

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

RURAL SETTLEMENT CONTRACTION IN THE EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE c.1660-1760
with particular reference to the Bainton Beacon division

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on

RURAL SETTLEMENT CONTRACTION IN THE EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE c.1660-1760

Although evidence of settlement contraction in the form of earthworks and empty house sites is to be found throughout England, the timing and causes of village 'shrinkage' have received little attention from historians. This thesis examines the occurrence and causes of settlement contraction in an area of the East Riding of Yorkshire between the mid 17th century and mid 18th century. Nationally this was a period when general population stagnation coincided with marked urban expansion suggesting widespread rural depopulation. A comparison of the number of households or families in rural townships in the East Riding in the 1670s and 1740s confirms a substantial drop in the size of many settlements.

Using detailed documentary material relating to individual townships the possible causes of settlement contraction are explored. Epidemic disease, the implementation of the 'settlement acts', agrarian reorganization, agricultural depression, and migration and urban growth all contributed to decline in village population, but this study concludes that the primary factor for determining the occurrence and extent of contraction was the nature of landownership in individual settlements.

Two chapters are devoted to examining the physical impact which contraction had upon settlements showing that, whilst the 'shrunken' village was the most common outcome, desertion of villages between 1660 and 1760 also occurred.

The study concludes by providing evidence for rural depopulation at this period elsewhere in England, and demonstrates that the experience of the East Riding was far from unusual.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CONTENTS

List of Tables	4
List of Figures	6
List of Plates	8
Abbreviations	9
Explanatory Notes	10
Introduction	11
I: The Demographic Background	23
1 Population Change in the East Riding c.1660-1760	24
2 Change in Settlement Size	42
II: Settlement Contraction - Contributory Factors	63
3 Nature versus Man	64
4 Landownership	84
5 Land Tenure	113
6 The Settlement Acts	123
7 The Pattern of Land Use and Agricultural Practice in the Bainton Beacon Division in the Late 17th Century and Early 18th Century	136
8 Agrarian Reorganization and Changes in Land Use	160
9 Economic Fluctuations and the Agricultural Community	185
10 Non-agricultural Employment	199
11 Migration and Urban Growth	214
III: The Physical Impact of Contraction	232
12 The Shrunken Village	233
13 The Deserted Village	258
Conclusion	275
Appendix: Township Profiles	288
Bibliography	409

LIST OF TABLES

1	The estimated population of England 1641-1761	14
2	Population change in selected English towns c.1650-1760	16
3	Estimated population: East Riding (excluding Hull and Beverley) 1672 and 1743	28
4	Estimated population: Bainton Beacon division (excluding Driffield parish) 1672 and 1743	28
5	Recorded nonconformity in the Bainton Beacon division between the mid 17th and mid 18th centuries	31
6	Estimated population at ten-year intervals: Bainton Beacon division (all parishes) 1671-1741	37
7	Estimated decrease in population between 1671/2 and 1741/3: Bainton Beacon division (excluding Driffield parish)	37
8	Number of baptisms and burials per decade, 1671-1740: Bainton Beacon division	39
9	Change in number of households/families in the rural East Riding between 1672 and 1743	50
10	Change in number of households/families between 1672 and 1743/64 in selected East Riding townships	52
11	Decrease in number of households/families in the Bainton Beacon division between 1670-3 and 1743	55
12	The mortality crisis of 1679-81 in the Bainton Beacon division	68
13	The mortality crisis of 1728-9 in the Bainton Beacon division	71
14	The top twenty landowners in the Bainton Beacon division in 1662	85
15	Number of transactions recorded in the East Riding Deeds Registry 1708-56 linked with evidence from land tax returns as a measure of closed settlements and their liability to contraction	98
16	Comparative crop and stock valuations in the Bainton Beacon division 1690-1729	143
17	Enclosure patterns in the Bainton Beacon division	167
18	National price indices of grain crops 1640-1749	187
19	Fluctuations in national grain and livestock prices over a sample 20-year period (1725/6-1744/5)	191

20	East Riding settlements classified by Beresford and Hurst as 'deserted medieval villages' which still supported four or more households in 1670-3	263
21	Depopulation in selected English counties between the mid 17th and mid 18th centuries	281

LIST OF FIGURES

1	East Riding wapentakes: the Bainton Beacon division in its regional setting	20
2	Baptisms 1671-1741, Bainton Beacon division (nine-year moving averages)	35
3	Burials 1671-1741, Bainton Beacon division (nine-year moving averages)	36
4	Annual baptism and burial totals 1671-1741: Bainton Beacon division	65
5	Mortality crises in the Bainton Beacon division in the late 17th and early 18th centuries	66
6	Mortality crisis 1728-9 and subsequent population regeneration: Bainton Beacon division	75
7	East Riding natural regions .	137
8	Bainton Beacon division relief plan	138
9	'A Particular of Arrears at Warter December 13 1745'	196
10	The pattern of contraction at Watton	236
11	Warter village c.1715	240
12	17th century maps of the deserted villages of Thorpe-le-Street and Wauldby	262
13	Bainton Beacon division parishes and townships	291
14	Bainton before enclosure in 1775	296
15	Bainton: village contraction 1629 - 1779	297
16	Neswick township 1850s	301
17	North Dalton before enclosure in 1779	304
18	North Dalton village 1779	305
19	Great and Little Driffield before enclosure in 1742	308
20	A. Great Driffield settlement plan 1742	
	B. Little Driffield township 1850s	309
21	Elmswell and Kellythorpe plan	314
22	Holme on the Wolds before enclosure in 1798	317
23	Hutton Cranswick before enclosure in 1771	321

24	Hutton Cranswick settlement plan 1770	322
25	Rotsea township 1850s	326
26	Sunderlandwick township 1850s	330
27	Kilnwick open field plan 1750	335
28	Kilnwick village 1750	336
29	Beswick open field plan	340
30	Bracken township 1850s	343
31	Kirkburn, Battleburn and Eastburn townships 1850s	347
32	Kirkburn, Battleburn and Eastburn settlement plans 1850s	348
33	Southburn before enclosure in 1779	355
34	Southburn village c.1790	356
35	Tibthorpe before enclosure in 1796	359
36	Lockington before enclosure in 1772	363
37	Aike before enclosure in 1772	366
38	Lund before enclosure in 1796	369
39	Middleton on the Wolds before enclosure in 1805	374
40	Scorborough township c.1700	379
41	Skerne township 1850s	382
42	Warter township 1720s	386
43	Watton in mid 17th century	393

LIST OF PLATES

1	Aerial view of the area of Warter village known as Rickman, showing house sites	242
2	Ruins of a cottage at Watton c.1900	246
3	Mud and cruck cottage at Watton c.1970	246
4	Farmhouse at Scarborough	249
5	Manor House or Coatgares Farm, Warter	249
6	Aerial view of the deserted village of Neswick	267
7	Aerial view of the deserted village of Cowlam	269
8	Shrunken village earthworks at Bainton	298
9	Aerial view of the deserted village of Sunderlandwick	331
10	Early 20th century view of Beswick	339
11	Aerial view of the deserted village of Eastburn	352
12	Warter Hall c.1720	385

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AHR</u>	<u>Agricultural History Review</u>
BIHR	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York
BL	British Library
CHA	Chatsworth House Archives
CLRO	Corporation of London Records Office
<u>CPR</u>	<u>Calendar of Patent Rolls</u>
CuRO	Cumbria Record Office
<u>ECHR</u>	<u>Economic History Review</u>
EYLHS	East Yorkshire Local History Society
HCRO	Humberside County Record Office
<u>Herring's Visitation Returns 1743</u>	S L Ollard & P C Walker (eds) <u>Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns 1743</u>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HUL	Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull
KHRO	Kingston upon Hull Record Office
LAO	Lincolnshire Archives Office
LeCRO	Leicestershire County Record Office
NGR	National Grid Reference
NUL	Nottingham University Library - MSS Department
OS	Ordnance Survey
PHA	Petworth House Archives
PRO	Public Record Office
RDB	Registry of Deeds, Beverley
<u>TERAS</u>	<u>Trans. of the East Riding Antiquarian Society</u>
<u>VCH</u>	<u>Victoria County History</u>
WSRO	West Sussex Record Office
<u>YAJ</u>	<u>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal</u>
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society
YASRS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Quotations drawn from documentary sources have been modernised wherever possible, although care has been taken to ensure that this does not alter the original sense. Abbreviations within quotations have been extended.

All dates given are New Style.

Where dates relating to wills and probate inventories are given, these refer to the date of probate unless otherwise stated.

INTRODUCTION

An examination of air photographs covering any group of English villages is certain to reveal in and around many of the settlements the earthworks of abandoned house sites. Indeed, it has been claimed that 'there is hardly a village in England which does not have at least one or two empty plots where houses once stood'. [1] The 'shrunken' village as distinct from the 'deserted' village has received little attention from either historian or archaeologist yet; as Beresford and Hurst acknowledge at the end of their introduction to Deserted Medieval Villages:

The 'shrunken' village is a phenomenon full of historical and archaeological interest. Its living portion resembles any normal English village, while its grass-covered houses and streets resemble the deserted sites. Its mysteries are open to the archaeologist without trespassing into cottage gardens and under cottage floors. For the historian the variety of causes and periods which could produce a shrunken village present a major challenge to the intelligent use of documentary evidence. [2]

They go on to stress that 'the number of shrunken sites greatly exceeds the number of deserted sites'. [3] The great extent of village shrinkage both in the medieval and post-medieval period is discussed more fully by Taylor in Village and Farmstead who emphasises the considerable problems connected with dating and explaining the phenomenon. [4] Many of the medieval and later villages which he describes in his book have evidence of shrinkage, yet 'in almost every

case the reasons for the decline are quite unknown and very often even the time of its occurrence is not recoverable'.[5] A high proportion of the villages mapped by Roberts in The Making of the English Village show signs of contraction but the scope of his study is confined to defining what can happen to villages, rather than indicating why it happens.[6] Roberts, whilst fully aware of 'the relevance of historical demography and economic history to the explanation of many of the morphological features' he describes, rightly asserts that 'A full analysis of causal factors would need to embrace the whole sweep of economic and social history of this country!'.[7]

Taking on the challenge in this thesis of exploring the reasons why and when village contraction took place it was thought prudent to confine the study to a limited number of settlements in East Yorkshire over a restricted period of time. The post-medieval period was chosen since, as Taylor points out, 'a lack of detailed documentation from medieval times ... usually prevents the accurate identification of many presumed examples of shrinkage of that period'.[8] The time-scale was further refined to the century 1660-1760 because of the survival of good runs of parish and estate records, and the wealth of archaeological, cartographic and documentary evidence which suggested that it was a period when the replanning, contraction or final depopulation of many settlements took place. This century has been comparatively neglected as a period for study, as Peter Borsay has emphasised:

Squeezed in between the central historical dramas of the Civil War and the Industrial Revolution, the century after the Restoration has at times appeared a little forgotten by economic and social historians. Often it is seen as an

adjunct to a pre-industrial economy and society whose origins lie in the later middle ages, and whose pulse beats with the pressures and crises of Tudor and early Stuart times. [9]

In the context of the history of rural settlements it is, however, a key century for, it will be suggested below, England then experienced a period of rural depopulation as significant as the more celebrated occasions of rural decline in the later 15th and later 19th centuries.

* * *

The work carried out by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure and published in The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction by Wrigley and Schofield has established that England experienced a prolonged phase of population stagnation commencing around the middle of the 17th century and lasting almost to the middle of the 18th century.[10]

Table 1 presents the quinquennial population totals for England from 1641 to 1761, taken from Wrigley and Schofield. In the first half of the 17th century the population of England continued the steady growth which had begun in the 1560s, reaching an estimated 5,281,347 by 1656. After this date population levels declined, and although there were some fluctuations the overall total remained below the mid 17th century figure until 1721. The estimated population fell again in the late 1720s but had commenced an upward rise by the mid 1730s which led gradually into the unprecedented population expansion of the later 18th century.

Table 1 **The estimated population of England 1641-1761**

Year	Population total	Year	Population total
1641	5,091,725	1706	5,182,007
1646	5,176,571	1711	5,230,371
1651	5,228,481	1716	5,275,978
1656	5,281,347	1721	5,350,465
1661	5,140,743	1726	5,449,957
1666	5,067,047	1731	5,263,374
1671	4,982,687	1736	5,450,392
1676	5,003,488	1741	5,576,197
1681	4,930,385	1746	5,634,781
1686	4,864,762	1751	5,772,415
1691	4,930,502	1756	5,993,415
1696	4,961,692	1761	6,146,857
1701	5,057,790		

Source: **Wrigley & Schofield Population History of England pp 208-9**

The period of demographic decline and stagnation between the mid 17th and mid 18th centuries coincided with considerable urban growth. The 'English urban renaissance' in the century from 1660 saw marked population rises in most existing towns, and the development of many urban centres.[11] Wrigley has calculated that between 1670 and 1750 the total number of people living in English towns with a population of 5,000 or more rose from 680,000 to 1,220,000, an increase of almost 80%. [12] Many lesser towns also experienced population growth over a similar period.[13] (See Table 2) The expansion of towns took place in spite of high levels of urban mortality. In the cramped and insanitary living conditions of the poor, which were to be found in most of the larger towns, epidemics had a more widespread and severe effect than in the countryside. The consequence was that if population levels were to be maintained, let alone increased, substantial migration into the towns from rural areas was essential.[14]

The equation of national population stagnation and urban population growth suggests rural population decline. This is borne out by Wrigley's figures which show a decrease in rural agricultural population from 3.01 million in 1670 to approximately 2.64 million in 1750, a drop of more than 12%. [15] More detailed figures for large numbers of individual settlements in the East Riding reproduced below indicate that here the overall fall in rural population was substantially higher.[16]

The decline is unlikely to have been as severe as that of the 15th century when rural depopulation took place against a background of a marked drop in national population and urban decay. No reliable statistics are available but there is much evidence to show that the most significant period of wholesale settlement depopulation was between

Table 2 Population change in selected English towns c.1650-1760

Town	Estimated population (date in brackets)	Estimated population (date in brackets)
London	[1650] 400,000	[1750] 675,000
Norwich	[1650] 20,000	[1750] 36,200
Bristol	[1660] 20,000	[1750] 50,000
Newcastle	[1660] 16,000	[1759] 29,000
Exeter	[1670] 9,000	[1750] 16,000
Plymouth	[1670] 8,000	[1750] 15,000
Chester	[1670] 8,000	[1750] 13,000
Coventry	[1670] 7,000	[1750] 13,000
Hull	[1660] 6,000	[1750] 12,000
Manchester	[1660] 5,000	[1758] 20,000
Nottingham	[1670] 5,000	[1750] 12,000
Leeds	[1672] 4,500	[1754] 15,200
Birmingham	[1676] 4,400	[1750] 23,700
Sheffield	[1672] 2,700	[1750] 12,000
Liverpool	[1670] 1,500	[1750] 22,000
Bath	[1660] 1,500	[1750] 6,000
Whitehaven	[1670] 200	[1762] 9,000

Sources: see note [13]

1450 and 1500.[17] Although final desertion of settlements did take place in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, settlement contraction rather than total depopulation was the more common outcome. The scale of rural depopulation between c.1660 and 1760 is more directly comparable to that occurring in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when overall rural population decreased from a peak of 9.1 million in 1861 to 8.0 million in 1931, a drop of 11%. [18] In individual areas the decline was more marked. In the rural county of Rutland, for example, the population fell by 24% between 1851 and 1931 and during the same period 123 declining rural parishes in Warwickshire experienced a 26% drop.[19]

Depopulation of rural settlements cannot be attributed to a single cause. In the late 15th century the conversion of arable to pasture for sheep farming is cited as the most common cause.[20] Rural depopulation in the later 19th century, although associated with a period of agricultural depression, is seen mainly to have resulted from 'the concentration of economic activities in the rapidly growing towns and the successful competition of the urban factories with the products of the rural craftsmen and rural industries'.[21]

What, then, are the reasons for the comparable decline of rural settlements in the late 17th and early 18th centuries? Did agrarian improvements by landowners, such as enclosing, engrossing and emparking, coupled with strict enforcement of the settlement laws, drive people away from the countryside? Or was the attraction of the growing towns alone sufficient to account for this movement? Did all rural areas experience a similar pattern of contraction, and what were the particular characteristics of individual settlements, especially in

terms of landownership, employment opportunities and agrarian practice, which determined the occurrence and extent of contraction? These are the questions which form the basis of the thesis.

The East Riding of Yorkshire (an administrative region until local government reorganization in 1974) provides an excellent area for examining these aspects of rural settlement history. Covering over 750,000 acres, it is bounded by water on all sides - the North Sea to the east, the river Humber to the south, and the rivers Ouse and Derwent to the west and north, and is thus a much more clearly identifiable area than many comparable administrative divisions.[22] The riding comprises three principal natural regions, Holderness, the Wolds and the Vale of York. Throughout its history a distinctive characteristic has been its overwhelming economic reliance on agriculture, with industrial activity largely confined to the port of Hull, and to the county town of Beverley.

The settlement pattern of the East Riding is of particular importance to the present study. The whole riding falls within the group of English regions where a pattern of mixed farming occurs, and where the typical pattern is that of nucleated settlements.[23] In the 17th century it was rare to find any dispersed farmsteads in the Wolds region of the East Riding. In the low-lying regions of Holderness and the Vale of York, dispersed farmsteads or hamlets were more common, but even here it was unusual to find more than three or four farms outside the main area of settlement.[24]

For administrative purposes, the East Riding of Yorkshire was, for most of its long history, divided into six wapentakes: Buckrose,

Dickering, Harthill, Holderness, Howdenshire and Ouse and Derwent. The two largest wapentakes (Holderness and Harthill) were further subdivided; Holderness into three divisions, known as North, Middle and South, and Harthill into four divisions, which took their names from the signalling beacons; Bainton Beacon, Holme Beacon, Hunsley Beacon and Wilton Beacon. Of these areas, the Bainton Beacon division of Harthill wapentake was selected for detailed study in this thesis.

In the 17th century the Bainton Beacon division comprised 25 townships which were separately assessed for taxation purposes, grouped in 14 ecclesiastical parishes.[25] A profile and map of each township in the division is given in the Appendix (pp 288-408 below). Bounded to the east by the Hull river, and to the north and west by the high Wolds, the division contains a variety of landscape suited to a mixed pattern of farming. The most populous settlement in the area in the mid 17th century was Great Driffield, but at this date it was no more than a large village; it was not until the late 18th century that Driffield began to expand and thus acquire its role as the chief market town of the Wolds.

The Bainton Beacon division was chosen because it is situated at the heart of the East Riding, ensuring that influences upon the settlements were largely confined to that identifiable region.[26] (See Figure 1) It also proved fortuitous, as will be shown in the following chapters, that the demographic experience of the division, and incidence of settlement contraction there, mirrored the pattern of the riding as a whole, thus making it an ideal unit for detailed examination.

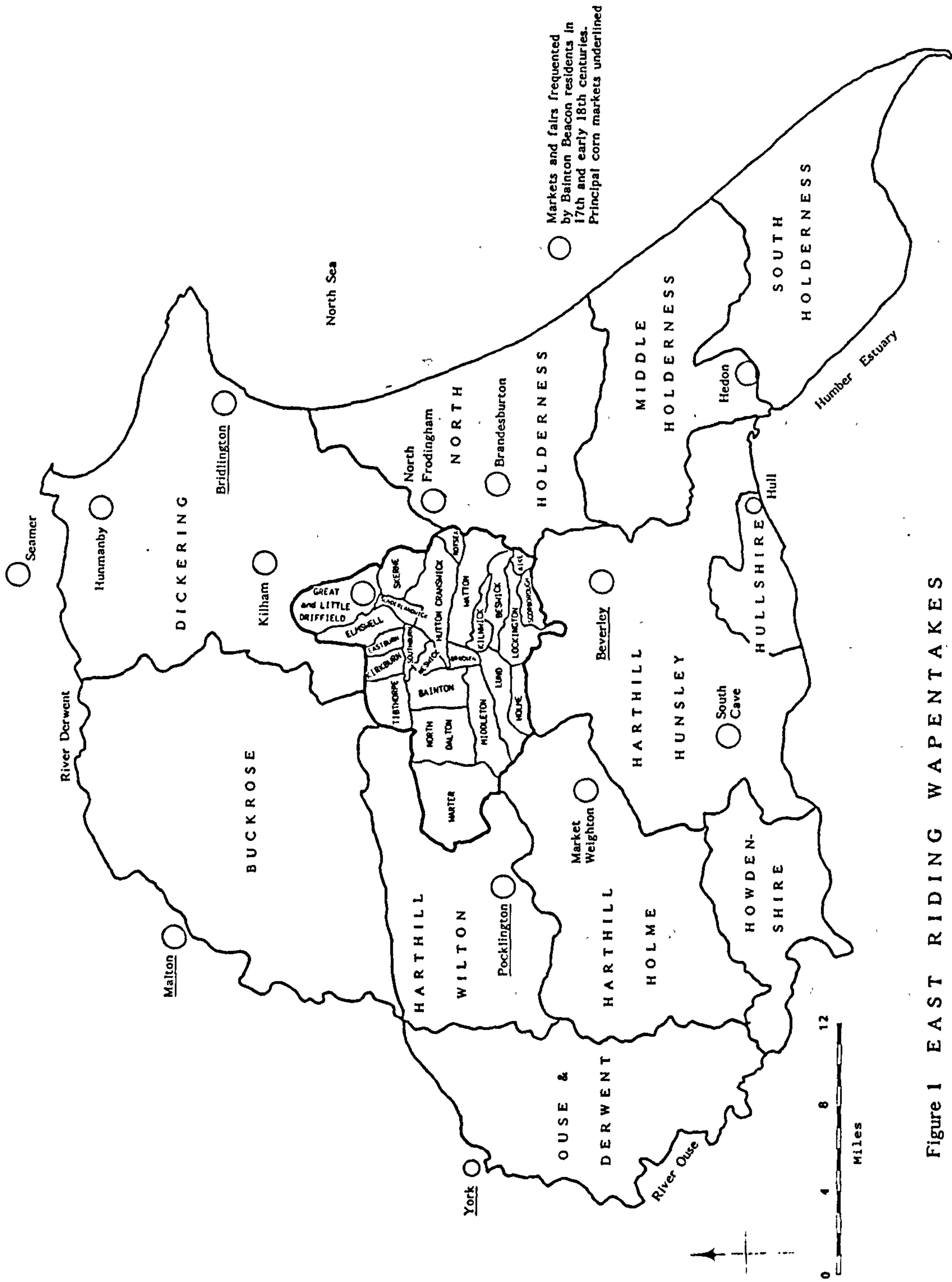


Figure 1 EAST RIDING WAPENTAKES
THE BAIN TON BEACON DIVISION IN ITS REGIONAL SETTING

Introduction - References

- [1] C Taylor Village and Farmstead (1983, paperback edn London, 1984) p 165.
- [2] M W Beresford & J G Hurst (eds) Deserted Medieval Villages (London, 1971) p xviii.
- [3] Ibid.
- [4] Taylor Village and Farmstead pp 165-6,201,205,213.
- [5] Ibid p 166.
- [6] B K Roberts The Making of the English Village (Harlow, 1987).
- [7] ibid pp 40,210.
- [8] Taylor Village and Farmstead p 166.
- [9] P Borsay 'Culture, Status and the English Urban Landscape' History vol 67 (1982) p 1.
- [10] E A Wrigley & R S Schofield The Population History of England 1541-1871: A reconstruction (London, 1981; paperback edn with new introduction Cambridge, 1989) esp pp 208-9.
- [11] The concept of an 'English urban renaissance' was put forward by P Borsay in 'The English Urban Renaissance: The Development of Provincial Urban Culture c.1680-1760' Social History no 5 (1977) pp 581-603 and is the subject of his recent book The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770 (Oxford, 1989).
- [12] E A Wrigley 'Urban Growth & Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period' in R I Rotberg & T K Rabb (eds) Population and History (Cambridge, 1986) p 140.
- [13] The population figures presented in Table 2 are drawn from the following sources:
M Beresford East End, West End: The Face of Leeds during Urbanisation 1684-1842 Thoresby Society vols 60 & 61 for 1985-6 (1988) pp 15,104; Borsay English Urban Renaissance pp 24,31; P Clark & P Slack English Towns in Transition 1500-1700 (London, 1976) p 83; P J Corfield The Impact of English Towns 1700-1800 (Oxford, 1982) p 15; J Ellis 'A dynamic society: social relations in Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1660-1760' in P Clark (ed) The Transformation of English Provincial Towns (London, 1984) p 194; D Hey Yorkshire from AD 1000 (London, 1986) pp 227-8; P Large 'Urban growth and agricultural change in the West Midlands during the 17th and 18th centuries in Clark Transformation of English Provincial Towns p 171; W F Webster (ed) Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax 1664:1674 Thoroton Society Record Series vol 38 (1988) pp xxii-xxiii; J West Town Records (Chichester, 1983) pp 310-31; E A Wrigley 'A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy 1650-1750' Past & Present no 37 (1967), reprinted in J Patten

- (ed) Pre-industrial England (Folkestone, 1979) p 191;
Wrigley 'Urban Growth' p 126.
- [14] Clark & Slack English Towns in Transition p 86; Corfield The Impact of English Towns p 99.
- [15] Wrigley 'Urban Growth' p 140.
- [16] See below p 52, Table 10.
- [17] J Hatcher Plague, Population and the English Economy 1348-1530 (London, 1977) pp 43-4. The Black Death of 1348-9, although devastating in its effect on the population of England, is no longer thought to have resulted in the permanent desertion of many villages. See Taylor Village and Farmstead pp 169-70.
- [18] R Lawton 'Rural Depopulation in Nineteenth Century England' in D R Mills (ed) English Rural Communities (London, 1973) p 195.
- [19] J Saville Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951 (London, 1957) pp 76,85.
- [20] Beresford & Hurst Deserted Medieval Villages p 11; Taylor Village and Farmstead p 171.
- [21] Saville Rural Depopulation p 131.
- [22] Since 1974 the area covered by the East Riding has been divided between the new counties of Humberside and North Yorkshire.
- [23] Roberts English Village p 3; D R Mills Lord and Peasant in Nineteenth Century Britain (London, 1980) pp 17-18.
- [24] A Harris The Rural Landscape of the East Riding of Yorkshire 1700-1850 (1961, reprinted East Ardsley, 1969) pp 19-20;
K J Allison The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape (London, 1976) p 160. See also K J Allison (ed) VCH Yorks East Riding vol 3 (Oxford, 1976) and vol 5 (Oxford, 1984) which deal with parts of the Vale of York and Holderness respectively. These volumes contain a number of early maps which confirm this settlement pattern.
- [25] See, for example, the 1672 hearth tax returns - PRO E179/205/504. The 25 townships are: Aike, Bainton, Beswick, Bracken, North Dalton, Great Driffield, Little Driffield, Eastburn, Elmswell, Holme on the Wolds, Hutton Cranswick, Kilnwick on the Wolds, Kirkburn, Lockington, Lund, Middleton on the Wolds, Neswick, Rotsea, Scarborough, Skerne, Southburn, Sunderlandwick, Tibthorpe, Warter, Watton.
- [26] The markets and fairs shown in Figure 1 are those mentioned by Henry Best in his farming book of 1642, and by Gilbert Dove, a farmer from Hutton Cranswick, in a document dated 1717. See D Woodward (ed) The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best of Elmswell, 1642 (London, 1984) pp 104-8, 117-120; HUL DDCV/15/74 (evidence presented in Exchequer suit, 1717, concerning exemption from tolls in Beverley). Best also mentioned fairs at Doncaster and Whitgift, both in the West Riding.

