshire families each possessed over 20,000 acres, the information was based on the recent Return. Sykes and Londesborough certainly fitted the category; but the Stricklands of Boynton, after the recent divisions, did not. However, another proprietor had entered the upper league of Riding landowners. Lord Wenlock was credited in 1873 with 19,453 East Yorkshire acres and a gross rental of £19,508, but six years later claimed to own 20,853 acres, with 5,227 in Shropshire, worth £21,997 and £5,593 respectively.

The Lawley family, which had periodically held the Wenlock barony since the Middle Ages, descended from Thomas Lawley, owner of Wenlock in the late 15th century. Another Thomas was created a baronet in 1641, and the family remained squires in Shropshire and Warwickshire until Sir Robert, 5th baronet (d. 1793), married Jane Thompson, the only daughter of Beilby Thompson of Escrick. Lawley's eldest son, Sir Robert (d. 1833) married a daughter of Joseph Denison and was created Lord Wenlock in 1831. The barony died with the baron, whose brother Francis (d. 1851) succeeded as 7th baronet. Meanwhile, the third brother, Paul Beilby (1784-1852), had taken the name of Thompson on inheriting the Yorkshire property in 1820; he added the name of Lawley again in 1839. Lawley Thompson succeeded his cousin Beilby (sometime M.P. for Thirsk and Hedon) and was himself a Whig Member for Wenlock in 1826-1832 and for the East Riding in 1832-1837. In May 1839 he was created Lord Wenlock, and in 1851 he became 8th baronet. His son, the 2nd Baron (1818-1880), who sat for Pontefract, and his grandson, the 3rd Baron (1849-1912), M.P. for Chester, Governor of Madras in 1891-1896 and Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales in 1901-1910, maintained the political tradition.

Wenlock's great Escrick estate, spreading between the Ouse and the Derwent, had been built up by the Thompsons, whose fortune was founded by Sir Henry Thompson, a 17th century merchant and Lord Mayor of York. In the early 19th century Richard Thompson had land at Escrick, Wheldrake, Deighton, Kexby, Riccall, Wetherby, Scackleton, Moston, Osbaldwick, Westwick, Laverton, York, Cayton, Flamborough, Millington, Givendale, Scotton and Bole; in 1807-1808 the rents totalled £11,115.14.4. The steward, William Boswell, carefully watched his master's interests and by 1812-1813 had increased the rental by £4,808.9.10 and recommended a further rise at Scotton; additional rents at Stillingfleet brought receipts up to £17,898.18.0. The income continued to rise. Half-yearly Lady Day rents at Escrick, Weighton, Acaster Malbis, Riccall, Kexby, Wheldrake, Stillingfleet, Hutton and Angram produced £10,043.4.2 for the 2nd Baron, in 1863; between July and December there were "casual receipts" of £6,985.5.6½d. and "general receipts" of

£10,255.3.11.—and expenses totalling £15,781.9.2. In 1867 a total of £23,199.8.6. was received and in the following year £24,133.15.11; the respective balances were £5,899.19.7. and £10,252.1.10½d. The Wenlocks took a great interest in their manors of Escrick, Kexby, Riccall, Stillingfleet and Wheldrake and in their other lands. George Legard noted that they introduced the Riding's first "cottage-allotment" scheme in about 1823; Escrick church was built in 1857 as a memorial to the 1st Baron; and the hamlet near Escrick Park "was not unpicturesque, [wrote Joseph Morris, in 1906] and had something of the trimness of a model village."¹³

TABLE 3.

ESCRICK ESTATE ACCOUNTS, 1867
(Balance Sheet)

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
To Balance of				By Balance of			
School A/c.	326	19	10	Estate A/c.	5,899	19	7½
House	3,761	12	5½	Woods A/c.	2,464	17	2
Charities	1,031	16	9	Farms A/c.	371	17	2
Buildings	3,591	11	3	Balance	5,015	13	7
Gardens	771	6	9½				
Game	540	9	1½				
Moor Farm	174	14	7½				
Drainage	229	0	6				
Stable	1,970	13	1½				
Lord							
Wenlock	1,354	3	1				
	13,752	7	6½		£13,752	7	6½

As in many other counties, East Yorkshire's greatest 19th century landowners were predominantly Whig-Liberal in politics, while smaller squires led the Tory interest. More surprisingly, most of the largest proprietors owed a considerable part of their wealth and station to comparatively recent mercantile profits. But a sizeable part of the Riding was still owned by ancient families.

¹³ Bateman, *op. cit.* (1879), 465; accounts in Forbes-Adam MSS. (DDFA, 37/49); Bean, *op. cit.*, 710; G. Legard, *loc. cit.*, 127n.; J. E. Morris, *The East Riding of Yorkshire* (1906).

Branches of the Constable clan have played important rôles in East Yorkshire history for centuries. Their dangerous position as 16th-century recusants was improved when Sir John Constable, of Burton Constable and Halsham, succeeded to the seigniorship of Holderness granted to his father-in-law, the 5th Earl of Westmorland. Sir John was followed by Sir Henry (d. 1608), Sir Henry (d. 1645)—who was created Viscount Dunbar in 1620—three further Viscounts, Cuthbert Tunstall (who assumed the family name on inheriting the property of his uncle, the 4th Lord) and Tunstall's son William. The estates and rights were entailed by William Tunstall for his nephew, Edward Sheldon, who was followed by Francis Sheldon. When the Sheldon Constables died out, Thomas Hugh Clifford (1762-1829), the son of the Hon. Thomas Clifford and grand-nephew of Dunbar and Cuthbert Tunstall, became lord paramount of Holderness. He had aided the exiled King Louis XVIII of France, at whose request he was made a baronet in 1815; six years later he took the name and arms of Constable. In 1829 Sir Thomas was succeeded by his son, Sir Thomas Aston Clifford-Constable (1870-1870), of Tixall Hall in Staffordshire and Burton Constable and Wycliffe Hall in Yorkshire, who was followed by his son, Sir Frederick (1828-1894). The title became extinct on the death of the 3rd baronet, when the estates passed to Walter Chichester (1863-1942), a great-grandson of the 1st baronet. In 1871 Chichester had inherited the Runnamoat estate in Roscommon through his mother. He now added the Constable name and arms and maintained the family's Conservative traditions and houses at Burton Constable, Wood Hall, Wycliffe and Scargill Lodge in Yorkshire and Haywood Abbey in Staffordshire.

The Constables enjoyed great traditional and feudal rights over a wide territory. They lived in state at Burton Constable, surrounded by a 'Capability Brown' deer park and tended by seventy servants; they collected books and paintings; and though political careers held no appeal after the 2nd baronet's brief sojourn at Westminster as M.P. for Hedon in 1830-1832, they played a full part in county life. As lords of the seigniorship, they had special claims over land reclaimed from the sea in Holderness (which eventually fell to the Crown). And their Holderness estate, extending over twelve to thirteen thousand acres, produced an increasing income (Table 4). Edward Constable had his property re-valued in 1802 and added £4,265.14.0. to the rents; £620.15.6 from copyhold rents, free rents and other payments and £389.10. parkland rent brought his total Holderness income up to £16,516.17.6. Francis Constable added 177 acres, worth £172 yearly, as a separate estate, making his total rental £17,168.6.5. in 1818. The 1st and 2nd baronets considerably altered the estate, consolidating some areas and selling others, but the general trend was a slight increase of acreage and a considerable increase in rents, until after 1838, when several outlying farms were sold. But in 1873 the 3rd baronet was reported to own 10,981 East Yorkshire acres, with a rental of £17,733. His total Yorkshire

TABLE 4

RENTAL OF THE CONSTABLE ESTATE IN HOLDERNESS¹⁴

	1801			1802			1818			1826			1838		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Burton Constable	890	3	0	930	3	0	977	10	0	977	10	0	1,145	8	6
Burstwick	1,737	0	0	2,476	0	0	3,015	12	3	2,999	12	3	3,215	17	0
Constable Newton	537	1	0	599	1	0	783	0	0	783	0	0			
Carlton	126	0	0	126	0	0	132	0	0	132	10	0	161	8	0
Ellerby	182	0	0	212	0	0	231	8	4	269	8	4	322	1	6
Halsham	1,975	10	0	2,494	10	0	3,171	9	0	3,171	9	0	3,560	3	0
Keyingham	1,827	10	0	2,564	0	0	2,511	0	0	2,511	0	0	2,609	12	6
Marton	596	8	0	686	8	0	733	11	0	733	11	0	922	16	6
Paul	2,482	0	0	4,197	0	0	3,922	5	4	3,922	5	4	4,049	19	6
Sproatley	460	16	0	710	10	0	715	14	3	678	6	3	903	1	0
Thorgumbald	191	0	0	238	0	0	45	3	4	45	3	4	51	14	0
Withernwick	185	15	0	185	15	0	247	10	0	247	10	0	269	9	6
Kilnsea							127	14	1	127	14	1			
Preston							66	5	0	104	5	0	50	4	0
West Newton													881	0	0
[Other areas, rented at under £100]	48	15	0	86	5	0	315	1	10	381	7	10	200	5	6
Total	11,239	18	0	15,505	12	0	16,995	14	5	17,084	12	5	18,343	0	6
	12,594			12,594			12,506			12,630			12,743		

¹⁴ 'A Survey and Rent Roll of the Estates of Edward Constable, Esquire, in Holderness . . .' (1802), 'Survey and Rent Roll of the Estate of Francis Constable, Esqre . . .' (1818), 'Survey and Rental of the Estate of Sir T. A. Clifford Constable, Br., . . .' (1826), 'Valuation of the Estates of Sir T. A. Clifford-Constable, Bart., . . .' (1838) [Chichester-Constable MSS., DDCC, 141/12, 83, 86, DDCC (2) C.13.] The smaller properties were in Aldbrough, Burton Pidsea, Camerton, Cleeton, Dringhoe, Easington, Elstronwick, Flinton, Frodingham, Hedon, Hollym, Lelley, Riraswell, Riston, Skeffling, Tansterne, Withernsea, Skipsea and Owthorne.

property amounted to 18,666 acres, worth £23,650 *per annum*; 48 acres in Middlesex, Durham and Staffordshire added £731, making the total rental £24,381 in 1879. The reported figures did not give a complete picture. In 1875 Sir Frederick actually received £23,232.0.9. from his East Riding land (including £17,941.4.6. in "large rents", £989.3.4. in cottage rents, £2,018.9.0 from the Burton Constable farm, £418.1.10. from game, £925 for timber and £502.16.6½d. from copyhold rents and fines). His total income from the East and North Ridings was £32,611.4.0½d., including a balance of £1,700.18.9. in Pease's Bank.

The Constable accounts give a good indication of the internal economy of the estate. In 1875 the principal expenses were £4,265 on annuities, £216.0.7. Succession Duty, £8,730.6.11. on mortgage interest, £254.16.5. rates, £1,584.9.4. on the home farm, £854.18.0. on management and insurance, £1,058.17.4. on wages, £998.6.7. on stable oats, £1,030.8.0. on buildings, £1,958.0.8. personal expenses, £580.19.5. on the dairy and £5,534.14.6. on tradesmen. By 1878 the total income had risen to £36,108.6.1., but many expenses had also risen. Thereafter, the gathering agricultural depression reduced the Constables' income. The 1881 total for the Yorkshire property was £33,973.9.5., and two years later the income had fallen to £30,462.10.5. Sir Frederick started to invest capital and by 1884 had personal assets (including houses at Ferriby and Hull, shares in the North British, Great Eastern and Belfast & Northern Counties Railways and the Hull Dock Company and mortgages) totalling £25,223.13.4; the total value was £29,776.8.0 in August 1885. But standards of affluence are always relative and subjective. Bryan Jackson was obviously a careful steward, but the irate baronet could not understand his reduced income. "I am much disappointed to find that further reductions in my already diminished Rent Roll are asked for and apparently advised by you as necessary", he wrote in October 1885, and I see nothing but ruin staring me in the face. I had far better sell the East Riding Estate altogether than carry it on with great anxiety and, as I much fear I am doing, at a considerable loss . . . I must again insist that no further repairs of an extensive character are entered upon without my sanction. They appear to be by no means appreciated by the Tenants . . . I feel as if I were rapidly on the road to ruin . . .

But Chichester-Constable inherited a valuable property, little diminished in size despite his cousin's gloomy prognostications. In 1897 Major W. G. R. Chichester-Constable was still lord of the manors of Aldbrough, Burstwick, Ganstead, Ryhill, Burton Constable, Burton Pidsea, Easington, Hilston, Sproatley, Coniston, Ellerby, Thirtleby, Withernsea, Keyingham, Kilnsea, Rimswell, Reighton, Waxholme, Skeffling, Skipsea, Skirlaugh and Marton and an owner elsewhere.¹⁵ Even as absentee landlords, the lords of Holderness remained great proprietors.

¹⁵ Poulson, *Holderness*, II, 224, *seq. et passim*; Bean, *op. cit.*, 823, Bateman (1879), 98; Rent Rolls, Investment Lists, etc. (Chichester-Constable MSS., DDCC (2), D.10); *Kelly's Directory of the North and East Ridings* . . . (1897 edn.), 432 *et passim*; Burke (1925), 383-384, (1937), 469-470.

An equally complicated genealogy led to the 11th Lord Herries of Terregles (1837-1908) becoming the owner of 6,858 acres in the East Riding, 5,814 in Dumfries, 3,423 in Kirkcudbright and 2,800 in Lincolnshire, respectively producing £8,205, £6,257, £885 and £3,805 in 1879. The East Yorkshire property was run from Carr's 18th-century mansion at Everingham, with its 175-acre park, 8-acre lake and early Victorian Roman Catholic chapel. Everingham had been owned by the Constables since 1510 and its lands had been improved by the family; William Constable-Maxwell was an original vice-president of the Yorkshire Agricultural Society in 1838. The Scottish barony, created in 1489, had passed to the Maxwells by the (4th) Lady Herries' marriage to Sir John Maxwell in 1547; and the 7th Baron succeeded as 3rd Earl of Nithsdale. The 9th Baron (and 5th Earl) was the famous attainted Jacobite. His grand-daughter Winifred (d.1801), married William Haggerston Constable, second son of Sir Carnaby Haggerston and grandson of the heiress of Sir Philip Constable of Everingham. Their son was Marmaduke William Constable-Maxwell (1760-1819) of Everingham and Caerlaverock.

The estate's fortunes followed the general pattern of rising rentals. A half-year's income from land in Everingham, Seaton Ross, Thorpe, Arras, Bielby, Drax, Acklam and West Rasen amounted to £1,547.3.0. in 1766, £2,457 in 1795 and £3,478.15.10. in 1806. The 2,026 acres at Everingham itself paid £939.15.11. in 1796 and £1,279.12.2. ten years later, as the French wars continued. Marmaduke Constable-Maxwell, a landowner in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, had a total income from his East Yorkshire land of £8,205.16.0. in 1806. His steward, Robert Clark, paid him £3,281.11.0; the other principal disbursements were £479.13.6. on annuities and mortgages, £958.5.9. on taxes and rates, £467.18.5½d. on salaries and wages and £1,891.5.9½d. on repairs and improvements. The post-war steward, William Gosford, presided over a further sustained increase. In 1821 the estate income was £8,643.15.1., in 1830 £8,695.2.3½d. and in 1841 £13,160.15.8½d. William Constable-Maxwell (1804-1876), the recipient of these sums, succeeded in reviving the Scottish barony in 1858, when the House of Lords declared him to be the 10th peer (omitting three generations affected by the attainder). His son, Marmaduke (1837-1908), was an unsuccessful Liberal candidate at Beverley's last election, in 1868 (together with Anthony Trollope), a J.P. and D.L., a captain in the Yorkshire Hussars, Lord Lieutenant of the Riding in 1880 and High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1883 (as Lord Herries). In 1884 he was created a United Kingdom Baron. The last title died with him, and the ancient Scottish barony, with 18,900 acres at Everingham and Caerlaverock Castle in Dumfriesshire, passed to his elder daughter, the second wife of the 15th Duke of Norfolk.¹⁶

¹⁶ Arundel Castle MSS. (E): Maxwell-Constable MSS., DDEV, 59/43; Bateman (1879), 213; Bean, *op. cit.*, 753, 763. William Constable-Maxwell was invited but declined to contest the Riding in 1832 (*ibid.*, 665); *Who's Who* (1910 edn.), 908; G. Legard, *loc. cit.*, 92; *Trans. Yorkshire Agric. Soc.* I (1838), 4; Burke (1963), 1808-1811; Anthony Trollope, *An Autobiography* (1883), ch. XVI.

The Boyntons of Burton Agnes claimed descent from an 11th century lord of the manor of Boynton. They were prominent in county affairs in the late 16th century, and in 1618 Sir Matthew, of Barmston and Boynton, was created a baronet. The founder of the family's modern fortunes, Sir Matthew was a Cromwellian M.P. and obtained the Griffiths' Burton Agnes estate by marriage. Subsequent Boyntons played various roles. Sir Griffith, 3rd baronet, founded the little hospital for retired Barmston labourers in 1729; Sir Francis, 4th baronet, was M.P. for Hedon and Recorder of Beverley; Sir Griffith, 6th baronet, was M.P. for Beverley. Over the years, well-planned (or singularly fortunate) marriages brought both land and money to the family. But from 1778 the 6th baronet was succeeded by three sons in turn. Sir Griffith, 7th baronet (1769-1801) was (according to John Burke) "esteemed amongst the most accomplished of his time [but] totally secluded himself from society for several years before his dissolution." He was followed by Sir Francis (1777-1832) and Sir Henry (1778-1854). The other 19th-century owners were Sir Henry's son, Sir Henry, 10th baronet (1811-1869), and grandson, Sir Henry Somerville (1844-1899), who was succeeded by his cousin, Sir Griffith (1849-1937). The manors of Barmston, Burton Agnes and Haisthorpe (enclosed in 1758, 1718 and 1723) and land at Rudston made up most of the estate. Successive squires were interested in both agricultural improvement and local welfare, providing such 'benefits' as the Burton Agnes almshouses of 1709 and the Barmston school of 1848. But the property was never very large. In 1879 the 11th baronet's 9,300 acres had a gross annual value of £10,000, and by 1910 the estate had shrunk to about 5,500 acres.¹⁷

Like many of their kind among 'middling' landowners, the Boyntons were Conservative in politics. In June 1841, when 1,793 Riding electors signed a Tory requisition, Sir Henry's name was joined by the signatures of Charles Grimston, William Hildyard, T.D. Legard, Sir T. A. Clifford-Constable, Henry Preston, H.B. Bainton, James Walker, Joseph Dunnington-Jefferson, George Wyndham, T. H. S. Sotheron, Arthur Duncombe, Ralph Creyke, Norcliffe Norcliffe, George Lane-Fox, William St. Quintin, Robert Bower, Philip Saltmarshe, E. H. Reynard, Sir Tatton and Christopher Sykes, W. B. T. Duesbery, David Burton, Richard Watt, Yarburgh Greame, A. W. Bosville and H. G. Barnard. Their purpose was to urge Lord Hotham not to retire from Parliament but to accept nomination as Richard Bethell's successor in the Riding.

Lord Hotham, a distinguished soldier who had served in the Peninsular war and at Waterloo with the Coldstream Guards and who was promoted to the rank of General in 1865, had sat for Leominster since 1820. He now accepted the invitation to contest the Riding, which he represented from 1841 to 1868. He was, he wrote, "a resolute opponent of the proposed alteration in the law

¹⁷ Burke (1845), 117-118, (1963), 301-302; Bateman (1879), 51; *Who's Who* (1910 edn.), 212. In 1899 the 11th baronet's daughter married Capt. Thomas Lamplugh Wickham (who took the additional name of Boynton) and inherited Barmston and Burton Agnes.

regulating the import of Foreign Corn—an alteration . . . which would, in its effects, be productive of no solid advantage to our manufacturing population, whilst it would be fatal to the prosperity of the district in which we live . . .”¹⁸ East Riding electors, including that “backbone Tory” and flayer of the Anti-Corn Law League John Almack of Beverley, cordially agreed.

The General headed an ancient East Riding family, allegedly descended from Sir John de Trehouse, who was granted the manors of Colley Weston in Northamptonshire and Hotham in Yorkshire by the Conqueror. In the late 12th century Peter de Trehouse took the name of Hotham. The family’s modern history began with Sir John, created a baronet in 1621 and executed by the Parliamentarians, after serving as Governor of Hull, in 1645. His successors followed various careers. Sir Charles, 4th baronet, was a colonel of dragoons and M.P. for Beverley; Sir Charles, 5th baronet, a horseguard colonel and Groom of the Bedchamber, also represented Beverley; Sir Charles, 6th baronet, was another courtier; Sir John, 9th baronet, was Bishop of Clogher. Sir John’s brother, the distinguished Admiral Sir William Hotham (1736-1813), was created Baron Hotham of South Dalton, in the Irish Peerage, in 1797, and inherited his nephew’s baronetcy in 1811. A third brother, Sir Beaumont (1737-1814), a Baron of the Exchequer Court and M.P. for Wigan in 1768-1775, succeeded as 2nd Baron and 12th baronet for ten months. His grandson Beaumont (1794-1870), already a prominent soldier, followed him; several other relatives had distinguished Naval careers.

The 3rd Lord Hotham inherited a considerable estate. In 1814 land at Wilton, Hutton Cranswick, Fylingdales, Eastburn, Swaythorpe, Scarborough, Lockington, South Dalton, Ebberston, Scarborough, Humbleton and Gardham, with Ebberston coal rents, produced £15,742.16.7½d. Hotham received £7,075 and spent £1,346.13.0. on property tax, £1,704.1.8. on mortgage interest, £900 on the Dowager Lady’s jointure, £900.12.8d. on the Northstead Crown Rent, £380 on the agent’s salary, £739.9.0½d. on housekeeping and £360 on wine. After the war he reorganised his North and East Yorkshire properties. Land at Humbleton and Gardham, yielding £885.19.0½d. and £1,043.11.0. respectively, was sold, and the Scarborough land (which paid £1,941.9.8. in 1814) was sold for £14,448 in 1820. But property at Northstead, Etton, Aske and Cherry Burton was purchased; in 1819-1820 £29,590.17.0. was expended on land-buying. The total income (including money from sales) was £40,328.0.10, though a comparative half-year rental had risen in five years by only £136.16.1½d. Increased affluence was, however, shared by the family. Housekeeping expenses rose to £1,008.18.9., and Lady Hotham now received £1,000. The estate continued to expand, and in the ’seventies consisted of 20,352 acres in the North and East Ridings, rented at £26,126, of which £24,141 came from 18,682 Eastern acres. Hotham was lord of the manors of Lockington, Aike, Lund, Roos, Flinton, Scarborough, Beswick,

¹⁸ *Hull Times*, 29 June, *York Gazette*, 3 July 1841; Hotham MSS. (DDHO, 8/19); Bean, *op. cit.* 666, 699; R. P. Dod, *The Parliamentary Companion* (1861 edn.), 220-221.

Dalton Holme, Humbleton, Fitting, Eastburn and Hutton Cranswick. And the *grands seigneurs* were active on their estates: they enlarged Dalton Hall in 1874, aided the churches of Lockington, Dalton Holme, Etton and North Frodingham, the schools at Humbleton and Dalton Holme, the South Dalton almshouse and the Dalton Holme reading room, and built the Dalton water-works in 1875 and lit the church with gas from their own plant. But the succession was strangely complicated. The 3rd Baron, like the 1st, died unmarried. His bachelor nephew Charles (1836-1872), briefly 4th peer, was followed by a second unmarried nephew, John (1838-1907), a Naval officer who was High Sheriff in 1884. A cousin, Frederick (1863-1923) succeeded as 6th Baron.¹⁹

In 1879 Viscount and Viscountess Downe drew £14,387 from 11,817 acres in the East Riding. The Dowager Viscountess, of Baldersby Park, owned a total of 22,237 acres (worth £26,843) in all three Ridings, while the Viscount had 15,515 acres (producing £19,257) and three acres in Essex. Descended from the Norman Sir Payan Daunay, the family had a long military tradition, established by several medieval crusaders and commanders. In the 14th century Thomas Daunay married the heiress of John Newton of Snaith and settled at Escrick. And late in the 15th century Sir Guydo established the family at Cowick. His son, Sir John, was Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1544, his grandson, Sir Thomas, started the family's long connection with Sessay, and his great-great-great-great grandson, Christopher, was created a baronet in 1642. Sir Christopher's brother John, M.P. for Yorkshire in the Restoration Parliament, succeeded him and in 1680 was created Viscount Downe in the Irish Peerage. Both the 2nd and 3rd peers represented the county. The 3rd Lord had a remarkable career: M.P., F.R.S., Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales and Lieutenant-Colonel of the 25th Foot, he died at the age of 33 in 1760 from wounds received at the battle of Campen. His nephew, the 5th Viscount (1764-1832) was created Baron Dawnay in the British Peerage in 1796, but the title died with him, on the succession of his brother, the Rev. William (1772-1846), whose son William, 7th Viscount (1812-1857) was M.P. for Rutland. The 7th peer's son, Major-General Sir Hugh Dawnay, 8th Viscount (1844-1924), for whom the United Kingdom Barony of Dawnay of Danby was created in 1897, and his son John, 9th Viscount (1872-1931), were distinguished officers who restored an ancient military tradition.

The 19th-century Downes owned the manors of Butterwick, Great Driffeld, Sherburn, Bilton and Heslerton and land at Wold Newton. Their seat at Wykeham Abbey was inherited by the 7th Viscount in 1851 from his uncle Marmaduke, who had obtained it under the will of Richard Langley in 1817. The 8th Lord also lived at Dingley, near Market Harborough, and at Danby Lodge, Grosmont; the 9th peer added Hillington Hall near Kings Lynn. The family was Conservative, and the 8th Viscount's brother, Colonel Payan Dawnay, of Beningbrough Hall, was M.P. for Thirsk in 1880-1885 and for Thirsk and Malton between 1885 and 1892. The Dawnays continued to provide politicians and soldiers into recent times.

¹⁹ Mrs. A. M. W. Stirling, *The Hothams* (2 vols., 1918); Hotham MSS., DDHO, 14/55, 56; Bateman (1879), 222; Burke (1963), 1257-1260.

Nineteenth-century claims to ancient descent must be treated with caution. The 'Gothic Revival' led not only to architectural desecration but also to the invention of 'romantic' pedigrees. Even Norman ancestry was not enough for the Wyndhams: they looked back to one Ailwardus, a Saxon landowner in Norfolk, who assumed the name of Wymondham after the Conquest. But the Wyndhams were certainly 'old', and through the centuries they built a great territorial empire; by the late 16th century, Parliamentary services, expropriated monastic lands and prudent marriages had made them prominent. Loyalty to King Charles I brought a baronetcy to Colonel Francis. Branches of the family settled in several areas, producing some notable lawyers, sailors and politicians (including the Pittite statesman, William Windham). In 1661 William, of the Somerset line, was created a baronet. His grandson was Queen Anne's Master of Buckhounds, Secretary at War and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in 1750 the 4th baronet inherited by special remainder from his uncle, the 7th Duke of Somerset, the titles of Earl of Egremont and Baron Cockermouth. The Wyndhams were now very great landowners, and under George, 3rd Lord Egremont (1751-1837), their possessions and position reached a peak. Agriculturalist, racehorse owner, philanthropist, patron of Turner and Constable, eccentric Whig and bachelor father of a brood of children, Egremont drew an income of about £250,000 a year from estates in Cumberland, Devon, Somerset, Yorkshire, Ireland and around his seat at Petworth in Sussex. It was perhaps appropriate that the old nobleman should die in the year of Queen Victoria's accession and that his vast property should be divided. His nephew George, 4th and last Earl (1786-1845), inherited the Cumbrian and West Country lands, but the other estates passed to the 3rd Earl's eldest natural son, George (1787-1869), who was created a Baron in 1859 and chose the East Riding title of Leconfield. The 1st Baron was succeeded by his son Henry (1830-1901), a former Conservative M.P. for West Sussex. Although the ancient estate at Orchard Wyndham in Somerset had passed to the Wyndhams of Dinton, other Western properties to the Wyndhams of Corhampton and a Wiltshire estate to the 2nd Baron's brother Percy (father of the distinguished statesman George), Lord Leconfield was a great landowner. In 1883 his 109,935 acres in Sussex, Cumberland, Limerick, Yorkshire, Clare and Tipperary provided a gross income of £88,112.

A curious series of accidents had extended the Wyndhams' East Yorkshire lands. From Norman times Leconfield belonged to the Percy Earls of Northumberland, whose honours eventually fell to the 11th Earl's daughter Elizabeth. Aristocratic suitors queued for her valuable hand; widowed at the age of 15, after the murder of her second fiancé she married the "proud" 6th Duke of Somerset in 1682. On the death of the 7th Duke, the Percy-Seymour properties were divided, many Percy lands falling to Lady Elizabeth Smithson (whose husband was created Duke of Northumberland in 1766, and whose second son was the 1st Earl of Beverley); Somerset's

umentailed estates passed to the Wyndhams. 'The Leconfields' connection with the ancient Percy property was not close; the family performed most of its public duties on the magnificent Petworth estate. But they remained lords of the manors of Gribthorpe, Low Catton, High Catton, Full Sutton, Leconfield, East Stamford Bridge, Thornton, Wilberfoss, Newton-upon-Derwent and Wressell, owners in Cherry Burton, Brind and Scarborough and patrons of four livings. In 1873, 13,247 East Riding acres reportedly paid £15,510, and nine years later Leconfield's Yorkshire estates still totalled 25,812 acres, when he gave evidence to the Agricultural Commission. His Yorkshire farms, averaging 157 acres and rented at 27s. per acre, were then suffering from both the depression and Derwent flooding. Leconfield reported that he was revaluing the land, accepting back tenancies, draining the farms and converting arable to grass.²⁰

The Windhams of Wawne Hall were descended from the same Norfolk line. In the late 17th century they married into the Ashe family and succeeded to Wawne. The property fell to Anne Windham (d. 1815), in 1780; she married Sir William Smijth, 7th baronet (d. 1823), a landowner in Essex and Norfolk, and was followed at Wawne by her youngest son, Captain Joseph Smijth (1792-1857), a cavalry officer who assumed the name of Windham in 1823. Captain Windham was succeeded in turn by his sons William George (1828-1887), a militia captain and D.L., and Ashe (1830-1909), a judge in Natal. The size of their compact little estate was variously reported: the 'New Domesday' survey gave 3595 acres, rented at £6567; six years later John Bateman doubtfully mentioned 2500 acres and £3000; and in 1897 a county directory stated the Wawne acreage as 3711 of land, 7 of water, 12 of tidal water and 3 of foreshore.²¹

One of the most ancient East Yorkshire families, the St. Quintins, reputedly descended from the Norman Sir Herbert, who was granted Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire land by the Conqueror. A line of feudal barons added Welsh territories in the late 11th century, and in the 14th century a younger son, Sir Alexander, established a long dynasty of knights and squires on his mother's estate at Harpham. In 1642 Sir William was created a baronet, and was followed by generations of county politicians and administrators, but the title died with Sir William, 5th baronet (1729-1795), whose nephew, William Darby (1769-1805) of Scampston Hall, inherited the property and assumed the surname. William's sons, William

²⁰ See John Biggs-Davison, *George Wyndham. A Study in Toryism* (1951), ch.1; A. S. Turberville, *The House of Lords in the Age of Reform, 1784-1837* (1958), 377-378, 390. For a delightful sketch of early 20th-century aristocratic life at Petworth, see Lord Egremont, 'My Uncle Charles' (*The Spectator*, 24 Dec., 1965); *P.P.* 1882, XIV, 884-893; Bateman (1883), 261. On the Northumberland connection, see Lockwood Huntley, *The Yorkshire Percies* (Hull, 1954 edn.) and, on some of the Wyndham estates, Leconfield MSS. (Cockermouth Castle), D/Lec., used by courtesy of the Lord Egremont and the Cumberland, Carlisle and Westmorland Record Office.

²¹ *P.P.* 1874, LXXII: Return of Owners of Land, II, (C.1097), East Riding section, 30; Bateman (1879), 478; Kelly, *op. cit.*, 546; Burke (1937), 2469-2470.

(1797-1859) and Colonel Matthew (1800-1876), and grandson William (1851-1932) maintained the mansions at Scampston and Lowthorpe Lodge. If they scarcely emulated the family's earlier feats, they were substantial squires, pioneer livestock improvers and determined game-preservers at Lowthorpe. They retained the manors of Foston on the Wolds, Thornholme, Gembling, Great Kelk, Harpham, Little Kelk, Lowthorpe, Nafferton, Scampston and Ruston Parva, with land at Folkton; they controlled two livings; and at Scampston they lived in state, with a deer park and ornamental lake. 7,033 acres paid them £10,244 in 1879.²²

"The Legards are just an ordinary County family", their historian modestly wrote:

The only thing at all out of the common about them is that they have existed and passed on the name in the male line in the East Riding of Yorkshire for more than 800 years. They possess another peculiarity. Diligent research has not enabled the writer to find during that long period a single member of the family who has done anything of national importance, or whose name is recorded in history.

Similar remarks could be made about most families; the Churchills are almost unique in producing three famous names in three centuries. And the Legards, claiming Norman origins and for centuries settled at Anlaby, played a part in local history. Christopher Legard refused a knighthood from King Charles I and served with the Parliamentary Army; his son, Sir Robert, was a Master in Chancery. But in 1819 the line died out with Henry Legard, the Riding's Registrar of Deeds, who devised Anlaby to his kinsman, Sir Thomas, 7th baronet.

In 1583 a successful London haberdasher, John Legard (a younger son of the Anlaby family) had bought the Ganton estate. Trade was already as important as ancient descent: John's great-grandson, the Royalist Sir John, was created a baronet in 1660 and represented Scarborough in the Restoration Parliament. Sir John, 2nd baronet, was a commissioner of the Derwent Navigation in 1702; Sir Digby, 5th baronet, was a notable agriculturalist and experimenter with sainfoin; and Sir John, 6th baronet (1762-1808) was an enthusiastic sailor and literary patron. Sir John's brother Thomas (1762-1830), who succeeded him, was an injured Naval officer who shocked the family by marrying his nurse. Another brother, George (1764-1796), was a much-travelled Army colonel, while William (1765-1826) was the hard-drinking Vicar of Ganton and Digby (1766-1838) ably managed and improved the 3,400 acres at Ganton, Potter Brompton, Wykeham and Binnington (and later rented Watton Priory). Sir Thomas' son Thomas (1803-1860) and grandsons Francis (1833-1865), D'Arcy (1843-1866) and Charles (1846-1901) followed, as 8th, 9th and 10th baronets.

Marriage and purchase had gradually increased the Legard property, but from the 18th century family charges led to mortgages

²² Poulson, *Holderness*, I, 266, 268-269; Bateman (1879), 386; Burke (1925), 1543-1544, (1937), 1972; St. Quintin MSS. (DDSQ).

and sales. Escrick land was sold in 1726, to be followed by Owborough property; Kidlands was disposed of in 1862. Taxation was light: Henry Legard paid only £16.3.0. for his Anlaby and Wolfreton property in 1779. But the Rev. William's family was established at Welham and the 8th baronet's brother Henry received Anlaby in 1837. By 1879 Sir Charles possessed only 6,407 North and East Riding acres. Of his £7,551 income, £3,675 came from 2,955 East Yorkshire acres in Ganton, Burton Fleming, Foxholes, Binnington, Swaythorpe and Kilham. He was Conservative M.P. for Scarborough in 1874-1880 and chairman of the East Riding County Council; and he rebuilt Ganton Hall. It was perhaps appropriate that the last of the line should be a Tory racehorse owner and cricketer, who devoted much of his time to voluntary work. His cousin, Sir Algernon, 12th baronet (1842-1923) let the Hall and sold the estate (then covering 6,652 acres) in 1911.²³

²³ Sir J. D. Legard, *op. cit.*, xv *et passim*; Poulson, *Beverlac*, I, 424; R. M. Garnier, *History of the English Landed Interest* (1893), II, 252; Legard MSS., DDRL, 1/76; Bateman (1879), 256; Burke (1963), 1435-1437.