Section I

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

POPULATION CHANGE IN THE EAST RIDING c.1660-1760

1.1 Sources

There are few sources available which enable an accurate population count to be made of a settlement before the census returns of the 19th century. There are, however, a number of sources (primarily of a fiscal or ecclesiastical nature) from which some estimate of the population of settlements can be obtained. Unfortunately the majority of these sources are unsatisfactory as evidence for making an estimate of the population of the East Riding, either because returns for the area are non-existent, lost or incomplete, or because they are in such a form that makes estimation unreliable. Neither diocesan returns of 1603, nor protestation returns of 1641/2, for example, are available for the East Riding.[1] The main sources for the 17th and 18th centuries which cover all or most of the East Riding are the hearth tax returns of the 1670s, the Compton ecclesiastical census returns of 1676, and the archiepiscopal visitation returns of 1743 and 1764. Poll tax returns of the 17th century, and the Marriage Duty Act lists of 1695, also cover limited parts of the riding. All these sources are described more fully below.[2] Unlike the 19th-century census returns, the information contained in these earlier sources was not collected primarily for demographic purposes, and in almost every case the use of a multiplier is necessary. For example, the 18th-century visitation returns for the East Riding give the number of families in each parish. Assuming an average of 4.5 people in each family, this multiplier can then be applied to obtain an estimate of the total number of inhabitants in each parish. The appropriate multiplier for each source is described below.

(a) Hearth tax returns (1670s)

These returns list, by township, all households liable to pay the hearth tax. The returns are only useful for estimating population where lists of those exempt are also given. A multiplier of between four and five is necessary in order to convert the number of households into the number of inhabitants. Returns for all or part of the East Riding survive for several years, of which the lists for 1672 appear to be the most comprehensive. This source is described in considerable detail elsewhere in this thesis.[3]

(b) Compton ecclesiastical census (1676)

In 1676 incumbents of English parishes were required to return details of the number of inhabitants in their parishes, and to indicate how many of these were nonconformists. The returns for the province of York are housed at the Bodleian Library, Oxford and the whole census has now been published by the British Academy.[4] Returns are missing for a number of East Riding parishes. The fundamental problem with the existing returns is that it is often not clear whether the number of 'inhabitants' represents all men, women and children, men and women of an age to receive communion only, men over 16 only, or householders. A different multiplier would be required in each case. A comparison of the East Riding figures with those of the hearth tax returns of a similar date has shown that in practice the Compton census returns are far from satisfactory as a source for estimating population.[5] It is, of course, possible to estimate the population of a parish from the hearth tax returns, then use these figures as a base from which to decide on the correct interpretation of 'inhabitants' from the Compton census returns, but this provides no additional demographic information for this period. Since the hearth tax returns for the East Riding of the

early 1670s appear to be fairly comprehensive, and have the additional benefits of providing a complete coverage of the riding, and of providing details of the number of households in each township, rather than simply in each parish, these have been chosen in preference to the Compton census returns to estimate population at this date.

(c) Visitation returns (18th century)

Returns made by clergy to visitation questionnaires issued by archbishops or bishops for a number of dioceses provide information from which population can be calculated. For the East Riding there are two 18th-century returns, both of which give details of the number of families in each parish. These are the returns made to Archbishop Herring (1743) and Archbishop Drummond (1764). This source is described in considerable detail elsewhere in this thesis.[6] The returns have a particular use in relation to estimating population, since occasionally they give not only the number of families in a parish, but also the number of 'souls' or inhabitants. As well as providing a population estimate, this enables a check to be made of the usual multiplier of between four and five to convert families or households into individuals. At Burnby and Londesborough, both in the East Riding, the 1764 returns report 17 families, or 70 souls, and 37 families, or 175 souls, respectively. In each case the use of a multiplier of between four and five proves to be accurate.[7]

(d) Poll tax returns (17th century)

The only East Riding poll tax returns for the 17th century in the Public Record Office cover the town of Hull and the wapentake of Holderness. These taxation records normally list people over the age of 16, although it is often not clear how many people have been exempted

on grounds of poverty. A multiplier of around 1.66 is used to arrive at an estimate of total population.[8]

(e) Marriage Duty Act lists (1695)

The Marriage Duty Act of 1694, which came into force on 1 May 1695, levied taxes not only on marriages, but also on births and burials, and also levied annual dues upon childless widowers and bachelors over the age of 25. In order to assess the numbers liable to pay the tax, lists of all inhabitants were compiled. These lists, where they survive, are a particularly useful guide to population since they provide a full listing of inhabitants, including children, and therefore no multiplier is required. The only East Riding list available is for the town of Hull, located in Kingston upon Hull City Record Office.[9]

1.2 The population of the East Riding in the later 17th and mid 18th centuries, with particular reference to the Bainton Beacon division

It will be seen from the above section that for the rural East Riding there are effectively only two sources available for the period covering the mid 17th century to the mid 18th century from which some estimation of population can be attempted, the hearth tax returns of the 1670s, and the visitation returns of the mid 18th century. Using these sources, the following estimates of the population of the riding (excluding Hull and Beverley) have been obtained.[10] Although both the 1743 and 1764 visitation returns were examined, the 1743 returns were selected since those of 1764 may reflect the sustained upturn in national population trends which had begun mid-century.

Table 3 Estimated population: East Riding
(exc. Hull and Beverley) 1672 and 1743

1672	1743	decrease
58,176	47,187	10,989 (18.89%)

Sources: PRO E/179/205/504; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743

The above figures suggest that the rural East Riding experienced a marked decrease in population between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries. Using the same sources for the area under detailed examination in this thesis, the Bainton Beacon division, the following results were obtained.[11]

Table 4 Estimated population: Bainton Beacon
(exc. Driffield) 1672 and 1743

1672	1743	decrease
3,771	2,948	823 (21.82%)

Sources: PRO E/179/205/504; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743

In order to test these results, an analysis of the number of baptisms and burials recorded in the parish registers for a comparable period (1671-1741) was undertaken for each parish within the Bainton Beacon division.

The use of parish registers for calculating population is discussed by Drake in Population Studies from Parish Registers. [12] There are various problems in using parish registers for the demographic study of an individual settlement. The relevant registers may be missing or incomplete, baptisms and burials of non-residents may be entered or conversely the baptisms and burials of residents, particularly those dissenting from the Anglican church, may be missing. The problem of missing or incomplete registers may be overcome by the use of bishops' transcripts if they survive.

All parish registers contain some entries relating to people who clearly dwelt outside the parish, for example those who had moved away but chose to be buried in the place where they had resided for much of their lives. Conversely the baptisms or burials of some inhabitants of a parish may be omitted from the registers for the same reasons. The baptism and burial totals used therefore reflect all entries in each register, with no particular attention paid to place of residence (where given) on the assumption that additional and missing entries compensate for each other.

A greater problem in using parish registers to estimate population is that of non-registration, primarily of the baptisms and burials of nonconformists. In the case of the Bainton Beacon division, this does not present a serious problem in the period 1671-1741. Early dissent was not a dominant feature of the area, or indeed of the East Riding as a whole. Although the Quakers had a strong following in the third quarter of the 17th century, their births and burials records suggest that their membership had reduced considerably by the early 18th century. [13]

Following the 1689 Act of Toleration, all Protestant dissenting meeting houses had to be licensed. The records available show that only one such meeting house was registered in the Bainton Beacon division in the first half of the 18th century, a Quaker meeting house at Hutton Cranswick; no other Protestant nonconformist sects had a strong presence in the area.[14] There was only a handful of known Roman Catholics in the Bainton Beacon division at this time.[15] It was not until the spread of Methodism from the 1750s that nonconformity began to play a prominent role in the religious life of the East Riding.

Table 5 gives details of recorded nonconformity in the Bainton Beacon division of the East Riding from the mid 17th century to the mid 18th century. It should be stressed that for the purposes of this study the emphasis is on the change in population trends over a given period, rather than the actual population recorded. Provided, therefore, that nonconformity remained at a static level across the period under examination, non-registration of nonconformist baptisms and burials is of little relevance. However, what is obvious from Table 5 is that the incidence of nonconformity declined between 1676 and 1743. At Watton and Warter, for example, both areas known to have had resident Quakers in the mid 17th century, there were 11 and 22 nonconformists respectively (excluding Roman Catholics) in 1676, but none reported in 1743. Therefore if the baptisms and burials of these nonconformist families are missing from the registers, this would mean that the populations of these parishes would probably be slightly greater than an analysis of the registers suggests in the later 17th century, but no difference would occur in the mid 18th century. Any drop in population between these two dates, may, therefore, have been even more marked than the register analysis shows.

Table 5 Recorded nonconformity in the Bainton Beacon division
between the mid 17th and mid 18th centuries

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Number of nonconformists</u> (1676)		<u>Number of nonconformists</u> (1743)	<u>Additional notes</u>
	R.Catholics	Others		
BAINTON	-	-	-	
N DALTON	No return		-	Odd cases of recusancy after 1664
G DRIFFIELD	No return		No return	
HOLME ON THE WOLDS	No return		1 (Presbyt.)	
HUTTON CRANSWICK	-	4	6 families (2 R.C.s;) (2 Anabpts;) (2 Quakers)	1735 - 8 or 9 Catholics
KILNWICK Beswick chp.	No return	No return	- 3 (Quakers)	
KIRKBURN	-	1	-	
LOCKINGTON	-	4	-	
LUND	-	2	1 family? (Anabpt.)	
MIDDLETON	-	-	-	
SCORBOROUGH	-	-	-	
SKERNE	1	2	1 (Quaker)	3 Catholics in 1707; 1 in 1733
WARTER	-	22	-	
WATTON	1	11	-	Odd cases of recusancy after 1664
<u>Total</u>	46 individuals		5 individuals; 7 families	

Sources: Whiteman Compton Census [1676] pp 601-2 ; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743; Aveling Post Reformation Catholicism p 60

The presence of nonconformists in a parish does not necessarily mean that these families are omitted from the parish registers, since some dissenters, including Roman Catholics, still made use of the Anglican church, particularly for burial. The Hutton Cranswick registers record the following burial on 13 May 1742: 'Edmund Lawson papist of Cranswick yeoman brought to Hutton church yard and placed in his grave in silence'.[16] Even where a baptism or burial did not take place within the framework of the Anglican church it might still be noted in the parish registers. At Bainton the registers contain an entry for January 1706 noting that William 'the son of William Sugden of Bainton was baptised by a 'schymatic [sic] preacher', and at Hutton Cranswick, where the Quakers later had a meeting house, there are Quaker burials noted in the Anglican registers in the 1670s.[17]

Non-registration of burials, other than of nonconformists, was uncommon except in periods of severe crisis mortality, when a rapid increase in number of burials meant that registration sometimes became haphazard or ceased.[18] Failure to record a birth through the process of Anglican baptism was a more common occurrence. In addition to the children of nonconformist parents, those born in remote areas (in particular where there was no resident incumbent to keep a vigilant eye on his parishioners) were not always taken to the parish church for baptism. In the Bainton Beacon division, however, where most of the parishes were relatively small, with few outlying farms, one would expect the majority of children to have been baptised, and the baptism to have been recorded in the parish register.

In the mid 17th century the Bainton Beacon division comprised 14 parishes, two of which had subsidiary chapelries. The parishes were

Bainton, North Dalton, Great Driffield (with the chapelry of Little Driffield), Holme on the Wolds, Hutton Cranswick, Kilnwick on the Wolds (with the chapelry of Beswick), Kirkburn, Lockington, Lund, Middleton on the Wolds, Scarborough, Skerne, Warter and Watton. All these parishes have survived for ecclesiastical purposes with the exception of Holme on the Wolds, which was amalgamated with South Dalton in the mid 19th century to form the new parish of Dalton Holme.

All the parishes in the Bainton Beacon division lie within the archdeaconry of the East Riding apart from Warter, which is in the archdeaconry of York. With the exception of the parishes of Middleton on the Wolds and Kirkburn, where the registers commence in 1678 and 1686 respectively, all the parishes examined had registers dating from before 1660, in most cases from the 16th century.[19] Bishops' transcripts were available for several of the missing years for both Middleton and Kirkburn; where no figures were available from either registers or transcripts for a given year, the average for the decade was taken. Bishops' transcripts were also examined in order to fill several minor gaps in the registers for the other parishes.[20]

Both the chapelries of Beswick and Little Driffield had their own registers in the 17th and 18th centuries, although the burials of people residing in Beswick are entered in the Kilnwick registers for certain years. The Beswick baptism and burial figures have been added to those from the Kilnwick registers to obtain totals for Kilnwick parish. The baptism and burial figures for Little and Great Driffield have similarly been added together to obtain totals for Great Driffield parish. Furthermore the baptism and burial totals for the parishes of Kilnwick (including Beswick) and Lockington have been combined and joint totals

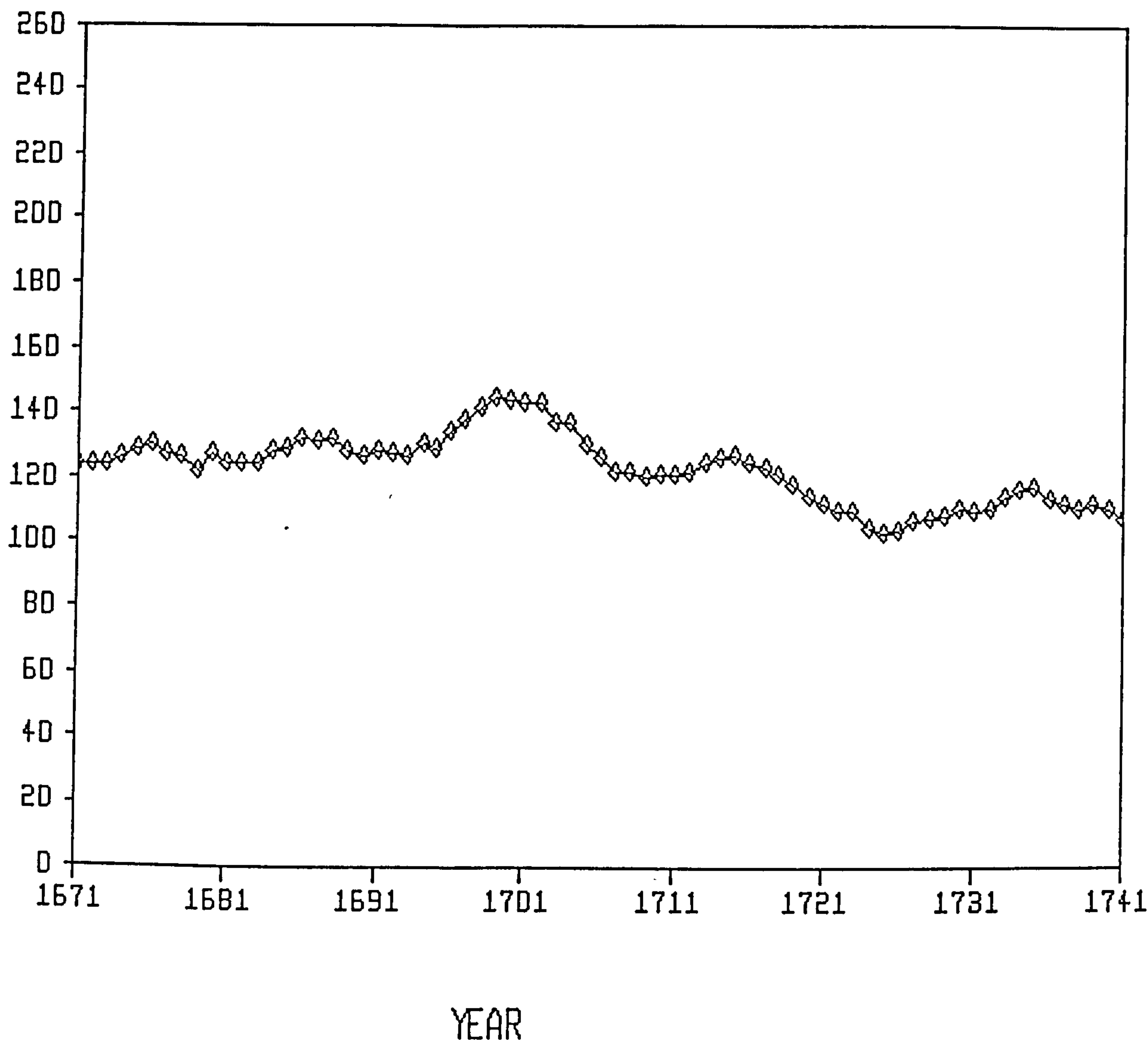
for the two parishes given. This is because part of Kilnwick parish lies physically with the township of Lockington and a change in the population of either parish would not necessarily reflect a change in the size of settlements.[21]

The total number of burials and baptisms for each parish for every year between 1660-1760 was calculated, although a somewhat narrower period (1671-1741) was selected for detailed analysis. This calculation was carried out with two main objectives in mind: firstly, to estimate the change in population in the Bainton Beacon division between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries, for comparison with the population estimates obtained from the hearth tax returns of 1672 and the visitation returns of 1743, and secondly, to assess whether there was a natural increase or decrease in population over this period.

In order to even out the intermittent peaks and troughs caused by years of crisis mortality, the aggregate annual baptism and burial totals for the whole of the division, were converted into nine-year moving averages. (See Figures 2 and 3) The results obtained show a modest decline in the annual numbers of baptisms and burials between 1671 and 1741, indicating a reduction in the population of the area over this period. Using the moving average totals it was also possible to obtain an estimated population for the Bainton Beacon area at ten-year intervals. This was calculated by dividing the annual (moving average) baptism total for every tenth year by the nationally accepted crude birth rate for that year, and multiplying by one thousand.[22] The following results were obtained.

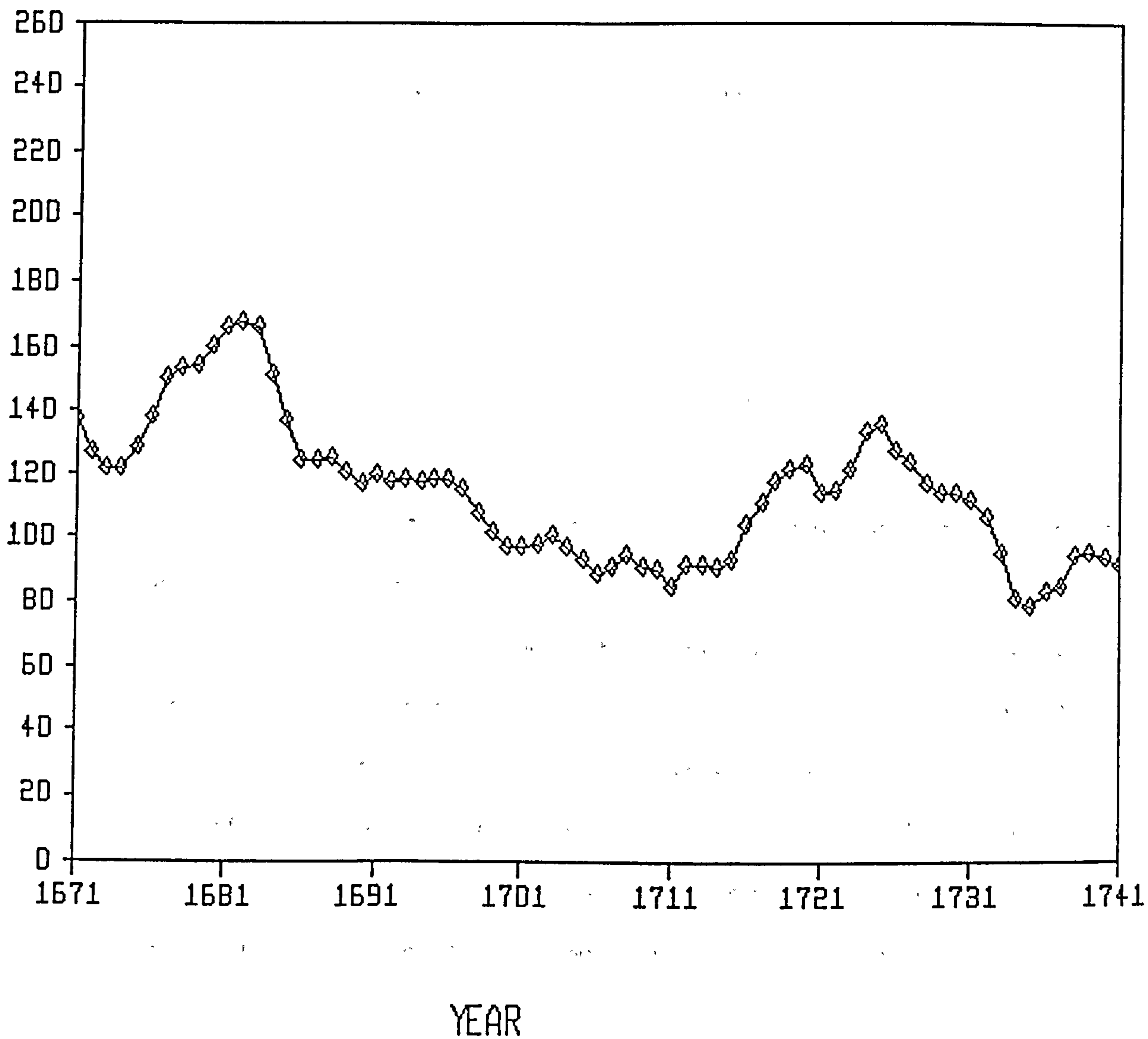
[See Table 6 below]

Figure 2 Baptisms 1671-1741, Bainton Beacon division
(nine-year moving averages)



Source: parish registers (see note [19])

Figure 3 Burials 1671-1741, Bainton Beacon division
(nine-year moving averages)



Source: parish registers (see note [19])

Table 6 Estimated population at ten-year intervals:
Bainton Beacon division (all parishes)
1671-1741

1671	4,465	1711	4,168
1681	4,123	1721	3,537
1691	3,963	1731	3,004
1701	4,155	1741	3,451

Source: parish registers (see note [19])

The above estimates, based on the parish register analysis, show a decrease in the population of the Bainton Beacon division of 1,014 (22.70%) between 1671 and 1741. A comparison was then made with population estimates based on the 1672 hearth tax returns and 1743 visitation returns obtained earlier. Since it was not possible to include Driffield parish in the latter analysis, the population estimates for 1671 and 1741 from the parish registers were recalculated excluding Driffield to enable a direct comparison to be made.

Table 7 Estimated decrease in population between 1671/2 and
1741/3: Bainton Beacon division (exc. Driffield parish)

1671 (registers)	3,555	1672 (H Tax)	3,771
1741 (registers)	2,878	1743 (visit ret)	2,948
decrease	677 (19.04%)	decrease	823 (21.82%)

Sources: parish registers (see note [19]); PRO E179/205/504;
Herring's visitation returns 1743

The two sets of figures obtained compare very favourably, suggesting a decrease in population of around 20% had occurred in the Bainton Beacon division between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries.[23]

Having established that a decrease in population did occur, it was necessary to examine the extent to which this might be a result of a natural decline in the level of population. Table 8 shows the total number of baptisms compared with the total number of burials for each decade from 1671-80 to 1731-40 for the Bainton Beacon division. This shows that baptisms exceeded burials by 617 over the period as a whole, indicating a natural growth in population over this period. The excess of baptisms over burials was slightly greater (702) when Driffield parish was excluded from the figures. The drop in population which actually occurred in the area between these dates cannot, therefore, be attributed to any natural decrease in population.

Taking into account the natural increase in population of 702 between 1671 and 1741, the number who left the area was substantially greater than indicated by the figures above. The estimated population of the Bainton Beacon division (without Driffield) in 1671 was 3,771 which, with the calculated natural increase would give a population of 4,473 in 1741. Yet the estimated population at this date is only 2,948, a drop of 1,525 (34%). One third of the population had apparently moved away. What impact did such a large-scale depopulation have upon individual settlements?

Table 8 Number of baptisms and burials per decade, 1671-1740:
Bainton Beacon division

<u>Decade</u>	<u>BAPTISMS</u>		<u>BURIALS</u>		<u>DIFFERENCE</u>	
	all parishes	(exc GD)*	all parishes	(exc GD)*	all parishes	(exc GD)*
1671-80	1,270	(1,003)	1,377	(1,034)	-107	(-31)
1681-90	1,285	(1,050)	1,329	(1,055)	-44	(-5)
1691-1700	1,327	(1,081)	1,174	(930)	+153	(+151)
1701-10	1,280	(1,045)	911	(738)	+369	(+307)
1711-20	1,238	(1,042)	1,022	(823)	+216	(+219)
1721-30	1,031	(845)	1,323	(1,063)	-292	(-218)
1731-40	1,150	(946)	828	(667)	+322	(+279)
TOTAL	<u>8,581</u>	<u>(7,012)</u>	<u>7,964</u>	<u>(6,310)</u>	<u>+617</u>	<u>(+702)</u>

* excluding Great Driffield parish

Source: parish registers (see note [19])

- [1] For details of survival of the diocesan returns of 1603 see D M Palliser & L J Jones 'The Diocesan Population Returns for 1563 and 1603' Local Population Studies no 30 (Spring 1983) pp 55-8. For an introduction to the protestation returns see W F Webster Protestation Returns 1641/2 - Lincolnshire (privately published, Nottingham, 1984) pp vii-ix.
- [2] Unless otherwise stated, information on population sources is drawn from the following works:
M Drake (ed) Population Studies from Parish Registers (Matlock, 1982) pp xxix-xxx; T H Hollingsworth Historical Demography (London, 1969) pp 79-88; W B Stephens Sources for the History of Population and Their Uses (University of Leeds, Institute of Education, paper no 11, 1971); J Thirsk 'Sources of Information on Population 1500-1760' Amateur Historian vol 4 nos 4 & 5 (Summer & Autumn 1959) pp 129-33; 182-4.
- [3] See below pp 42-5.
- [4] A Whiteman (ed) The Compton Census of 1676 (London, 1986).
- [5] Similar reservations about the use of the Compton census for estimating population are expressed by A B Appleby in Famine in Tudor and Stuart England (Liverpool, 1978) pp 28-9. See also D G Edwards 'Population in Derbyshire in the Reign of King Charles II: The Use of Hearth-Tax Assessments and the Compton Census' Derbyshire Archaeological Journal vol 102 for 1982 (1983) pp 106-117 which highlights the difficulties encountered in using the Compton census.
- [6] See below p 45.
- [7] BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [8] See J S W Gibson (ed) The Hearth Tax, other later Stuart tax lists and the Association Oath Rolls (Plymouth, 1985) p 51.
- [9] KHRO CAT.91-99. This legislation and its implementation is described more fully in D V Glass 'Two Papers on Gregory King' in D V Glass & D E C Eversley Population in History (London, 1965) pp 167-220.
- [10] For both the hearth tax returns and visitation returns a multiplier of 4.5 was used. It has been demonstrated that mean household size remained more or less constant across the period. See P Laslett & R Wall (eds) Household and Family in Past Time (Cambridge, 1972) p 126. Small areas were excluded when the population of the East Riding was calculated, notably the parishes of Filey and Driffield. For a fuller explanation of these exclusions see below p 61 note [22].
- [11] The parish of Driffield was excluded from the Bainton Beacon division population calculations, since no visitation returns are available.