Several 'old' families owned small estates in the 19th-century Riding. For instance, Ralph Creyke's 1,445 acres paid £2,075 in 1873. His family had possessed Yorkshire estates since the 13th century, and from 1447 generations of squires, Cavaliers and Naval officers had lived at Marton. In 1772 Colonel Ralph Creyke (1745-1826) married Jane Langley, daughter of the co-heiress of of Boynton Boynton's Rawcliffe estate. His son Ralph (1776-1828) briefly inherited Rawcliffe and Marton, and was followed by his son Ralph (1813-1858), J.P. and D.L. in the East and West Ridings and a Whig Protectionist in politics. Another Ralph (1849-1908) inherited an increasingly valuable estate from his father: in 1879, 5,272 acres in the West and East Ridings and a single Sussex acre produced £10,425 and £296 respectively, and Goole ground rents considerably augmented these sums. A J.P. for both Ridings and for Middlesex and Westminster, a West Riding D.L. and (in 1894) High Sheriff, Creyke was also a Liberal M.P. for York in 1880-1885. His son sold Marton in 1931.

The Grimstons of Grimston Garth and Kilnwick Hall, with 3,432 acres and an income of £5,108 in the 'seventies, claimed descent from the Conqueror's standard-bearer. Certainly, as Poulson wrote, Grimston had been in the family's possession "for almost countless centuries." Norman knights established their line in East Yorkshire; but, while a junior branch was politically active and eventually received the Verulam earldom in 1815, the Yorkshire Grimstons were generally unassuming country gentlemen. Loyal Cavaliers and occasional holders of county offices, successive generations were content to maintain and improve their estate; forty quarterings on their arms assured their social position. Thomas Grimston (1753-1821) was a popular Tory squire, "an English gentleman of the old school," who raised a troop of cavalry "at a time when the clouds of democracy and revolution were threatening to break over our country" during the French wars. A new mansion was built at Grimston in the 1780's, and the estate was extensively improved and re-planted. Thomas' son Charles (1791-1859), J.P., D.L. and militia colonel, was succeeded in his property, positions and Tory sympathies by his son, Marmaduke Jerard (1826-1879). In 1879 M.J. Grimston's daughters, Mrs. Florence Byrom and Mrs. Rose Hobart, became owners of the ancient manors of Grimston, Garton, and Tunstall, while his brother Walter John, an Artillery major, became nominal head of the family, with 667 acres, and another brother, William, had 592 acres.²⁴

Equally ancient was the Saltmarshe family of Saltmarshe Hall, claiming descent from Sir Lionel (knighted by the Conqueror in 1067) and more probably from Elnard de Salsomarisco ("born

²⁴ Bateman (1879), 108, 190; Poulson, *Holderness*, I, 62, II, *passim*, *Beverlac*, I, 432; 'Return', *op. cit.*, 7, 12. John Grimston of Neswick Hall, Driffeld, owned 2504 acres rented at £3,985 in 1873. The Grimston and Kilnwick family's papers are in the Grimston MSS. (DDGR) and the Kilnwick Estate MSS. (DDKI).

towards the close of the 12th century"). In the later Middle Ages a succession of knights, M.P.s, county officials and justices built up considerable estates, but Thomas (1533-1603) and his grandson Philip (1585-1659) sold much of the family land; indeed, wrote Burke, "for several generations after [Philip's] death the senior branch of the family occupied an inferior position in the county". But careful retrenchment, "sensible" marriages and entries into trade saved the family. Philip (1707-1796), his brother Arthur (1710-1776) and his nephew Philip (1753-1791) bought back some of the property, which passed to the latter Philip's son Philip (1780-1846) and his son Philip (1825-1912), both J.P.s and D.L.s. The little estate at Saltmarshe, Laxton and Kilpin totalled 2,776 acres in the 1870's, when its gross annual value of £4,537 maintained another Tory family, largely composed of Army officers.

At Paull Holme, the Holme family claimed to have owned land since Norman times. The male line ended with Henry (d. 1778) and John (d. 1811), who bequeathed their property at Skeffling and Paull Holme to their grand-nephew, the Rev. Nicholas Torre (1756-1833), the Rector of Rise. The third son of the Rev. James Torre of Snydale and Betty Holme (daughter of Stephen Holme), the Rector assumed the Holme name and arms. He was succeeded by his nephew, the Rev. Henry (1793-1850), who was followed by his son, Captain Bryan (1821-1916). The estate appears to have consisted of about 1,300 acres in Burstall and Skeffling, where the Holmes were lay impropiators and patrons; the rental in 1873 was £1,172.²⁵

Yet another Norman family, the Hildyards, had often earned knighthoods for their long service in Yorkshire's administration. From Winestead they created sizeable estates, adding East Horsley in Surrey in the 17th century; and during the 16th century a junior line was established at Ottringham and gradually obtained the Horsley and Hutton-Bonville estates in North Yorkshire and Durham. But the family fortunes changed. The Hildyards were staunch Cavaliers, and Henry Hildyard "was one of the severest sufferers in the royal cause": the estates were largely lost. Henry's brother Christopher, however, a Royalist commander and gentleman of the Privy Chamber, established a new line at Patrington and was created a baronet in 1660. His successors were often interested in politics: Sir Robert, 2nd baronet, and Sir Robert, 3rd baronet, sat for Hedon and Great Bedwin, and the 4th and last baronet, another Sir Robert (1743-1814), was High Sheriff in 1783. Pitt hoped that the third Sir Robert would champion Yorkshire Toryism against the Whig aristocrats in 1784; but the baronet supported William Wilberforce instead, and nominated him at the famous 1807 election.

The Hildyards energetically improved their property near Patrington Haven. But in 1814 Sir Robert was succeeded by his niece, Anne Whyte, who married Colonel Thomas Thoroton (d. 1830) of Flintham Hall in Nottinghamshire, adopting both surnames. Thoroton-Hildyard continued the family's revival by buying Winestead House and part of its estate, together with

²⁵ Bateman (1879), 387; 'Return' *op. cit.*, 23, 13; Poulson, *Holderness*, II, 488, *seq.*

Patrington and Ottringham land, for £120,000 from Colonel Arthur Maister (1775-1833), the descendant of a Hull mercantile family which had entered the local squirearchy in the 17th century. New planting and the foundation of a school marked the Hildyards' return. The colonel's eldest son, Thomas (1821-1888), however, was more interested in Nottinghamshire, where he was a prominent administrator and Conservative M.P. for the Southern division in 1846-1852 and 1866-1885. He disposed of the Winestead lands for £90,000 to a mortgagee, and the estate eventually passed to Sir James Reckitt, whose family sold it after the first World War. His brothers, Robert (d. 1882) of Coburn Manor, and John, the agent at Winestead and Cherry Burton, maintained Yorkshire interests; John was a promoter of the Hull & Holderness Railway in 1853. The family property was almost equally divided between 2,134 acres in Nottinghamshire and 2,128 in East Yorkshire, paying £3,721 and £2,929 respectively, in 1879. Thomas' son, Thomas (1843-1928), witnessed the breaking-up of the less remunerative property.²⁶

For centuries of Yorkshire history the Vavasour dynasty was important. A long line of Norman knights lived at Hazlewood Castle near Tadcaster and founded several branches. William Vavasour (d. 1452) had two sons, Sir Henry (ancestor of the Hazlewood family), and John, who acquired the de la Hayes' Spaldington estate by marriage in 1431. The male line of the Spaldington family ended with Thomas (d. 1679), whose daughter, Lady Assheton, was succeeded in 1694 by three co-heiresses, Mrs. Anne Trafford, Lady Curzon and Mrs. Catherine Lister. Mrs. Trafford inherited Spaldington and passed it to her daughter Elizabeth (d. 1788), the wife of Mail Yates, who was succeeded by her eldest daughter, Anne Assheton Yates, who, in 1791, married Colonel Henry Nooth. On his marriage, Nooth assumed the name and arms of Vavasour, and in 1801 he was created the first United Kingdom baronet. Thus an ancient name was restored after the property's long descent through female lines. Spaldington and Melbourne passed in 1813 to General Sir Henry, 2nd baronet (1768-1838), who was followed by his son, Sir Henry (1814-1912).

At Hazlewood the family maintained the splendour of the senior line. Sir Henry was High Sheriff in 1470, and Thomas was created a baronet in 1628. Loyalty during the Armada crisis earned immunity for the family's recusant chapel, used by a succession of Roman Catholic baronets. The title died with Sir Thomas, 7th baronet (d. 1826), who had succeeded his brother, Sir Walter, in 1802, after long exile in France, and the estate passed to his cousin, Edward Marmaduke Stourton (1786-1847), second son of the 17th Lord Stourton. A keen Whig and Roman Catholic, Stourton took the name of Vavasour and was created a baronet in 1827. His eldest son, Sir Edward Marmaduke, 2nd baronet (1815-1885), was demented and spent his life at an institution in Dumfries; his guardians, Charles Langdale, George Vavasour and Lord Stourton, had to

²⁶ Poulson, *Holderness*, II, 426-427, 444-447, 465-474; Bateman (1879), 215; Burke (1937), 1112-1114. See also, N. J. Miller, *Winestead and its Lords* (Hull, 1932).

provide sureties that he would return to England on the Lord Chancellor's order. In the 'seventies 4,666 Yorkshire acres paid £5,434 and 3,814 acres in Staffordshire £4,846. The East Riding property totalled only 1,195 acres, with a rental of £1,165. The Vavasours were reticent about their activities, but certainly their land was declining; even the first Sir Edward sold his Langthorpe property to Thomas Ward, a merchant. But if they did not maintain their ancient estate, they firmly maintained their old religion: the 1st baronet died on a pilgrimage to Rome and his grandson, Sir William, 3rd baronet (1846-1915) [son of William Joseph (1822-1860)], served with the Papal Zouaves as well as with the Yorkshire Hussars.²⁷

TABLE 5

INCOME OF THE LANGDALE ESTATE AT HOUGHTON

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Michaelmas, 1848	1,538	14	1	Michaelmas, 1868	1,821	18	6½
Lady Day, 1849	1,460	6	8	Lady Day, 1869	1,825	5	4½
Michaelmas, 1854	1,531	7	7	Michaelmas, 1874	1,851	18	9
Lady Day, 1855	1,442	8	11	Lady Day, 1875	1,889	9	11
Michaelmas, 1858	1,550	12	11	Michaelmas, 1878	1,939	4	6
Lady Day, 1859	1,525	8	3½	Lady Day, 1879	1,836	7	1
Michaelmas 1864	1,574	11	4	Michaelmas, 1882	1,850	2	8
Lady Day, 1865	1,534	5	5½	Lady Day, 1883	1,846	8	6

Edward Stourton's elder brother, William (1776-1846), succeeded his father in 1816 as 18th Lord Stourton, owner of Allerton Park in the West Riding and head of a family with claims to Saxon origins. A third brother, Charles (1787-1868), changed his name to Langdale in 1815, on inheriting the estate of Philip Langdale of Houghton. Charles' mother was the co-heiress of the 5th and last Lord Langdale (d. 1778), and for some time she and his father had lived at the Langdales' old recusant centre at Holme Hall. During the French Revolution Lord Stourton lent Holme to exiled nuns, who were followed as occupiers by successive Stourton sons; Charles inherited Stourton's interest, subject to the proviso that Edward's Hazlewood inheritance should provide a stipulated income. As Hazlewood did not meet the requirement, Charles lost his claim; in the late 1820s the 18th Baron's son, Charles (later 19th Lord) lived at Holme, and from 1829 Charles' youngest brother, Philip Stourton (1793-1860), became the owner, though the involved questions of ownership had to be sorted out by a Chancery case in 1833. Philip was succeeded by his son Henry Joseph (1842-1896), who had 3,151 acres rented at £3,777 in 1879, served with the Yorkshire Hussars and was a County Councillor. H. J. Stourton was succeeded by his daughter, Mrs. F. D. Harford, who gradually sold most of the estate between 1918 and 1923, largely to an estates company. Baroness Herries (Duchess

²⁷ Burke (1846), 1006-1007; Langdale MSS., DDLA, 35/4; Bateman (1879), 449, (1883), 456.

of Norfolk) bought much of the estate in 1924 and five years later sold the Hall to a group of Franciscan nuns who sold it in 1958 to another order. Thus the old house, the haven of persecuted recusants, was saved for modern Roman Catholics.

Despite losing Holme, Langdale owned a pleasant estate at Houghton. Like most of his family in the early 19th century, he was an active Whig politician: he represented Beverley in 1832-1835 and Knaresborough in 1837-1841. This distinguished Roman Catholic layman was also prominent in the promotion of schools and reformatories. His son Charles (1822-1895) married the daughter of Henry Grattan, the celebrated Irish politician, and made Celbridge Abbey in County Meath his principal residence. He owned 3,891 acres in the East Riding, where he was lord of the manors of Sancton and South Cliffe, with a rental of £3,892 in 1873; 2,405 acres in Monaghan, Kildare, Meath and Surrey added £2,234. But the agricultural depression soon affected the Yorkshire rents, and arrears started to mount, from £191 at Michaelmas 1882 to £331 at Lady Day 1883 and £637 at Michaelmas 1883.²⁹

Another ancient family, the Darleys, who claimed descent from a medieval Derbyshire line, had settled at Bridlington in the 16th century. By the early 19th century there were two separate branches: Henry Darley (d.1810) headed the family at Aldby Park, and William Darley (d. 1837), of Gristhorpe Manor in the North Riding, maintained the other line's estate at Muston Lodge. Henry's descent was through his grandmother, Jane Darley, who married Henry Brewster. He owned considerable property: in 1782 William Mothersill valued the 1,335-acre Scrayingham estate and recommended that the rental should be raised by £117.18.8 to £832.18.2., and in the following year Darley received a total of £3,357.4.5 from land at Buttercrambe, Scrayingham, Skirpenbeck, Sand Hutton, Spaunton and Bossall. During the French wars the rents inevitably rose; by 1798 Skirpenbeck's payments had risen from £1122 to £1465 and Spaunton's from £249 to £322, while the estate at Scrayingham was rented at £1,575.19.0., increased to £1,896.10.0. in 1826. Henry's son Henry (1777-1846), J.P., D.L., was High Sheriff in 1827, and his grandson, Henry Brewster (1809-1860), of Aldby Park and Spaunton Manor, and great-grandson, Henry (1839-1904) also served as Tory justices. In 1879 the estates consisted of 4,787 North and East Yorkshire acres, rented at £6,134. The East Riding property, still including Scrayingham and Skirpenbeck (where the Darleys built a school in 1891), produced £3,639 from 2,573 acres. Until 1860 the estates had consisted of property at Aldby, Buttercrambe, Sand Hutton, Scrayingham and Skirpenbeck and at Spaunton, Hutton-le-Hole, Lastingham, Appleton and Rosedale; then a new property was purchased at Skirpenbeck. The land bore thirteen encumbrances, including family charges.

²⁹ Lord Mowbray, Segrave and Stourton, *The History of the Noble House of Stourton* (2 vols., privately printed, 1899); Bateman (1879), 419, 251; Houghton Estate Rental (Langdale MSS., 34/5). On the Holme-on-Spalding Moor estate, see Katherine M. Longley, *Heir of Two Traditions* (privately printed, 1966), *passim*. See also Burke (1925), 1052-1053, (1937), 1326-1327 and Table 5 *supra*.

Unfortunately, it is rarely possible to discover details of such obligatory payments by landed estates. But the Darley property was still growing.²⁹

A final example of an ancient landowning family may fairly indicate the varied fortunes of such dynasties. The Moncktons were descended from medieval landowners, and obtained Caville by a 15th-century marriage. Successive owners extended the estate, but their progress was cut short by the imprisonment and exile of the Cavalier Sir Philip. The family's return to great station was begun by Sir Philip's politician son Robert, a supporter of the 1688 Revolution, whose own son John was created Viscount Galway (of Ireland) in 1727. Thereafter the Moncktons prospered, as politicians, military commanders, financial officials and heirs of Lady Frances Arundel. The 4th Viscount (1752-1810), King George III's Comptroller in 1784-1787, was a notorious drunkard but was sensible enough to marry (secondly) the only daughter of Pemberton Milnes, a prosperous Wakefield merchant who had bought land at Frodingham, Bawtry and Austerfield in 1779; and his daughter married R. P. Milnes of Fryston Hall. The 5th Viscount (1782-1834) inherited Serlby Hall in Nottinghamshire by marriage; the 6th Viscount (1805-1876) married R. P. Milnes' daughter; and the 7th Viscount (1844-1931) drew £1,865 of his income of £7,008 from 1,428 acres at Portington, Cavil and South Newbald, the remainder arising from 5,580 acres in Cornwall, Nottinghamshire and the West Riding. After sitting as Conservative M.P. for North Nottinghamshire in 1872-1885, the 7th Viscount was created Baron Monckton in the United Kingdom peerage in 1887, and was an A.D.C. to Queen Victoria, King Edward VII and King George V from 1897 to 1920. His interests lay mainly in Nottinghamshire, where he was the County Council chairman.³⁰

Of the "oldest" East Riding landed families in the 19th century, few still possessed large estates. In addition to such natural hazards of long succession as the laziness or luxuriousness of particular life tenants and the dishonesty of their servants, some dynasties suffered the penalties of nonconformity, as Cavaliers or Papists. As Dom Hugh Aveling has shown, several families were at least sympathetic to Roman Catholicism.³¹ A host of factors could and did lead other old squirearchic dynasties to sell at least part of their property before the 19th century.

²⁹ Burke (1898), I, 371; Bateman (1879), 115; Darley MSS., DAR. 62, 8, 14.

³⁰ Morris, *op. cit.*, 259; Poulson, *Holderness*, II, 411; Bateman (1879), 173; James Pope-Hennessy, *Monckton Milnes, The Years of Promise* (1949), *passim*; Burke (1963), 980-983.

³¹ Dom Hugh Aveling, *Post Reformation Catholicism in East Yorkshire, 1558-1790* (East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1960).