- [12] Drake Population Studies from Parish Registers passim.
- [13] PRO RG6 1119; RG6 1288 (microfilm at HCRO).
- [14] HCRO QSF Midsummer 1707 (petition for registration of Quaker meeting house at Cranswick).
- [15] For evidence of Roman Catholicism in the area see H Aveling Post Reformation Catholicism in East Yorkshire 1558-1790 EYLHS series no 11 (1960) p 60.
- [16] HCRO PE/72/2.
- [17] HCRO PE/5/2; PE/72/1. For a list of Quaker meeting houses see W P Thistlethwaite The Quaker Meeting Houses of Yorkshire 1647-1980: A Gazetteer (duplicated typescript, 1982).
- [18] In a group of parishes in Staffordshire, for example, lapses in registration occurred during the severe epidemic of 1557-9. See D Palliser 'Dearth and Disease in Staffordshire, 1540-1670' in C W Chalklin & M A Havinden Rural Change and Urban Growth 1500-1800 (London, 1974) pp 57-8.
- [19] HCRO PE/5/1-2 (Bainton); PE/67/1 (Beswick); PE/63/1 (N Dalton); PE/10/2-3 (Gt Driffield); PE/11/1-3 (L Driffield); PE/53/2 (Holme on the Wolds); PE/72/1-3 (Hutton Cranswick); PE/65/2-4 (Kilnwick); PE/24/1 (Kirkburn); PE/139/2-4 (Lockington); PE/70/2-3 (Lund); PE/45/1 (Middleton on the Wolds); PE/74/1 (Skerne); PE/66/1-2 (Watton); BIHR PR WAR/1-3 (Warter); A T Winn (ed) The Registers of Scarborough Yorkshire Parish Register Society vol 8 (1901).
- [20] The transcripts for all parishes in the Bainton Beacon division are at BIHR (class PRT). Microfilm copies of transcripts for certain parishes are available at HCRO.
- [21] This point is discussed at greater length on pp 54 & 57 below. The additional problem that part of Aike (most of which lies in Lockington parish) is in the parish of St John, Beverley, has not been taken account of here. It is not clear whether the Lockington incumbent included residents of Aike who belonged to the Beverley parish in his return, but the numbers involved are very small and would make no significant difference to the population of the Bainton Beacon division as a whole.
- [22] Annual crude birth rates (that is, the number of births per thousand of the total population) are given in Wrigley & Schofield Population History of England pp 532-3.
- [23] If a multiplier of 4.25, instead of 4.5, is used for the hearth tax returns and visitation returns, population figures even closer to those calculated from the registers (3,562 in 1672; 2,784 in 1743) are obtained. A further test of the reliability of parish registers for estimating population was applied. The registers for Warter contain a note, dated 31 May 1695, stating that the men, women and children living in the parish numbered 362. (BIHR PR WAR/2.) The population estimate obtained for the same year based on the parish register analysis was 342.

Chapter 2

CHANGE IN SETTLEMENT SIZE

The previous chapter was concerned with the number of people living in the East Riding and more especially in the Bainton Beacon division. The study now turns from individuals to households, in order to look more particularly at the changing size of settlements.

2.1 Sources

In examining the changes in the number of households in East Riding settlements, and in particular in the Bainton Beacon division, between the late 17th century and the mid 18th century, two major sources were used, the hearth tax returns of the early 1670s, and the archbishops' visitation returns of 1743 and 1764, both of which have been referred to earlier in the context of examining the population of the area.[1]

(a) Hearth tax returns

The first hearth tax act was passed in 1662 following the Restoration of Charles II, and this form of taxation continued, with various modifications, until 1689. The basis for and administration of the tax has been discussed in depth in various studies.[2] In brief, the tax was levied according to the number of hearths per household. Those who were already exempt from paying church and poor rates, and others who could obtain a certificate confirming that they lived in a house worth £1 or less per year, did not occupy land worth more than £1 a year, and did not possess goods, chattels, lands or tenements in excess of £10 in value, were also exempt. The tax was levied at two shillings per hearth, payable in half-yearly instalments. Under the original act, collection was to be made by the constables of each

township, but in 1664 this responsibility was transferred to specifically appointed officials. From 1666-9, and again from 1674-84, the collection of the tax was farmed out and from 1684 until its termination in 1689 it was collected through a special commission. Since assessments were only returned to the Exchequer during the periods when the tax was not farmed out or dealt with by the special commission, few records survive except for these limited periods.[3]

For the East Riding, assessments survive for several of those years when returns to the Exchequer were made. These assessments are based on wapentakes, with separate lists of householders for each township within a wapentake. The earliest of these is for Michaelmas 1670, but the document is in poor condition. Of those East Riding assessments which are complete or almost complete, 1672 was chosen for this study as it appeared to give the fullest and most legible lists of both tax payers and exempt householders, although other years were also consulted when appropriate.[4] The returns follow the standard format, listing tax payers by household and detailing the number of hearths on which they were liable to pay tax. Those exempt from payment of tax are normally given at the end of each township list, although on occasions no exemptions are listed, in which case the number of households may be an under-representation. In the Bainton Beacon division only Scarborough has no list of people discharged from payment in any of the returns for 1670-3, and it is most likely that the township had no inhabitants poor enough to fall into this category.[5]

In several instances the presence of an empty house or houses in a settlement is noted. In 1672 the earl of Winchilsea was assessed for three empty cottages, each with one hearth, at Watton, whilst in 1673

Sir John Hotham was assessed for an empty cottage at Scarborough.[6] The 1671 and 1672 returns for York include houses recorded as 'empty, no distress to be had'.[7] The somewhat ambiguous wording of the 1662 act meant that empty houses were technically liable for payment of the tax. If payment was collected from the owners, as the evidence suggests it sometimes was, this might offer an incentive to landlords to pull down empty properties where they were either unwilling or unable to let these to new tenants.

It has been said of the hearth tax that:

Because the Revising Act of 1663 was unique in pre-modern legislation in requiring all householders to be listed, including those actually exempt from payment of the tax, many historians who have steeped themselves in the records pertaining to particular communities at the relevant period find certain assessments their best guide to total population size prior to the 1801 census.[8]

Since estimating population from such a source requires the use of a multiplier, the hearth tax returns may be considered even more useful and reliable as a means of assessing the number of households in a settlement at a given date where no such multiplier is required. As the taxation lists name householders, and the collector was required to produce an amount of money to correspond with the list of those liable for payment, the returns are unlikely to include names of people who did not exist. However, as with all taxation lists, some evasion of payment of the tax must be allowed for. One can therefore assume that even the fullest returns are more likely to under-represent the number of

households in a settlement than to exaggerate the figure.

(b) Visitation returns

Incumbents of parishes in the diocese of York were required at intervals to make returns concerning the state of their parishes. There are two relevant visitation returns for the purposes of this study: those made to Archbishop Herring in 1743, and those made to Archbishop Drummond in 1764. Both sets of returns are kept at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research at York, and the former have been published in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society's Record Series.[9] The returns were made in response to a printed set of questions, the first of which concerned the number of families in the parish. Occasionally an incumbent clearly estimated the number of families in his parish, especially in the larger parishes. However, the returns more commonly give precise numbers, for example 48 for North Dalton parish and 39 for Middleton parish in 1743, which suggests the incumbents made an actual count.[10]

Before using these sources to examine change in settlement size, some assessment of their comparability is necessary, since the hearth tax returns list heads of households whilst the visitation returns deal with families. An examination of the comments of several of the incumbents who made returns to the archbishop of York in both 1743 and 1764 make it clear, however, that the general consensus was that a 'family' was synonymous with a grouping of people who would be identified in the hearth tax returns as a household. At Weaverthorpe in 1764 the incumbent noted that 'There are about 27 families in the whole parish and of these there are about 16 or 17 families consisting of no more than one or two grown persons so thinly are our Wold villages

peopled.'[11] If, however, one wishes to examine the physical changes in a settlement, it is also necessary to assess the extent to which 'household' and 'family' represent what Laslett has termed 'houseful', that is, 'all persons inhabiting the same set of premises'.[12] In many of the studies carried out using the hearth tax returns historians have assumed that, at least in rural areas, the majority of those listed as householders in these documents occupied separate dwellings. Spufford, for example, in Contrasting Communities, maps the distribution of one- and two-hearthed houses in Cambridgeshire from the hearth tax returns. Similarly Meirion-Jones made use of the hearth tax returns when studying vernacular architecture in north-east Hampshire.[13] Such an approach is only possible if one assumes that each householder occupied a separate dwelling.

Criticisms have been levelled at this assumption. Alldridge has demonstrated that in Chester in the late 17th century it was common for more than one household to occupy the same set of premises. His study, however, concerned a thriving urban settlement, noted for its multi-storey housing, where one might expect a very different pattern from that found in rural areas.[14] There is no evidence to suggest that multi-occupancy of premises was common in the rural East Riding. Rentals for the parish of Warter for the early 18th century list each tenant by house row, giving the acreage of the house and garth he or she occupied and there is no suggestion of joint tenancies. Correspondence for the same settlement in 1735 shows an attempt being made to persuade two single householders to share accommodation to avoid the need for the landlord to rebuild a house following a fire, and the tenants involved clearly regarded this as both unusual and undesirable.[15] Returning to the hearth tax, examples may be found of names bracketed together

against a given number of hearths, suggesting that where accommodation was shared or in joint ownership, the collector made a point of noting this. At Skerne, in the East Riding, for example, two people were jointly assessed for seven hearths in the 1670 return. This practice was also followed in other areas; the hearth tax returns for Dorset, for example, provide several similar examples.[16]

Evidence that multi-occupancy was uncommon can also be found in the visitation returns. The incumbent of Cottingham near Hull wrote in 1743 that 'There are about 277 families in this parish, reckoning in every house inhabited a family; although in 20 of these houses there is but one inhabitant'.[17] Similarly at Burythorpe in Buckrose deanery the incumbent reckoned a family to every house inhabited although again he was careful to point out that some of these 'families' contained only one or two people.[18] Numerous other examples may be found among the visitation returns of both 1743 and 1764. One of the few townships which was not typical is that of Sculcoates, which in the mid 18th was on the brink of becoming a suburb of Hull. Here some of the 'little and poor' families lived in 'but one low room' or in a chamber of a house in 1743, not surprising when one considers that the township had risen in size from 15 households in 1672 to 88 families resident in 1743, and 162 in 1764.[19]

If, of course, the hearth tax returns generally do represent the actual number of dwellings, but the visitation returns include some families sharing accommodation; any decrease in the number of occupied dwellings between the late 17th and mid 18th century will actually be even greater than the figures suggest. It can therefore be argued that 'household' as used in the hearth tax returns and 'family' as used

in the 1743 and 1764 visitation returns are comparable units and that a decrease in the number of units between the late 17th century and mid 18th century probably represents a proportional decrease in the number of occupied dwellings. Map evidence supports this theory; at Watton in the Hull valley the visitation returns of 1743 suggest a decrease of around 37 households (52%) since the 1670s whilst maps of the mid 17th century and 1761 respectively show that between these dates there had been almost total clearance of houses from one village street, and a considerable reduction in the number of houses lining the other street.[20]

In making comparisons with the 17th-century hearth tax returns, the visitation returns have the obvious disadvantage of dealing with parishes, rather than townships. Fortunately, in the East Riding, and especially in the Bainton Beacon division, many of the parishes contain only one township. Where a subsidiary township does exist (for example Beswick, which is part of Kilnwick parish), but forms a separate chapelry, a discrete figure is often given for that township. Elsewhere, for example in Rowley parish, the incumbent sometimes divided the population into separate townships, although this was not specifically requested.[21] Where a parish contained two or more townships, and no breakdown was given, a general comparison for the parish may be obtained by adding together the figures for the constituent townships from hearth tax returns.

In general, if one allows 'household' and 'family' as comparable units, the hearth tax returns and visitation returns provide a means of determining the change in the size of settlements between the late 17th century and mid 18th century.

2.2 The pattern for the rural East Riding

Using the 1672 hearth tax and 1743 visitation return figures, an analysis was made of the decrease in number of households/families in each of the East Riding wapentakes (excluding the towns of Hull and Beverley) between these dates.[22] The results are presented in Table 9.

These results shows that overall the rural East Riding experienced a decrease of 18.89%. The pattern varied across the riding, with the most marked decreases (over 25%) occurring in the wapentakes of Howdenshire and Buckrose, with the Hunsley and Wilton divisions of Harthill wapentake showing decreases of less than 10%. Even without detailed investigation, some suggestions might be made for the difference in level of contraction between various parts of the East Riding. In Howdenshire, in the south-west of the riding, where contraction was particularly marked, the low lying ill-drained lands may have made it seem less desirable as a place of settlement as opportunities for migration became available; in addition there was an above-average death rate in this area, possibly associated with the unhealthy environment.[23] The Buckrose wapentake, covering the north-west corner of the riding, is topographically very different from Howdenshire, but contraction in this area was equally marked. Buckrose displays a strong pattern of closed settlements, suggesting that landownership may have been a significant factor in the contraction of settlements. By contrast, the Wilton and Hunsley divisions of Harthill experienced a much lower level of contraction, and the influences of York, Beverley, and to a certain extent Hull, may be relevant. It has been suggested that mobility from the countryside to the towns was a gradual process, with movement first to settlements nearer to an urban area, before the

Table 9 **Change in number of households/families in the**
rural East Riding between 1672 and 1743*
(by wapentake)

Wapentake**	1672 (Households)	1743 (Families)	Difference	% Decrease
Howdenshire	729	528	201	27.57
Buckrose	1313	961	352	26.81
Holderness - South	1004	757	247	24.60
Holderness - Middle	1238	950	288	23.26
Harthill - Bainton	838	655	183	21.84
Harthill - Holme	1005	790	215	21.39
Dickering	2058	1691	367	17.83
Hullshire***	275	226	49	17.82
Holderness - North	1099	920	179	16.29
Ouse & Derwent	1066	905	161	15.10
Harthill - Wilton	943	852	91	9.65
Harthill - Hunsley	1360	1251	109	8.01
All wapentakes	12,928	10,486	2442	18.89%

* The towns of Hull and Beverley have been excluded. For other minor exclusions, including Great Driffield parish in the Bainton Beacon division of Harthill wapentake, see note [22].

** The wapentakes of Holderness and Harthill are subdivided into several divisions.

*** The townships surrounding Hull which (together with the town of Hull) formed the county of Hull or 'Hullshire' have been treated as a wapentake.

Source: see note [22]

final move into the town itself.[24] Thus the settlements around these towns may have maintained or even increased their populations for this reason.

In order to examine the effect of contraction on individual settlements, a list was drawn up of those East Riding townships where 1672 and 1743 figures were both available and unambiguous (primarily where a parish comprised a single township, or where the visitation figures were subdivided into townships, and not merely given for the parish). Eighty-four townships met these criteria. Figures for these townships in 1764 were also examined, where available, since these offer an indication of whether contraction (or occasionally growth) continued beyond the mid 18th century. (See Table 10)

The total decrease in number of households/families between 1672 and 1743 for these 84 townships is 19.26%. This compares favourably with the figure of 18.89% obtained above, suggesting that the individual settlements selected are representative of the rural East Riding as a whole. In only nine settlements does any increase in number of households/ families between 1672 and 1743 appear to have occurred, and in the majority of these the increase is minor, suggesting stability as opposed to dramatic growth. Those settlements which do appear to have increased in size include Flamborough, which during this period was a thriving fishing village. However, although an increase from 101 households in 1672 to 120 families in 1743 occurred, the visitation returns for 1764 report only 90 families, suggesting either a considerable decrease in population over a fairly short period in the mid 18th century or, possibly more likely, some degree of over/under estimation in the numbers of families at the two visitation dates.

Table 10 Change in number of households/families between 1672 and 1743/64 in selected East Riding townships

Township	1672 (households)	1743 (families)	1764 (families)	(1672) 69	(1743) 94	(1764) c.80
<u>Buckrose</u>						
Bugthorpe	45	40	30-40	58	56	45
Burythorpe	20	20	18	289	277	300
Cowlam	14	1	-	44	40	40
Fridaythorpe	24	22	21	68	55	41
North Grimston	26	21	24	49	47	40
Helperthorpe	18	c.15	c.18	66	50	65
Rillington	63	c.50	-	41	c.36	30
Scampston	49	c.24	-	79	60	75
Scagglethorpe	28	28	-	29	17	17
Settrington	69	62	-	25	19	15
Sherburn	57	60	50	23	18	14
Skirpenbeck	47	28	26	54	40	50
Thorpe Bassett	22	17	16	10	4	5
				57	44	38
<u>Dickering</u>						
Boynton	31	23	21	65	44	47
Burton Fleming	50	42	40	117	c.100	97
Carnaby	48	29	25	5	7	7
Flamborough	101	120	90+	31	22	19
Fraisthorpe (w. Auburn)	37	15	12	57	65	c.63
Carton on the Wolds	47	42	46	37	32	33
Hunmanby	167	120	145	77	43	36
Kilham	110	c.100	97	25	35	33
Langtoft (w. Cottam)	57	c.50	42	85	c.50	58
Lowthorpe	28	14	c.10	33	18	15
Muston	57	40	c.40	13	8	5+?
Reighton	39	30	42	30	33	25
Ruston Parva	30	17	c.12	45	22	20
				69	80	67
<u>Harthill Bainton</u>						
Beswick	35	22	27	52	48	61
North Dalton	58	48	55	36	28	32
Holme on the Wolds	22	20	17	72	c.52	57
Lund	52	50	48	38	35	23
Middleton	50	39	c.36	100	90	76
Scorborough	19	9	10	47	35	-
Skerne	36	29	30	26	21	-
Warter	83	58	50	24	20	16
Watton	64	34	36	88	60	73
<u>Harthill Holme</u>						
Ellerton Priory	56	40	42	98	111	110
Everingham	57	27	33	48	26	29
Goodmanham	29	20	20	76	71	-
Harswell	8	5	6	128	86	110
Holme on Spalding Moor	176	120	-	115	c.84	100
Seaton Ross	77	64	60			

Sources: Purdy 'The Hearth Tax Returns for Yorkshire', pp 104-151; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret

Something more constructive may be said of Bishop Burton, where an increase from 69 households in 1672 to 94 families in 1743 is reported, although again the 1764 figure of 80 suggests the growth was either not as great, or not as sustained, as it first appears. Bishop Burton lies within three miles of Beverley, and is therefore a good example of a village lying close to, and influenced by, a growing urban centre, and one which may well have served as the penultimate place of residence for families in the process of migration from countryside to town.[25]

Of greater relevance to this study, however, are those townships at the opposite end of the spectrum, where significant contraction occurred. Everingham, for example, experienced a decrease from 57 households in 1672 to only 27 families in 1743. The detailed correspondence relating to the estate of the Constable family at Everingham in the 1730s and 1740s provides some indication that a deliberate policy was pursued which 'encouraged' the township to contract to this extent. In 1740 Sir Marmaduke Constable told his estate steward that 'Few houses and good is what I propose in Everingham'. [26] At Brandesburton, a more open settlement but one where a substantial block of land was held by Emanuel Hospital, Westminster, a similar contraction in size was experienced, with a drop from 85 households in 1672 to around 50 in 1743. In 1700 surveyors acting on behalf of Emanuel Hospital suggested that 'The best way to improve this Lordship, I think, will be to reduce it into six or eight farms' again suggesting that a deliberate contraction was planned. [27] In the search for explanations of the causes of settlement contraction evidence from these and other settlements in the East Riding will be drawn upon. This will be used to supplement the material relating more specifically to the Bainton Beacon division, the principal area of study.

2.3 The pattern for the Bainton Beacon division

The contraction experienced by the Bainton Beacon division (excluding Great Driffield parish) between 1672 and 1743 was 21.84%, compared to 18.89% for the whole of the rural East Riding. (See Table 9) The division can therefore be considered as representative of the riding in this respect.

Table 11 shows the change in the size of individual settlements within the Bainton Beacon division between the early 1670s and 1743. In compiling this table, three sets of hearth tax returns were used (those for 1670, 1672 and 1673). For each settlement the largest number of households recorded in any of these returns was selected. The figure for 1743 was taken from the visitation returns of that date. The visitation figures for 1764 are also given in the table, with a note of any increase or decrease in the number of families which had occurred since 1743.

The table shows that there was no increase in the number of households/families in any township (or parish) between 1670-3 and 1743, and that in several townships the number of households declined by a substantial percentage. There are three parishes for which an accurate change in size cannot be determined, but the figures available do not point to an increase. Two of these are adjacent parishes; Kilnwick, which contains three townships (Kilnwick, Beswick and the now deserted hamlet of Bracken) and Lockington, comprising the main settlement and smaller township of Aike. Physically each of these townships has a distinct identity, and it seems likely that for the purposes of collecting the hearth tax, the 'physical' township divisions were used. However, part of Lockington belonged to the ecclesiastical

Table II Decrease in number of households/families in the Bainton Beacon division between 1670-3 and 1743

Parish	Township	No. households 1670-3		Total no. households in parish 1670-3	No. families in parish 1743	Increase/decrease 1670-3/1743	% decrease	No. families 1764	Difference in no. families 1743/1764
		1670*	1672 1673*						
BAINTON	Bainton Neswick	46 25	71	48	-23	32.4%. Using the separate figs. for townships in 1764 gives a reduction of 4 households in Bainton (8.7%) & 17 in Neswick (68%)	50	+2	
NORTH DALTON	North Dalton	58	58	48	-10	17.2%	55	+7	
GREAT DRIFFIELD	Great Driffield	147	153	no return	see note +	/	above 100*	/	
	Little Driffield Elmswell	12 [@] 12	177						
HOLME ON THE WOLDS	Holme on the Wolds	22	22	20	-2	9.1%	17	-3	
HUTTON CRANSWICK	Cranswick**	87	85	148	-7	4.5%	147	-1	
	Hutton	52	43						
	Rotsea	7	6						
	Sunderlandwick	9	9						
KILNWICK	Beswick***	35	35 (Beswick)	22	-13	37.1%	27	+5	
	Bracken	5	4	60	see note +	/	56	see note +	
	Kilnwick	42	43						
KIRKBURN	Eastburn	4	71	45	-26	36.6%	48	+3	
	Kirkburn	24							
	Southburn	19							20
	Tibthorpe	22							23
LOCKINGTON	Aike	19	96	45	see note +	/	60	see note +	
	Lockington	77							75
LUND	Lund	56	56	50	-6	10.7%	48	-2	
	Middleton on the Wolds	52	52	39	-13	25.0%	c.36	-3	
SCORBOROUGH	Scorborough	19 ^x	19	9	-10	52.6%	10	+1	
SKERNE	Skerne	38	39	29	-10	25.6%	30	+1	
WARTER	Warter	83	85	58	-27	31.8%	50	-8	
WATTON	Watton	65	71	34	-37	52.1%	36	+2	

Sources: Purdy 'The Hearth Tax Returns for Yorks' pp 117-9; PRO E179/205/504, E179/205/514, E179/205/523; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret

(For notes see overleaf)

Table 11 - notes

- * 1670 and 1673 figures given only if greater than 1672. The highest figure (underlined) was used when calculating the change in number of households between 1670-3 and 1743.
- ** Separate figures are given for the two areas of settlement in the bifocal township of Hutton Cranswick.
- *** For Kilnwick parish, separate figures are given for the chapelry of Beswick in the visitation returns of 1743 and 1764.
- @ The figure of 12 for Little Driffield excludes those discharged, who have been included in the figure for Great Driffield. The same applied in 1673, where again a figure of 12 was given for Little Driffield. In 1670 the total number of households in Little Driffield was 21.
- x Although there were 22 entries in the hearth tax assessment for Scarborough for 1670, 3 of these related to empty properties. Since their inclusion would have exaggerated the decrease in number of households in the township, the 1672 figure of 19, which represents actual households, was used.
- + For a discussion of the problems with the parishes of Great Driffield, Kilnwick and Lockington see pp 54-8.

parish of Kilnwick. A survey of parliamentary benefices made in 1650 indicates that at this date c.20 of the houses in the settlement of Lockington belonged to Kilnwick parish.[28] It is probable that the incumbents who made their returns to the archbishop of York in 1743 and 1764 would count only the families in their ecclesiastical parish. To obtain the actual number of households in the settlement, one should therefore considerably reduce the Kilnwick figures for 1743/64, and increase the Lockington figures by the same amount. An additional factor, however, must also be taken into account: the township of Aike lies only partly within the ecclesiastical parish of Lockington, the remaining part lying within the parish of St John, Beverley, and it is not clear how many households living at Aike are included in the 1743/64 Lockington returns. If one adds together the 1670s figures for Lockington (including Aike) and Kilnwick (including Bracken but excluding Beswick) and compares these with the 1743 combined total for Lockington parish and Kilnwick parish (again excluding Beswick, for which a separate figure is given), one obtains a reduction from 144 households to 105 families. Assuming that a notional nine of the Aike households are missing from the 1743 Lockington parish figure on the grounds that they are in the parish of St John Beverley (although these are not specifically mentioned in that incumbent's return), this would still result in a reduction from 144 to 114 units, that is, a decrease of 30 (20.8%), indicating a similar pattern of decline to the rest of the Bainton Beacon division.[29]

The third parish for which the figures are unclear is that of Driffield, comprising Great Driffield, Little Driffield and Elmswell. The hearth tax returns suggest the total number of households in the parish in the early 1670s was around 170-80. No visitation return was

made in 1743, and in his return of 1764 the incumbent gave the number of families simply as 'above 100', presumably a poor estimate since such a dramatic decrease in size seems improbable.[30] The population of Great Driffield was estimated c.1770 (the year in which the canal, which was to bring a new found prosperity to the town, was fully opened) at around 800, perhaps representing a similar number of families to that recorded in the hearth tax returns.[31]

Two individual townships, Holme on the Wolds and Lund, show a decrease of less than 11% in the number of households between the 1670s and 1743, as does the parish of Hutton Cranswick where the decrease is an insignificant 4.5%. In the 17th century this parish contained two small settlements, both now classified as deserted villages, and the bifocal township of Hutton Cranswick (sometimes considered as two separate townships). The latter was and remains a large open settlement, and the stability of its population is not unexpected.

The townships of North Dalton, Middleton on the Wolds and Skerne each show decreases of between 17.2% and 25.6% over the period under examination; in the case of North Dalton the later visitation return figures suggest that the settlement experienced a moderate growth again between 1743 and 1764. A more marked drop of 36.6% occurs for the parish of Kirkburn, although the distribution of this decrease between the constituent townships cannot be determined from these figures alone. The township of Beswick experienced a decline in number of households of 37.1% between the 1670s and 1743; as in the case of North Dalton, the figures available for 1764 point to a modest rise occurring after 1743.

The remaining townships must be singled out for particular

attention. No separate figures for the townships of Bainton and Neswick are given in the 1743 visitation returns, but the later returns point to a reduction in the size of Neswick, now a 'deserted village' from 25 households in 1672 to only eight families in 1764, a 68% decrease. Bainton itself experienced a decrease of only 8.7% over the same period. The decrease in number of households of over 50% between the 1670s and 1743 in both Scarborough and Watton is remarkable. At Warter, one of the larger settlements in the area in the late 17th century, the decrease of 31.8% shown represents a loss of some 27 households by 1743, with perhaps a further eight having gone by 1764. The contraction experienced in each of these townships had a significant impact on its physical appearance.[32]

In summary, few townships in the rural East Riding experienced growth between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries, and many experienced a considerable decrease in the number of resident families. In certain parts of the riding the overall drop was less noticeable, but no area was unaffected. The Bainton Beacon division of Harthill wapentake, lying at the heart of the East Riding, closely mirrored the broader situation and from this area in particular will be sought the explanations for contraction which might be applied to the riding as a whole.