The Bethells, with 13,395 acres and a gross rental of £17,234 in the 1870s, were among the larger 19th-century proprietors. Descended from a Herefordshire family, they settled in Holderness in the early 17th century, when Sir Hugh Bethell's brother Roger purchased the Rise estate. His great-grandson brought Watton Priory to the family by marriage, thus firmly establishing the Bethells in county society. Through the 18th century Bethells served as High Sheriff and in other public positions. From Commonwealth times they entered politics, representing Hedon, Beverley or the county. Richard (1772-1864), who succeeded his kinsman William in 1799, was a liberal Tory who declined a poll at York in 1826 for the county election but accepted the Reform Bill as M.P. in 1830-1831. From 1832 to 1841 he was a Conservative Member for the Riding. He was High Sheriff in 1822 and for many years chairman of the Riding Quarter Sessions. His brother Christopher (1773-1859) was successively Bishop of Gloucester, Exeter and Bangor, while George (d. 1857) was Senior Fellow of Eton and father of Richard's successor, William Froggatt (1809-1879), J.P., D.L. and High Sheriff in 1875. W. F. Bethell's eldest son, William (1847-1926) was a J.P. in both East and West Ridings, while George (1849-1919), a Naval Commander, of Sigglesthorne Lodge, was Conservative M.P. for Holderness in 1885-1900, and Colonel Edward (1854-1940), an Army engineer, earned a D.S.O. in the Boer War.

From Rise Park—where the old mansion was demolished in 1815 and a large new house, with 130 acres of park, 120 of woods and 20 of fish ponds, was built in 1820—the Bethells controlled a considerable part of Holderness. The estate gradually grew, partly by purchase from such notables as the Constables and the Duke of Portland, and the family became lords of the manors of Catwick, Hornsea with Burton, Leven, Rise, Long Riston, Catfoss, Great Hatfield, North Skirlaugh, Arnold, Withernwick, Rowton, Dringhoe, North Frodingham, Carlton, Hallitreeholme and (jointly) Sigglesthorne, and owners in Bewick, Burshill, Brandesburton, Ellerby, Watton and Tansterne. They took an active interest in their land. Their generosity aided the churches at Leven, Rise, Watton and Long Riston: they energetically supported 18th-century turnpiking; in 1802 they cut the little canal at Leven; and, as Tory agriculturalists, they played a prominent part in county affairs.²²

Several other families became East Yorkshire landowners during the era of land sales in the 17th century. For instance, although the Barnards were proprietors in Hedon, Preston and Burstwick in the 13th century, their successors, the Bolderos (who assumed the Barnard surname) were "new" owners in the Riding (while claiming descent from a Dane named Balder, who was supposed to have settled in Suffolk in the 9th century). Nineteenth-century Barnards

²² Poulson, *Holderness*, I, 402, 408-410, 416 *et passim*; Kelly, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Bean, *op. cit.*, 660, 665-666, 668; A. Gooder, *The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York* (Yorks. Arch. Soc., 1938) II, 119; Bethell MSS., DDRI, 41/5, 45/7; Bateman (1879), 38; Burke (1898), I, 106, (1925), 128, (1937), 151-152.

descended from John Boldero of Bury St. Edmunds, whose grandson Daniel moved to York in the late 17th century and married the heiress of the Gales of Cornbrough. The family continued to extend its property, largely by marriage: Daniel's son, Edward Gale Boldero, married the heiress of the Leuyns family of Eske. The old Barnard line had ended with some distinction: Sir Edward, of North Dalton, knighted by King Charles II, was a 17th-century Recorder of Beverley and Hull. On the death of his youngest son, Dr. Henry (1675-1769), the property passed to the heirs of his eldest daughter, Margaret, who married (secondly) William Leuyns. One of Leuyns' three daughters married E. G. Boldero, and in 1769 their son Leuyns (1708-1783) assumed the name of Barnard on inheriting the aged Doctor's property. L. B. Barnard had already purchased the manor paramount of South Cave with East Hall in 1748 and the neighbouring manor of Faxfleet in 1750 and had enclosed and replanted the property. His son Henry (1755-1815) bought the remaining South Cave manor (West Hall) in 1785, "modernised and enlarged the house, and was looked upon as a model country gentleman"; he laid out new grounds in 1787, and in 1791 rebuilt Cave Castle as the family seat. Henry's uncles were London bankers.

The Barnards were lords of the manors of Broomfleet and Walkington. And manorial rights still produced some income; in 1802 the court baron and customary court of the manor of Walkington Provost Fee admitted John Jenkinson as a customary tenant on payment of a fine of £12 and in 1816 fined his neighbour Elizabeth Ranson £10. Henry Barnard married the co-heiress of Roger Gee of Bishop Burton, and was succeeded by his son, Captain Henry Gee Boldero (1789-1858) of the Scots Greys, who was followed by his nephew Charles Edward Gee Boldero (1822-1894). In 1879 Barnard's 2,735 acres paid £4,812, but at his death 2,497 acres produced £3,752. He was a generous patron of the church and charities of South Cave, and the tradition was maintained by his daughter Ursula (b. 1869). In 1910 the principal value of the estate was estimated at £83,725.2.0.³³

The Bower family, Bridlington merchants from Tudor times, first rose to social prominence through William Bower in the 17th century. Bower's sons bought land at Killerby, Bawtry, Whitby and Scorton, and in 1749 the third son, Robert (d. 1777) of Sleights, purchased the Nendick family's property at Welham and Sutton, adding the Hebblethwaites' manorial rights at Norton ten years later. His grand-nephew, Robert (1767-1835) of Scorton, succeeded him at Welham and was an active squire, Militia major, D.L. and the builder of the Norton parochial cottages. Major Bower was a Tory, bravely prepared to stand up against the Fitzwilliam influence in Malton. In 1807 the Whig Lord Dundas and Tory Lord Headley had defeated Bryan Cooke (a Whig) and Isaac Leatham (a Tory), but a Commons Committee declared that neither Headley nor Cooke was elected. "On [that] occasion," Bower later explained,

³³ Burke (1898), 69, (1937), 103; J. G. Hall, *A History of South Cave* (Hull, 1892), 1-63, *seq.*; Oliver, *op. cit.*, 503; Walkington records in the possession of Prof. S. G. E. Lythe; Barnard MSS., DDBA, 4/79, 84; Bateman (1879), 24.

. . . Lord Headley was supported by many Clergymen and Gentlemen of the neighbourhood of Malton, and amongst others by Major Bower; the Cause was a common one to the Party who then accompanied and assisted Lord Headley . . . It was stated to Lord Headley and his Supporters by Counsel that if [Colonel Cooke] offered himself on the vacancy . . . he could not sit, and that if any person opposed his Election, although such person might be in a Minority of Votes, on a petition to the House he would be declared the sitting member. A Meeting was held by Lord Headley and his Friends at which it was determined, in order to keep his Lordship's interest alive, that Colonel Cooke should be opposed. The question was who should be the Man. Major Bower, with great reluctance yielded to the general Solicitation and became the opponent of Colonel Cooke. Most of the parties were then in London, and it was explicitly declared to the Major that the Cause was common to them all, and so should be the cost. The Major left London immediately, arrived in Malton, opposed Colonel Cooke, [and] petitioned the House of Commons against the Colonel's return, but the Committee of the House decided that he should be the sitting Member. The proceedings cost somewhere about £2,800.

Headley's party had raised a subscription, to which Headley gave £2,800, Sir Mark Sykes £2,800, Christopher Sykes £2,800 and Bower £3,000; but under £500 was given to the Major, who had spent £180 on travelling, over £2,300 net on the election and £3,000 on the subscription. As his memorial asserted, "the Major's feelings were hurt." This sad experience discouraged further rashness of any sort.

Major Bower's successors, his son, grandson and great-grandson, Robert (1798-1869), Robert Hartley (1832-1886) and Sir Robert Lister (1860-1929) served in the county administration or the Army, and R. H. Bower was an unsuccessful Conservative candidate for Malton in 1874. The Welham rents fluctuated: in 1842 a half-year's rental of £1,175.9.0. was fully paid, but in 1851 only £956.16.0. was received of £1,140.16.0 due. As the mid-century depression lifted and rents were temporarily reduced, matters improved: in 1853 all £1,077.8.0. was collected. In the 1870s, 1,391 acres paid £2,654 annually, to which 778 North Riding acres added £1,447. But the "agricultural depression" of the late century was fatal to the little estate; only previous surpluses kept its accounts balanced. By 1891, when rates, taxes and insurance took only £104.14.2, mortgage interest totalled £2,708.1.9. In 1890, 1,418 acres, rented at £2,697 were sold, and the sales continued. Pictures were disposed of in 1891 and more land was lost in 1894 and 1898. In October 1902 the rest of Welham was sold.³⁴

³⁴ Bower MSS., DDBR, 4/41, 45, 46, 47, 38; Bean, *op. cit.* 937-938, 940; N.A. Hudleston, *History of Malton and Norton* (Scarborough, 1962), 134, 149-153, 190-194; Burke (1898), I, 153, (1925), 184, (1965), 84-85. Sir Robert was Chief Constable of the North Riding, and his son, Commander R. T. Bower, R.N., was M.P. for Cleveland in 1931-1945. See also Table 6.

TABLE 6

WELHAM ESTATE ACCOUNTS

	INCOME						EXPENDITURE					
	1890-1		1891		1891-2		1890-1		1891		1891-2	
Rents	2,461	14 6	669	0 6	1,293	6 0	3,257	16 11	387	8 7	1,531	17 0
Total	2,465	3 10	694	18 6	1,578	8 3						
	1892-3		1894		1895		1892-3		1894		1895	
Rents	1,322	1 5	1,003	13 6	465	16 10	1,895	2 7	1,015	16 8	218	13 7
Total	1,473	19 5	1,003	13 6	465	16 10						
	1897		1898		1899		1897		1898		1899	
Rents	452	18 0	440	12 0	199	11 0	466	11 10	585	17 0	220	12 2
Total	452	18 0	440	12 0	405	13 10						
	1902						1902					
Rent	199	11 0					364	9 3				
Total	414	8 6										

In 1890-91 the figures were computed in June; the 1891 figures cover only June to November; 1891-1893 figures were computed in November; later figures are annual. Previous balances are not included.

In 1685 Thomas Dunnington established his family as owners at Thorganby and West Cottingwith, and in 1812 his great-grandson John (1759-1840) added the name of Jefferson, on inheriting the Howden property originally bought by Peter Jefferson in the 17th century. John's brother Joseph (1769-1835) was the father of the Rev. Joseph (1807-1880), who adopted the double surname in 1841. Canon Dunnington-Jefferson was Vicar of Thorganby on the estate, and from Thicket Priory, with its 150-acre park, he controlled 7,278 acres in 1873, with a rental of £10,936, along with 533 West Riding acres worth £1,067. He was lord of the manors of Bellasize, Eastrington, Gilberdyke, Harlthorpe, Newport and Thorganby, patron of two livings and an owner in Barlby, Bubwith, Ellerby, Howden, Newbald and North Duffield. These properties passed to his sons, Joseph John of Thicket and Captain Mervyn of Middlethorpe Hall.

Sir Thomas Norcliffe, a barrister descended from an old West Riding family, bought an estate at Langton in 1618 and obtained by marriage into the Bamburghs the manor of Eddlethorpe and half of Howsham. His son and grandson were both knighted, and the family provided several county leaders and continued to marry "well". On the death of Thomas (1694-1768) the estates passed to his niece, Mary Wray, who married Sir James Innes, adding the Norcliffe surname. In 1812 Sir James became 5th Duke of Roxburghe, but on Lady Innes-Norcliffe's death five years previously Langton had passed to her nephew, Thomas Dalton (1756-1820), who assumed the family name. Colonel (Dalton) Norcliffe commanded the York Volunteers and married the heiress of a Leeds merchant, William Wilson of Gledhow Hall. His son, Major General Norcliffe Norcliffe (1791-1862), was predeceased by his only son and was succeeded by his niece, Rosamund Best (1808-1881), who married Henry Robinson of York but took the style of Mrs. Norcliffe. At Langton, Howsham, Scrayingham, Westow and Eddlethorpe Mrs. Norcliffe owned 3,528 acres rented at £4,550 in 1879. She was followed at Langton Hall and Petergate House by her sons Charles (1833-1896), of Durham University, Thomas (1845-1903) and Francis (1851-1912) and daughter, Mrs. Gwyn (1836-1916).

The Wilsons into whom Colonel Norcliffe married owed their fortune to Richard, a 17th century Leeds merchant, whose eldest son married a Sykes daughter. The senior branch produced an 18th-century Recorder of Leeds, a Bishop of Bristol and Richard Fountayne Wilson (1783-1847), Tory M.P. for Yorkshire in 1826-1830, whose son Andrew assumed the name of Montagu and became a large landowner in five counties. The family thus provided a remarkable example of the 'social' development of a merchant to a well-established squire. Richard's second son, Joshua, was a Danzig merchant whose grandson Joshua (1705-1778) marked the success of the junior line by buying the Crofton Hall estate near Wakefield. In the 1870s the Crofton family drew £3,229 from 2,015 Yorkshire acres, including £1,241 from 977 acres in the East Riding, where Henry Smithson Lee Wilson (b. 1840) owned Kilham.

A 17th-century Hull merchant, Thomas Broadley, founded another squirearchical dynasty. His grandson Thomas and great-grandson Thomas (d. 1784) bought land in Sutton, Stoneferry, Ferriby and Hull, and the estate was further extended by the third Thomas' sons, John and Robert (d. 1812) and their nephews, the Rev. Thomas (d. 1815), John (1774-1833) of Kirk Ella and Henry (1793-1851) of Welton and Ferriby. The three brothers were the sons of Henry Broadley (d. 1797), a Naval officer who married the heiress of John Jarratt of Beverley in 1774. John established a line at Kirk Ella, but Henry succeeded Thomas in the principal estate, sat as Conservative M.P. for the Riding in 1837-1851 and was first chairman of the Hull and Selby Railway Company from 1836 to 1843. Henry's property passed to his fifth sister, Sophia (d. 1864) on whose death it fell to William Henry Harrison (1820-1896), son of his third sister, Mary (d. 1831) and Dr. William Henry Harrison (d. 1829) of Conyngnam Hall. Harrison added the name of Broadley in 1865 and became a man of importance in the Riding. He was a colonel of the Yorkshire Hussars, a J.P. and D.L., High Sheriff in 1867 and Conservative M.P. for the Riding from 1868 to 1885. From his homes at Welton House, Tickton Grange and in Hengate, Beverley, he ruled over 14,877 acres, with a gross rental of £23,378 in the 'seventies. He was lord of the manors of Elloughton, Brough, Newbald, Rowley, Little Weighton, Welton and Melton, patron of four livings (including Welton, where his aunt had restored the church) and an owner in twenty-six places. Like so many of his family, he died unmarried. His brother, Lieutenant-General Broadley Harrison (1821-1890), predeceased him, and the Colonel was succeeded by the General's son, Henry Broadley Harrison-Broadley (1853-1914), Conservative M.P. for Howdenshire in 1906-1914 and colonel of the volunteers.³⁵

London trade first raised the Clitherow family in the social hierarchy. Sir Christopher was Sheriff, M.P. and Lord Mayor of the City in the reign of King Charles I, and his descendants for long moved among the upper mercantile families of the capital, living from the 17th century at Boston House, Brentford. In the early 19th century the estates passed to Emma Elizabeth Clitherow (d. 1863), eighth child of Christopher, of Essenden, who married John Stracey of Sprowston in Norfolk, fourth son of Sir Edward Stracey. Both families were related to the Brooksbanks of Healaugh, and Stracey's son, Colonel Edward John Stracey-Clitherow (1820-1900) of the Scots Guards, inherited a sizeable property. He was a J.P. in Middlesex, Norfolk and Gloucestershire and owned 5,751 acres in six counties, with a gross income in 1879 of £9,865, of which £3,836 arose from the 2,555-acre East Riding estate at Hotham Hall. But although he was lord of the manors of Hotham and North Cave and an owner in Drewton and Newport, the colonel apparently did not take much interest in Yorkshire affairs; he was High Sheriff of Middlesex in 1889 and lived mainly at Boston House.

³⁵ Thomas Blashill, *Sutton-in-Holderness* (Hull, 1896), 161, 207, 221-223, 260; Burke (1898), I, 170-171, (1937), 242-243; Bateman (1879), 54; Bean, *op. cit.*, 665-667.

The Duncombes were an old family in Buckinghamshire and Surrey, until Sir Charles (d. 1715), Lord Mayor of London in 1708, made a City fortune and bought Duncombe Park in the North Riding for £190,000. Sir Charles' brother Anthony was father of Anthony, Lord Feversham (d. 1763), but the estate passed to the knight's sister, Mary, who, with her husband, Thomas Brown of London, assumed the surname of Duncombe. The Browns' son Thomas was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1728, and thereafter the Duncombes played a leading rôle among Yorkshire landowners. In 1746 Thomas was succeeded by his son Thomas (d. 1799), who was followed by his brother Charles Slingsby (d. 1803), while another brother, Henry (1729-1818) of Copgrove, was a Pittite M.P. for the county in 1780-1796 and William Wilberforce's Yorkshire steward. C. S. Duncombe's eldest son, Charles (1764-1841) was created Lord Feversham in 1826, and his second son, Thomas, settled at Copgrove and was father of the dandified Radical politician Thomas Slingsby Duncombe (1796-1861,) who sold the West Riding estate to pay off his debts. The Baron's eldest son, William (1798-1867) was Tory M.P. for Grimsby from 1820, Yorkshire in 1826-1831 and the North Riding in 1832-1841, a Protectionist and an industrial reformer. Two younger sons were also Conservative politicians. Admiral Arthur (1806-1889), who married the co-heiress of John Wilmer Field of Heaton Hall near Bradford, sat for Retford in 1830-1832 and 1835-1851 and for the East Riding in 1851-1868, was High Sheriff in 1874 and was a D.L. of the Riding and a J.P. in the North Riding, Middlesex and Westminster. He settled at Kilnwick Percy, and in 1879 drew £12,653 from 8,302 acres in the North and East Ridings. His brother, Colonel Octavius (1817-1879) of the Life Guards, represented the North Riding in 1841-1859 and 1867-1874, owned 7,978 acres in four counties, worth £9,075 a year, and was High Sheriff of Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire in 1866. The brothers' nephew William Ernest (1829-1915), the 3rd Baron and 1st Earl of Feversham, represented the North Riding from 1859 until succeeding in 1867 and had previously sat for Retford in 1852-1857; and his son, Lord Helmsley (1852-1881) sat for the North Riding in 1874-1881, while the Admiral's son, Arthur, was the first M.P. for Howdenshire in 1885. Later members of the family continued this political tradition.