Chapter 2 - References

- [1] The hearth tax returns for the East Riding of Yorkshire are held at the Public Record Office, with microfilm copies available locally at the Humberside County Record Office. The principal returns used here are E179/205/514 (1670), E179/205/504 (1672) and E179/205/519-23 (1673). See also J D Purdy 'The Hearth Tax Returns for Yorkshire' (M Phil thesis, University of Leeds, 1975). Visitation returns for the diocese of York are held at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York; those used are classified as BpV.1743/Ret and BpV.1764/Ret. The former are also in print: S L Ollard and P C Walker (eds) Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vols I-V YASRS vols 71 (1927), 72 (1928), 75 (1929), 77 (1930), 79 (1931).
- [2] See especially C D Chandman The English Public Revenue 1660-1688 (Oxford, 1975) pp 77-109 and Purdy 'The Hearth Tax Returns for Yorks' pp 1-36. For the original act see D Pickering The Statutes at Large vol 8 (Cambridge, 1763) 13 & 14 Car II c10.
- [3] A descriptive list of the surviving returns for the East Riding is given in Purdy 'The Hearth Tax Returns for Yorks' pp 61-7.
- [4] The returns for 1672 (PRO E179/205/504) were selected for analysis by Purdy and an examination of all the surviving returns confirmed that these provide the most comprehensive information.
- [5] PRO E179/205/514; E179/205/504; E/179/205/523.
- [6] PRO E179/205/504; E179/205/523.
- [7] D Hibberd 'Data-Linkage and the Hearth Tax: the case of York' in N Alldridge (ed) The Hearth Tax: Problems and Possibilities (Humberside College of Higher Education, 1983) p 60.
- [8] Alldridge Hearth Tax p 1.
- [9] See note [1] above.
- [10] Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol I p 176, vol II p 194.
- [11] BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [12] Laslett & Wall Household and family p 36.
- [13] Spufford Contrasting Communities pp 39-45; G Meirion-Jones 'The use of Hearth Tax Returns and vernacular architecture in settlement studies' Institute of British Geographers Transactions no 53 (July 1971) pp 133-158. See also Purdy 'The Hearth Tax Returns for Yorks' p 342, Clark & Slack English Towns in Transition p 113, and Woodward Henry Best of Elmswell p xxxvi for further examples of the use of hearth tax returns to indicate the number of dwellings in a settlement.

- [14] N Alldridge 'Hearth and Home: a Three-Dimensional Reconstruction' in Alldridge Hearth Tax p 86.
- [15] HUL DDWA/14/4; DDWA/12/1(b) (May 16-30 1735).
- [16] PRO E179/205/514; C A F Meekings Dorset Hearth Tax Assessments 1662-1664 (Dorchester, 1951) - see, for example, pp 38, 57 & 82.
- [17] Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol I p 150.
- [18] Ibid vol I p 106.
- [19] Ibid vol III p 114; PRO E179/205/504; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [20] See below p 55 Table 11; HCRO DDX/128/3 (map of Watton, mid 17thc); map of Watton 1761 (private collection, R A Bethell).
- [21] Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol I p 105, vol IV p 30.
- [22] Purdy 'The Hearth Tax Returns for Yorks' pp 104-51; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743. Since there are no hearth tax returns available for Hullshire in 1672, the 1673 return was used. Where 1743 visitation figures were not available, those for 1764 [BIHR BpV1764/Ret] were used. Minor adjustments to facilitate analysis were made; for example, Walkington parish, split between Howdenshire wapentake and Harthill wapentake (Hunsley Beacon division) in the hearth tax returns, was wholly transferred to the latter. The figures involved were sufficiently small to make no significant difference to the wapentake totals. The parish of Filey (Dickering wapentake) was excluded since the 1743 and 1764 figures include some North Riding townships, and Great Driffield (Harthill wapentake, Bainton Beacon division) was excluded since no 1743 or 1764 figures are available. Part of Howden parish (Howdenshire wapentake) was omitted for the same reasons, although the main settlements of Howden and Barmby Marsh for which separate figures are available for 1743, were included. A 1764 return for Howden, apparently for the whole parish, does exist, but the number of families given is clearly only a rough estimate and cannot be considered reliable.
- [23] An analysis of baptisms and burials in the printed registers for the large multi-township parish of Howden for each year from 1705-1740 shows that baptisms exceeded burials on only six occasions. In 'crisis' years the numbers of burials were considerably more than double the numbers of baptisms. In 1721-3, for example, 119, 136 and 173 burials respectively were recorded, compared with only 45, 47 and 45 baptisms: see G E Weddall (ed) The Registers of the Parish of Howden Yorkshire Parish Register Society vols 32, 48 (1909, 1913). Earlier registers have also been printed but these do not include baptisms between 1660 and 1702. For a definition of 'crisis' years see Drake Population Studies from Parish Registers pp 97-100.
- [24] See, for example, M Drake Historical Demography: problems and projects (Open University, Milton Keynes, 1974) p 136.

- [25] The links between Bishop Burton and Beverley were strong in the 18th century. The subscription list of 1713 for the maintenance and provision of the minister for the Beverley Independent Meeting House shows 22 Bishop Burton residents amongst the subscribers. (Beverley Independent Meeting House Minute Book early 18th century - copy in Beverley Library.)
- [26] P Roebuck (ed) Constable of Everingham Estate Correspondence 1726-43 YASRS vol 136 for 1974 (1976) p 128.
- [27] CLRO Emanuel Hospital Records Box 3.8.
- [28] J C Cox 'Parliamentary Survey of the Benefices of the East Riding' TERAS vol 2 for 1894 (1894) p 27.
- [29] A similar exercise using the 1764 visitation return figures reveals a lower but still noticeable drop of 19 units (13.2%). The apparent increase in the number of families in Lockington parish between 1743 and 1764 is unexpected. This may represent a genuine increase, or may simply mean that in 1743 the incumbent included only those families in his ecclesiastical parish, whereas in 1764 the incumbent may have counted all those families who actually lived in the constituent townships, including those technically in Kilnwick parish. Alternatively the 1743 figure may exclude those Aike residents who belonged to the parish of St John, Beverley, whereas the 1764 figure may include these people. The situation is thus a complex one.
- [30] BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [31] P Howorth Driffield - A Country Town in its Setting 1700-1860 (privately printed, nd [c.1980]) p 12.
- [32] See below, pp 299-301 (Neswick), 375-9 (Scorborough), 383-6 (Warter), 387-93 (Watton).

Section II

SETTLEMENT CONTRACTION - CONTRIBUTORY FACTORS

Chapter 3

NATURE VERSUS MAN

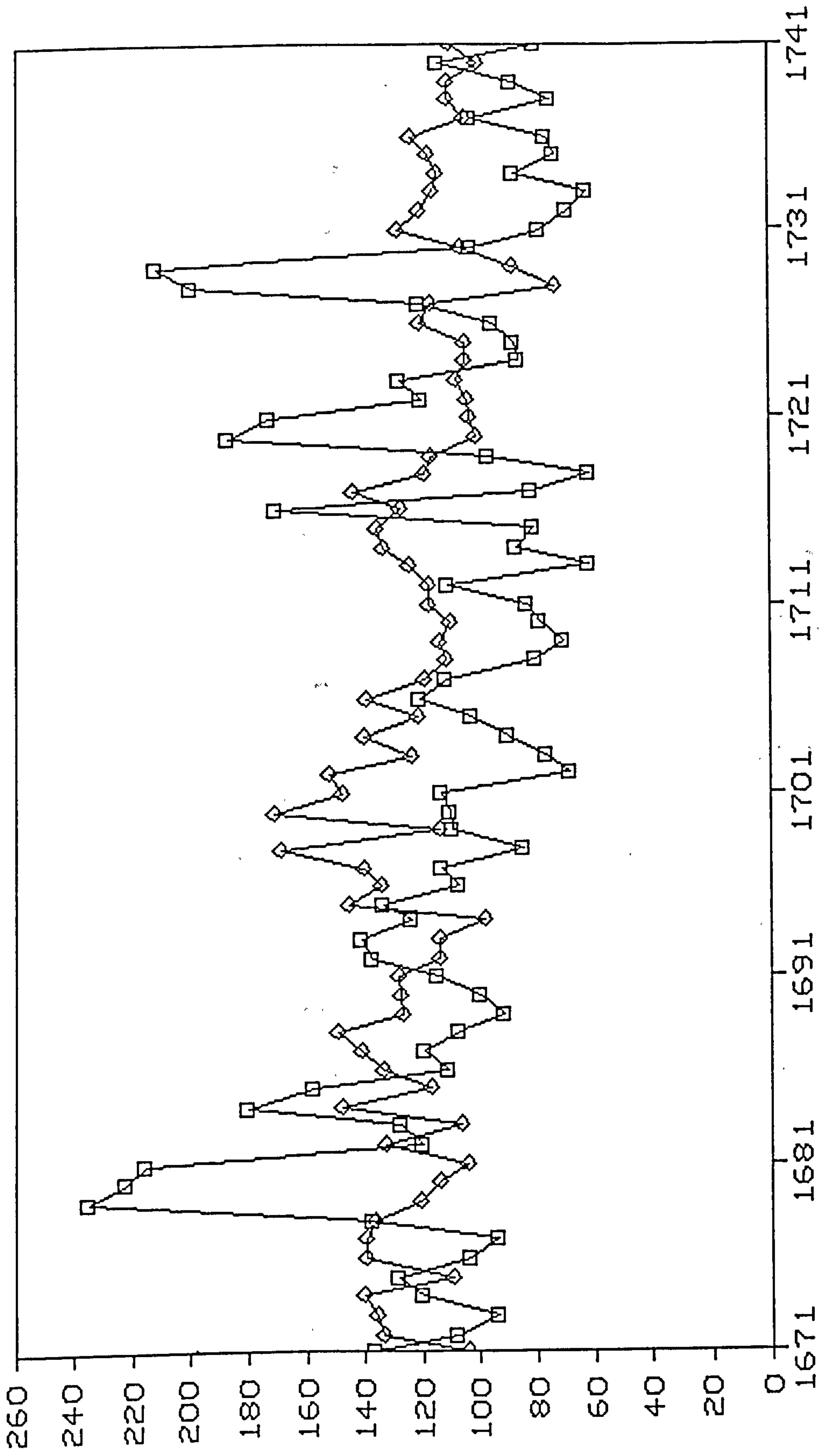
Despite the Bainton Beacon division experiencing a positive natural growth rate in the period 1671-1741, it has been demonstrated in the last chapter that the number of households/families in the division contracted by almost 22%. In seeking the reasons for such a dramatic change initial consideration must be given to the possibility of some natural disaster; a major epidemic as destructive as the Black Death, climatic change leading to deterioration in the quality of agricultural land, or some more immediate 'act of God'.

3.1 Epidemics

The late 17th and early 18th centuries have been said to stand out 'as having one of the "blackest" and least stable mortality regimes of early modern time'. [1] Indeed the high mortality of England and France have led the period 1670-1739 to be termed by Weir 'the black seventeenth century'. [2] Half of the ten most severe national mortality crisis years identified by Wrigley and Schofield in the 330 years from 1541 occur in the period in question, and all had an impact on the Bainton Beacon division. [3].

Although overall baptisms exceeded burials in the Bainton Beacon division during the period 1671-1740, there were three decades when the reverse occurred; 1671-80, 1681-90 and 1721-30. [4] Within these decades the major crisis periods for the area as a whole were the years 1678-80 and 1728-29. (See Figures 4 and 5) Both of these coincided with the worst periods of national mortality crisis since the 1650s. [5]

Figure 4 Annual baptism and burial totals 1671-1741: Bainton Beacon division



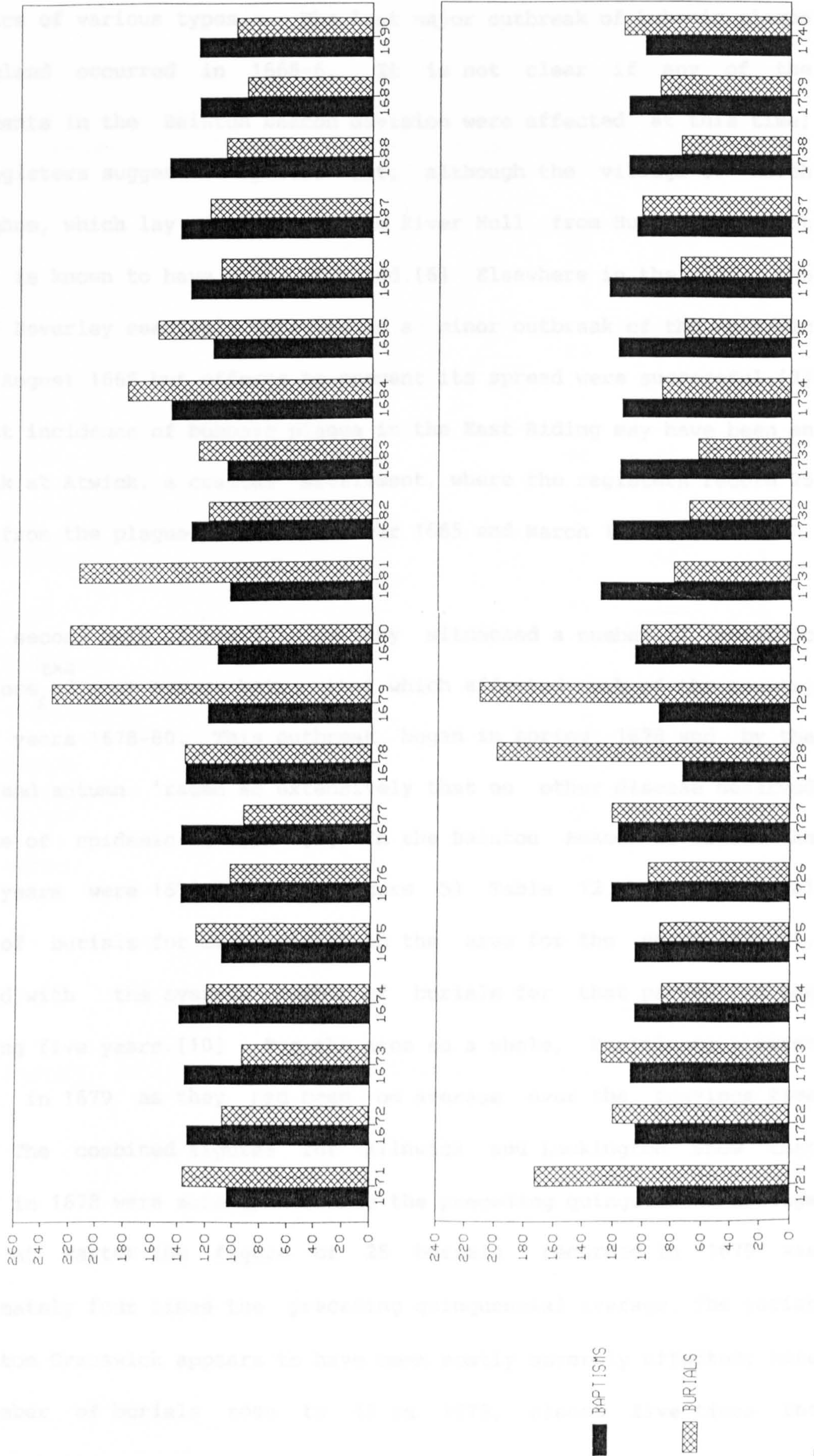
Source: parish registers
(see Ch 1 note [19])

YEAR

—◇— BAPTISMS

—□— BURIALS

Figure 5
Mortality crises in the Bainton Beacon division
in the late 17th and early 18th centuries



Source: parish registers (see Chapter 1, note [19])

YEAR

Mortality crises from the mid 17th century were attributable to epidemics of various types. The last major outbreak of bubonic plague in England occurred in 1665-6. It is not clear if any of the settlements in the Bainton Beacon division were affected at this time; the registers suggest they were not, although the village of North Frodingham, which lay just across the River Hull from Hutton Cranswick parish, is known to have been affected.[6] Elsewhere in the riding the town of Beverley seemingly experienced a minor outbreak of the epidemic around August 1665 but efforts to prevent its spread were successful.[7] The last incidence of bubonic plague in the East Riding may have been an outbreak at Atwick, a coastal settlement, where the registers record 25 deaths from the plague between December 1665 and March 1666.[8]

The second half of the 17th century witnessed a number of 'epidemic agues' one ^{the} of most severe being that which affected much of the country in the years 1678-80. This outbreak began in spring 1678 and by the summer and autumn 'raged so extensively that no other disease deserved the name of epidemic so much'.[9] In the Bainton Beacon division the crisis years were 1679-81. (See Figure 5) Table 12 shows the total number of burials for each parish in the area for the years 1679-81, compared with the average number of burials for that parish in the preceding five years.[10] For the area as a whole, burials were twice as high in 1679 as they had been on average over the previous five years. The combined figures for Kilnwick and Lockington show that burials in 1678 were more than double the preceding quinquennial average whilst at Warter the figure of 25 burials recorded in 1679 was approximately four times the preceding quinquennial average. The parish of Hutton Cranswick appears to have been mostly severely affected; here the number of burials rose to 45 in 1679, almost five times the

Table 12 The mortality crisis of 1679-81
in the Bainton Beacon division
 (by parish)

Parish	average no. of burials per year 1674-8	no. of burials		
		1679	1680	1681
Bainton	5.4	12	21	14
North Dalton	7.0	7	19	6
Great Driffield	31.0	53	51	52
Holme on the Wolds	3.6	1	0	3
Hutton Cranswick	8.4	45	23	30
Kilnwick + Lockington	19.2	42	45	39
Kirkburn	8.0	13	10	10
Lund	8.2	13	14	15
Middleton	8.2	9	10	7
Scorborough	1.0	0	0	1
Skerne	4.6	5	9	5
Warter	6.8	25	13	24
Watton	5.2	9	7	9
All parishes	116.6	234	222	215

Source: parish registers (see Chapter 1 note [19])

preceding quinquennial average.

In 1684-5 mortality levels were again high locally, with the parishes of Hutton Cranswick, Kilnwick, Lockington, Skerne and Warter all recording numbers of burials close to or higher than those recorded in 1679-80.

Smallpox, one of the major diseases endemic in England in the 17th and 18th centuries which is clearly identifiable, affected some local settlements towards the end of the second decade of the 18th century. The disease was prevalent in the parish of Bainton between December 1715 and March 1716 when 12 of the 14 burials recorded are marked with a cross, with a note that 'All those died of smallpox'. [11] All appear to have been children. The increase in the number of deaths at nearby Driffield in 1716 was probably due to the same cause. Shortly after the smallpox outbreak, another epidemic, less clearly identifiable, occurred. This was described by a York physician, Dr Wintringham, who recorded that it was first noticed in the summer of 1718 and became more common in the warm season of 1719: '...the putrid fever first appeared in this year [1719] in the month of May and came to its peak in July at which point it stayed through the whole of August and took away many sick from our midst'. [12] Burials increased in several parishes in the Bainton Beacon division in 1719, but mortality was more severe in the years 1720-21. At Kirkburn, for example, the number of burials in 1721 was the second highest recorded for the parish in the period from 1686, when the registers commence, to 1741.

Soon after this epidemic came one of the greatest national periods of smallpox outbreaks in England. Yorkshire smallpox epidemics recorded

at this time include severe outbreaks at Halifax and Leeds between the winter of 1721 and the spring of 1722.[13] Locally smallpox may have been the cause of a number of deaths over a parallel period; at North Dalton, for example, ten of the 14 burials recorded between June 1721 and March 1722 were those of children, the group most commonly affected by the disease.

A further outbreak of epidemic agues interpolated with outbreaks of influenza occurred during the years 1727-9, the worst national period of crisis mortality since the 1650s.[14] Dr Wintringham noted that in the summer of 1727 'there happened diarrhoeas, colic and a disease called cholera which killed many sick suddenly'.[15] Another Yorkshire physician, Dr Hillary of Ripon described how 'many of the little country towns and villages were almost stripped of their poor people, not only in the country adjacent to Ripon, but all over the northern parts of the kingdom' during the winter of 1727-8.[16] The Bainton Beacon area was not noticeably affected until 1728, when the number of burials recorded increased dramatically. (See Figure 5) Table 13 shows the total number of burials for each parish in the area for the years 1728 and 1729, compared with the average number of burials for that parish in the preceding five years. The greatest increase in number of burials occurred in Skerne, where 12 deaths were recorded in 1728 compared with an average of only 2.8 over the preceding five year period. The larger parishes of Great Driffield and Hutton Cranswick, where the figures may present a more reliable picture, both show a considerable increase in the number of burials in 1728 compared to the previous five year average, more than double in the case of the latter parish. Some parishes were more severely affected in 1729, for example Kirkburn, where burials rose from an average of 5.2 over the period

Table 13 The mortality crisis of 1728-9
in the Bainton Beacon division
 (by parish)

Parish	average no. of burials per year 1723-7	no. of burials	
		1728	1729
Bainton	8.6	7	19
North Dalton	4.6	9	11
Great Driffield	24.4	41	35
Holme on the Wolds	1.8	6	4
Hutton Cranswick	20.0	57	33
Lockington + Kilnwick	13.6	28	30
Kirkburn	5.2	8	18
Lund	6.4	11	15
Middleton	4.0	6	13
Scorborough	1.2	1	2
Skerne	2.8	12	5
Warter	6.8	10	16
Watton	4.4	3	10
All parishes	103.8	199	211

Source: parish registers (see Chapter 1 note [19])

1723-7 to 8 in 1728 and more steeply to 18 in 1729. Over the Bainton Beacon division as a whole the number of burials recorded in both 1728 and 1729 was approximately twice the average for the period 1723-27.

Parts of the East Riding experienced a local mortality crisis in the late 1730s. In January 1737 the estate steward at Everingham, which lies in the western half of the riding, wrote 'The times are very sickly and many dies'.^[17] The evidence from the parish registers suggests that the Bainton Beacon area escaped this epidemic although a number of nearby townships were affected. In February 1737 the Warter estate steward wrote: 'William Autherson of Warter hath lately buried his eldest son but I think all the rest of our neighbours there are pretty well though there hath been a great many hereabouts that hath died of late, especially at Pocklington and Huggate'.^[18]

In the early 1740s there was an increase in mortality, notably in 1742 when it reached near crisis proportions, with 155 burials recorded in the Bainton Beacon division compared with only 97 baptisms. A short-lived national epidemic occurred the following year, for which there is interesting local material available. In April 1743 the estate steward at Warter wrote 'It is talked much of a great deal of sickness stirring about Hull; but I think [we] have not heard much in this neighbourhood of any thing more than common on that account. Mr Remington has been indisposed ... he says it has been some new distemper that has been in the south parts of Europe and that many have been ill of it at Hull, but [I] have heard little of any such thing from any other hand.'^[19] The following month the Gentleman's Magazine carried a report of the progress of this particular epidemic across Europe.^[20] The sickness to which Remington referred was an outbreak of

influenza which had spread from southern Europe to London where it had a severe but short-lived effect, starting at the end of March, and trebling the number of deaths recorded there in the week ending 12 April, but virtually over by the beginning of May.[21] The epidemic was not confined to London or other urban centres; towards the end of April the Warter estate steward wrote: 'I hear the sickness that was talked of at Hull begins to be pretty much stirring now in the country, and Matthew Foster of this town has been ill a week or more but I hear is something better again, and James Sanderson and three or four more of our Warter neighbours hath been taken ill since, but I heard this morning was something better again.'[22] The following month he was able to write 'I am glad to hear the sickness abates at London and I think most of our neighbours at Warter that have been ill is pretty well recovered....' suggesting that the local outbreak of the epidemic had not proved fatal.[23] The registers show no increase in mortality in Warter or in the Bainton Beacon division as a whole in 1743.

It has been demonstrated that the Bainton Beacon division was affected by each of the major periods of national crisis mortality from the 1670s to the mid 18th century. Undoubtedly epidemics were an important factor in the national stagnation of population in the late 17th and early 18th centuries; nevertheless, in the Bainton Beacon division they apparently had no lasting impact on population levels. Demographic historians have suggested that although baptisms decreased at the height of epidemics, the subsequent effect was usually an increase in marriages and baptisms thus replenishing the population within a comparatively short time.[24] The Bainton Beacon figures support this view. During the crisis period of 1728-9, the number of baptisms dropped well below the annual totals recorded in

preceding years, whilst burials rose dramatically. In 1730 baptisms and burials were more or less equal. In 1731, however, the number of baptisms reached a level higher than that recorded in 1726, and remained consistently high over the next few years. (See Figure 6)

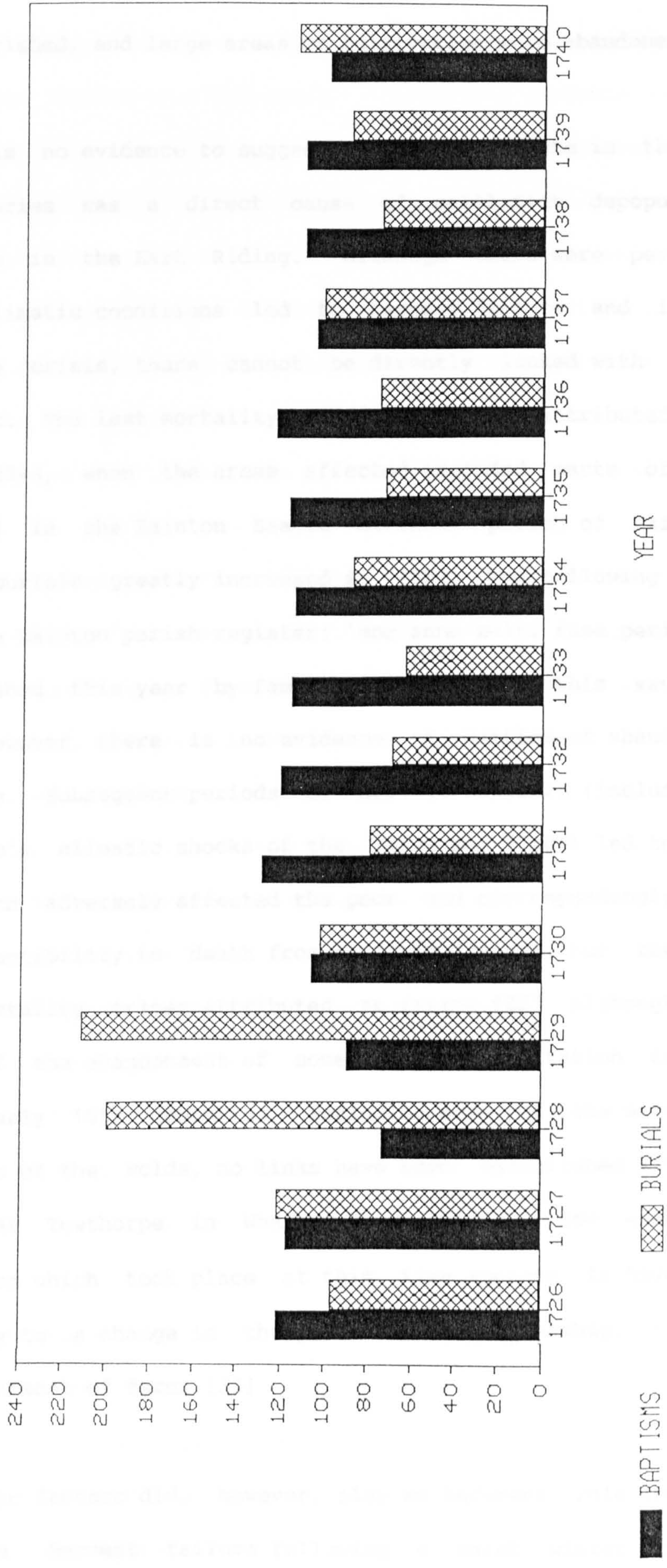
It is possible that epidemics had a greater effect on population levels in certain other areas of the East Riding. Dobson has demonstrated that in the unhealthy marshland areas of south-east England population decline was partly due to repeated outbreaks of epidemic fevers, notably malaria.[25] In Howdenshire, one of the principal marshland areas of the East Riding, death rates tended to exceed birth rates throughout the period under examination, suggesting that high mortality rates were in part responsible for the contraction of settlements in the area.[26] This was clearly not the case in the Bainton Beacon division.

3.2 Climatic factors and marginal land

Climatic change has been put forward as a reason for a shift away from areas of marginal upland in the medieval period. Lamb has demonstrated that key periods of village desertion and abandonment of cultivation in the middle ages correlate closely with severe climatic shocks, for example in the famine years of 1314-25, and the severe winters of the 1430s.[27] He suggests that the 1690s and, to a lesser extent, the 1740s, were comparable climatic periods, but presents only one example of a settlement which was depopulated in these periods, Daintoun or Upper Davidstown in the Scottish border country, which was abandoned between 1690 and 1710.[28] Scotland was severely hit by successive periods of harvest failure in the 1690s, when it has been estimated that between one third and one half of the population of the

Figure 6

Mortality crisis 1728-9 and subsequent population regeneration: Bainton Beacon division



Source: parish registers (see Chapter 1, note [19])

uplands perished, and large areas of cultivation were abandoned.[29]

There is no evidence to suggest that the climate in the 17th and 18th centuries was a direct cause of settlement depopulation or contraction in the East Riding. Although there were periods when adverse climatic conditions led to harvest failure and in turn to subsistence crisis, these cannot be directly linked with settlement abandonment. The last mortality crisis in England attributed to famine was in 1623-4, when the areas affected included parts of the East Riding.[30] In the Bainton Beacon division parish of Bainton, for example, burials greatly increased in 1623. The following note was made in the Bainton parish register: 'Hoc anno multi fame periere [sic]' [many perished this year by famine].[31] Even in this severe crisis period, however, there is no evidence of settlement abandonment or contraction. Subsequent periods of harvest failure (including those during Lamb's climatic shocks of the 1690s and 1740s) led to high food prices which adversely affected the poor and correspondingly increased their susceptibility to death from epidemic disease, but there were no further mortality crises attributed to famine.[32] Although there is evidence of the abandonment of some areas of habitation in the late 17th or early 18th centuries, including some of the more marginal settlements of the Wolds, no links have been established with climatic factors. At Towthorpe in Wharram Percy parish, for example, the depopulation which took place at this time appears to have been due principally to a change in the pattern of landownership, resulting in the engrossment of farms.[33]

Climatic factors did, however, play an indirect role in settlement contraction. Harvest failure following a harsh winter or prolonged

period of drought could have severe economic consequences for an agricultural community. Conversely favourable weather conditions resulting in an abundant harvest could be equally disastrous, since the low grain prices which followed could lead to financial difficulties for the farmer. Between 1660 and 1760 there were periods of agricultural depression when some small farmers found no alternative but to sell their land, and a number of tenants left their farms because they could not afford to pay their rents. The effect which periods of agricultural depression had on settlement size will be examined later.[34]

In the lower-lying areas of the riding, in particular the Hull valley and Vale of York, it was not so much climatic change but rather a deterioration in drainage from the late middle ages which had an adverse effect on some places. A number of settlements which had been established on reclaimed land in the 12th and early 13th centuries became subject to flooding following a gradual rise in the water table from the mid 13th century, causing their eventual abandonment.[35] There is, however, no evidence to show that drainage problems caused the contraction or abandonment of any villages in the Bainton Beacon, with the possible exception of the Hull valley settlement of Rotsea. Here a decrease in size from c.40 households in the early 14th century, to seven households by 1670, and ultimately to only two farms, may reflect a gradual move away from the river valley. [36]

Although Rotsea was not finally depopulated until the late 17th or early 18th century, most of the contraction of the settlement had occurred by 1670, and it is unlikely that in any part of the riding drainage problems led to substantial contraction or abandonment of settlements after this date. Indeed, some of the settlements which

experienced the most marked contraction in the century which followed were, ironically, those which had benefitted from drainage improvements of the late 17th century. In such cases, for example Routh and Wawne, both in the Hull valley, it is likely that the landownership structure which facilitated private drainage schemes, coupled with the agricultural reorganization which followed, were more relevant factors to contraction than the marginal nature of the land.[37]

3.3 Acts of God

Although England is not prone to large-scale natural disasters, the possibility of what would be seen by contemporaries as an 'act of God' was ever present.[38] Several examples from the early modern period can be cited. In 1666, for example, a 'whirlwind or earthquake' struck part of Lincolnshire; at Welbourn it was reported that 'of 80 stone houses only three were left standing...'[39] Some years later the north Lincolnshire settlement of Nettleton suffered from a landslip. Writing in 1695, the diarist Abraham de la Pryme gave the following description of Nettleton:

All along the hill side there, for at least a mile, lies a long bed of sand which has sprung somewhere thereabouts out of the ground, and increased to the aforesaid bigness, having covered a great quantity of good ground; and by that means undone several poor people. Within these twenty years it begun to move towards this town, and all that part of it that laid close to the hill edge (which was about twenty-five houses, with their folds and garths) has been destroyed by it this several years, only there is one house, which is a poor man's that has stood it out by his great pains and labour; but as for his folds and gardens they are all covered... [40]

Neither of these disasters appear to have had a long-term effect on the size of the settlements concerned. It is probable that at Welbourn the houses which were destroyed were rebuilt on their original sites, although at Nettleton that part of the village which was covered by the sands was abandoned as an area of settlement.

Over a much broader time-scale, coastal erosion could have an equally devastating and more permanent effect upon settlements. In eastern Yorkshire Sheppard recorded 29 'lost' townships between Flamborough Head and Spurn Point, with a further seven in the Humber estuary.[41] The majority of these had been abandoned or swallowed up by the sea during the course of the middle ages but some which lay a little further inland survived longer, for example Auburn in Carnaby parish, which was finally depopulated in the early 18th century.[42] By 1731 it was claimed that Auburn 'has been so washed away by the sea there is but one farmhouse left'.[43] Erosion continues to be a serious problem on this part of the coastline, with an annual cliff retreat in excess of one metre recorded at many points.[44]

Fire was undoubtedly the most common disaster to affect settlements in the early modern period, especially the towns. It has been calculated that at least 300 major provincial towns fires (those destroying ten or more buildings) occurred between 1660 and 1760.[45] The most serious urban fire recorded in the East Riding between the mid 17th and mid 18th centuries was at Hedon in 1657, when approximately 40% of the houses in the town are thought to have been destroyed.[46] There is, however, no evidence to suggest that such fires had a long-term effect on settlement size. In spite of the fire, the number of households in Hedon remained more or less constant throughout the 17th

century and first half of the 18th century.[47] Information on rural fires is more difficult to obtain; one of the more serious recorded in the East Riding during this period was in 1740 when it was reported that 'A great part of North Cave is laid in ashes ... 19 dwelling houses, besides the out houses, burnt to the ground'.[48] Again, there was no noticeable long-term effect on the size of the settlement.

3.4 Conclusion

None of the 'acts of God' discussed above can be demonstrated to have contributed directly to the contraction or desertion of settlements in the Bainton Beacon division. No extensive village fires occurred, nor any climatic disaster such as hurricane or flood, although the weather did contribute to periods of agricultural depression and rural hardship which in turn led to a limited abandonment of holdings. Between 1660 and 1760 there were some of the most severe mortality crises since the middle ages, but these cannot account for the substantial reduction in size of many communities in the division; such crises could have short term effects on population, but the parish register analysis has clearly demonstrated that there was no long term impact.

Having established that settlement contraction in the Bainton Beacon division cannot be directly attributed to mortality crises, climatic change or to more immediate 'acts of God', the actions of man must be considered. Either the inhabitants chose to move away, or they were forced out by the actions of the landlord. If the latter, then the nature of landownership was the all-important factor.

Chapter 3 - References

- [1] M J Dobson 'The last hiccup of the old demographic regime: population stagnation and decline in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century south-east England' Continuity and Change vol 4 no 3 (1989) p 417.
- [2] D R Weir 'Life under Pressure: France and England, 1670-1870' Journal of Economic History vol 44 (1984) p 40.
- [3] Wrigley & Schofield Population History of England pp 333-4.
- [4] See above p 39 Table 8.
- [5] National crisis years, in descending order of severity, are given in Wrigley & Schofield Population History of England p 664. M J Dobson A Chronology of Epidemic Disease and Mortality in Southeast England 1601-1800 Historical Geography Research Series no 19 (1987) provides a useful guide to levels of mortality in individual years. Despite its title the information given is not confined to the south-east.
- [6] J F D Shrewsbury A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles (Cambridge, 1970) p 533.
- [7] J Dennett (ed) Beverley Borough Records 1575-1821 YASRS vol 84 for 1932 (1932) p 139.
- [8] J Charlesworth The Parish Registers of Atwick 1538-1708 Yorkshire Parish Register Society vol 111 (1941) p 66.
- [9] C Creighton A History of Epidemics in Britain (1894, 2nd edn London, 1965) vol 2 p 331.
- [10] There are no registers for Kirkburn parish for this period, nor for Middleton on the Wolds parish prior to 1678. The figures are based on bishops' transcripts, with an average for the decade used for years where no figure is available.
- [11] HCRO PE/5/2.
- [12] C Wintringham Commentarius Nosologicus [1752], translated by E Johnson (Pocklington, 1979) p 12.
- [13] Creighton History of Epidemics vol 2 p 518.
- [14] Ibid vol 2 pp 341-2; Wrigley & Schofield Population History of England p 664. For information on this mortality crisis elsewhere in England see, for example, A Gooder 'The Population Crisis of 1727-30 in Warwickshire' Midland History vol 1 no 4 (1972) pp 1-22; J A Johnston 'The Impact of the Epidemics of 1727-30 in South West Worcestershire' Medical History vol 15 (1971) pp 278-92.
- [15] Wintringham Commentarius Nosologicus p 33.
- [16] Creighton History of Epidemics vol 2 p 73.

- [17] Roebuck Constable of Everingham Estate Correspondence p 96.
- [18] HUL DDWA/12/1(c) (8 Feb 1737).
- [19] HUL DDWA/12/1(e) (8 April 1743).
- [20] The Gentleman's Magazine 1743 p 272.
- [21] Creighton History of Epidemics vol 2 pp 349-50.
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- [23] Ibid (6 May 1743).
- [24] D E C Eversley 'A Survey of Population in an area of Worcestershire from 1660 to 1850 on the basis of Parish Registers' in Glass & Eversley Population in History p 408.
- [25] Dobson 'The last hiccup of the old regime' pp 411-4.
- [26] See above p 61 note [23].
- [27] H H Lamb 'Britain's Changing Climate' Geographical Journal vol 133 pt 4 (December 1967) pp 459-60.
- [28] Ibid pp 460,464. Parry refers to the abandonment of a number of scattered farmsteads in upland Scotland in the 17th and 18th centuries. M L Parry Climatic Change, Agriculture and Settlements (Folkestone, 1978) p 145.
- [29] Ibid p 460. See also T C Smout A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (London, 1969) p 242.
- [30] A B Appleby Famine in Tudor and Stuart England (Liverpool, 1978) pp 145-51.
- [31] HCRO PE/5/1.
- [32] For a discussion of food shortage and its effects in pre-industrial England see Chapter 6 'Did the peasants really starve?' in P Laslett The World We Have Lost - further explored (London, 1983) pp 122-52.
- [33] See below p 172.
- [34] See below, Chapter 9.
- [35] Allison ER of Yorks Landscape pp 72-3, 103.
- [36] W Brown (ed) Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne vol II Surtees Society vol 89 for 1891 (1894) pp 441-4; PRO E179/205/514.
- [37] See below pp 163-4.
- [38] K Thomas Religion and the Decline of Magic (1971, paperback edn Harmondsworth, 1973) pp 96-7.

- [39] The date book for Lincoln and neighbourhood from the earliest time to the present (Lincoln, 1866) p 138.
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- [41] T Sheppard The Lost Towns of the Yorkshire Coast (1912, reprinted Howden, 1986) frontispiece. These include some settlements which have been rebuilt further inland.
- [42] K J Allison (ed) VCH Yorks E Riding vol 2 (London, 1974) p 199.
- [43] BIHR Reg.35 f.113.
- [44] J A Steers Coastal Features of England and Wales (Cambridge, 1981) p 69.
- [45] E L Jones et al A Gazetteer of English Urban Fire Disasters 1500-1900 Historical Geography Research Series no 13 (1984) pp 29-41.
- [46] Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1657-8 p 285.
- [47] A rental of 1616, the hearth tax returns of 1672, and the archiepiscopal visitation returns of 1743 and 1764 all indicate that the number of households in Hedon remained at around 100 across the period. (Hull Local History Library Sumner Papers - Hedon rental 1616; PRO E179/205/504; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol III p 13; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.)
- [48] Roebuck Constable of Everingham Estate Correspondence p 130. The fire is also mentioned in the Warter estate correspondence - HUL DDWA/12/1(e) (3 June 1740).

Chapter 4

LANDOWNERSHIP

In this chapter the extent to which settlement contraction can be linked to landownership patterns is examined. A landowner might take action to reduce the size of a settlement for a number of reasons: the removal of unsightly hovels situated close to his house; the gaining of a greater control of the community by a 'closed' settlement policy, perhaps linked to a desire to lessen the poor rates; or a wish to remove the burden of the upkeep of property which housed villagers surplus to the requirements of running the estate. These reasons could be linked to agricultural reorganization, and their outcome depended on the landowner having or acquiring control of all or most of the land and housing in a township. Therefore an understanding of the nature of landownership in individual settlements is of the utmost importance.

4.1 The general pattern of landownership in the Bainton Beacon division in the 17th and early 18th centuries

The general pattern of landownership which had emerged in the Bainton Beacon division by the second half of the 17th century reflected changes experienced by the country as a whole and the riding in particular. Details of the principal landowners in the area can be obtained from a list of the East Riding estates of those required to provide horses for the cavalry, drawn up in 1662.[1] Table 14 shows the top 20 landowners (those with the highest valued estates) in the Bainton Beacon division at this date. Below these were a further 20 landowners who had smaller estates in the division, but whose total East Riding property was valued at more than £100 per annum. An unknown number of lesser freeholders also held land in the area.

Table 14 The top twenty landowners in the Bainton Beacon division in 1662

<u>Name/Bainton Beacon division townships in which land held</u>	<u>Annual value of Bainton Beacon estates</u>	<u>Annual value of total East Riding estates</u>
1 Earl of Winchilsea (Watton, Kilnwick, Hutton Cranswick)	£970	£970
2 Sir John Hotham (Scorborough, Lockington, Hutton Cranswick)	£434 (+ value of estate at Scarborough)*	£640 (+ value of estate at Scarborough)*
3 John Stapleton (Warter)	£500	£500
4 Sir Edmund Poley & John Lange (Skerne)	£469	£469
5 John Heron (Skerne, Southburn, Elmswell, Driffield)	£452	£759
6 Mr [John] Estoft (Lockington, Lund)	£225	£269
7 Thomas Young (Eastburn, Southburn, Kirkburn, Middleton, Lund)	£216	£216
8 George Daniell (Beswick)	£200	£250
9 John Favour (Bainton)	£200	£200
10 Sandford Neville (Kilnwick)	£200	£200
11 John Best (Elmswell)	£188	£188
12 Mrs Dorothy Anlaby (Neswick)	£177	£177
13 Mr Hutton (Driffield)	£150	£150
14 Sir Thomas Williamson (Sunderlandwick, Hutton Cranswick)	£150	£150
15 Philip Dolman (Lund)	£130	£130
16 Sir John Hewitt (Eastburn)	£130	£130
17 Matthias Crouch (Middleton)	£120	£120
18 Mr [William] Whitmore (Bainton)	£120	£485
19 William Rokeby (Lund, Middleton)	£113	£419
20 Lord Wharton (Rotsea)	£112	£112

* No valuation for Scarborough estate given. Sir John Hotham has been placed second in the list on the basis of a valuation of the family's Bainton Beacon estates in 1645 of £860.
(See Roebuck Yorkshire Baronets p 65)

Source: YAS MD335/Box 57 (An account of the estates of every particular person charged with horse in the East Riding of the County of York AD 1662)

Although certain of the principal landowners at this date came from ancient East Riding families and had held their estates in the Bainton Beacon division for many generations, for example the Hothams of Scarborough and the Daniells of Beswick, many had acquired their landholdings in more recent times. Amongst several estates which had changed hands in the first half of the 17th century were those at Warter, in the north-west of the Bainton Beacon division, and at Watton, in the Hull valley, both of which had, until the Reformation, been in monastic ownership. The priory lands at Warter were granted to the earls of Rutland at the Dissolution and were subsequently purchased by Philip Stapleton of Wighill in the West Riding early in the 17th century. His son John held the Warter estate in 1662.[2] The site of Watton priory and its associated lands were initially granted to Robert Holgate, who had been prior of the house and head of the Gilbertine order, and who later became archbishop of York. The Watton lands passed to several owners in succession, and by the mid 17th century were in the possession of the earl of Winchilsea.[3]

The Civil War led to further alterations in landownership. The principal estate in the Bainton Beacon division which changed hands as a result of the war was the North Dalton estate of Sir Marma duke Langdale. Langdale, a Roman Catholic and Royalist, was captured by the Parliamentarians shortly after the battle of Preston in 1648, but managed to escape to the Continent. His estates, including East Riding properties at North Dalton and Holme on Spalding Moor, were sequestrated, leading to severe financial difficulties for his family. Langdale returned to England when the monarchy was restored. Although the main Holme on Spalding Moor estate was given back to the family, the manor and estate of North Dalton had been sold by the Treason Trustees

in 1652 and was never returned. The North Dalton estate was subsequently purchased by Edward Barnard, a local lawyer.[4] Langdale was particularly unfortunate, since other Royalist landowners in the area managed to retain or regain their estates. The Daniells of Beswick, a Royalist family, and the ambivalent Hothams of Scarborough, were both successful in recovering their sequestered lands; in the case of the Hothams these were released soon after the execution of Sir John Hotham, and no fine was imposed.[5] The immediate impact of the Civil War on landownership was therefore limited, but led in the longer term to some land sales in the post-Restoration period. The earl of Winchilsea, for example, maintained that the financial difficulties he experienced, which eventually led to the sale of his estate at Watton in the 1670s, were due to his support of the Royalist cause.[6]

Winchilsea was one of only three members of the aristocracy who held land in the Bainton Beacon division in 1662. Other estates held by members of the aristocracy were those at Rotsea, in Hutton Cranswick parish, held by Philip, Lord Wharton, and at Bracken, near Kilnwick, held by Lord Savage.[7] None of these men was resident in the area, although Winchilsea planned to spend part of his time at Watton on his return from Turkey where he was representative of the Levant company. However, as previously noted, heavy debts forced him to sell up most of the estate in the 1670s.[8] The estate of Lord Savage at Bracken passed to the dukes of Bolton and subsequently to the dukes of Bridgewater who seemingly made no attempt to increase their land holding in the area; by the early 1760s the duke of Bridgewater was considering disposing of the Bracken estate.[9] The earls of Burlington and of Banbury had both acquired small estates in the Bainton Beacon division by the early 18th century, the former at Middleton on the Wolds and the latter at

Kilnwick and Watton, but neither men or their heirs were active in building up major land holdings in the division.[10]

Many of the families of lower rank who held land in the Bainton Beacon division in the late 17th century were, like the aristocracy, not resident on their estates. These included landowners whose principal interests lay elsewhere in the country, for example Sir John Hewitt of Waresley in Huntingdonshire who in 1662 held an estate valued at £130 per annum at Eastburn, as well as some members of the East Riding gentry such as Sir William St Quintin of Hayton, who held a small estate at Kilnwick.[11]

Amongst those landowners who were resident on their estates were John Best, a wealthy yeoman farmer whose great uncle (a London scrivener) had purchased the Elmswell estate in the late 16th century, Walter Crompton of Sunderlandwick whose grandfather had been Auditor to Elizabeth I, and Sir John Hotham, a member of an influential East Riding family whose ancestors had lived at Scarborough since the mid 13th century.[12] The complex fortunes of the Hotham family and its estates in the period after the Civil War have have been admirably dealt with in Roebuck's detailed study.[13] In brief, in the mid 17th century the Hothams owned land in three townships in the Bainton Beacon division; Scarborough, where they had their principal manor house, Lockington and Hutton Cranswick. Initially supporters of the parliamentary cause in the Civil War, Sir John Hotham and his son entered into talks with the Royalists to try and bring the two sides together, a move which resulted in the imprisonment and later execution of both men for treason. Prior to his death, Sir John had disposed of much of his estate away from the main branch of the family in an attempt to mitigate the effects of

possible sequestration, a move which proved unnecessary since the confiscated estates were returned to the family soon after his death, and no fine imposed. His action had severe economic consequences, and the annual rental of the Hotham estate in 1768 was still less than it had been at the start of the Civil War.[14] The family had, however, continued to invest in new land during the intervening years. One of their main purchases during this period was that of a large portion of the Estoft estate at Lockington, where they already held land. In 1727 Sir Charles Hotham paid £2621 for the Estoft land, which included 19 houses in Lockington village.[15]

Although the long-established Hothams were active in purchasing land, it was more common for land changing hands in the late 17th and early 18th centuries to be acquired by newcomers, who had made money through a commercial or professional career. One of the most substantial acquisitions of land in the Bainton Beacon division at this time was made by William Dickinson, an officer of the London Customs House. In the early 1670s Dickinson, who had acted as banker to the earl of Winchelsea, and to whom the earl was heavily in debt, obtained large portions of the Watton estate. Dickinson left no male heirs, and the estate passed through the marriage of his daughter to the Bethell family of Rise.[16]

Similar changes in land ownership, although usually on a more modest scale, can be found throughout the first half of the 18th century. These include the acquisition of the Neswick estate by Thomas Eyres, a surgeon (originally from Croydon but resident in Hull) who in 1705 married one of the daughters of Matthew Anlaby of Neswick. Following the death of Anlaby the Neswick estate was divided amongst his five daughters,

including Eyres's wife. In 1714 Eyres bought up the shares of his wife's four sisters and thus acquired control of the estate.[17] In 1724 a small estate in the neighbouring township of Bainton was purchased from the Whitmore family of Middlesex by John Shaw, a York attorney.[18] At Middleton on the Wolds the heavily mortgaged estate of Richard Manby was sold to Mark Kirkby, a Hull merchant, in 1740. Following the sale of his estate, Richard Manby remained at Middleton as tenant of the landholding which he had sold to Kirkby.[19]

Yet another estate which changed hands during the first half of the 18th century was at Kilnwick. Colonel Thomas Condon, of Willerby, near Hull, purchased the manor of Kilnwick in 1722 and took up residence there. He began to consolidate the estate by purchasing additional land in the neighbourhood, notably the paternal estate of John and Mary Pickwith in 1723. Towards the end of 1744 he put the Kilnwick estate on the market and in 1747 it was sold to Admiral Henry Medley, a serving officer who wished to invest his prize money. Medley died at sea shortly after making the purchase, and the estate was left to a distant cousin, Thomas Grimston. Grimston died in 1751 and the Kilnwick estate was inherited by his son John.[20] In the early 1760s John Grimston attempted to buy up adjacent land and thus expand his estate. Correspondence shows that he made efforts to purchase the earl of Banbury's estate at Kilnwick and Watton, the estate of the duke of Bridgewater at Bracken, and the Bethell estate at Beswick. Grimston's plans failed; both the earl of Banbury and duke of Bridgewater decided not to sell their lands, and the Beswick estate was eventually purchased by William Denison, a Leeds merchant.[21]

Having acquired an estate, it was advantageous for a landowner to

attempt to buy out small freeholders in the township, particularly if enclosure had not yet taken place. It has been suggested that the decline of the small landowner was most rapid in the period 1660-1750, when heavy taxation and falling profit margins encouraged many smaller men to sell.[22] Evidence from the area supports this view. Sales of minor freeholds were particularly common when a younger son, or a daughter, had inherited since it was likely they (or in the case of the latter, their husbands) would already have established themselves elsewhere and would find it inconvenient to manage the newly inherited land at a distance. At Neswick in 1741 the co-heiresses of Christopher Binnington, a small yeoman farmer, both of whom had married and settled elsewhere in the East Riding, sold the freehold land they had recently inherited.[23] An eldest son might also be persuaded to sell if he too had already established himself elsewhere before his father's death. John Foster was farming at Bielby, some fifteen miles away, by 1742 when he sold the small freehold which he had inherited from his father at Neswick.[24]

Although many estates in the Bainton Beacon division changed hands during the later 17th century and more especially during the first half of the 18th century, these changes probably did not result in a significant alteration to the number of principal landowners in the area. Although there are no details of landowners available for the mid 18th century to compare with the list drawn up for 1662, it is possible to use the land tax returns of the 1780s to make some very broad comparisons. The amount of land tax due on each of several separate townships in the 1780s which had either been in single ownership or had only one principal landowner in 1662, was found, on average, to be approximately one fifth of the value of the principal estate in 1662.

This might be expected since in the 1780s the tax was levied at four shillings in the pound, and was still based on land valuations drawn up when the tax was first introduced in 1692. On this basis, a comparison could be made between the number of landowners in 1662 who held estates valued at £75 or more, and the number of landowners who were assessed for £15 or more tax on their lands in the Bainton Beacon division in the 1780s. There were 29 landowners in the 1662 group, compared with 25 in the 1780s group.[25]

Such a comparison would be invalid without further supporting evidence. However, the documentary evidence which is available also suggests that little overall change in the number of principal landowners had occurred. Some of the established landowners had increased their holdings in the division, for example the Hothams through their purchase of the Estoft estate, and this would have reduced the overall number of landowners, but this in turn was offset by the division of some estates previously in single ownership, for example, the former landholding of the earl of Winchilsea at Watton, which by the early 18th century had been subdivided into three separate estates. More commonly, though, purchases were made by newcomers, principally from the professional or merchant classes, who bought single landholdings and who seemingly had no intention of buying more land in adjacent townships. Where attempts at expansion were made, for example the proposals by John Grimston to purchase land in the townships surrounding Kilnwick, these generally met with little success and were in any case largely confined to the second half of the 18th century.

More significant changes occurred in the number of small freeholders present in the Bainton Beacon division. The trend amongst owners of the

larger estates was to buy out small freeholders within the township in which their estate lay and thus acquire complete control of that township. Neswick and Warter, for example, both moved from being townships where there were several freeholders to township in single ownership. This increasing dominance of the principal landowners over individual communities was a key factor in settlement contraction.

4.2 The structure of landownership in individual settlements

Having established the broad pattern of landownership in the Bainton Beacon division from the mid 17th century, an examination needs to be made of the structure of landownership within individual townships. In discussing this theme two distinctive types of settlement can be identified, those which were 'open' in character and a contrasting group which were 'closed'. Although more commonly used to describe the nature of settlements in the 19th century, these classifications are equally applicable in the 17th and 18th centuries.[26]

An open settlement was one in which a large number of freeholders was present, with no dominant landowner. In contrast, a closed settlement was one where a small number of substantial landowners owned a sufficiently large percentage of the land - usually 75% or more - to enable them to exercise control over the township.[27] In a closed settlement the principal landowner or owners could, for example, determine the number of tenanted cottages which were available, and restrict the type of tradesmen and craftsmen who settled in the township. In the narrowest sense, a closed settlement was one where this degree of control was not merely possible, but was actually exercised. Holderness describes the raison d'être of closed

settlements as keeping down the poor rates. In other words, the settlements he considers to be closed are those where landlords had actually exerted their power by restricting the number of properties available, ensuring that there were no vacant cottages for migrants who might become a charge on the parish.[28] For the purposes of this study settlements have been classified as open or closed simply on the basis of their landownership structure. It is then possible to examine whether both types of settlement were equally vulnerable to contraction between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries, or whether contraction occurred primarily in closed settlements. It should be noted, however, that some settlements do not fit neatly into either the open or closed category.