This Tory dynasty, with fortunes based on trade, had become a great power, both territorially and politically, in Yorkshire, and particularly in the North Riding, where the 1st Earl drew £34,328 from 39,312 acres in 1879. Admiral Duncombe was a respected figure in East Yorkshire. His 4,483 East Riding acres were rented at £7,235 in 1873, and he left a considerable property to his eldest son, Major-General Charles Wilmer Duncombe (1838-1911), a distinguished cavalry officer. The Duncombes were lords of the manors of Allerthorpe, Barmby-on-the-Moor, Kilnwick Percy, Pocklington and Waplington, and owners at Ousethorpe. In 1919 the Admiral's youngest son, George Augustus (1848-1933), a Yorkshire banker, was created a baronet.³⁶

³⁶ Burke (1845), 393-394, (1963), 914-916; Bateman (1879), 138, 158, (1883), 143, 163; 'Return', *op. cit.*, 9, (N.R. Section), 12-13; Bean, *op. cit.*, 661-664, 691, 698; T. H. Duncombe, *Life and Correspondence of T. S. Duncombe* (2 vols., 1868).

In 1629 Richard Osbaldeston (d. 1640), a prominent lawyer and member of an old Lancashire family who married two Yorkshire heiresses in succession, bought the manor of Hunmanby. He became the Irish Attorney-General in 1636 and was knighted in 1637. His Cavalier son William (1631-1707) built the Hall, and the family subsequently played varied rôles, providing M.P.s and mayors for Scarborough and an 18th-century Bishop of London. On Fountayne Osbaldeston's death in 1770, his great-nephew Humphrey Brooke (1745-1835) of Gateforth inherited both the estate and the surname. H. B. Osbaldeston amalgamated the Osbaldeston, Brooke and Pockley (of Brayton) estates, served as High Sheriff in 1781, commanded the Dickering Volunteers, enclosed and improved Hunmanby (aided by his famous agent, Isaac Leatham), founded a Lancastrian school and (like his celebrated relative, "Squire" George Osbaldeston of Hutton Buscel) was a popular sportsman. In 1835 his paternal properties passed to his daughters (and eventually to H. B. Firman of Gateforth), while Hunmanby fell to Bertram Mitford (1777-1842) of Mitford Castle in Northumberland, who was followed by his brother, Admiral Robert (1781-1870), a generous and popular squire. The Admiral's daughter, Lady Amhurst of Hackney, inherited the Reighton and Muston land, but the bulk of the estate passed to Colonel John Osbaldeston-Mitford (1809-1895). On Bertram Osbaldeston-Mitford's succession in 1835 the East Yorkshire property consisted of land in Muston, North Burton, Hunmanby, "the estate in the vicinity of Pocklington" and in Holderness; land at Askern and Brayton was sold in 1836 for £4,000 and £2,355 respectively. The income arose from varied sources. Hunmanby Fair provided £3.19.4½d. in October 1835, £1.15.8 in May 1836 and £2.6.0 in November 1836, from charges for stalls and cattle. Tithes, rents and other charges produced a total of £7,891.9.2½d. between October 1835 and December 1836. In 1838 the rental amounted to £8,957.7.6 (excluding some sources). A half-year's rental of the Hunmanby, Holderness and Pocklington properties, with cottage rents at Filey, amounted to £5,143.4.0 at Michaelmas 1839, when Hunmanby owed £2,615.5.0, Holderness £1,955.15.0 and Pocklington £535.19.0. In 1879 Colonel Osbaldeston-Mitford still received £10,023 from 8,052 acres in Fordon, Filey, Foxholes, Hunmanby, Muston, Wold Newton (of which manors he was the lord) and Burton Fleming. His 4,620 Northumbrian acres then produced £4,330. The Colonel preferred the Mitford property, and the Hunmanby estate was gradually sold.³⁷ The Hall became a Methodist boarding school for girls, while Duncombe Park became an Anglican boarding school.

³⁷ Lucy M. Owston, *Hunmanby . . . A Story of Ten Centuries* (Scarborough, 1948), *passim*; Osbaldeston and Mitford MSS., DDHU, 19/18, 19, 20; Bateman (1879), 305; 'Return', *op. cit.*, 18-19, (Northumberland Section), 9.

Some well-established landowning families received infusions of new energy and capital from commercial connections. While younger sons entered business houses, eldest sons often married into rising mercantile families. An example of changing fortunes was provided by the old Yarburgh family. Edmund (d. 1631) of Balne Hall, bought West Riding land at Campsall in 1625, which passed to his younger son, Thomas, ancestor of the Cooke-Yarboroughs of Campsmount. The elder son, Sir Nicholas of Snaith Hall, was a Royalist High Sheriff; his son, Sir Thomas, was M.P. for Pontefract; and his grandson James, godson of King James II, obtained the Heslington estate by marriage into the Heskeths. But in the 19th century the Yarburgh property passed to the descendant of a prominent merchant.

A Manchester and Leeds merchant, Gamaliel Lloyd (d. 1749) established several lines of landed gentry (who later traced their ancestry to the ancient Kings of Powis). His son George, F.R.S. (d. 1783) bought Lancashire and West Riding estates. A dual involvement was maintained, however; George's eldest son, John, founded a line of Warwickshire squires, while his brothers Gamaliel (1744-1817), George and Thomas (1750-1828) served apprenticeships in Leeds firms. But Gamaliel later lived fashionably in London (and his son, William Horton (1784-1849), a landowner in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Derbyshire, established another dynasty, which acquired Strancally Castle in Waterford by marriage); George settled at Stockton Hall; and Thomas rented Horsforth Hall, while his son George (1786-1844) established the family at Cowsby Hall, near Northallerton. In 1810 George of Stockton's son George (1787-1857) married the co-heiress of John Greame of Sewerby House. Thereafter, the Lloyds made even more rapid progress. In 1857 George's son, George John (1811-1875), assumed the name of Yarburgh, on inheriting Heslington. He left 9364 acres in all three Ridings, with a rental of £10,010, to his son-in-law, George William Bateson de Yarburgh (1823-1893), brother of the Conservative politician Sir Thomas Bateson, 2nd baronet (1819-1890), owner of 17,373 Irish acres rented at £14,888, who was created Baron Deramore in 1885. Bateson de Yarburgh succeeded to his brother's titles in 1890. His own 5668 East Yorkshire acres, principally around Heslington and Water Fulford, paid £5,082. His son, Robert, the 3rd Baron (1865-1936), inherited the Yorkshire and Irish estates.

While G. J. Lloyd inherited Heslington, his brother, the Rev. Yarburgh Gamaliel (1813-1890), inherited Sewerby in 1867, thus becoming another considerable landowner. In 1873 his 4899 East Yorkshire acres yielded £7,081, and six years later 7000 North and East Riding acres paid £7,756. The Greames had long taken great interest in their property at Bridlington, Etherdwick, Argam, Bampton, Little Hatfield, Towthorpe, Great Kelk, Little Ruston, Sewerby and Grindale. Squirearchical benevolence was bestowed on the Priory Church and Christ Church at Bridlington, the

churches at Sewerby and Grindale, the Bridlington Cottage Hospital and Sewerby and Grindale schools. The clergyman-squire was succeeded by his son, Yarburgh George, a J.P. in the East and North Ridings and a colonel of the Yorkshire Artillery, whose third son, Philip, became a distinguished Conservative politician in the 20th century. In 1924 Philip Lloyd-Greame took the name of Cunliffe-Lister. He was created Viscount Swinton in 1935 and Earl of Swinton twenty years later, after holding many leading ministerial posts.³⁸

In the 1870s Colonel Benjamin Blaydes Haworth-Booth (1823-1901), of Hullbank House and Rolston Hall, drew £5,267 from 2560 acres at Great Hatfield, Mappleton and Rolston. The Haworths had owned Hullbank since the 17th century, marrying into such Hull district families as the Blaydes and Booths. In 1836 Benjamin (1796-1868) consolidated under single ownership the family's Yorkshire and Lincolnshire lands. Meanwhile, William Booth (1722-1783), Marshall of the Admiralty Court, had spent part of his legal fortune on land at Mappleton. In 1822 his widow bequeathed it to her niece, Theresa Arneman, the heiress of Rolston, who married Haworth in the same year. The eldest son of this marriage, Colonel Haworth-Booth, had 451 acres (rented at £386) in 1873; the remaining 2,109 acres belonged to his mother until her death in 1880. A J.P. and D.L. in the North and East Ridings, a barrister of the Inner Temple and commandant of the Yorkshire Artillery Volunteers, he was the unsuccessful Liberal candidate for the East Riding in 1868.³⁹

The Wood family moved into the Riding as a stage in their long escape from industrialism, when Sir Francis Lindley Wood, 2nd baronet (1771-1846), bought the Garrowby estate in 1803. An old Yorkshire line, the Woods reputedly descended from one Robert de Bosco and were established as landowners by George Wood's purchase of the manor of Monk Bretton near Barnsley in 1610; their most famous early member was Prior Robert of Bridlington, who was executed after the Pilgrimage of Grace. In the 18th century the family became owners of Hemsworth and Bowling in the West Riding, and in 1784 Francis (1729-1795)—who married the heiress of Anthony Ewer, a Holderness and Hertfordshire squire—was created a baronet. His nephew and successor, a Yorkshire Whig leader, considerably changed the family's estates. He bought Garrowby as a shooting-box, sold smoky Bowling in 1816 and purchased Hickleton Hall near Doncaster in 1829. Sir Charles, 3rd baronet (1800-1885), was an important (though not always successful) Whig Minister and in 1865 was created Viscount Halifax. In 1873 he owned 2,730 acres worth £3,821 around Hickleton and 7,326 East Riding acres (then producing £8,194) mainly at Bugthorpe, Garrowby, Kirby Underdale and Youlthorpe.

³⁸ Burke (1898), II, 1653, [Ireland], 267-269; *ibid.*, I, 910-911, 914-915; (1956), 627-628; (1963), 2366-2368, 704-705; Bateman (1879), 27, 186, 267, 487, (1883), 493. See Lord Swinton, James Margach, *Sixty Years of Power* (1966); Lloyd-Greame MSS. (DDLG).

³⁹ Burke (1898), I, 141; Poulson, *Holderness*, I, 365-367; 'Return', *op. cit.*, 13; Bateman (1879), 208; Bean, *op. cit.*, 667, 699.

The Viscount's descendants have been distinguished in various ways. The 2nd Viscount (1839-1934) was a distinguished Anglo-Catholic leader, a celebrated collector of ghost stories and, in his brave attempts to reconcile the Anglican and Roman Communions, a precursor of the ecumenical movement. The 3rd Viscount (1881-1959), created Earl of Halifax in 1944, was a prominent Conservative statesman, diplomat and Viceroy of India. In his memoirs, the Earl recalled not only great international events but also his childhood in late Victorian Yorkshire. His family fondly tended its land, and Garrowby—once used for brief annual visits “in time to eat a Wold stubble-fed goose, on Michaelmas day”—became a favourite residence, which was extended after 1892.⁴⁰ A title selected in honour of the 1st Viscount's West Riding constituency perhaps disguised the family's East Yorkshire connections. Members have continued to play important rôles in both Riding and national affairs.

⁴⁰ Joseph Wilkinson, *Worthies, Families and Celebrities of Barnsley and the District* (1883), 17-19; William Cudworth, *Histories of Bolton and Bowling . . .* (Bradford, 1891), 173-179; J. G. Lockhart, *Charles Lindley, Viscount Halifax* (1935), I, *passim*; Earl of Halifax, *Fulness of Days* (1957), Earl of Birkenhead, *Halifax. The Life of Lord Halifax* (1965), *passim*; Return, *op. cit.*, 12, (W.R. section) 42; Bateman (1879), 194, (1883), 200.

Trading profits permitted several other families to become landowners in the 18th and 19th centuries. In Yorkshire (if not always elsewhere) such new families were rapidly assimilated into the county's hierarchical society. In the 1870's for instance, Captain Thomas Henry Preston (1817-1906) of Moreby Hall drew £6,894 from 5,142 East Riding acres and £431 from 206 acres in West Yorkshire. An old Etonian, Hussar officer, J.P. in both Ridings and D.L. of the East, keen agriculturalist and member of the Carlton Club, Captain Preston was a well-established squire. He had land at Moreby, Kelfield, Great Kelk, Holme-on-Spalding Moor and Stillingfleet, and his relatives owned further Yorkshire property. But the socially-impeccable accoutrements rested on the Leeds fortunes of 17th-century Prestons, particularly John (d. 1710), the Mayor in 1692; and the family proudly recorded its mercantile origins. John's elder son, Croft, was Mayor in 1715, and the younger son, William (1691-1771) bought a West Riding estate at Flasby Hall. Thomas, a younger son of the Flasby line, settled at Moreby, which passed to his nephew Henry (d. 1857), father of T. H. Preston and of Baroness de Langen. The 'social' changes from trade to landownership had obviously been made quickly but thoroughly; the family moved in High Society and helped to administer the county. Equally surely, squirearchical Prestons had dropped entrepreneurial theories of profit maximisation. In 1882 Jonathan Dunn, a Kelfield tenant, gloomily complained of depression, competition, tithes commutation, railway charges and insecurity. But he had "perfect freedom of cultivation" and considered the basis of rent assessment was fair under Preston, who "had not raised rents for many years."⁴¹

In 1782 a Jamaica merchant at Liverpool, Richard Watt (1751-1803), bought the manor of Bishop Burton from the trustees of Roger Gee, whose family, themselves descended from a Hull merchant, had owned it since the early 17th century. Fifteen years later he also purchased the Lancashire manor of Speke. Public office soon followed: Watt's successors, his nephew Richard (d. 1812) and grand-nephew Richard (1786-1855) both served as High Sheriff. The third Richard divided his estates: Speke passed to his eldest son, Richard, and the Yorkshire land at Bishop Burton, Molescroft and Walkington fell to the second son, Francis (1813-1869), High Sheriff in 1865. The Watts were keen sportsmen and notable racehorse owners: they long retained the skeletons of 'Blacklock' and 'Muta', and the village inn was named after 'Altisidora'. And they were proud of their property. Francis restored the church chancel in 1865, and his brother and successor William (d. 1874) continued the building of the High Hall and augmented the almshouse income. William was followed by his grand-nephew, Ernest Richard Bradley Hall-Watt (1865-1908), the son of John Hall (1835-1868), of Scorbrough Hall and Walkington, by his wife

⁴¹ Bateman (1879), 361; 'Return', *op. cit.*, 21, (W.R. section), 77; Burke (1898), II, 1210, (1952), 2074.

Mary, daughter of W. B. Wainman of Carhead. At the age of ten Hall-Watt owned 4,798 acres, with a rental of £9,232. A Conservative and High Sheriff in 1896, he completed the Hall, enlarged the churchyard and re-endowed the living. He was a pioneer motoring enthusiast and was killed in a car accident in France. His widow, Julia Philadelphia Cayley, was a notable relict of the old rural order. But the Hall-Watts' connection with their beautiful property gradually drew to a close. The new squire, Richard, was killed on active service in 1916, and the estate was sold in the 1930s.⁴²

During the early 19th century John Ravis (d. 1844), an Alderman of Hull, built up a sizeable estate in the North and East Ridings around his seat at Newstead House near Malton. His nephew and successor, Thomas Edward (1813-1878), J.P., D.L., had 8,300 acres in the two Ridings and a rental of £12,702 in the 'seventies, when the 6,654 acres at Cowlam, Kilham, Grindalythe and Norton paid £8,265. T. E. Ravis' sons, John William (1843-1869) and Thomas, were, like him, Hussars officers. His property passed to his twelve-year-old grandson, Thomas William Preston.

The Dent family also became important landowners during the 19th century. In 1834 Joseph Tricket (1791-1875) assumed the name of Dent, on inheriting the estate of his maternal uncle, Jonathan Dent. With a little property at Tibthorpe and land in Lincolnshire, he obtained a large fortune which he largely spent on buying farms. In 1835 he purchased Ribston Hall and 4,175 West Riding acres from Sir Francis Holyoake-Goodricke, and the ancient house became his principal residence. But he also extended the East Riding and Lincolnshire properties. In December 1836 he bought 979 acres at Lissett from the heirs of William Beverley of Beverley, and he later added 551 acres at Gembling. At his death, the old squire owned 6,324 acres in Yorkshire and 2,130 in Lincolnshire, rented at £10,962 and £3,608 respectively. His 1,745 acres in Gembling, Lissett, Menethorpe and Tibthorpe produced £2,481. His son and successor, John Dent Dent (1826-1894) was a Liberal M.P. for Knaresborough in 1852-1857 and Scarborough in 1857-1859 and 1860-1874, but rejected some farmers' appeal to fight the hopeless Riding constituency in 1880. He was a man of many talents, becoming chairman of the new West Riding County Council, president of the Royal Agricultural Society in 1881-1882 and chairman of the North-Eastern Railway from 1880 to 1894; he was both a prominent agriculturalist and a considerable investor (as his father had been) in the railways. His brother, Major H. F. Dent of Bedale and Menethorpe, was a celebrated sportsman.⁴³

⁴² Burke (1898), II, 1556; K. A. MacMahon, *Bishop Burton . . . A Brief Survey* (n.p., 1951), *passim*; Oliver, *op. cit.*, 494-495; Bateman (1879), 195; 'Return', *op. cit.*, 28. The present "face" of Bishop Burton was largely created by E. R. B. Hall-Watt in the early 20th century. Roger Gee died bankrupt in 1778; the Act 20 Geo. III, c. 44 details his indebtedness. See also Gee (Watt) MSS. (DDGE).

⁴³ Ribston Hall MSS., by courtesy of Major Geoffrey Dent, M.C.; see J. T. Ward, "A Nineteenth-Century Yorkshire Estate: Ribston and the Dent Family" (*Yorks. Arch. Jour.*, XLI, I, 1963).