Although there are no sources available which give the number of freeholders in every settlement in the Bainton Beacon division in the latter part of the 17th century or early part of the 18th century, there are sources which indicate the presence and occasionally precise number of freeholders in individual communities.

The most widely available group of documents which fall into this category, and which cover the whole area, are wills. These sometimes include bequests of land or buildings and can be used to indicate that a settlement was in the hands of more than one freeholder. At North Dalton, for example, of the six wills located for the period 1720-29, five contain bequests of houses and/or land in the township.[29] It is likely that these bequests relate to freehold, but evidence from wills needs to be treated with a certain degree of caution, since it was possible to transfer copyholds and leaseholds by will.

Estate records, although concerned primarily with tenants, occasionally make reference to freeholders. At Warter an account drawn up in 1715 of the tithes payable by tenants of the estate also gives the names and amounts payable by those who held freehold land in the township.[30] Manorial records similarly occasionally identify freeholders. At Skerne, for example, the manorial call rolls of the early 1730s are divided into tenants and freeholders.[31]

For the Bainton Beacon division a list filed amongst the Quarter Sessions records, dated 1729, provides details of the limited group of freeholders who were both resident in the division and had estates valued in excess of £10 per annum.[32] Poll books also provide details of certain freeholders. The printed poll book for the Yorkshire election of January 1742 records the names and places where freehold was held of all 'forty shilling' freeholders who voted in the election.[33] The information extracted for the Bainton Beacon division from the 1742 poll book is presented in Table 15 below.

These sources for obtaining an estimate of the number of freeholders in a community, although useful when examining the pattern of landownership in individual communities, offer only a very fragmentary picture of the area as a whole. The East Riding is, therefore, especially fortunate in having a major additional source available in the form of the record of land transactions known as the Registry of Deeds, commencing in 1708. Similar registries were established in only three other counties; the West Riding of Yorkshire from 1704, Middlesex from 1709 and the North Riding of Yorkshire from 1736.[34]

The East Riding Registry of Deeds was established by an act of 1707,

the register commencing in September 1708. It was designed to safeguard the interests of both purchasers and mortgagees, and to prevent the fraudulent transfer of land. When a land transaction was completed, an abbreviated form of the original deed, known as a memorial, was written out and lodged with the Registrar. This in turn was copied into a register. The Deeds Registry houses both the memorials and registers. The Registry was concerned primarily with freehold land, and not with copyhold, although mortgages, wills and leases exceeding a term of 21 years were also registered.[35] Since the transactions in the registers are indexed by place as well as by personal names, it is possible, in addition to examining individual land transactions, to calculate the total number of transactions relating to a particular settlement over a given period of time. Such an exercise was carried out for each township in the Bainton Beacon division for the first half of the 18th century, and the information presented in Table 15, the level of activity being taken as a guide to the degree of openness of each community.

Although the Registry of Deeds is extremely useful in providing information about changes in the ownership of particular landholdings from the early 18th century onwards, it is not until the 1780s that there are documents available which give an accurate list of every landowner in the Bainton Beacon division at a given time. These are the land tax returns, briefly referred to earlier. The land tax was first introduced in 1692, and was levied on all occupiers of land. Initially the rate at which land was taxed varied, but from 1776 it was fixed at four shillings in the pound.[36] A handful of early land tax returns have survived amongst estate papers for some townships within the Bainton Beacon division, for example for Warter in the 1690s and Middleton on the Wolds for occasional years throughout the first half of

the 18th century. Unfortunately none of these early returns differentiates between owners and occupiers so cannot be used to calculate the number of freeholders in the township.[37] Land tax returns which distinguish owners and occupiers are available for the majority of townships in the Bainton Beacon division from 1782 although in five cases, Beswick, Driffield (Great and Little Driffield combined), Elmswell, Kilnwick and Warter, the earliest returns which make this distinction date from 1787.[38] Although a little late for the purposes of this study, the land tax returns provide the only accurate basis for determining the structure of landownership in the 18th century. A general examination of all the evidence which is available suggests that in the Bainton Beacon division the pattern of landownership shown by the land tax returns had already been established by the mid 18th century.

Table 15 presents information from the two main sources outlined above, the Deeds Registry and the land tax returns, together with a note of the number of freeholders who voted in the 1742 election for each township in the Bainton Beacon division. The townships are grouped according to the number of transactions recorded in the Deeds Registry over the period 1708-56, the date range covered by the first two township indexes to the Registry. Within each of these groups the townships are listed according to the percentage of land tax paid by the three largest proprietors in each township, a more significant indicator of the extent to which a community could be classed as 'open' or 'closed' than the actual number of proprietors. With regard to the number of proprietors, it was noted that several townships in the Bainton Beacon division experienced parliamentary enclosure before the land tax returns of 1782/7 were made, resulting in the creation of an

Table 15 Number of transactions recorded in the East Riding Deeds Registry 1708-56 linked with evidence from land tax returns as a measure of closed settlements and their liability to contraction

Deeds Registry: no. transactions registered 1708-56	Township	No. freeholders voting in 1742 election	No. proprietors in land tax returns (1782/7)	(No. prop. in land tax r. paying 4s+)	% land tax paid by 3 largest prop.	Reduction in no. households/families between 1670-3 & 1743 (* indicates those settlements with a reduction in size in excess of 30%, or experiencing final depop.)	
300+	Driffield (G & L)	33	109 ⁺	(71)	54.1%	figs. n.a. but other sources suggest none	
101-300	Hutton Cranswick	15	44	(32)	57.8%	4.5% for whole parish (H Cranswick, Rotsea & S.wick - des. of Rotsea & S.wick would a/c for this reduction therefore prob. no change in size of Hutton Cranswick)	
	North Dalton	15	31	(21)	60.1%	17.2% 1672/1743; no. of households apparently rose again by 1764. Overall reduction 1672/1764 only 5.2%	
	Lockington	8	31	(14)	77.3%	not available	
	Tibthorpe	10	11	(11)	63.0%	not available	
21-100	Holme on the Wolds	? @	13	(12)	69.4%	9.1%	
	Lund	13	25	(21)	69.7%	10.7%	
	Southburn	0	12	(11)	75.0%	not available (25% drop between 1672 & 1790)	
	Aike	2	9	(6)	84.5%	not available	
	Middleton	? x	15	(11)	85.1%	25%	
	Bainton	4	6	(5)	94.5%	8.7% between 1672/1764. Doc. sources suggest contraction before and after this period.	
	Skerne	0	8	(8)	95.6%	25.6%	
	Kirkburn	3	6	(6)	96.7%	no separate figure for township - 36.6% for whole parish, comprising Kirkburn, Southburn, Tibthorpe, Eastbur	
	Kilnwick	2	4 ⁺	(3)	99.8%	not available	
	Elmswell	0	2 ⁺	(1)	100%	not available - now deserted	
	1-20	Rotsea	0	5	(5)	91.3%	settlement depopulated
		Scorborough	0	5	(5)	99.2%	52.6%
Beswick		1	1 ⁺	(1)	100%	37.1%	
Bracken		0	1	(1)	100%	settlement depopulated	
Eastburn		0	2	(2)	100%	settlement depopulated	
Neswick		1	1	(1)	100%	68%	
Sunderlandwick		1	1	(1)	100%	settlement depopulated	
Warter		0	1 ⁺	(1)	100%	31.8%	
Watton		0	2	(2)	100%	52.1%	
							*

@ confusion with Holme on Spalding Moor
x confusion with other townships in Yorkshire with same name
+ land tax figures for these townships are for 1787 - for other
townships the figures given are for 1782

Sources: HCRO Registry of Deeds; Yorks Poll 1742;
HCRO QDE/1 (land tax returns); Table 11 above

additional number of landowners who had obtained small allotments in lieu of common rights, thus inflating the 'freeholder' figure. The table therefore gives the total number of proprietors followed, in brackets, by the number of these who paid four shillings or more in land tax. It is interesting to note that amongst the seven townships in the Bainton Beacon division which had been enclosed by act of Parliament before 1782 are the four townships at the top of Table 15 (Driffield, Hutton Cranswick, North Dalton and Lockington), settlements which the evidence presented shows had the highest number of freeholders.[39] This pattern matches the experience of eastern Yorkshire as a whole noted by Crowther, who illustrated that townships with a large number of proprietors tended to enclose early in the period of parliamentary enclosure, probably because they were most restricted by the limitations placed upon them by the open field system.[40] It would have been especially difficult to introduce innovations such as the planting of new crops, changes in crop rotations and the consolidation of strips where a large number of freeholders were involved, and farmers in such parishes were therefore quick to see the benefits of enclosure. This is in marked contrast to Turner's findings in Buckinghamshire, where the need to obtain the agreement of a large number of proprietors in order to effect an enclosure was considered a barrier, thus delaying parliamentary enclosure.[41] The only other townships in the Bainton Beacon division to be enclosed by parliamentary act before 1782 were Aike, which was linked to the Lockington enclosure; Elmswell, which had been partially enclosed and much of the open field land consolidated before the formal act was obtained; and Bainton.[42]

The final column in Table 15 shows the percentage decrease in size of each township, based on the earlier analysis of the hearth tax and

visitation returns, between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries (where this can be calculated) and identifies in particular those settlements which experienced a contraction in excess of 30%, or final depopulation, during this period.

The table shows a strong correlation between the level of land transaction activity, the dominance of the three largest landowners in each community (ascertained by the percentage of land tax paid) and the liability of the community to contraction. The nine townships known to have experienced a decrease in number of households/families in excess of 30% between 1670-3 and 1743, or depopulation during the same period, coincided with the nine townships which form the bottom group of this table, that is, those with not more than 20 land transactions recorded during the period 1708-56. The land tax returns show that by the 1780s none of these townships was divided amongst more than five freeholders, and in most there were only one or two freeholders. At Rotsea, where there were five freeholders, two were assessed for 84.3% of the land tax with three smaller proprietors assessed for the remainder, none of whom were owner-occupiers. At Scarborough, which also had five freeholders, 76.8% of the assessment was on land owned by Sir Charles Thompson, descendant of the Hothams, a further 15.7% on land owned by Lord Egremont, descendant of the Percy family, with the remaining proprietors together assessed for only 7.5%. There were two landowners only at Eastburn and Watton, with the remaining five townships, Beswick, Bracken, Neswick, Sunderlandwick and Warter in sole ownership by 1782/7.

Eight townships in the middle band of the table, Southburn, Aike, Middleton, Bainton, Skerne, Kirkburn, Kilnwick and Elmswell could

also be regarded as closed settlements, since in each case the three largest landowners together controlled 75% or more of the land in the township. The experience of these townships is mixed; Bainton, for example appears to have experienced little decrease in size between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries, although contraction occurred both before and after this period, whereas Middleton on the Wolds shows a decrease of 25% in the number of households/families between 1670 and 1743.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, the townships of Driffield and Hutton Cranswick, both of which appear to have maintained fairly stable populations between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries, emerge as strong freeholder communities. Both had a substantial number of proprietors listed in the land tax returns and in each case the three largest landowners controlled less than 60% of the township. Below these come the remaining five townships, North Dalton, Holme on the Wolds, Lockington, Lund and Tibthorpe, where the three largest proprietors together were assessed for less than 75% of the land tax suggesting they were also potentially open communities. This is a particularly interesting group since it contains two small townships; Holme on the Wolds, with 22 households recorded in 1672, and Tibthorpe, with 23 households recorded in 1673. Of the communities in the Bainton Beacon division which escaped desertion only Aike, Little Driffield, Elmswell (later deserted), Scarborough and Southburn had the same number of, or fewer, households recorded in the 1670s. Holme on the Wolds had changed little in size by the middle of the 18th century, with 20 families reported there in 1743; there are no comparable figures available for Tibthorpe, but 22 inhabited houses were recorded in 1801 indicating that the community had scarcely diminished over this broader

period.[43] This suggests that the lack of dominant landowners in each of these communities may have been instrumental in protecting it from contraction.

In order to examine the pattern of landownership and its effect on individual communities in more detail, two townships with contrasting experiences were selected, Warter and Hutton Cranswick.

Warter, a high Wolds settlement, lies on the western edge of the Bainton Beacon division. The township, which is coterminous with the parish of Warter, covers an area of more than 7,800 acres. In the mid 17th century Warter was a nucleated settlement lying primarily to the east and west of the church and priory site, with Warter Hall, the residence of the principal landowner, situated over a mile south-west of the village.

The landownership pattern of Warter in the mid 17th century was largely determined by its medieval history as a monastic estate. From the early 12th century until the Reformation the settlement was dominated by Warter Priory, a house of Augustinian canons, which had been established there in 1132. The priory was dissolved in 1536 and its site and lands were granted to the earl of Rutland.[44] By the mid 17th century the estate was in the hands of John Stapleton, whose father had purchased it c.1630. Following the marriage of John's daughter Isabel in 1679 to Sir William Pennington the estate passed to the Pennington family of Muncaster Castle in Cumberland.[45] Another monastic house, the Cistercian abbey of Meaux, also held land at Warter in the middle ages, where they established a grange known as Albermarle, later renamed Blanch.[46] This also passed into secular hands at the

Reformation, and by the late 17th century formed part of the Stapleton/Pennington estate.[47]

The bifocal township of Hutton Cranswick is situated on the eastern side of the Bainton Beacon division, and covers an area of over 4,800 acres. Hutton Cranswick is the principal township in the parish of the same name, which also encompasses the now-deserted townships of Rotsea and Sunderlandwick. In the mid 17th century, as now, the township comprised two separate areas of settlement, Hutton, centred on the parish church, and Cranswick, the larger of the two, clustered around a green.

The pattern of landownership to be found at Hutton Cranswick in the mid 17th century was in marked contrast to that at Warter. In 1662 six principal landowners had an interest in the township, including the earl of Winchilsea who controlled the adjacent estate of Watton, and Sir John Hotham who was resident at Scarborough. The Hutton Cranswick estates of both men were valued at £200 per annum. Another large estate, valued at £140 per annum, was held by Sir Thomas Williamson, with smaller estates held by Thomas Crompton, William Mason and a Mr Adams.[48] In 1667 the earl of Winchilsea considered joining with Sir John Hotham to effect an enclosure of Hutton Cranswick.[49] There is no evidence to suggest that this idea was developed further; enclosure at this date would have been unusual in a township where the agreement of many freeholders would have been required.

Although, in contrast to Hutton Cranswick, Warter was largely under the control of one major landowner in the late 17th century, other freeholders were present in the township. An account dated 1715

records ten additional freeholders at Warter.[50] Sir Joseph Pennington seemingly pursued a policy of buying out these small freeholders as the century progressed. The purchases of three freeholds by Pennington at Warter in the 1720s and 1730s are recorded in the Registry of Deeds.[51] These include a farm purchased from Robert Hurdsman. This farm was not let to a new tenant; instead the land was divided amongst several of several of Pennington's existing tenants.[52] Pennington initially failed, however, to purchase all the freeholds which came on the market. When the estate of John Hudson at Warter came up for sale in 1738, it was bought by a rival purchaser, James Sanderson, himself a freeholder in the township.[53] Nor did Pennington succeed at this date in persuading the heirs of Francis Johnson to part with their recently inherited freehold. He did, however, ultimately manage to acquire the freehold of John Jopson, after a lengthy and protracted series of negotiations. Rumours that Jopson proposed selling his farm at Warter first reached John Dickinson, Pennington's estate steward, in 1733. There were several prospective purchasers interested in the farm, but it was still on the market in 1738 when one of Pennington's main rivals for its purchase was again James Sanderson.[54] The estate steward wrote to Pennington in October 1738 informing him that 'as to Jopsons [farm] there is a pretty deal of it near at hand, and in the best flats, and in several of [th]em no other freeholders intermixed, and [it] may probably some time or other prove a disadvantage if James [Sanderson] should purchase it'.[55] Pennington was ultimately successful in acquiring the Jopson freehold, although not until December 1747, 14 years after it was first put on the market.[56] The land tax returns of 1787 show that by this date the Penningtons had succeeded in acquiring all the freehold at Warter and had thus acquired complete control of the township.[57]

By contrast Hutton Cranswick was a strong freeholder community, with a considerable amount of land transaction activity recorded in the Deeds Registry in the first half of the 18th century. The printed poll book for the Yorkshire election of 1742 records the names of 15 Hutton Cranswick freeholders who voted in the election, 11 of whom were resident in the township.[58] When the township was enclosed in 1769-71 40 individuals received allotments of land.[59] Forty-four proprietors are recorded in the land tax returns of 1782, 20 of whom were owner-occupiers. The two largest proprietors, Richard Savage Lloyd, whose family had acquired the earl of Winchilsea's estate, and Sir Charles Thompson, who had inherited the Hotham estate, were together assessed for less than half of the total amount of land tax due for the township.[60]

The differing patterns of landownership in these two communities is reflected in the social and economic characteristics which they developed. The presence of nonconformist sects in a settlement is often indicative of a freehold community, whereas in a settlement largely under the control of one landowner, tenants were more usually required to conform to the religious persuasion of their landlord. Warter is not wholly typical in this respect in that it had a strong Quaker community in the 17th century.[61] Although members of the sect were initially tolerated by John Stapleton, himself a Puritan, he was later active in persecuting Quaker tenants.[62] A limited amount of Quaker activity continued at Warter into the early 18th century, but this was largely owing to the appointment of John Dickinson as estate steward. Dickinson came from a strong West Riding Quaker background.[63] The appointment was not an unusual one for an Anglican landowner; many estate stewards and surveyors came from Quaker backgrounds and were considered to be

honest and reliable because of their faith. No other sects appear to have been active at Warter in the late 17th century or early 18th century, and there were no nonconformists residing there by 1743.[64]

At Hutton Cranswick nonconformist sects had more opportunity to flourish. Although there were only four dissenters reported there in 1676, evidence of nonconformity occurs repeatedly throughout the latter half of the 17th century and first half of the 18th century.[65] In 1707 a Quaker meeting house at Cranswick is mentioned, the only dissenting meeting house to be licensed in the Bainton Beacon division.[66] There were eight or nine Roman Catholics in the parish in the 1730s. In the visitation return of 1743 the incumbent reported that half a dozen dissenting families resided in his parish - a mixture of Quakers, Roman Catholics and Anabaptists.[67] With the possible exception of Driffield, for which there is no visitation return, Hutton Cranswick displayed the strongest evidence of nonconformity of any parish within the Bainton Beacon division over the period examined.[68] This pattern continued, as might be expected, into the 19th century when the Baptists, Primitive Methodists and Wesleyan Methodists all built chapels in the township.[69]

The range of occupations recorded at Warter compared to that at Hutton Cranswick similarly confirms the closed nature of the settlement. Although Warter had the third highest recorded number of households in the Bainton Beacon division in the late 17th century, the trades and crafts practised there were confined to the common ones, such as blacksmith and weaver, most of the residents being engaged in agriculture.[70] Since the Penningtons owned the majority of the cottages in the township, they were able to control the type of tenants

who were allowed to settle there. The estate accounts for 1726-7 refer to a house and garth that had been let to 'a young man of Weighton a shoemaker by trade' - an example of Pennington selecting a tenant whose services were needed in the village, and who was unlikely to become a burden on the parish.[71]

At Hutton Cranswick, the freeholder nature of the community encouraged a wider range of tradesmen and craftsmen to settle there. The parish registers covering the period from the mid 17th century to mid 18th century record occupations ranging from tailor, shoemaker, weaver, blacksmith, joiner and wright to innkeeper, miller, butcher, and grocer.[72]

The contrasting landownership patterns of the townships of Warter and Hutton Cranswick resulted in the emergence of two very different communities. Warter was clearly a closed settlement, largely under the control of one landowner, and therefore vulnerable to contraction. In 1673 there were 85 households in the township; by 1764, only 50. Hutton Cranswick was a typical open settlement with a large number of freeholders; there appears to have been little change in size between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries.[73] The experience of these townships echoes that of most settlements in the Bainton Beacon division, contraction occurring primarily in those townships which had few freeholders. This suggests that in many cases contraction was a result of the deliberate action of a landowner. Why did landowners in closed settlements decide to reduce the number of cottages available to tenants? Was their action primarily due to a desire to discourage new settlers and keep down the poor rates, as a consequence of the new settlement laws? Or was contraction linked to a changing pattern of

agriculture and land use, with the landowners pressing forward with reorganization of their estates for economic reasons?

Chapter 4 - References

- [1] YAS MD335/Box 57 ('An account of the estates of every particular person charged with horse in the East Riding of the County of York AD 1662'). The list appears to have been drawn up in response to a militia act of 1662. According to the act, only landowners with estates valued at or above £100 per annum were required to contribute towards the provision of a horse and horseman; the list does, however, include some landowners with smaller estates. See Pickering Statutes vol 8 3 & 4 Car II c3.
- [2] W H St John Hope 'Excavations at Warter Priory' TERAS vol 8 for 1900 (1900) pp 40-1; H E Chetwynd-Stapleton 'The Stapletons of Yorkshire' YAJ vol 8 for 1884 (1884) pp 444-5; YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [3] W H St John Hope 'Watton Priory, Yorkshire' TERAS vol 8 for 1900' (1900) pp 71-2; YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [4] F H Sunderland Marmaduke Lord Langdale (London, 1926) pp 131-49; J W Clay 'The Gentry of Yorkshire at the time of the Civil War' YAJ vol 23 for 1915 (1915) p 365; J W Clay (ed) Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers vol III YASRS vol 20 for 1896 (1896) p 159; P G Holiday 'Royalist Composition Fines and Land Sales in Yorkshire 1645-1665' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1966) p 378.
- [5] Holiday 'Royalist Composition Fines' pp 377-8.
- [6] C Clay 'The Price of Freehold Land in the Later Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' ECHR 2nd ser vol 27 (1974) p 181; Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the Manuscripts of Allan George Finch Esq vol 1 (London, 1913) p 470.
- [7] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [8] HMC Report on Finch Manuscripts vol 1 p 469.
- [9] HCRO DDGR/42/10.
- [10] HUL DDSY/46/51; HCRO DGN/6/4.
- [11] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [12] Woodward Henry Best of Elmswell p xxii; R Davies (ed) Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire (1665-6) Surtees Society vol 36 for 1859 pp 161,322; P Roebuck Yorkshire Baronets 1649-1760 (Oxford, 1980) p 63.
- [13] Roebuck Yorkshire Baronets pp 62-108.
- [14] Ibid esp pp 62-3.
- [15] HCRO RDB M/11/10; HUL DDHO/42/8.
- [16] HCRO DDRI/33/7,16,20.

- [17] D Neave & S Needham 'Neswick Hall' Georgian Society for East Yorkshire Newsletter no 12 (1985) np.
- [18] S L Ollard Bainton Church and Parish (2nd edn, Beverley, 1934) p 49.
- [19] HUL DDSY/46/33; DDSY/46/51.
- [20] M E Ingram Leaves from a Family Tree (Hull, 1951) pp 11-14, 32-3.
- [21] HCRO DDGR/42/10-12; R Wilson 'Ossington and the Denisons' History Today vol 18 no 3 (March 1968) p 164.
- [22] G E Mingay Enclosure and the Small Farmer in the Age of the Industrial Revolution (London, 1968) pp 31-2.
- [23] HCRO RDB Q/312/792.
- [24] HCRO RDB R/135/320.
- [25] The land tax returns for the division (HCRO QDE/1) are discussed in more detail on pp 96-7 below.
- [26] B A Holderness "'Open" and "Close" Parishes in England in the 18th and 19th centuries' AHR vol 20 pt 2 (1972) pp 127-30.
- [27] Mills Lord and Peasant pp 22-3, 64-97.
- [28] Holderness "'Open" and "Close" Parishes' p 138.
- [29] BIHR - original wills.
- [30] HUL DDWA/14/4.
- [31] HUL DDCV/149/2.
- [32] HCRO QSF Michaelmas 1729 (Bill of Freeholders).
- [33] The Poll for a Representative in Parliament for the County of York 31 January 1741[2] (York, 1742).
- [34] The East Riding Registry of Deeds - A Guide for Users (Humberside County Record Office, April 1986) p 1.
- [35] Ibid pp 1-2.
- [36] For an introduction to the land tax see M Turner 'The Land Tax, Land and Property: Old Debates and New Horizons' in M Turner & D Mills (eds) Land and Property: The English Land Tax 1692-1832 (Gloucester, 1986) pp 1-35.
- [37] HUL DDWA/10/1; DDCV/112/4; DDSY/46/42-3, 50.
- [38] HCRO QDE/1. The assessments are filed by township.
- [39] B English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards (Hull, 1985) passim.

- [40] J E Crowther 'Enclosure, Topography and Landownership in Eastern Yorkshire' in Turner & Mills Land and Property p 78.
- [41] Ibid p 78.
- [42] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards pp 11, 47, 90.
- [43] See above p 55 Table 11; Population Abstract of Great Britain 1801 pt 1: Enumeration p 405.
- [44] St John Hope 'Warter Priory' pp 40-1.
- [45] Chetwynd-Stapleton 'The Stapletons of Yorkshire' pp 444-5, 462; D Neave 'The Search for Coal in the East Riding in the Eighteenth Century' YAJ vol 45 for 1973 (1973) p 194.
- [46] A H Smith The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York English Place-Name Society vol 14 (1937) p 170.
- [47] Sir Philip Stapleton purchased the Blanch lands in 1635/6 from Mary Bethell and her son, Hugh. See Chetwynd-Stapleton 'The Stapletons of Yorkshire' p 445.
- [48] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [49] HMC Report on the Finch Manuscripts vol 1 p 469.
- [50] HUL DDWA/14/4.
- [51] HCRO RDB H/192/401, J/253/571, M/111/169.
- [52] HCRO RDB M/111/169; HUL DDWA/6/23.
- [53] HUL DDWA/12/1.
- [54] Ibid.
- [55] Ibid.
- [56] HCRO RDB S/457/1122.
- [57] HCRO QDE/1.
- [58] Yorkshire Poll 1742.
- [59] HCRO RDB AK/333/24.
- [60] HCRO QDE/1.
- [61] See above p 30.
- [62] N Penney (ed) The First Publishers of Truth (London, 1907) pp 299-301.
- [63] Information from David Neave (unpublished research notes).
- [64] See above p 31 Table 5.

- [65] Ibid.
- [66] HCRO QSF Midsummer 1707.
- [67] See above p 31 Table 5.
- [68] Ibid.
- [69] J J Sheahan & T Whellan History and Topography of the City of York; the Ainsty Wapentake; and the East Riding of Yorkshire (Beverley, 1856) vol 2 p 506.
- [70] BIHR PR WAR/1-2.
- [71] HUL DDWA/6/22.
- [72] HCRO PE/72/1-3.
- [73] See above p 55 Table 11.

Chapter 5

LAND TENURE

The extent to which a landowner could control the number of farms and cottages on his estate depended to a large degree on the type of tenure which prevailed. In the East Riding in the 17th century there were three principal types of land tenure other than freehold: copyhold, leasehold and rental on a yearly basis (either 'at will' or 'year by year').[1]

5.1 Copyhold

The type of customary tenure known as copyhold related to land which was held by copy of the entry of the tenancy in the manor court rolls. In the eastern half of England in the 17th century it was usual for copyhold land to be hereditary.[2] On the death of a tenant of a hereditary copyhold the land notionally reverted to the lord of the manor, but on payment of a 'fine' the copyhold automatically passed to the deceased tenant's heir (or to the person to whom he had bequeathed the copyhold), the change of tenancy being registered in the manor court rolls. Copyhold land was subject to a nominal annual rental, and to the attendance of its holder at the manorial courts. Tenants might also be required to fulfil other customary obligations, for example, the annual gift to the lord of the manor of a capon.

Since a tenant of hereditary copyhold enjoyed a title to his or her land almost as secure as that of a freeholder, the removal of copyhold tenants was not a straightforward process. Deliberate contraction of settlements was therefore difficult to achieve in settlements where the majority of the tenants held their land by

hereditary copyhold. Occasionally copyhold land reverted to the lord of the manor, when the holder died intestate and had no heir, or where the copyholder had forfeited his rights, for example, a tenant who had committed murder. Otherwise a manorial lord who wished to rid himself of such tenants could do so only by imposing unreasonable entry fines (contrary to the established custom) which might drive them out; by establishing that the tenants had acted unlawfully, by wasting their property; by persuading them to convert their copyhold into leasehold; or by purchasing the copyholds if the tenants were willing to sell. Many landowners appear to have succeeded in ridding themselves of copyhold tenants by the time of the Civil War, but the remaining copyhold land in the East Riding in, for instance, Holderness, seems to have survived unaltered in the century after the Restoration.[3] Those settlements where contraction was most likely to occur during this period were, therefore, those with few or no hereditary copyhold tenants.

In the Bainton Beacon division no references have been found which suggest that any copyhold land remained by the mid 17th century. Manorial records survive for several townships within the division, for example, Neswick, Skerne and Warter, but none record surrenders or admissions to copyhold land.[4] Manor courts continued to be held in many townships irrespective of whether or not there were copyhold tenants, since the courts were used to regulate the management of common lands. Further proof of the absence of copyhold is available for those Bainton Beacon division townships enclosed by act of Parliament, where the records associated with these enclosures make no reference to copyhold tenants. Many of the East Riding settlements where copyhold survived beyond the mid 17th century were settlements of an open nature, for example the town of Market Weighton, and the large market village of

Patrington in Holderness, where the presence of copyhold may have afforded some protection against deliberate contraction, and perhaps even encouraged growth.[5] At Leven, an open settlement in Holderness, it was noted in the 19th century that 'the township ... contains much copyhold property, which facilitates speculation in building cottages'.[6] Copyhold tenure was abolished in 1926.

5.2 Leasehold

A lease was a legally binding agreement between a landlord and tenant. This gave the tenant right of possession for a specified term, in return for an agreed annual rent. The landlord was not at liberty to revoke the lease, or the tenant to give up the tenancy, until the lease expired. It has been demonstrated that in the Midlands and north-east, in the period under discussion, yearly tenancies were more common than leases for a term of years, but there is evidence of some leasehold in the East Riding, usually of larger farms.[7]

At Warter, in the Bainton Beacon division, the majority of farms were let on an annual basis by the early 18th century, but the farm and sheepwalk known as Blanch was leased, usually for a period of between seven and 21 years.[8] In the 1730s the lease was jointly held by four tenants, and problems arose in 1738 when one of the tenants sold up his stock and attempted to assign his share of the lease to a new tenant without the consent of the remaining partners.[9] A similar situation arose four years later. In April 1742 the Warter estate steward wrote 'John Hudson and John Kirby who had each a quarter part of the lease and stock of Blanch and Lavender, hath sold their shares of the stock to Mr Dixon of North Dalton, and I suppose is to assign over their shares in the lease for the remaining part of the term'.[10] It was in the

interest of a landowner to ensure the reliability of tenants who took on a lease of several years' duration, particularly in the case of a joint tenancy, when a good working relationship between the partners was essential to ensure that the land was properly managed and retained its value throughout the duration of the lease. The following month the Warter steward gave this report:

As to the affair about Blanch, I believe I mentioned that Mr Dixon had purchased the shares of the stock of Blanch belonging to both John Hudson and John Kirby, having been so informed, but find now that he has only purchased one of the shares (viz) Kirbys, and Hudson has sold his to one Binnington, who is now a shepherd at Howard [Hawold, North Dalton parish]. As to Mr Dixon I believe (as you observe) he is a person of good substance, and do not perceive that it will be any way detrimental to your affairs there, if he takes an assignment of Kirby's part in the lease, or that he is very likely to be any way over bearing amongst the other partners, as the stock is in common or undivided. I think there will be less occasions of difference amongst them, if they be but agreeable to each other about the disposal of their sale of sheep and wool, one would think they could not well differ about else; and as to Binnington, though I know less of him, I don't hear but that he may be likely enough for a tenant and agreeable enough to the other partners, which makes me more easy about the change, though I don't know whether they can legally do it without your approbation.[11]

In 1747 the tenancy of Blanch was taken over by William Dowthwaite, who was allowed to establish a rabbit warren there. He was also permitted to plough up 30 acres of sheepwalk, with certain conditions concerning sowing and ploughing. On this occasion the lease was for 21 years.[12]

Elsewhere in the Bainton Beacon division leases also appear to have been confined to a small number of farms of a substantial size. At Watton, for example, the former monastic grange and associated lands known as Burnbutts were leased in 1724 for a term of 21 years. The acreage of the farm, which was leased to the same family of tenant farmers throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, was given as 471 acres in 1780.[13]

5.3 Rental on a yearly basis

Provided he or she abided by the terms agreed, a tenant who held a leasehold farm could only be removed once the lease had expired. Tenants who rented their cottages and farms on an annual basis were less secure. Those who held their land 'at will' had no formal agreement with their landlord, and were liable to eviction at the end of the harvest year, provided the three months notice required by law was given. In the Bainton Beacon division, however, rental 'year by year' appears to have been more usual. Land let on a 'year by year' basis was subject to a written or verbal agreement, and could be terminated by either party at the end of the agricultural year. In exchange for a rack-rent it was usual for the landlord to take responsibility for the maintenance of cottages and farm buildings. Sometimes tenants were subject to the particular customs of the township. This was the case at Middleton on the Wolds, where the custom from at least the 1690s was that when a tenant left his farm, he paid half a year's rent and took the away-going

crop.[14] The new tenant paid only the rent for the second half year, but in turn paid half a year's rent when he relinquished the tenancy.

As previously noted, the majority of farms and cottages on the Warter estate of the Penningtons were let 'year by year'. It was customary at Warter to pay a 'fasting [fastening] penny' on entering a farm, to seal the contract. The fasting 'pennies' were not simply nominal sums; amounts paid in the 1720s varied from a shilling to two guineas according to the rental value of the farm. James Tweedle, who took on a farm at Lady Day 1728, at an annual rental of £1, paid a fasting penny of one shilling, but the same year a fasting penny of two guineas was demanded from James Sanderson in order to transfer the tenancy of his father's farm, one of the largest in the township, to himself.[15]

Both at Warter and at other townships in the Bainton Beacon division there are many references to landlords undertaking repairs to tenants' property. These include details of the repair and rebuilding of farmhouses and cottages on the Hotham estates at Scarborough, Lockington and Hutton Cranswick, and on the Shaw estate at Bainton, all in the first half of the 18th century.[16]

References amongst the Warter estate papers to the departure of tenants (voluntary or otherwise) and to the movement of tenants between farms is a reflection of the 'year-by-year' nature of the tenancies. In 1727, for example, there is a reference to 'the house that was Widow Rogerson's, whose time was out at Lady Day 1726' and later the same year to the removal of William Tweedle and his son for misbehaviour.[17] In 1735 it was recorded that 'Widow Autherson gives notice of leaving her

farm next Lady Day and would take a smaller farm in the town'.[18] The situation was similar on estates elsewhere in the East Riding. On the Constable estate at Everingham, the steward wrote in 1742 'I shall tell Robert to discharge widow Emerson of her cottage against Lady Day, because she is about marrying an old shoemaker from Cranswick for we do not want old cottagers, but such as are able to work when called upon'.[19] At Warter it was customary for a widow or son to be allowed to take over the tenancy of a farm on the death of the husband or father, if this was practical. If not, a widow would probably be accommodated elsewhere in the village. In 1728 William Lyons of Warter died and his widow was removed into another cottage so that a new tenant could take the farm.[20] Where a farm or cottage was let to a new tenant, the opportunity to increase the rent was sometimes taken. The rent charged to John West, a shoemaker of Market Weighton, when he took on a house at Warter in 1727, was £1 per annum, twice the amount paid by the previous tenant.[21] Alternatively a landlord might choose not to take on a new tenant, when a farm fell vacant, but instead take the land back as demesne or add it to other farms, allowing him to demolish the associated cottage and so contribute to settlement contraction.

Rental 'year by year' enabled a landlord to reorganize farms and reduce the number of cottages in the township with considerable ease. At Warter the diminishing size of the settlement between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries suggests that the Penningtons took advantage of the terms under which tenants held their land. The hearth tax returns record 85 householders in the settlement in 1673, about 70 of whom appear to have been tenants of the Penningtons.[22] By 1709 there were only 57 tenants renting cottages on the Pennington estate at

Warter.[23] Contraction of the settlement continued after this date, both through the further reduction in the number of tenants, and the buying-out of freeholders, and by 1743 only 58 families resided at Warter. The number of families recorded in 1764 was 50.[24] Since rental 'year by year' appears to have been the most common form of land tenure in the Bainton Beacon division by the second half of the 17th century, landowners in other closed settlements would have experienced a similar ease in reducing the number of tenanted farms and cottages on their estates if they so chose. Evidence suggests that many landowners did so choose, and in the following chapters the factors that led them to take such action will be explored.

Chapter 5 - References

- [1] For a description of these and other forms of tenure, see the chapter by C Clay on 'Landlords and Estate Management in England' in J Thirsk (ed) The Agrarian History of England and Wales vol 5 pt 2 (Cambridge, 1985) pp 119-251, especially pp 198-230. The definitions which follow are based on this source.
- [2] Clay 'Landlords and Estate Management' p 200.
- [3] J T Cliffe The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War (London, 1969) p 43; B English The Great Landowners of East Yorkshire 1530-1910 (forthcoming, 1990). It has been demonstrated that nationally, by the mid 17th century 'few tenants remained whose customary status could be challenged, and few manors where ambiguous customs had not been spelt out one way or another'. Clay 'Landlords and Estate Management' pp 198-9.
- [4] HCRO DDWR/12/1-4 (Neswick); HUL DDCV/149/1-2 (Skerne); HUL DDWA/8/1-4 (Warter).
- [5] HUL DDLO/11/1,15 (Market Weighton); HCRO DDCK/13/1, HUL DPA/17 (Patrington).
- [6] Report on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture PP 1867-8 XVII (4068) p 367.
- [7] Clay 'Landlords and Estate Management' p 209. Lifeleasehold, where a tenant was usually granted a lease for 99 years determinable on three lives, was largely confined to the western counties of England. See C Clay 'Lifeleasehold in the Western Counties of England 1650-1750' AHR vol 29 pt 2 (1981) p 83.
- [8] Several of the farms at Warter were held on 21-year leases in the 1650s (HUL DDWA/10/1) but there is no evidence of leasehold farms in the township, other than Blanch, after this date. It is probable that these leaseholds were converted to annual tenancies upon expiry.
- [9] HUL DDWA/12/1(d) (27 June 1738).
- [10] HUL DDWA/12/1(e) (30 April 1742).
- [11] Ibid (21 May 1742).
- [12] HUL DDWA/6/25.
- [13] HCRO DDX/128/4,18.
- [14] HUL DDCV/112/3; DDSY/107/24.
- [15] HUL DDWA/6/22.

- [16] There are references to repairs to property throughout the Warter estate correspondence of the 1730s-40s (HUL DDWA/12/1) and in the Hotham estate accounts from the 1720s (see, for example, HUL DDHO/15/6,9). For Bainton see HCRO DDWR/1-3.
- [17] HUL DDWA/6/22.
- [18] Ibid. It was customary at Warter for a tenant to give six months notice of intention to quit his or her farm at the end of the rental year. See HUL DDWA/12/1(e) (30 Dec 1742, 17 Jan 1743).
- [19] Roebuck Constable of Everingham Estate Correspondence p 59.
- [20] HUL DDWA/6/22.
- [21] Ibid.
- [22] PRO E179/205/523.
- [23] HUL DDWA/14/4.
- [24] Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol II p 212; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.

THE SETTLEMENT ACTS

6.1 The basis of the settlement acts

It is another very great destruction of the people ... that gentlemen, of late years, have taken up an humour of destroying their tenements and cottages, whereby they make it impossible that mankind should inhabit upon their estates. This is done sometimes bare-faced, because they harbour poor that are a charge to the parish ... [1]

These remarks, thought to have been written around 1688, highlight one of the factors which, according to contemporaries, prompted landowners to 'close up' their villages - the introduction of the settlement acts.

Although there had been much legislation concerning the problem of the poor in England in the post-medieval period, culminating in the poor law acts of 1598 and 1601, reinforced in 1640, it was not until the second half of the 17th century that the first legislation dealing specifically with the question of 'parish of legal settlement', and removal of those poor without the right of settlement, was passed. This was the 'Act for the Better Relief of the Poor' of 1662, the first and most significant of the settlement acts.[2] It has been said of this legislation that 'It is clear from the preamble to the act that it was enacted under pressure from parishes needing stronger powers to rid themselves of unwanted and potentially chargeable immigrants'.[3] The relevant wording is as follows:

... by reason of some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to another, and therefore do endeavour to settle themselves in those parishes where there is the best stock, the largest commons or wastes to build cottages, and the most woods for them to burn and destroy; and when they have consumed it, then to another parish, and at last become rogues and vagabonds, to the great discouragement of parishes to provide stocks, where it is liable to be devoured by strangers. [4]

The act stated that a person would now become chargeable on a parish after 40 days' residence, but empowered the parish officers to apply to the justices of the peace for the removal of a newcomer within 40 days if they anticipated he or she would become chargeable on the parish. The only exemptions were people who rented a tenement valued at or above £10 per annum, or those who could provide security which would discharge the new parish from any obligations of caring for them should they become destitute at some future date.[5] The act severely restricted mobility, since most parishes were cautious of allowing new settlers who might at some future date need poor relief which the officers would be legally obliged to provide.

There were certain modifications to the act at later dates. In 1685 the legislation was amended so that the 40 days' residence period would begin on the day on which written notice was given to the churchwardens or overseers of the incomer's arrival in the parish, since there had been attempts, particularly in the large urban parishes, by incomers to conceal themselves for a 40-day period and so obtain legal settlement in the new parish before the parish officers were aware of their arrival.

Further modifications were made in 1691 when new ways of obtaining settlement were introduced - the payment of parish rates, service in a public office, completion of an indentured apprenticeship, or having been hired within the parish for a year. Yet more modifications were made in 1697, when the practice was introduced of enabling an incomer to bring with him a certificate from his parish of legal settlement, guaranteeing that he would be accepted back if he became chargeable on the new parish. Settlement certificates had previously been carried only by temporary migrants, usually those coming in at harvest time. Further amendments include an act of 1729-30 requiring that the cost of removal should be paid by the parish of settlement.[6]

6.2 The effect of the settlement acts on rural communities

Recent research has suggested that in the late 17th century perhaps one quarter of the population lived in poverty, and one seventh could be classed as destitute or nearly so.[7] Although urban parishes experienced the highest levels of poverty, the small rural parishes were equally conscious of the problems that an influx of migrants, for whom there were only limited employment prospects, might create. The 1662 settlement act in fact commences with a reference to the growing number of poor 'not only within the cities of London and Westminster, but also through the whole kingdom ...' [8]

Prior to the passing of the 1662 act, the principal legislation designed to discourage rural over-population was the 1589 'Act Against Erecting and Maintaining Cottages', which restricted cottage building by requiring that four acres of land must be allocated to each new cottage.[9] The act was not always enforced in areas where there was sufficient employment available to absorb migrant labour.

Landowners were particularly conscious of the need to limit the number of potential paupers on their estates, and thus ensure that poor rates remained at a modest level. Poor rates were levied on occupiers as opposed to owners of property, and landowners were aware of the need to ensure that their tenant farmers were not driven out by an inability to pay high rates, as well as a personal desire to keep the rates as low as possible. From a social angle, too, it was desirable to discourage the 'idle poor' from settling on the landowners' estates.[10]

The question, therefore, is to what extent did the settlement laws of the later 17th century prompt landlords to demolish vacant cottages, or at least discourage them from building new ones? Although the legislation gave powers of removal to a migrant's last place of legal settlement, this could be both costly and time consuming, and if it was not undertaken within forty days, a migrant would become a permanent charge on the new parish. The introduction of settlement certificates offered some guarantee that the incomer could be removed if he or she became a burden on the poor rates, but both landowners and parish officers were still careful to discourage settlers unless local employment was plentiful.

The effects of the legislation of 1662 were immediately apparent in certain counties, for example Cambridgeshire, where a number of cottages for the poor had been erected at public expense. In such cases the 'landlord' was, of course, the parish. Following the introduction of the 1662 act, many parishes were reluctant to have such cottages available, and the demolition of a number of these was authorised by the justices. At Landbeach, for example, the parishioners were granted permission in 1666 to demolish one such cottage as soon as the pauper

for whom it had been erected had died.[11]

Several contemporary writers highlighted the problems created by the settlement acts, notably Roger North in his Discourse on the Poor from which an extract has already been quoted.[12] North clearly saw landowners as the principal culprits in discouraging settlement. Sir Frederick Eden in The State of the Poor made the following comment on the reaction of landowners to legislation which was proposed in 1735 to amend the prevailing system of poor relief: 'Those who had depopulated their parishes, and were grown easy in their Poor's Rate' he wrote 'were alarmed, for fear such a law might end in an equal rate throughout the country', again emphasising the links between depopulation and a desire to minimise the cost of caring for the poor.[13]

When a landowner discouraged settlement by demolishing cottages, reducing the poor rates was probably only one of several motives which lay behind his actions; when it was the parish officers who promoted the demolition of cottages, this was clearly the principal motive. Richard Burn, writing in the 1760s, denounced the actions of those parish officers who saw it as their duty 'to pull down cottages; to drive out as many inhabitants and admit as few, as possibly they can; that is to depopulate the parish in order to lessen the poor-rate'.[14]

In a reference more directly related to the East Riding, H E Strickland, writing in 1812 but perhaps referring to the situation which had prevailed throughout the 18th century, wrote:

Of some few villages the inhabitants have been thinned in late years by an injudicious principle of destroying cottages, or suffering them to fall to decay as not paying an adequate rent, or as subjecting the parishes occasionally to increased burthens... [15]

This situation seemingly continued into the 19th century. In 1834 it was reported to the Poor Law Commissioners that there were many cottages in the town of Beverley which were 'occupied by non-parishioners, in whose parishes the cottages belonging to the great landowners have been destroyed'. [16]

Returning to the period more specifically under discussion, the following case from a Lincolnshire parish provides an example of the demolition of a cottage directly associated with discouraging pauper settlement. In February 1685 the rector of Burton Coggles in Lincolnshire petitioned to demolish a barn, kiln and cottage in the township. He claimed that an agreement had been made at the time of the enclosure of the township that 'what poor shall at any time happen [to be] in that cottage ... be maintained wholly by the Rector'. [17] Since the cottage was now empty, and there was no longer sufficient employment available to maintain another labourer, the rector wished to have the cottage demolished to ensure that the living was not burdened by the cost of maintaining a pauper.

The settlement laws were undoubtedly a contributory factor in the creation of closed settlements. [18] The East Riding settlement of Everingham, near York, which experienced a marked reduction in size between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries, provides a good example of

a closed estate village where the landowner wished to minimise the number of poor for which the parish was required to provide.[19] Even those who had legal right of settlement in the township were encouraged to find means of support elsewhere. In October 1734 the estate steward wrote to Sir Marmaduke Constable, the landowner, giving the following account of a former tenant:

Mary Hair after the death of her husband went to live at San[c]ton with a niece of hers, she had as good as forty pounds when she left Everingham as I was told, but now [is] thrown upon this town; which your tenants might have prevented if they had either secured her effects, or got a bond from the party who undertook to maintain her, and promised to do it...

[20]

The steward was clearly displeased that the township would now be required to bear the cost of supporting the widow for whom it was hoped responsibility had initially been transferred elsewhere. The same steward's action against 'old cottagers' has been quoted above (p 119).

In the Bainton Beacon division it has not been possible to demonstrate that the passing of the settlement acts led directly to the adoption of a 'closed settlement' policy by local landowners, although the comments of contemporary writers and experience of other areas suggest that this must have been a contributory factor. It is possible, however, to assess the more general impact of the legislation on individual settlements in the division by examining the accounts of certain parish officers. Surviving records which contain relevant information include overseers of the poor accounts for

Lockington (from 1649), and Kilnwick (from 1697), together with parish constables' accounts for Warter (from 1684), and Watton (from 1740).[21]

The Lockington overseers' accounts enable some comparison to be made of the costs of caring for the poor of the parish before and after the introduction of the settlement acts. In the decade 1650-59 there were between seven and ten 'weekly poor' (those who received regular poor relief payments) supported by the parish each year. The total expenditure for the decade on poor relief was £117 17s 5d. It is interesting to note that in the following decade, at the beginning of which the first of the settlement acts was introduced, the numbers of 'weekly poor' had dropped to between none and four each year, and the expenditure on poor relief had similarly fallen to only £50 11s 9d. Expenditure dropped to just over £30 in the following decade, and remained between £30 and £55 per decade until the 1720s. Although the amount of poor relief rose dramatically in the decade 1720-29 to £131 10s 3d, this was largely due to unusually heavy expenditure in the years 1721-2 and 1727-9, both periods of national and local crisis mortality. Thereafter the parish again continued to support a much lower number of 'weekly poor' than in the 1650s, the average for the decade being only between three and four, a pattern which continued throughout the remainder of the first half of the 18th century.[22] The settlement acts may therefore have been effective in restricting the number of potential paupers who settled in the parish.

Varying amounts of money were expended by parishes on casual payments to travellers, many of whom carried a pass, showing that they were returning to their place of settlement and authorising them to seek relief from the parishes through which they passed. The constables of

Warter, which lay on the route from Drifffield to Pocklington, made frequent payments to travellers, many of whom were soldiers and seamen. In 1699, for example, the constables paid 12s 4d to a total of 48 travellers, several of whom were provided with overnight accommodation.[23] The parish officers were keen to ensure that travellers moved on quickly to the next parish, arranging transport if this proved necessary. In 1689 the sum of 7d was given to 'two travellers which was carried away in a cart' and in 1732 the constables similarly bore the cost of transporting a man, woman and four children to Nunburnholme, the adjacent parish.[24]

Parish officers were seemingly prompt to remove both itinerants and residents who seemed likely to become a charge on the parish. In 1650, before the settlement laws were introduced, the overseers of the poor at Lockington whipped a vagrant and returned him to Easthorpe 'the place of his habitation'. [25] In 1701 the overseers of Kilnwick applied to the justices for a warrant to compel the neighbouring parish of Watton to take back back a woman named Mary Jackson, then resident in Kilnwick, who had claimed that Watton was her place of legal settlement.[26] The Watton parish officers were unable to satisfy the justices that they were not responsible for the woman, and the Kilnwick overseers subsequently removed her and her goods back to that settlement. A later reference to house rent for Mary Jackson 'when she lay in with bastard child' explains why the Kilnwick overseers were so anxious to have her removed, since the forthcoming child would become a permanent responsibility on the parish of its birth.[27] In 1725 the Warter constables made a payment for 'carrying a wife with child to Huggate', another example of the removal of a pregnant woman.[28]

The overseers of Lockington parish were confronted with a similar problem in 1734, when they applied to the justices at Beverley for an order to remove Jane Wallis. She was subsequently returned to Watton, presumably her place of legal settlement. In 1745 Lockington parish was on the receiving end of a removal order. The overseers were obliged to collect Margaret Crompton from Arram, a few miles away, where she was probably in service. They were also required to pay her removal costs, arrange lodgings for her, and provide a midwife for the birth of her illegitimate child.[29] Anne Walker of Lockington appears to have been in a similar predicament since in 1746 the overseers made payments 'for having Anne Walker to Beverley to get married'. It was in the interests of the parish to ensure that an unborn child was legitimate and thus became a charge upon the parish of its father.[30]

Although the settlement laws applied to both rural and urban areas, recent research suggests that they were least effective in the towns where enforcement was difficult.[31] There can be little doubt, however, that in the smaller rural parishes the 1662 settlement act and its subsequent modifications both encouraged the prompt removal of migrants with legal settlement elsewhere as soon as they became in need of poor relief, and curtailed further migration into these parishes. The legislation served to discourage the building of surplus housing, particularly in areas where the employment prospects for potential migrants were poor. In some cases, it also resulted in the demolition of existing housing and thus contributed to the contraction of settlements.

It has been suggested that the settlement laws were most rigorously enforced in arable areas, where it was necessary 'to balance the need

for farm labour with low poor rates and therefore a minimal population surplus to the needs of the rate-paying farmers'.[32] The East Riding was a major area of arable production, and it would appear that the reduction in size of certain townships in the riding which took place between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries was in part due to enforcement of the settlement laws.

Chapter 6 - References

- [1] R North A Discourse on the Poor (London, 1753, reprinted New York, 1972) p 57. Although North's Discourse was not published until 1753, it is thought to have been written shortly after the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 - see Preface p vi.
- [2] W E Tate The Parish Chest (London, 1969) pp 191-2.
- [3] G W Oxley Poor Relief in England and Wales 1601-1834 (Newton Abbot, 1974) p 19.
- [4] G Nicholls A History of the English Poor Law vol 1 (London, 1854) p 294.
- [5] Oxley Poor Relief p 19.
- [6] J S Taylor 'The Impact of Pauper Settlement 1691-1834' Past & Present no 73 (1976) p 51; Tate The Parish Chest pp 192-3.
- [7] T Arkell 'The Incidence of Poverty in England in the later 17th century' Social History vol 12 no 1 (January 1987) p 47.
- [8] Nicholls English Poor Law p 294.
- [9] Oxley Poor Relief pp 39-40.
- [10] Mills Lord and Peasant pp 23-4.
- [11] E M Hampson The Treatment of Poverty in Cambridgeshire 1597-1834 (Cambridge, 1934) p 68.
- [12] See note [1] above.
- [13] F M Eden The State of the Poor (London 1797, reprinted 1966) vol 1 p 301.
- [14] Quoted in Holderness "'Open" and "Close" Parishes' p 128.
- [15] H E Strickland A General View of the Agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire (York, 1812) p 42.
- [16] Quoted in N D Hopkin 'The Old and New Poor Law in East Yorkshire c.1760-1850' (M Phil thesis, University of Leeds, 1968) p 369.
- [17] LAO Calendar of Red Book pp 256-7. I owe this reference to David Neave.
- [18] See Holderness "'Open" and "Close" Parishes', esp p 128.
- [19] There were 57 households recorded at Everingham in 1672, but only 27 families were said to live there in 1743. (PRO E179/205/504; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol I p 189.)
- [20] Roebuck Constable of Everingham Estate Correspondence p 74.