Although merchant families continued their long tradition of marking business success by moving into landownership (a tradition as old as the de la Poles)—and then recording real or imaginary pedigrees with the various social registrars of Victorian Britain—few manufacturers entered the ranks of East Riding squires. The Marshalls of Leeds were an exception, as in other fields: John Marshall (1765-1845), the founder of the great Leeds and Shrewsbury flax firm, had broken one convention by sitting as a Liberal M.P. for Yorkshire in 1826-1830, and his sons bought several estates and maintained his political allegiance. William (1796-1872) of Patterdale Hall in Westmorland, sat for Petersfield, Beverley, Carlisle and East Cumberland, and John (1797-1836) and James (1802-1873) of Ambleside and Headingley, both represented Leeds. In 1849 William bought a thousand acres at Patrington, where (reported James Caird) "the influence of capital and the energy of the manufacturer converted the quiet of a retired rural village into a scene of bustling industry." The property was drained by the celebrated Josiah Parkes, new buildings and roads were constructed, steam engines were introduced and flax cultivation was started. William was succeeded by his sons John (1820-1881), George (1832-1887) and Walter (1837-1899). In 1873 George received £2,027 from 1,063 acres on the Enholmes Hall estate at Patrington, while John had £3,549 from 4,729 acres in Cumberland and Westmorland. The vastly wealthy Marshalls, with their aristocratic marriages and Eton education, quickly became prominent in county society; James was High Sheriff in 1860, and several of his relatives were Deputy Lieutenants.⁴⁴

In 1810 John Pickersgill (1785-1865) of Netherne House in Surrey married Sophia, youngest daughter of John Cunliffe (1743-1813), a successful worsted master at Addingham and Bradford. Mrs. Pickersgill's brother, Ellis Cunliffe-Lister (1779-1853) was a prominent Bradford Liberal industrialist and father of Samuel (1815-1906), 1st Lord Masham of Swinton Castle. Some of the textile fortune reached the Pickersgills, and in 1867 their second son, John (1819-1873), assumed the additional name of Cunliffe. Pickersgill-Cunliffe's son John (1850-1880), a barrister of Coulsdon in Surrey, drew £3,813 from 2,963 acres in Surrey and the East Riding in the 1870s; the 2,493 Yorkshire acres paid £3,136 of the total. He was succeeded by his brother Harry (1858-1919), who also inherited the property of John Pickersgill's eldest son, William (1811-1891) of Blendon Hall and Netherne. Harry's own seat was at Chesterford Park in Essex, but although the Conservative squire was a J.P. in Essex and the East Riding he preferred to live at St. Leonards-on-Sea in Sussex.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Burke (1898), I, 998-999; Bateman (1879), 292; see H. R. F. Bourne, *English Merchants* (1866), II, 223-229; W. G. Rimmer, *Marshalls of Leeds* (Cambridge, 1960); Caird, *op. cit.*, 304.

⁴⁵ Burke (1898), I, 357; Bateman (1879), 111; see J. T. Ward, "Old and New Bradfordians in the Nineteenth Century" (*Bradford Textile Soc. Journal*, 1964-65) and Burke (1925), 440-441.

Charles Henry Wilson (1833-1907), a prominent shipowner and Liberal Member for Hull in 1874-1885 and for West Hull in 1885-1905, was one of the few great land purchasers during the late-century depression. He inherited land and the flourishing business of Thomas Wilson, Sons & Co., from his father Thomas (1792-1869), of Hull and Cottingham. In 1873 his 1,022 acres paid £1,832, and six years later John Bateman reported that 8,500 Yorkshire acres were rented at £8,000. Wilson had bought Warter Priory, with a 300-acre park and large estate, from Lord Muncaster in 1878, and by the end of the century he had 7,875 acres around Warter alone. The businessman-politician-squire found time for local service: he was Sheriff of Hull in 1870 and a J.P. and D.L. in the Riding. Social acceptance was complete when he was created Lord Nunburnholme in 1906. The family subsequently lived at Ferriby and Hunmanby, maintained its Liberal tradition, continued to expand its property and provided a distinguished Lord Lieutenant in Charles, 2nd Baron (1877-1924), C.B., D.S.O. Arthur Wilson (1836-1909), the first peer's brother and partner, spent his life in the family firm. But he also entered High Society: he was Master of the Holderness Foxhounds for 23 years, a landowner at Bentley, Risby and Walkington, a J.P. and D.L. and High Sheriff in 1891—and the Prince of Wales' host at Tranby Croft when the baccarat scandal developed in 1890.⁴⁶

The Penningtons, who sold Warter and Nunburnholme to C. H. Wilson, were an old Cumbrian family with some claim to descent from a Saxon landowner in Lancashire. Although proprietors in Cumberland, Lancashire, Westmorland and Yorkshire, they were principally concerned with the affairs of the first county.

TABLE 7.

WARTER ESTATE RENTAL

Year	£	s.	d.	Half-Year	£	s.	d.
1814-1815	7620	19	2½	1821	3375	5	3½
1817-1818	6863	6	1½	1826	3391	8	9½
1819-1820	6859	16	0½	1828	3328	1	0½
1822-1823	6582	17	7½	1831	2557	7	10½

William Pennington was created a baronet in 1676, and his son, Sir Joseph, and grandson, Sir John, were both M.P.s for Cumberland. Sir John's nephew, Sir John, 5th baronet (d. 1813), was created Lord Muncaster in the Irish peerage in 1783. The Baron's brother, Colonel Lowther (d. 1818) succeeded and was followed by his son Lowther (1802-1838) and grandson Gamel (1831-1862). The high wartime rents of their Yorkshire estate at Warter and Nunburnholme had declined; an advance in 1820 (to £6,930.18.11½d.) was a failure, and by 1821 arrears totalled £2,410.3.4½d. (including £965.1.11½d.

⁴⁶ Bateman (1879), 475; 'Return', *op. cit.*, 29; Burke (1898), II, 1614, (1963), 1837-1838; *Who's Who* (1910 edn.), 1453, 2015. See Sir Philip Magnus, *King Edward the Seventh* (1965 edn.), 223, *seq.*

underpaid in that year). During the 'twenties the farms were re-divided, tenancies rising from 58 in 1828 to 66 in 1831, improvements were made and rents were reduced. Later improvements allowed the rental to rise once more, but family tradition was re-asserted in 1862, when the 4th Baron was succeeded by his brother Josslyn (1834-1917). The 5th Lord was an Army officer who had served in the Crimea and with the Yorkshire Hussars, East Yorkshire Militia and Cumberland Volunteers, was Conservative M.P. for West Cumberland in 1870-1880 and for Egremont in 1885-1892, and in 1898 was created a United Kingdom Baron. He sold his East Yorkshire land, which in 1873 amounted to 7,994 acres paying £7,544. Six years later he reportedly owned only 5,811 acres rented at £2,629 on his three other estates; in 1910, however, he had 15,000 acres and Lancashire mineral rights.⁴⁷ Both peerages and the baronetcy died with him, and the remaining properties passed to Geoffrey William Ramsden (who added the name of Pennington in 1925), second son of Sir John Ramsden, 6th baronet, a great proprietor in the West Riding and Scotland, and himself 7th baronet. There was something almost symbolic in the sale of the old Tory estate to the 'new' Liberal shipowner, though the passing of the other lands to an old Whig dynasty again emphasised the continuity of much English ownership.

⁴⁷ Pennington MSS., DDWA, rentals; Burke (1845), 715-716, (1963), 2018-2021; 'Return', *op. cit.*, 19; Bateman (1879), 317. *Who's Who* (1910 edn.), 1404. See Table 7.

Several important East Riding landed families do not easily fall into any convenient category. The Willoughby family, for instance, gradually acquired great estates largely by fortunate marriages. Lord Chief Justice Sir Thomas Willoughby thus gained a Kent property in the early 16th century. His great-grandson, Sir Percival, thus inherited a kinsman's Nottinghamshire estate, where a remarkable house was built at Wollaton in the 1580s. Sir Percival's great-grandson, Francis, was created a baronet in 1688; and Francis' brother, Sir Thomas, 2nd baronet, a long-serving M.P., married a Leicestershire heiress and was created Lord Middleton in 1711. While the 2nd Baron married an Oxfordshire heiress, his brother Thomas (1694-1742) married Elizabeth Sotheby, heiress to the Yorkshire estate of Birdsall. On the death of the fourth peer in 1781, the title and estates passed to Thomas' son Henry (d. 1800), husband of a Nottingham heiress, who bequeathed a large property to his only son, Henry, 6th Lord (1761-1835), a celebrated sportsman and agriculturalist, who extensively improved the Yorkshire estate. Wollaton and Birdsall House were modernised, while land at Thurganby, Croxby and Rothwell was sold in 1804 to Lord Yarborough, and the proceeds were used to augment and improve the larger properties. North Grimston, Wharram, Birdsall and Mount Ferrant land was purchased; new stables were built in 1828 and some of the Sykes hounds were bought in 1832; a new church (the priest of which became the family's domestic chaplain) was built in Birdsall park in 1825; and the 160-acre park, local roads and estate farms were all improved. Undoubtedly the 6th Lord enjoyed his sporting life, but, though childless, he obviously planned for the future. His title and estates passed to his cousin, Captain Digby Willoughby, R.N. (1769-1856), the son of the 5th Baron's brother Francis, who had followed tradition by marrying a Lincolnshire heiress. The complicated genealogical tree next led to the succession of Henry (1817-1877), eldest grandson of James, Rector of Guiseley, the youngest brother of the 5th Lord.

The 8th Baron had lived at Birdsall House while his predecessor maintained Wollaton, and he continued to take great interest in his East Riding land and hounds. His son Digby, 9th Lord Middleton, (1844-1922), inherited 99,576 acres in Ross, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire and Derbyshire, a rentroll of £54,014 and houses at Birdsall, Wollaton, Settrington (inherited by the 6th Baron in 1827), Middleton (in Warwickshire) and Applecross (in Ross). After leaving the Scots Guards in 1869, he maintained the family's Conservative and agricultural traditions during the peak years of the estates. He looked after his interests in farming, forestry and Nottingham coal, kept up the Middleton hounds, nominated to ten livings, was colonel of the East Riding Volunteer Artillery, presided over the Buckrose Conservatives and served as a county alderman. His 12,294 East Riding acres in Birdsall, Burdale, North Grimston, Wharram le Street, Settrington

and Wharram Percy produced £14,778 in the 'seventies.⁴⁸ But Lord Middleton lived to see the start of land sales after the first World War.

In 1873 Lady Mary Vyner owned 2,102 East Yorkshire acres at Acklam, Leppington and Scrayingham, with a rental of £2,325. Lady Mary (d. 1892) was a considerable proprietor in all three Ridings, owning a total of 8,543 acres. The daughter of the 2nd Earl de Grey (1781-1859), a descendant of a 16th-century London merchant, she inherited a considerable part of her father's property before marrying Captain Henry Vyner (1805-1861), the third son of a prominent Lincolnshire squire, Robert Vyner of Gautby. The Vyners took up residence at Newby Hall near Ripon, and their eldest son, Henry (1836-1883), inherited both Newby and his uncle's Gautby estate; in 1879 his property in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire (including Lady Mary's land) and Cheshire totalled 26,705 acres with a gross rental of £37,693. The second son, Reginald (1839-1870), Liberal M.P. for Ripon in 1860-1865, predeceased Henry; so the estates passed to the third brother, Robert (1842-1915), of Coombe Hurst in Surrey. A sister, Henrietta, married her cousin, the 1st Marquess of Ripon; and Robert's daughter Mary married her cousin, Lord Alwyne Compton, and inherited Newby. In 1923, after the death of the 2nd Marquess of Ripon, Lady A. Compton-Vyner's eldest son, Edward Compton, inherited Newby and large Scottish estates, while her second son, Commander Clare Vyner, purchased Fountains Abbey and Studley Royal. The little East Riding property was always less important than the historic Lincolnshire and West Yorkshire estates, but it was not entirely neglected: Lady Mary restored the chapel of ease at Leppington in 1869, and Robert provided a church school in 1862.⁴⁹

Several other owners were absentees, usually because their principal seats and estates were situated elsewhere. The Andersons, for instance, inherited East Yorkshire land by marriage in the 17th century, but lived on their Lincolnshire property, as did their relation, the 1st Lord Yarborough (1748-1823). Sir Edmund, made a baronet in 1660, had married the heiress of Barney Wood of Kilnwick Percy, and his successors retained an East Riding estate, mainly in Burnby, Hawold and Huggate. In 1879 Sir Charles, 9th baronet (1804-1891) drew £6,994 from 5,093 acres in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. His 2,647 East Riding acres produced £3,408, but he lived at Lea Hall, near Gainsborough. John Carver Athorpe (1803-1880), whose 1,451 acres at Belby, Howden, Kilpin and Thorpe were rented at £1,873, also drew £2,788 from 2,457 acres in West Yorkshire and Derbyshire and lived at Dinnington Hall near Rotherham. Clement Upton-Cottrell-Dormer (1827-1880) of Rousham Hall, Oxford, an owner of 7,853 acres in four counties, with a rental of £8,322 (including £3,521

⁴⁸ Burke (1963), 1653-1656; 'Return', *op. cit.*, 18; Bateman (1879), 301; Legard, *op. cit.*, 184-191.

⁴⁹ Burke (1898), II, 1523-1524, (1952), 509-510; Bateman (1879), 452, (1883), 458; I am indebted to Cdr. C. G. Vyner, R.N. (ret.), for information.

from 3,863 Westmorland and West Riding acres belonging to his wife's ancient family, the Uptons of Ingmire), received £2,454 from 1,649 East Riding acres around Flamborough belonging to his mother, Frances, daughter of Walter Strickland of Flamborough and Cokethorpe Park, Oxford.⁵⁰

TABLE 8.

ADMIRAL SOTHERON'S YORKSHIRE RENTS

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1824	7,494	8	2½	1837	13,925	8	0½
1830	6,596	16	8½	1837-38	20,126	16	5½
1834-35	10,870	1	9	1840-42	13,880	4	1
1835-36	9,593	1	3½				

The 1837 total includes £3,764.19.2½d. brought forward; the 1837-1838 total covers the period to October 1838.

In the 1870s, T. H. S. Sotheron-Estcourt (1801-1876), a prominent Conservative politician who had first entered Parliament in 1829, drew £18,252 from about 12,000 acres in five counties; 3,861 and 1,896 acres in the West and East Ridings produced £6,557 and £1,607 respectively. He owned Darrington Grange near Pontefract, but generally resided at Estcourt in Gloucestershire, the family seat since the 14th century. The family's principal interests, both economic and political, were always centred on Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, where Sotheron-Estcourt's father, T. G. Bucknall Estcourt (1775-1853), was a leading Conservative politician. The son married the only daughter of Admiral Frank Sotheron, M.P., a landowner in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, and on inheriting his property assumed the name of Sotheron only, in 1839. The Admiral's bequest was certainly worth the sacrifice of an ancient name; but on the death of his father, Sotheron resumed his old surname in hyphenated form. In 1858 and 1859 he was briefly President of the Poor Law Board and Home Secretary. On his death, Estcourt and 5,794 acres in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Derbyshire and Middlesex passed to his brother, the Rev. E. H. Bucknall Estcourt (1803-1894), whose son G. T. J. Sotheron-Estcourt (1839-1915) inherited the Yorkshire estates and some Wiltshire land. But the new squire of Darrington followed family tradition, becoming Conservative M.P. for North Wiltshire in 1874-1885. In 1894 he reunited the family estates, on succeeding his father; and in 1903 he was created Baron Estcourt. The income from his Yorkshire estates was gradually declining: half-year rents from the Darrington and Howden properties in 1890 were £2,184.12.2d. and £2,472.13.6d. (with £288 from Grange Farm), and in 1895

⁵⁰ Burke (1845), 23, (1898), I, 40, 413-414; Bateman (1879), 9, 16, 131. On Sir Charles Anderson's death his property passed to his grand-daughters, Mrs. Margaret Duncombe-Anderson, Mrs. K. M. Sutton and Miss F. O. Anderson; the title became extinct (Burke (1939), 34-35).

the figures were £1,686.4.4d. and £2,730.7.1d.⁵¹ The principal East Yorkshire property by the end of the century was at Holmeon-Spalding Moor. Lord Estcourt's title died with him.

Other squires whose East Riding connections consisted principally of receiving rents from distant stewards included Sir John Gibbons, 5th baronet (1825-1893), whose title descended from an 18th-century Speaker of the Barbados House of Assembly. He drew £1,112 from his 1,100 acres at Kilham and Langtoft in 1873, along with £2,598 from 1,575 acres in three other counties; he lived at Stanwell Place in Middlesex. The Viscounts St. Vincent were originally Staffordshire squires, with a seat at Aston Hall. In 1797 Admiral John Jervis (1734-1823) was created Earl and Baron, and in 1801 obtained the Viscounty, with remainder to his nephews. By the 1870s the family lived in Kent. The 4th Viscount (1850-1885), a distinguished soldier, owned 4,492 acres, rented at £6,039. His 3,760 East Riding acres around Sutton-upon-Derwent produced £2,040 of his income, and his brothers, the 5th and 6th peers, made the hall at Sutton their seat. Guildford James Onslow (1814-1897), second son of Colonel Thomas Onslow (himself the second son of the 2nd Earl of Onslow), was born with comparatively few prospects of becoming a country squire. A purchased commission, a minor bureaucratic sinecure or nomination to a rural living was generally the predestined fate of his kind; unless they married an heiress, a few thousands of capital charged on the estate was the most they could hope for. But Onslow was fortunate. He inherited the Mainwaring-Ellerkers' Risby Park estate (brought to the Onslows by the 2nd Earl's first marriage). In 1897 his 2,303 Lincolnshire and Yorkshire acres paid £3,475, including £2,443 from 1,673 East Riding acres.⁵²

By contrast with such remote owners, the Bosvilles were a very old family in Yorkshire. A branch resided at Ravenfield Park in the West Riding; but a larger West Yorkshire property was owned by the Bosvilles of Midhope and Gunthwaite in the West Riding and Thorpe Hall near Bridlington. The family had a chequered history. William (d. 1813), who succeeded in 1784, was a Whig reformer, rather to the 'Left' of the aristocratic 'establishment'. When Earl Fitzwilliam wrote to him, in April 1784, asking him to help Foljambe and Widdell in the Yorkshire election, adding "I should not have presumed to have written to you did not I hope that the Honour of being nearly related with your Family would be a sufficient apology", Bosville replied (from the Blacketts' West Riding seat at Bretton Hall),

I am at present much engaged with my affairs in this Neighbourhood (having so lately lost my Father), in which I am much assisted by Sir Thos. Blackett and have already followed his example in declaring that I shall not interfere

⁵¹ Burke (1898), I, 468; Bateman (1879), 150, (1883), 152; R. P. Dod, *The Parliamentary Companion* (1861 edn.), 189; Sotherton-Estcourt MSS., DDSE, 1/2, 3, 4, 5; see J. T. Ward, "West Riding Landowners and the Corn Laws" *English Historical Review*, LXXXI, 319, Apr., 1966) and Table 8.

⁵² 'Return', *op. cit.*, 11, 23, 20; Bateman (1879), 176, 386, 336.

in the present election, but leave such of my tenants as are freeholders to their own choice.

Such an attitude was scarcely 'proper' in Whig circles. But Bosville was an unconventional squire, with Radical proclivities, and by 1806 he was a friend of William Cobbett and Horne Tooke. During the investigation of the commission-selling activities of Mrs. Clarke (the mistress of the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of York) in 1809, Cobbett was in touch with his fellow 'Jacobin'. "A new era has certainly begun", he insisted:⁵³

There are now a *great many* men of large property who do not think that it is for their good to have their rents taken from them to be given to whores, rogues and loungers. Pitt persuaded them that if their rents were not thus disposed of they would lose their land, that *somehow or other*, their land would *go away*; but if he were alive now, I do not think he would be able to keep up that persuasion. To hear some of the rich boobies in the country talk, one would imagine that the giving away their rents to be spent by jobbers and contractors was absolutely necessary to the preservation of the breed of foxes, dogs and horses. You laugh at the Spaniards for worshipping the Dutch Dolls; but I'll be damned if they are half so stupid as these fox-hunters.

The Bosville succession was complicated. In 1768 Sir Alexander Macdonald, 9th baronet and 1st (Irish) Lord Macdonald (d. 1795), a member of an old Scottish Jacobite family, had married Godfrey Bosville's daughter, Elizabeth Diana. The bachelor 2nd Baron was succeeded in 1824 by his brother, Major-General Godfrey (1775-1832), who had already assumed the additional name of Bosville, on inheriting Gunthwaite. "It is very true that my brother Godfrey becomes possessed of the Bosville estates and is left *sole Executor*", the 1st Baron's third son, Archibald, wrote to his friend, Walter Spencer-Stanhope, in December 1813:

and failing him and all his children (Males), it then passes to James [Archibald's third son] and his heirs, and lastly to George Sinclair [the son of Macdonald's son-in-law], each upon accession assuming the name and arms of Bosville only. Should the eldest son of Godfrey become entitled to the Scotch estates of Macdonald, the Bosville estates are to descend to the second of Godfrey's sons, and so on in succession.

Archibald's letter was to have some later importance. "The Heirs of Entail", he wrote,

have in my opinion but a very distant prospect of inheritance—George Sinclair is bequeathed £10,000, Mr. Hall £5,000. These are all the legacies. I am altogether discomfited of any benefit or expectation (my name does not

⁵³ Macdonald MSS., DDBM, 32/12 (Fitzwilliam to Bosville, 2, reply, 6 Apr., 1784; Cobbett to Bosville, 31 Mar., 1809); see G. D. H. Cole, *The Life of William Cobbett* (1947), 114.

appear by any accident, nor Dudley's [his younger brother] in any of the nine sheets or codicils; but the will itself seems to have been drawn up with a good deal of method, and very particular attention has been paid to all the doubts and difficulties of succession, both as it regards *Scotch Law* or *English*. The last codicil, dated about a year ago, makes assurance doubly sure on this point.

Godfrey hurried home from the Peninsula to claim his property. As 3rd Baron he was a prominent Tory leader in the Riding. His chairmanship of a York rally, in December 1825, led the 'ultra' 4th Duke of Newcastle to "express his hearty concurrence", while hoping for "even further steps . . . to obtain a complete representation of the County of York unequivocally favorable to the maintenance of the Protestant cause". Though gratified, Macdonald was a realist, at the time when the county gained two additional members. "In so large a county as this, our object at present is to endeavour to secure the return of the two anti-Catholic candidates", he wrote. "This, in the present good feeling of the County towards the cause, may be done, but if we attempt more we may risk that important object . . ." ⁵⁴

The 3rd Baron was a considerable landowner, with a large income; in 1815, for instance, he was able to raise his West Riding rents from £2,875.0.8. to £3,980.10.0. The Scottish estates passed to his son Godfrey, 4th Lord, and in 1879 the 6th Baron's 129,919 acres in Inverness and 2,500 in Buckinghamshire produced £11,613 and £5,000 respectively. The Yorkshire properties fell to Alexander Macdonald (1800-1847), who took the name of Bosville. His son Godfrey (1826-1865) passed the properties to his own 15-days-old son Alexander (1865-1933), who became an active squire. With 3,453 acres in Burton Fleming, Eastburn and Rudston and a total Yorkshire acreage of 8,949 (paying £8,993 in 1873), young Bosville was able to play a high social rôle. He was a J.P. and D.L. and a county and district councillor. As a nephew of Lord Middleton, he was well-connected; Eton, Magdalen and Boodle's Club were natural parts of his life. But he had other interests. Thorpe Hall was "lighted throughout by electric light" in the 1890s, and electric lighting was provided for Rudston church. Bosville shared Watt's and Harrison-Broadley's enthusiasm for early motoring. And he was a devoted musician, as organist and choirmaster at Rudston and conductor of the Bridlington Musical Society. But he also performed traditional parts and was High Sheriff in 1900. The long reticence in 19th-century complications over the Bosville ancestry was explained in 1910, when the squire proved the legitimacy in Scots law of his grandfather, eldest son of the 3rd Lord Macdonald. Consequently, the 6th Baron lost the baronetcy, and Bosville became Sir A. W. Macdonald Bosville Macdonald of the Isles,

⁵⁴ The hon. A. Macdonald to W. Spencer-Stanhope, 23 Dec., 1813 (transcribed copy by Mrs. A. M. W. Stirling, in Macdonald MSS., DDBM, 32/16); Newcastle to Macdonald, 8, reply 12 Dec., 1825. (Macdonald MSS., 32/13); see Burke (1845), 638-639, (1898), I, 147, (1963), 1547-1550.

14th baronet and premier baronet of Scotland.⁵⁵ The Irish peerage, however, was not affected by a Scottish legitimisation. And so the Irish Lords with no Irish land owned vast Scottish estates, while the vice-chairman of the East Riding County Council owned a senior title but no land in Scotland. Old Cobbett would have enjoyed the situation.

⁵⁵ Macdonald MSS., DDBM, 32/13; Bateman (1879), 46, 279; 'Return', *op. cit.*, 3. The 3rd Baron had married Louisa Maria La Coast, illegitimate daughter of the Duke of Gloucester and Lady Almeria Carpenter, and had three children by her before the English marriage of 1803 (which was followed by ten further children). William Bosville's will of 1807 and a codicil of 1812 left the Yorkshire estates to the 3rd Baron and his son Alexander (unless he obtained the Scottish lands); a private Act of 1847 confirmed this settlement.

Below such considerable landowners as the Bosvilles were the squires—defined by John Bateman as commoners owning between one and three thousand acres—who generally resided on their little properties, performing valuable functions at the bottom end of the landowning hierarchy and as the last in the Lord Lieutenant's chain of communication. There were many examples in 19th-century East Yorkshire. For instance, branches of the Bainton family owned several small properties around their seats at Beverley Parks and Arram Hall (bought from the Hildyards in 1804). In 1873 the largest proprietor in the family, William Bainton of Beverley, received £2,028 from 1,295 acres at Tickton, Weel, Woodmansey, Catwick, Molescroft and Gembling. William Banks of Hemingbrough Hall maintained a little estate at Brackenholme. Riley Briggs of Osgodby Hall had 1,183 acres around his manors of Barlby and Osgodby.⁵⁶

TABLE 9.

DAVID BURTON'S ACCOUNTS, 1878

<i>Receipts</i>	£	s.	d.	<i>Payments</i>	£	s.	d.
Rents (Cherry Burton)	4332	0	0	House	927	9	7
Interest and Dividends	1029	8	9	Stables	174	13	7
London Rents	348	16	9	Garden	105	6	8
Copyhold fines	5	0	0	Wine	96	4	4
Wood account				Game	41	17	3
balance	270	17	9	Sundries	149	17	10
				Income Tax	41	17	3
				Mrs. Burton	226	0	0
				Children	917	13	10
				Estate	300	3	2
				Estate			
				improvements	591	8	1
				Interest, etc.	1106	7	7
				Premiums	273	8	1
				Investments	643	10	9

The Burtons of Cherry Burton may be a fair example of such squires—though unrepresentative in their genealogical complications. In the late 18th century branches of the family were divided politically. At the 1796 Beverley election Major General Napier Christie Burton (1758-1835), a distinguished North American soldier and member of the Christie family of Fife, who had adopted the Burton surname on marrying the heiress of General Ralph Burton of Hotham Hall in 1784, defeated Burton Fowler, the lawyer squire of Cherry Burton. The General's son, Robert Christie Burton, was a Tory M.P. for Beverley in 1818-1820 and died in 1822; and Robert's brother-in-law, Henry Peters of Betchworth Castle, who assumed the Burton name in 1822, was Beverley's

⁵⁶ 'Return', *op. cit.*, 2, 4; Poulson, *Holderness*, I, 176.

Whig Member from 1830 to 1837. Meanwhile, in 1828 David Burton Fowler's Cherry Burton estate had passed to his grand-nephew, David Robinson (1787-1854), a member of an old Durham family, who took the Burton name and whose sons, David (1820-1890), J.P., D.L., and General Fowler, continued the family's squirearchical and military traditions. David's son, David Fowler (1857-1931), J.P. and County Councillor, lord of the manors of Cherry Burton and of Beverley Chapter, patron of the Cherry Burton living and barrister, was the last 19th-century squire. The second David, himself a barrister, was a typical mid-Victorian squire. His account with Bower, Hall, Smith and Barkworth's East Riding Bank rose from £1,670.14.11d. in 1854 to £3,123.9.11d. in 1855 (when the balance was £1,467.7.8d.) and £5,258.15.4d. in 1856 (with a balance of £1,301.6.2d.). In 1873 his 1,624 acres produced £2,316.4s. in rents, according to the official 'Return'. But Burton was a considerable investor, in such enterprises as London, Moscow and European gas undertakings, South African goldfields, various banks, American railways and Government loans. In 1878 his total income was £5,986.3.3d. (see table 9). His assets then totalled £80,927 and liabilities £28,693.16.3d. Burton's income in 1856 had been £5,556.8.2d., which included only £2,018.15s. from Cherry Burton and £1,950 from the sale of the Chapter manor and its quit rents. In 1861 he received £5,586.1.6d. Expenditure had risen from £3,124.14.4d. (including £453.6.7d. on the house, £233.12.3d. on improvements and £197.12.10d. on a twelve-week Continental tour) to £5,596.5.6d. The family was always careful in its financial affairs; D. B. Fowler had left over £12,496 in Consols. Consequently the debt-raising proclivities of David's second son, Captain Marshall, must have shaken the family.⁸⁷

The Clarkes of Knedlington Manor—Thomas (1796-1882) and his sons Eric (1826-1868) and Thomas (1831-1895)—all graduated at St. John's College, Cambridge and served as J.P.s. Their 2,417 acres in their manors of Asselby and Knedlington and at Barmby, Bishopsoil, Bubwith and Newport produced £5,596 in 1873. John Dickson of Wold House, Nafferton, lord of the manor of Beverley Water Towns (which comprehended Thearne, Tickton, Weel and Woodmansey and an owner in Driffield, Nafferton and Little Ruston, then drew £2,664 from 1,731 acres; and Thomas Dixon of Beverley received £1,907 from 1,045 acres. Several such families were long established in their districts. J. W. Empson (1817-1893), for instance, a J.P. in the East and West Ridings and in Worcestershire, who rebuilt Yokefleet Hall in 1870, descended from the Roundhead Richard Empson of Goole. His 1,924 acres in Bishopsoil, Metham and Yokefleet yielded £3,131 in 1873 and relatives owned land in both the East and West Ridings. At Walkington the Ferguson-Fawsitts contrived to live in some state, with a 60-acre park. They often provided both the squire and the rector, and

⁸⁷ Burke (1898), I, 208-209, 275, (1925), 248-249, (1965), 111-112; Bean, *op. cit.*, 744-747, 757-758; 'Return', *op. cit.*, 5; Burton MSS., DDCB, 25/5, 6, 4, 26/9, 22/25. In 1895 the estate totalled 1981 acres, with a fee simple of £61,440 (DDCB, 24/22). See Table 9.

Major John drew £3,428 from 2,192 Yorkshire acres in 1879. The Rev. Richard Foord of Foxholes drew £2,789 from 2,919 acres largely in Cottam, where he rebuilt the chapel, but which he subsequently sold to G. S. Robson of Pontefract. Samuel Fox rebuilt the chapel of ease at South Cliffe out of his business profits; his 1,304 acres paid £1,394 in 1873. Jonathan Harrison of Brandesburton Hall rented 2,006 acres in Moor Town, North Frodingham, Hempholme and Brandesburton (largely purchased from Beverley of Beverley by John Harrison) for £2,428.10s. in 1873. James Atkinson-Jowett, owner of the 1,633-acre Clock House estate near Bradford, drew £1,925 of his £6,078 income from 1,135 acres around Drewton and Faxfleet.

With only 781 acres and a rental of £2,093 in 1873, the Palmes family of Naburn Hall was among the smallest East Yorkshire proprietors. But while great families regularly 'ran out' of heirs and changed surnames to maintain a semblance of continuity, while a Smithson became a Percy and a Denison became a peer, Naburn had passed from father to son since 1226. The 19th-century rental could not support a large family, and consequently the Church, the Army and the colonies appealed to various Palmes sons; money was never lavishly available. The Prickett family were much larger owners: in 1873 Catherine (of Shanklin) had 57 acres, George (of Hull) 1,402 acres, Thomas (of Bridlington) 1,690 acres and T. M. Prickett (of Bridlington) 20 acres, with gross rentals of £85, £2,195, £2,693 and £70 respectively. But the Pricketts, though considerable land-buyers in the 19th century, were scarcely representative squires. Marmaduke Prickett (d. 1837) of Bridlington bought and improved the manor of Burstall, taking "great care to prevent further encroachments of the Humber", and his son, the Rev. Marmaduke (d. 1839), a church historian, bought Peter Acklom's manor of Beeford and Boreas Hill. But, as Poulson noted, "the family, though long connected with [Holderness], do not appear to have had any settled residence in it". Edward Horner Reynard (1808-1883) of Sunderlandwick Hall was more typical. His family had long owned property at Hobgreen, near Ripley (where 955 West Riding acres paid £1,475 in 1873), but in 1812 his father, Horner Reynard (1764-1834) had inherited the Horners' East Yorkshire lands in Fitling, Hutton Cranswick and Sunderlandwick (with its mansion, 70-acre park and manorial rights). In all, 2,606 Yorkshire acres paid £3,473 in 1879, the 1,649 East Riding acres providing £1,998. Edward's son Frederick (1848-1926) was a D.L. and J.P. of the East Riding and J.P. in the West; the younger sons joined the Army or Navy.⁵⁸

Most such 'small' families rarely ventured far from their ancestral territories, and even new mercantile lines quickly settled into conformity with such traditions. There were few distractions from the ordered round of agricultural management and rural sports. Evangelical 'good works' provided extra employment for

⁵⁸ 'Return', *op. cit.*, 6, 8-10, 12, 16, 20-22; Bateman (1879), 88, 147, 164, 204, 240, 371; Palmes MSS., DDPa, 12/9, 10; Poulson, *Holderness*, I, 245, II, 487, 506-507.

some squires and their wives; and the occasional exertion in the cause of (generally Tory) politics was expected. But the squires were independent men, not given to sycophantic following of the aristocracy. "I am happy to find we are both of the same political sentiments", William Prickett told Lord Macdonald in 1826;⁵⁹ it was a pleasant accident that a Tory should rule at Thorpe. East Riding squires retained a long hostility to the Whig magnates, the remote, wealthy aristocrats. Yet even among the minor owners there were absentees—generally owners elsewhere or men following professions outside the county. For instance, Robert Scholfield (1840-1913) of Lincoln's Inn had 1,007 acres rented at £2,260 in his manors of Skelton and North Duffield in the 1870s. And Captain Thomas Slingsby (1829-1903), who inherited the Scriven and Marston Moor estates of his brother-in-law, Sir Charles, 10th baronet (1824-1869), drew £861 of his £10,485 income from the 999 East Riding acres of his 6407-acre Yorkshire property.

Miss Anne Florence Thompson, heiress of Kilham and Kennythorpe, was a member of an old family, with 1,783 acres rented at £2,141 in 1873. The only child of William Henry Thompson, she inherited the property from her grandfather, another William Henry. In 1874 she married Captain Brice Pearse of the Grenadier Guards, who assumed the additional name of Thompson. A collateral branch, the Thompsons of Sheriff Hutton, descended from the fifth son of Richard Thompson of Kilham. Sir James Walker, 1st baronet (1803-1883) of Sand Hutton, drew £5,241 from 3,580 acres in Easington, North Dalton, Bowthorpe, Lockington, Skeffling, Skipsea and Stamford Bridge in the 'seventies, when 3,326 acres in four other counties produced £8,741. The Walkers' prosperity had been founded by the baronet's great-grandfather, James (1680-1753), a Manchester merchant, whose younger son, James, F.R.S. (1719-1789), settled at Springhead. Sir James was a D.L. and J.P., High Sheriff in 1846 and Conservative candidate for the North Riding in 1835. His son, Sir James Robert, 2nd baronet (1829-1899), sat for Beverley in 1860-1865. Political predecessors at Beverley included representatives of a celebrated military family. General Richard Vyse was Member in 1806-1807 and his son, Captain (later General) Richard Howard-Vyse, sat from 1807 to 1812; the great investigation of 1869 proved that all but 78 of Howard-Vyse's 1,010 supporters were bribed. The family owned land in six counties, 3,288 acres paying £11,290 in 1879. And the marriage of Howard-Vyse's seventh son, General Edward (1826-1909) to Mrs. Norcliffe's fourth daughter, in 1867, unexpectedly led the Vyses to East Riding ownership. In 1916 Edward's son, Colonel Cecil (1872-1935), inherited the Norcliffes' Langton Hall estate.⁶⁰ He joined a race of smaller squires which was already

⁵⁹ W. Prickett to Lord Macdonald, 11 Jan., 1826 (Macdonald MSS., DDBM, 32/13).

⁶⁰ 'Return', *op. cit.*, 23, 24, 26, 28; Bateman (1879), 404, 456, 452; Poulson, *Holderness*, II, 379; Bean, *op. cit.*, 711, 745, 754, 766-767; Howard-Vyse MSS. (DDHV); Burke (1898), II, 1524, (1925), 86, (1965), 688-690. I am indebted to Major T. W. Slingsby, D.S.O., for information.

disappearing. Armageddon had already overtaken those largely rural classes who had long dominated the volunteer forces. Hundreds of village memorials record the death-roll of the squires, farmers and labourers who made up the last semi-voluntary, semi-feudal host before the democratic State inefficiently conscripted its citizens to die in France and Flanders. Indeed, 1914 provided the last great call to the traditions of knightly chivalry which the Landed Interest claimed to maintain. Military deaths caused death duties; and the post-war 'brave new world' of comparatively high taxation, a new agricultural depression and changed social attitudes seemed to witness the last decline of the landowning classes.

It is impossible to generalise about such a wide range of families and individuals as East Yorkshire's 19th-century owners. One of the most enduring and perhaps most endearing characteristics of the landed families was the richness of their variations. Secure in society and generally independent in finance, they could afford to tolerate and cultivate individual tastes. Undoubtedly, some were proud and insolent men, but as a genus they were far from exclusive. The merchant buying landed property quickly achieved a place in the county establishment and a share of the duties of the old hierarchy. The traditional process of transformation from businessman to squire continued throughout the century, although in the closing decades the land started to lose its social attraction (partly because of the Prince of Wales' choice of plutocratic associates), just as it was losing its financial charms. Since the 16th century such business families as the Blaydes, Duesberys, Liddells, Maisters, Gees, Standidges, Peases, Milners and Denisons had bought estates in the county; some failed as landowners, while others became magnates. Furthermore, many landed families developed business interests. "Your numbers were great, and your aristocratic shareholders of the most *high sounding social orders*", Archibald Macdonald told his West Riding friend, Walter Spencer-Stanhope, an undertaker of the Aire and Calder Navigation.⁶¹ Canal, turnpike and Government investments were soon supplemented by railway and industrial shares.

Landowners naturally noted tenants' opinions, especially on finance. "Rent day—great grumbling by most for a general reduction", David Burton recorded in July 1850, "but the rent well paid, except Purdon, Cook and Robert Anthony." Two years later, matters had improved: "Rent day—£1,123 net—no grumbling", noted Burton. Expenditure patterns varied a great deal. In the early 1870s Burton spent annually between £297 and £423 on estate insurance, rates and tithes, £104 to £185 on repairs and improvements and £21 to £155 on the garden.⁶² At the top of the landowning pyramid, Lord Wenlock could spend £3,761 on his house in 1867 and Sir Tatton Sykes £3,943 in 1885.⁶³ Throughout all ranks of landowners, payments to members of the family could be troublesome burdens, especially when previous tenants-for-life had overgenerously provided for their younger children.

Of course, most landowners were educated at public school and university. 'Aristocratic' children's lives amid the bleak austerity of Victorian schools could be almost as wretched as the lives of the factory children. Family muniments sometimes contain sad records of childhood frailties. "I am sorry to have to inform

⁶¹ The hon. A. Macdonald to W. S. Stanhope, 2 Feb., 1828 (Macdonald MSS., DDBM, 32/16).

⁶² David Burton's diary, 8 July, 1850, 28 July 1852 (Burton MSS., DDCB, 25/38); cash books, 1869-1875 (DDCB, 25/6).

⁶³ Forbes-Adam MSS. (DDFA, 37/49); Sykes MSS. (DDSY, Account Book 23).

your Lordship", an Eton master wrote to Lord Macdonald in 1825,⁶⁴

by desire of Dr. Keate, that your son [Godfrey] lately under pretence of illness staid out of School, when he was discovered to be absent from his Dame's house the whole day. Dr. Keate has punished him and turned him down to the bottom of the fourth form. It is discovered by his own confession, as was suspected, that he was at Epsom Races . . . I fear that if any serious complaint were to be brought against him again, he would be sent away from school . . .

Young Macdonald subsequently earned dreadful reports from the Royal Naval College, which he left because of "ill-health". But the vengeance of the terrifying Dr. Keate can scarcely have surpassed in brutality "old Tat's" beating of his heir down the drive at Sledmere. The years at Oxford or Cambridge often provided a gay antidote to such grim childhood experiences. Yet for many younger sons military careers were almost pre-ordained: the Victorian Empire was largely created by landless members of landed families.

Inevitably, the greatest bond uniting most landowners was a common interest in the land. Few squires chose to demonstrate their affection for things rural by emulating Sir Tatton Sykes' long-riding, hard-fighting feats. Nevertheless, the less flamboyant Victorian gentry usually shared his love for the land. Many families faced—and resisted—the temptation to sell out, to rid themselves of the duties incumbent on landowners and to invest their capital more lucratively in the industries of the world's workshop. Instead, they stayed on their properties, sometimes, no doubt, resenting the superior wealth and growing pretensions of the industrialists and the interminable attacks of urban Radicals. From the formation of the Yorkshire Agricultural Society in 1837, East Riding owners provided such prominent members of its council as W. Constable-Maxwell, George Legard, P. B. Thompson and Sir Edward Vavasour. And the Royal Agricultural Society was supported by such men as George Hudson, J. D. Dent, Lord Leconfield, William Marshall, T. H. S. Sotheron-Estcourt, J. C. Athorpe, Clifford-Constable, the Duncombes, Lord Galway, Dunnington-Jefferson, Legard, Vavasour and the Woods.⁶⁵

As agriculturalists, owners performed many tasks. Sir Digby Legard impressed Arthur Young by his energetic devotion to his land in the late 18th century.⁶⁶ Sir Tatton would lead his own sheep. Most owners would promote and arrange enclosure,⁶⁷ and later in the century provided or borrowed the money for drainage improvements. In 1848 George Legard claimed that "there was no

⁶⁴ G. R. Green to Lord Macdonald, 27 May, 1825 (Macdonald MSS, DDBM, 32/15).

⁶⁵ *Trans. Yorks. Agric. Soc. and Jour. R. Agric. Soc. of England*, *passim*.

⁶⁶ Arthur Young, *A Six Months' Tour Through the North of England* (1770), II, 10-36.

⁶⁷ For a case-study, see Brian Loughborough, 'An Account of a Yorkshire Enclosure: Staxton, 1803' (*Agricultural History Review*, XIII, 2, 1965).

part of the kingdom where the wages of the agricultural labourer ruled higher than in this Riding"; but local patriots elsewhere naturally made similar statements.⁴⁶ The landowners' social work is, in any case, scarcely to be measured by such criteria. They admonished wrongdoers from the bench; they repaired local churches and built many local schools; they delivered and listened to third-rate speeches at beery rent dinners; they hunted and shot and dined with each other; and they returned their kind to Westminster. They preserved their villages from early stages of speculative builders' desecration, but often ruined ancient buildings with philistine 'improvements'. They and their wives might demand considerable deference from the village folk: forelocks were made for pulling and skirts for curtseying. Their judgments might vary considerably, particularly on moral problems: local bastardies were less tolerantly regarded than a young heir's Long Vacation dalliances. And they were rarely the genial buffoons on money matters imagined by some sentimental writers. Either the owners or their increasingly professional stewards (an important early managerial group, almost ignored by historians apart from Professor David Spring) very carefully controlled estate expenses and income. Any examination of 19th-century accounts reveals the methodical, business-like systems widely adopted in agriculture years before many industrial partnerships employed even elementary book-keeping techniques.

Rose-tinted views have dominated much of the literature on landowners. Sentimental supporters and bitter opponents of the Landed Interest have (for opposite reasons) contrived to create a legendary portrait of an incompetent, ineffectual (and at best, well-meaning) rural lout. The pendulum has moved rapidly since Victorian gentleman-farmers earnestly invented their ancestors; and sometimes it may have moved too far. If ancient lineage and fantastic armorial quarterings do not guarantee squirearchical infallibility, they are equally innocent of bearing additional deposits of original sin. If rural life was often brutish and short and far removed from the 'sporting print' view of history, it was still often preferable to the alternatives. If the poor man at his gate awaiting the condescending appearance of the ladies from the Hall is now a figure of fun, it is at least worth remembering that his brother in Manchester had no hope of converse with his employer's wife at his street-end. The rural society of deference, after all, did work in two ways. Villagers might find it advisable to attend the parish church and send their children to the National school, thus perhaps sacrificing both cash and belief; but they were compelled to pay neither council rates nor 'Christian Stewardship' levies. And because the historian finds—invariably—that the squires were not the virtuous paragons dreamed of by sycophantic hagiographers,

⁴⁶ G. Legard, *loc. cit.*, 125; cf. J. H. Charnock, 'On the Farming of the West Riding . . .' (*Jour. R. Agric. Soc.* (1848), IX, 311); June A. Sheppard, 'East Yorkshire's Agricultural Labour Force in the Mid-Nineteenth Century' (*Agric. Hist. Rev.*, IX, 1, 1961). Caird (*op. cit.*, 317) thought mid-century labourers were "well employed, fairly paid and comfortably lodged".

he need not accept the pantomimic opposites of opponents' nightmares.

More important and profitable than participation in the interminable arguments over landowners' balance sheets of virtue and vice is the further investigation of their careers and their properties. This preliminary survey leads one to believe that on the whole East Yorkshire's 19th-century owners served the area well. They provided the dynamic and capital for agricultural reform; they filled most of the unpaid jobs in the county administration; they played a considerable rôle in the creation of the Riding's transport services; they dominated the county's sporting life; they provided most of the 'social services' of the area; they devoted much time and money to military ventures; and they operated the county's politics. Their achievements, sometimes spectacular, earn them a niche in history. They, more than any other group, created the modern Riding. And those who most determinedly retained their properties, those who continued to adopt 'social' rather than entirely economic criteria, have been rewarded (we are told) by the increase in modern land values.⁶⁹ For the most part, they continued to accept the age-old mystiques of landownership, defying any standard economic or 'sociological' explanation of their conduct. In a sense, they maintain an historic tradition to the 1960s.

The landowners remained—and remain—unpredictable and independent. They included men of the type described by Sydney Smith, that liberal, witty clergyman who was compelled to accept a dose of liberalism by residing at Héslington, near his parish of Foston, in 1809; he found⁷⁰

a fine old house of the time of Queen Elizabeth, where resided the last of the squires with his lady, who looked as if she had walked straight out of the Ark, or had been the wife of Enoch. He was a perfect specimen of the Trullibers of old; he smoked, hunted, drank beer at his door with his grooms and dogs, and spelt over the county paper on Sundays. At first he heard I was a Jacobin and a dangerous fellow, and turned aside as I passed: but at length, when he found the peace of the village undisturbed, harvests much as usual, Juno and Ponto uninjured, he first bowed, then called, and at last reached such a pitch of confidence that he used to bring the papers, that I might explain the difficult words to him; actually discovered that I had made a joke, laughed till I thought he would have died of convulsions, and ended by inviting me to see his dogs.

Smith's Whiggish, 'intellectual' snobbery doubtless affected his attitude towards the squire of the 'remote' area to which he had been driven. In any case, many owners were very different in attitudes and activities. The monopolistic North-Eastern Railway often angered farmers (while delighting many travellers); but its directors included Lord Feversham, J. D. Dent, Cecil Duncombe,

⁶⁹ Mark Bence-Jones, 'The Trust of Landowning' (Burke (1965), xviii).

⁷⁰ Hesketh Pearson, *The Smith of Smiths* (Penguin edn., 1948), 160.

Lord Helmsley, Lord Nunburnholme and Lord Wenlock. Octavius Duncombe joined the Great Northern Board; William Marshall directed the Lancaster & Carlisle; Ralph Creyke and Jarvis Empson joined the provisional committee of the Goole, Doncaster and Sheffield & Manchester Junction Railway; even Sir T. A. Clifford-Constable helped to promote the Hull & Holderness company.⁷¹ The same families and their colleagues continued to organise many rural sports,⁷² to provide political leadership, to control agricultural and social developments and to dominate much of county life. They deserve much further investigation.

⁷¹ W. W. Tomlinson, *The North-Eastern Railway. Its Rise and Development* (Newcastle, 1914), 768-770; *Bradshaw's General Railway Directory* (1850 edn.), 194, 197; company reports.

⁷² G. T. Burrows, *Gentleman Charles* (1951), *passim*.

APPENDIX 1.

THE PRINCIPAL
EAST RIDING LANDOWNERS IN 1875

	<i>Acreage</i>	<i>Rental</i>		<i>Acreage</i>	<i>Rental</i>
		£			£
Sir Charles Anderson, Bt.	2647	3408	Rev. G. G. Holmes . . .	1333	1172
John Athorpe	1451	1873	Lord Hotham	18682	24141
William Bainton	1295	2028	Rev. Joseph Dunnington- Jefferson	7278	10936
John Banks	1026	1840	James Atkinson-Jowett	1135	1925
C. E. G. Barnard	2735	4812	Charles Langdale	3891	3892
William Bethell	13395	17234	Lord Leconfield	13247	15510
Alexander Bosville	3453	4734	Sir Charles Legard, Bt.	2955	3675
Robert Bower	1391	2654	Thomas Locke	1150	1705
Sir Henry Boynton, Bt.	9300	10000	Lord Londesborough	33006	39544
Riley Briggs	1183	1795	Rev. C. M. Long	1286	1506
William Harrison-Broadley	14877	23378	Mrs. Lutwidge	1011	1522
David Burton	1624	2316	George Marshall	1063	2027
Sir George Cholmley, Bt.	20503	26365	Lord Middleton	12294	14778
L. M. Christie's executors	5527	6126	John Osbaldeston-Mitford	8052	10023
Thomas Clarke	2417	5596	Lord Muncaster	7994	7544
Edward Stracey-Clitherow	2555	3836	Mrs. Norcliffe	3528	4550
Sir Frederick Clifford- Constable, Bt.	10981	17733	Guildford Onslow	1673	2443
Henry Strickland-Constable	3293	4501	Thomas Preston	4814	6568
Ralph Creyke	1445	2075	George Prickett	1402	2195
John Pickersgill-Cunliffe	2493	3136	Thomas Prickett	1690	2693
Henry Darley	2573	3639	Edward Reynard	1649	1998
Joseph Dent	1745	2481	Thomas Rivis	6654	8265
John Dickson	1731	2664	Matthew St. Quintin	7033	10244
Thomas Dixon	1045	1907	Viscount St. Vincent	2041	3760
Frances Cottrell-Dorner	1649	2454	Philip Saltmarshe	2776	4537
Viscount and Viscountess Downe	11817	14387	W. Scholfield	1467	2242
Hon. Arthur Duncombe	4483	7235	Robert Scholfield	1007	2260
John Empson	1924	3131	Thomas Slingsby	999	861
Rev. W. H. Empson	1359	2265	John Stocks	1423	1426
T. H. S. Sotheron-Estcourt	1896	1607	Henry Stourton	3151	3777
J. D. Ferguson-Fawsitt	1440	2098	Christopher Sykes	3032	4541
James Fletcher	1280	1495	Joseph Sykes	2736	4301
Rev. Richard Foord	2919	2789	Sir Tatton Sykes, Bt.	30010	35870
Samuel Fox	1304	1394	The Misses Tate	1054	1400
Viscount Galway	1428	1865	Rev. R. M. Taylor	1258	1081
Sir John Gibbons, Bt.	1100	1112	Miss A. F. Thompson	1783	2141
Rev. Yarburgh Lloyd- Greame	4899	7081	Sir Edward Vavasour, Bt.	1195	1165
William Green	1031	835	Lady Mary Vyner	2102	2325
John Grimston	2504	3985	Sir James Walker, Bt.	3580	5241
Marmaduke Grimston	3432	5108	Ernest Hall-Watt	4798	9232
Viscount Halifax	7326	8194	R. P. Weddall's executors	1269	2084
James Hall	1145	1334	Lord Wenlock	20853	21997
Jonathan Harrison	2006	2426	Charles Wilson	1022	1832
Benjamin Haworth-Booth	2560	5267	H. S. L. Wilson	977	1241
Lord Herries	6858	8205	William Windham	3595	6567
Thomas Thoroton-Hildyard	2128	2929	George Wright	994	1973
			Sir William Wright, Bt.	1046	1686
			George Yarburgh	5668	5082

PRINCIPAL INSTITUTIONAL OWNERS

		<i>Acreage</i>	<i>Rental: £</i>
St. John's College, Cambridge	....	1996	3204
Crown Estates	....	12230	20085
Dean and Chapter of York	....	1889	3628
Freemen of Beverley	....	1174	1297
Governors of Emmanuel Hospital, London	....	3179	3959
North Eastern Railway Co.	....	2229	159274
Trinity House, Hull	....	1518	2767

PARLIAMENTARY 'RETURN' ANALYSIS

		<i>Acreage</i>	<i>Rental: £</i>
Owners of one acre and upwards	4564	701285	1279209
Owners of less than one acre	15012	5398	752985
Estimated commons and wastes	—	4049	—
Total	....	19576	2032195

In 1897 the total glebe land in 198 parishes was 23,424 acres, of which at least 22,000 acres must have been available for agricultural purposes. I am indebted to Professor S. G. E. Lythe for this information.

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