- [21] HCRO PE/139/18; DDKI/5/92; HUL DDWA/6/72; HCRO PE/66/17.
- [22] HCRO PE/139/18.
- [23] HUL DDWA/6/72.
- [24] Ibid.
- [25] HCRO PE/139/18.
- [26] HCRO DDKI/5/92.
- [27] Ibid.
- [28] HUL DDWA/6/72.
- [29] HCRO PE/139/18. Orders for the removal of people back to settlements in the Bainton Beacon division are also to be found in the records of other East Riding parishes, and appeals against such removal orders may be found in the Quarter Sessions files. There are no Petty Sessions minute books for the riding; for areas where these survive the minute books often provide a detailed record of removal orders. See, for example, N Landau 'The laws of settlement and the surveillance of immigration in 18th century Kent' Continuity and Change vol 3 no 3 (1988) pp 391-420.
- [30] HCRO PE/139/18.
- [31] Corfield The Impact of English Towns p 101.
- [32] J Langton & G Hoppe Town and Country in the Development of Early Modern Western Europe Historical Geography Research Series no 11 (1983) pp 23-4. At South Ormsby, on the Lincolnshire Wolds, an area where arable farming predominated, Burrell Massingberd in 1711 'unequivocally declared his intention not to have more cottages than he and his tenants required for labour'. B Holderness 'The agricultural activities of the Massingberds of South Ormsby, Lincolnshire, 1638-c.1750' Midland History vol 1 no 3 (Spring 1972) p 19.

Chapter 7

THE PATTERN OF LAND USE AND AGRICULTURAL PRACTICE IN THE BAINTON BEACON DIVISION IN THE LATE 17TH CENTURY AND EARLY 18TH CENTURY

7.1 Introduction

In the 17th and 18th centuries the great majority of people living in the Bainton Beacon division worked on the land.[1] Situated at the centre of the East Riding, the division contains a variety of landscapes and range of soil types, enabling a mixed pattern of farming. The division is bounded to the east by the river Hull, and to the north and west by the high Wolds. (See Figure 7) The floor of the river valley is covered with alluvial deposits producing a dark, peaty soil. As the land rises to the north and west the soil changes to a covering of boulder clay at the lower edge of the dip slope of the Wolds, before giving way to the drift free chalk of the Wolds themselves.[2]

In the four easternmost townships confined to the Hull valley, Aike, Rotsea, Scarborough and Skerne, virtually all the land lies below the 50 foot contour. In other townships, for example, Hutton Cranswick and Lockington, which are orientated east-west, the land rises from below 50 feet in the river valley to over 100 feet on the dip slope of the Wolds. A middle band of townships in the division - those lying north and south of Bainton - lie principally on the dip slope of the Wolds, the land in these townships broadly ranging from 100 to 350 feet above sea level. Further west the land continues to rise, reaching its maximum height of over 650 feet in Warter, a typical high Wolds townships. (See Figure 8)

There are a number of sources which offer some indication of the pattern of land use and farming practices in individual settlements in

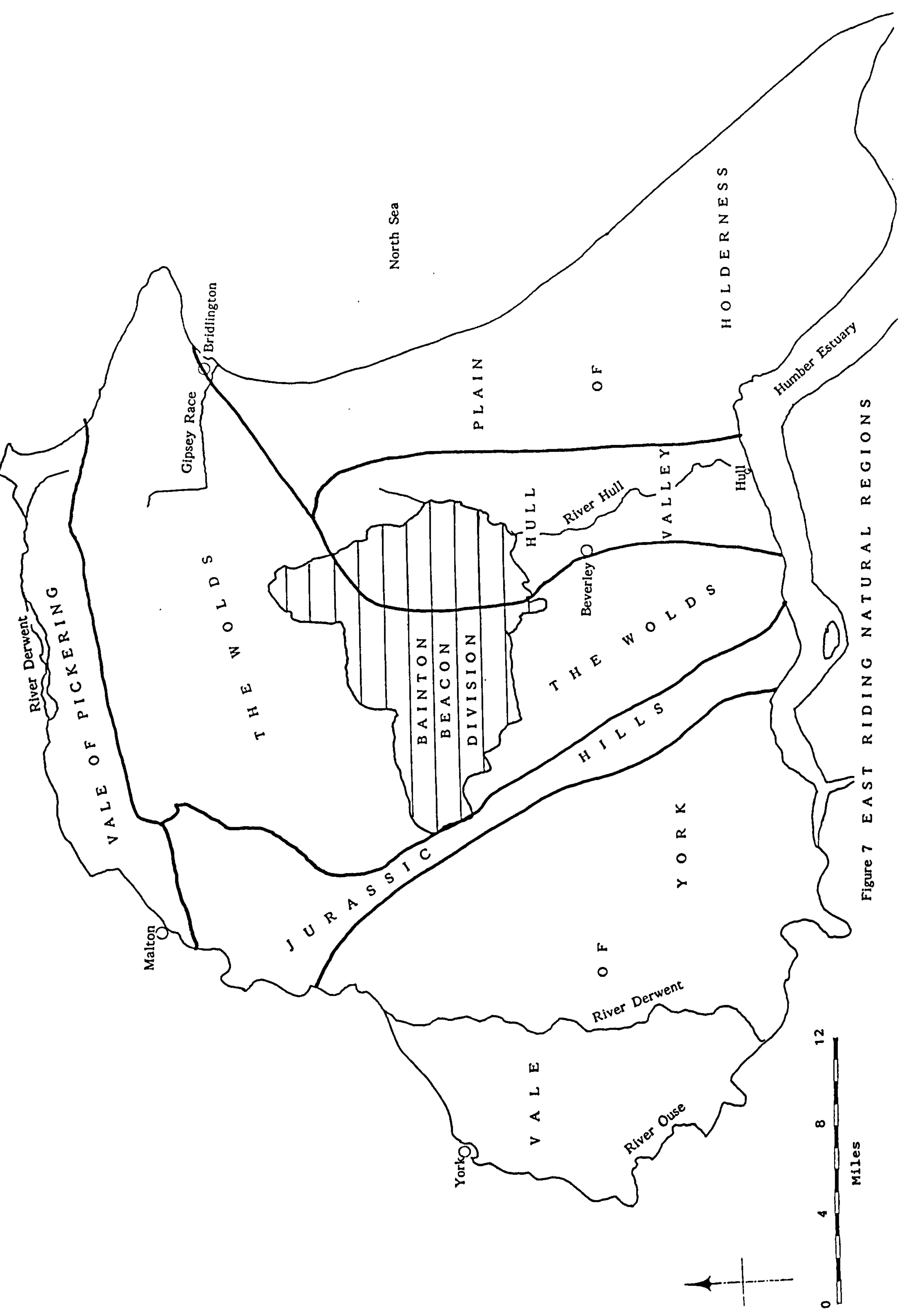


Figure 7 EAST RIDING NATURAL REGIONS

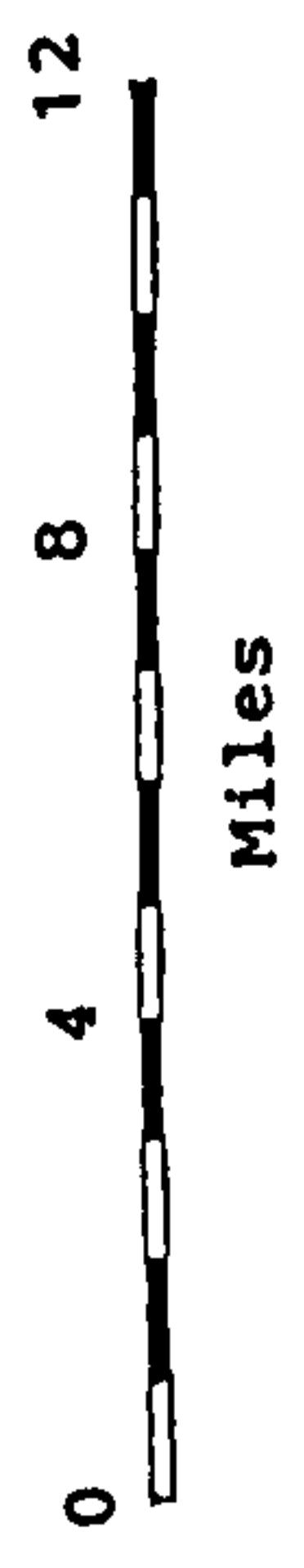
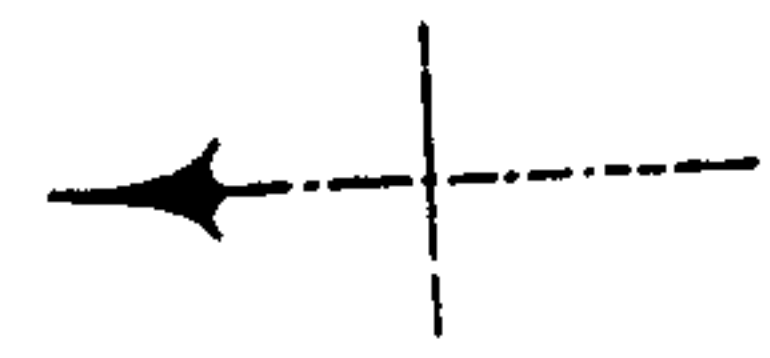
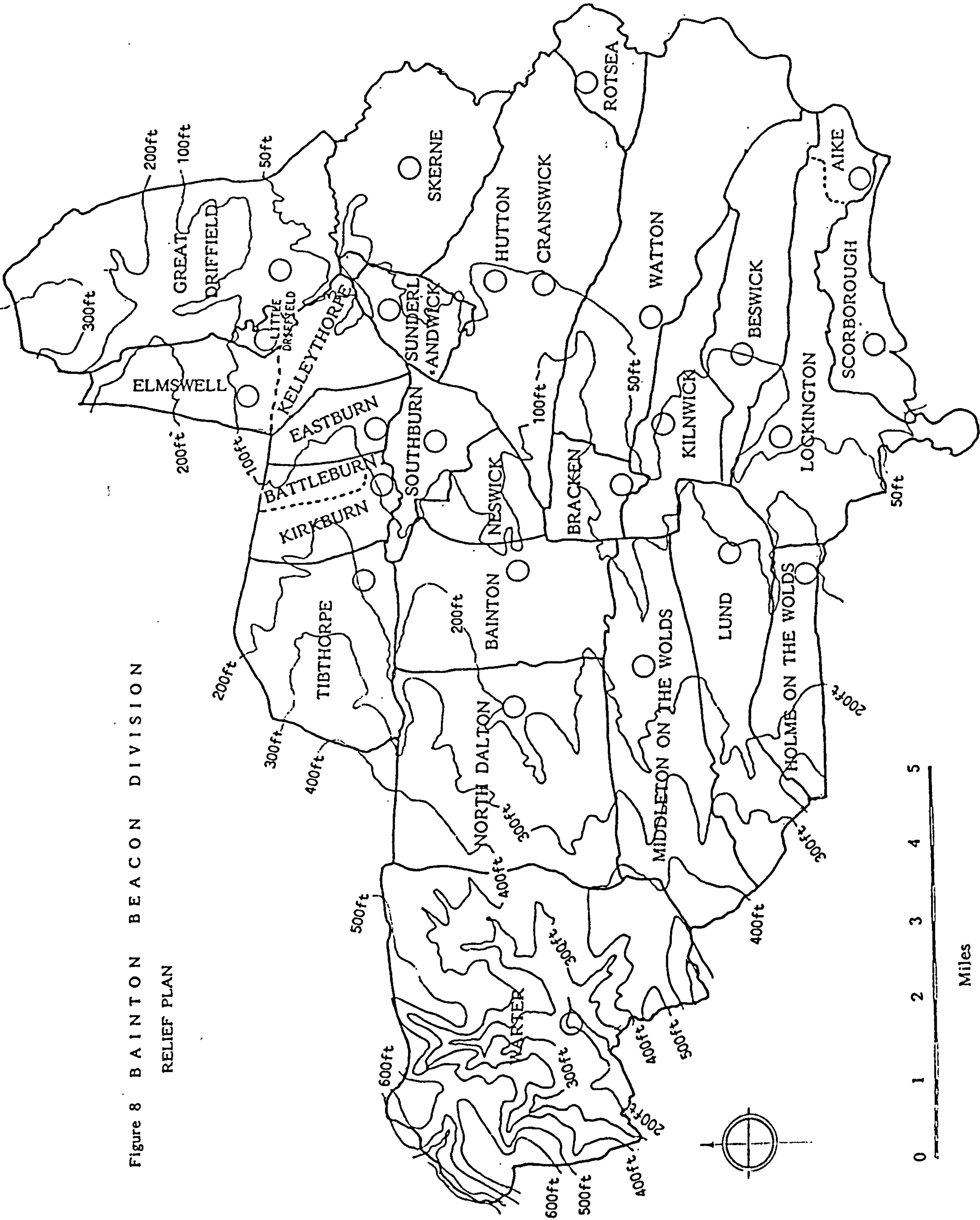


Figure 8 B A I N T O N B E A C O N D I V I S I O N
RELIEF PLAN



the 17th and 18th centuries. These include probate inventories, estate accounts and correspondence, manorial records and references to tithes in glebe terriers and cause papers. More particular sources available for the Bainton Beacon division include the farming book of Henry Best of Elmswell, dated 1642, and the returns made to the Geographical committee of the Royal Society in 1664-5.[3] These returns take the form of sets of answers to questions on farming methods. Only two sets survive for the East Riding: one set covering the wapentakes of Howdenshire and Ouse and Derwent together with the Holme division of Harthill wapentake and the other covering the Hunsley and Bainton Beacon divisions of Harthill wapentake.

7.2 Analysis of crop and livestock ratios from probate inventories

Of the sources outlined above, probate inventories, with their detailed listings of crops and livestock, provide the most comprehensive picture of land use for the whole area.

Within the diocese of York probate inventories rarely pre-date the late 1680s, except where a parish came under a peculiar jurisdiction, that is, the jurisdiction of an ecclesiastical official other than the archbishop or bishop of the diocese. In the Bainton Beacon division inventories dating from an earlier period survive for only one parish, Great Driffield, which came under the peculiar jurisdiction of the Precentorship of York. Since probate inventories become less informative by the 1740s, it was decided to draw the sample for the Bainton Beacon division from the five decades between 1690 and 1739.

At the Borthwick Institute at York, probate inventories are filed alongside wills or letters of administration.[4] Having extracted

details of all the wills and letters of administration which were available for the Bainton Beacon division over the whole 50 year period, the decades 1690-99 and 1720-29 were chosen to provide the inventory sample. There were c.230 wills or letters of administration available for these two decades, approximately half the number which existed for the whole period 1690-1739. Since not all wills or letters of administration are accompanied by probate inventories, it was not possible to calculate in advance how many inventories would be found. The decade 1690-99 produced 75 probate inventories, 68 of which contained references to stock and crops. The decade 1720-29 produced 95 probate inventories, 84 of which contained references to stock and crops, making a total of 152 inventories which could be used to examine agricultural practice. Of these, five (four from the 1690s and one from the 1720s) were discarded, principally because of joint stock/crop valuations. This left 147 inventories which could be analysed to obtain some information about the farming patterns of the Bainton Beacon division.

Few inventories survive for the poorest members of any community. The inventories used for this study did, however, come from a fairly broad cross section of the population of the Bainton Beacon division, ranging from those of men farming at subsistence level, such as John Denton of North Dalton, whose total possessions were valued at £15 5s on his death in 1727, to those of wealthy yeoman farmers, for example, William Leake of Lund, who had goods worth £393 5s 7d on his death in 1729.[5] Several people whose inventories were examined were engaged in trades or crafts as well as in farming.

The analysis of the inventories concentrated on calculating the

ratio of the value of crops to the value of livestock.[6] Account was taken of the fact that the valuation of crops on the ground would vary according to the time of year when a particular inventory was made, therefore the valuations of both growing and stored crops were included, together with the manure and 'arders' [the work put into ploughing] of land. Hay was excluded from the analysis; in the majority of cases, the valuations were extremely small, indicating that the hay had probably been purchased to feed stock. Hemp and 'line' [flax] were also excluded from the crop valuations. There were no references to either of these as growing crops, and the stored quantities were small, suggesting that in the majority of cases the hemp and flax had been probably been purchased, for the manufacture of home-spun cloth.

All livestock were included in the analysis, although swine, poultry and bees contributed an insignificant amount to the total livestock valuations in the majority of inventories. It was impossible to separate draught animals from other livestock, although it was recognised that their prime function was to contribute to the arable side of the farming enterprise. References to wool occurred in only six inventories, five of which already had livestock valuations higher than the crop valuations; in the remaining inventory, the wool was valued jointly with several other items and could not have been separated for inclusion in the analysis. Since only one of the valuations for wool was high, it was decided to exclude wool from the analysis but take account of it in the subsequent discussion of sheep farming on the Wolds.

Minor adjustments were occasionally made to the valuations assigned to both stock and crops to take account of other items with which they

had been jointly valued.

Using the above guidelines, both crop and livestock valuations were calculated for every inventory in the sample. From these, total crop and livestock valuations for each township were obtained. For three townships, Bracken, Scarborough and Skerne, no inventories were available for the decades selected. In the case of Bracken, where there were no probate inventories for any year between 1690-1739, this was a reflection of its depopulation and conversion to a single farm by the late 17th or early 18th century. For the other two townships, both Hull valley settlements, a small number of inventories were available from the periods 1700-19 and 1730-9. These were examined, and the information obtained used to contribute to the discussion of the agricultural pattern which emerged in the Hull valley from the main inventory sample and from other sources.

For most townships, the number of inventories available was too small to enable a meaningful separation of the two sample decades, and no attempt was made to assess changes which might have occurred between the 1690s and 1720s. The principal change which one might expect such a comparison to show would be the introduction of new crops. Since no references to new crops (with the exception of rape, which was already being grown in the Hull valley by the 1690s) occur in any of the inventories examined, this would have been a fruitless exercise. It was, however, possible to separate the inventories for each decade for the two largest townships (Great Driffield and Hutton Cranswick) to see if the crop/livestock balance altered between the 1690s and 1720s. In both cases, the ratio of crop to livestock in the 1720s was identical to that in the 1690s.

Table 16 Comparative crop and stock valuations in the Bainton Beacon division 1690-1729*

<u>Township</u>	<u>No. inventories</u>	<u>Crops</u> (as % of total crop & stock valuations for township)	<u>Stock</u>
Eastburn	(1)	0	100
Rotsea	(3)	11	89
L Driffield	(3)	12	88
Southburn	(2)	16	84
Sunderlandwick	(1)	18	82
Aike	(3)	26	74
North Dalton	(12)	32	68
Warter	(14)	35	65
Holme on the Wolds	(3)	38	62
Kilnwick	(1)	39	61
Middleton	(11)	40	60
Hutton Cranswick	(34)	46	54
Tibthorpe	(2)	46	54
Kirkburn	(1)	46	54
Elmswell	(1)	48	52
Lund	(6)	49	51
Lockington	(7)	50	50
Bainton	(6)	55	45
G Driffield	(23)	56	44
Neswick	(3)	59	41
Beswick	(4)	60	40
Watton	(6)	65	35

* based on an analysis of 147 probate inventories located for the Bainton Beacon division 1690-9 & 1720-9. There were no inventories available for Bracken, Scarborough or Skerne at these dates. The table is ranked according to the crop/livestock ratio, commencing with the township with the lowest crop percentage.

Source: BIHR probate inventories

Table 16 shows the value of crops and of livestock, in each township, as a percentage of the total crop/livestock valuations for that township. The townships are ranked according to their crop/livestock ratio, commencing with those with the lowest crop percentage.

The table shows that many of the townships situated in the lowest-lying parts of the division, for example, Rotsea and Aike, both Hull valley settlements, and those on the higher parts of the Wolds, such as Middleton, North Dalton and Warter, had a bias towards a pastoral economy, with livestock valuations considerably greater than crop valuations, as one might have expected. Although physically contrasting areas, in both the Hull valley and high Wolds there was a substantial amount of land unsuited to arable farming. The river valley contained extensive areas of low-lying land suitable only for cattle grazing, whilst on the Wolds the infertile higher grounds were used as sheep pasture. It should be stressed, however, that in neither of these areas was the economy solely based on livestock. There was only one township in the Bainton Beacon division for which there was no evidence of arable farming. This was Eastburn, a small township for which only one inventory was available, and whose depopulation and conversion to pasture in the 1660s is well-recorded.[7]

The townships on the lower slopes of the Wolds, for example, Lund, and those which ran from the Wolds and sloped eastwards to the Hull valley, such as Hutton Cranswick, showed a fairly even crop/livestock ratio. The most unexpected result obtained from the inventory analysis was the heavy bias towards arable farming at Watton, one of the Hull valley settlements. A more detailed examination of the inventories showed that this reflected the pattern of land use of those farms which

occupied the monastic grange sites in the western half of the township. The eastern half of Watton, where the smaller farms were situated, was an area of pastoral farming.[8] Overall, therefore, the Bainton Beacon division emerged as an area with a mixed farming economy, the proportion of arable to livestock varying according to the physical characteristics of individual townships.

7.3 Agricultural practice in the Bainton Beacon division

The information provided by the analysis of crops and livestock from probate inventories provides the basis for a more detailed examination of the particular characteristics of farming within the Bainton Beacon division drawing on the wider range of sources cited above. The two most distinctive agricultural regions within the division are the high Wolds and the Hull valley, and in this section a study of their contrasting characteristics is followed by a broad overview of the agriculture of the Bainton Beacon division as a whole.

(a) The Hull valley

In the mid 17th century the Hull valley was dominated by large areas of carrlands. In their undrained state these lands were unsuited to arable farming. The economy of the area was largely based on cattle rearing (since sheep could not tolerate the wet pastures), but fishing and fowling also made a significant contribution. A lease dated 1659, relating to the Hull valley settlement of Rotsea, includes fishing and fowling rights.[9] Tithes payable by the parishioners of Lockington parish in 1693 included 4d for every fish garth at Aike, and lands leased at Aike in 1739 carried certain rights to fishing and fowling.[10] The inventories of Stephen Blyth of Rotsea (1696), Robert Wilson of Wilfholme, Beswick (1723), William Wallis of Aike (1728) and

Richard Hodgson of Corps Landing, in Hutton Cranswick parish (1737) each mention a boat or boats amongst the possessions of the deceased; in the case of Hodgson a carr boat is specified. Apart from his two boats, William Wallis also left eel nets for fishing valued at £5 2s, and a stock of eels valued at £8.[11] Rentals and leases relating to Scarborough in the first half of the 18th century include references to the right to set eel nets in Arram Carrs, and in the Hull river.[12]

Several decoys were constructed by landowners in the Hull valley, including at least two in the Bainton Beacon division. A decoy was an area of water with several arms radiating from it; it was used to lure wild ducks into the narrow arms of the decoy where they would be trapped in the covering nets. The river valley, with its large areas of poorly drained land, provided the ideal environment for the creation of decoys. The word 'decoy' is derived from the Dutch abbreviation of 'ende-kooy' or duck cage, and this method of trapping ducks was introduced into England from the Netherlands in the 17th century.[13] One of the earliest recorded decoys in England was at Leven, on the eastern side of the Hull river. A parliamentary survey taken in 1650 makes reference to 'All that lately erected fowling place called the Coy, with a little house thereon, standing in the middle of the carrs on moorish ground'.[14] The Leven decoy may have provided a model for other landowners in the Hull valley. In August 1667 the Earl of Winchilsea, owner of the Watton estate in the Bainton Beacon division, wrote from abroad to his trustees enquiring 'whether a decoy at Watton may be beneficial, and if so, in what place, what may be the benefit, and what the expense?'.[15] The answer to his query is unknown, but it is possible that the Watton decoy, traces of which survive, was created at around this time.

Another decoy created in the 17th century was on the Hotham estate at Scarborough, further south along the river valley. An entry in the account book of Elizabeth Hotham in 1682 refers to 'coy fowl', and in 1692 oats for the decoy were purchased.[16] Accounts of the early 18th century for the Hotham estate include a number of entries relating to the Scarborough decoy. In 1727-8, for example, payment was made for four bushels of hemp seed and four bushels of oats, for the decoy ducks, presumably a reference to feed for the tame birds which were used to attract the wild birds into the decoy. In 1728 five new 'bow nets' for the decoyman were purchased, and in 1735 85 pounds of hemp was bought for the decoy nets. The following year payments were made for spinning and knitting these nets.[17] The decoy provided income for the estate from the sale of fowl; between September and November 1729, for example, accounts record the sale of 50 dozen ducks at £2 3s 4d per ten dozen.[18]

Some income was also derived from the harvesting of 'dumbles', a type of rush which grew on the edge of rivers and ponds, and which has been recorded growing in several settlements along the Hull valley.[19] In 1697 Sir Charles Hotham of Scarborough paid £3 for 18 months rent of the dumbles in Arram Carrs in the adjacent parish of Leconfield.[20]

Although arable crops were grown in the Hull valley settlements, on the higher grounds away from the river, inventories suggest that it was usual for more capital to be tied up in livestock than in arable farming. Cattle were considerably more important than sheep in this area. At Watton, of the seven inventories examined, all mention cattle but only three mention sheep. One of these inventories is that of a labourer whose total livestock comprised two cows and six sheep. The

other two inventories are of men who had large farms at Swinekeld, one of the former monastic granges in the western half of the parish, on the higher land away from the Hull river. In both cases the valuations for sheep were considerably lower than those for cattle; in one inventory sheep were valued at £10 and cattle at £49, and in the other the sheep were valued at £21 and the cattle at £62.[21] A similar pattern is found at the Hull valley settlement of Rotsea, where only one of the three farming inventories mentions sheep. In this case the sheep were valued at only £2 6s compared to a valuation of £98 for cattle.[22]

The sale of dairy produce contributed to the income of some farmers in the Hull valley area. The inventory of the goods of Daniel Wisker of Scarborough, whose will was proved in 1709, makes no references to crops, apart from two stumps of hay used as animal feed, but in livestock he had seven cows, one calf, one steer, one mare and two swine. His house contained a dairy, in which there were two butter pots, 25 bowls, a churn and a pail. The inventory also mentions a cheese press and 44 cheeses, the latter valued at £1 1s 4d.[23] Scarborough is situated less than five miles north of Beverley, and there would have been a ready market for dairy produce in the town. Other inventories from the Hull valley also include references to cheese. Amongst the items listed in the inventory of the goods of Stephen Blyth of Rotsea, taken in 1696, is six stone of cheese, and on her death in 1714 Ruth Smithson of Scarborough left a stock of cheese valued at ten shillings.[24]

Grazing land for livestock in the Hull valley was provided by the meadow grounds known as ings, and by the carrs, the low-lying peaty lands bordering the river, which were subject to regular flooding. At

Scorborough the meadow in the ings was described in the mid 18th century as 'very wet coarse land of no great value'.[25] Grazing on the carrlands was largely confined to the summer months. Gilbert Dove of Hutton Cranswick had beasts pastured in the East Carr at the time of his death in June 1725.[26] The 'summer pasture' referred to in the inventory of William Garton of Rotsea, taken in July 1727, and on which much of his stock was pastured, was almost certainly a reference to the carrlands which dominated that township.[27] A tithe case, relating to Rotsea, described how the land of one estate there in the 18th century 'was so extremely wet it was very rare that sheep were fed on it', and that on another estate 'a great part of the land was nearly the whole of the year under water'.[28] A similar pattern prevailed throughout the Hull valley region. At Brandesburton in Holderness, on the east side of the Hull river, a survey taken in 1743 described the Great Ox Carr there as 'coarse boggy land in which no cattle can go: it is in a dry year always mown and the sedge and flaggs serve for young or dry cattle in the winter but this is under water nine months at least and sometimes all the year'.[29] The much larger Ing Carr, in the same parish, provided some higher ground suitable for pasture, but much of it too was so poorly drained that in a wet summer nine-tenths of it was said to lie under water.[30]

Hay was harvested from the carrs and ings. Manorial by-laws dating from the 17th century for Beswick include a reference to the mowing of hay in Beswick Carr, and the debts listed in the inventory of Anthony Ryder of Hutton Cranswick, who died in 1726, include 12s 6d for carr hay purchased from a neighbouring farmer.[31] At Scorborough there is a reference to the 'dales' in the ings, dales or doles being the subdivisions made, by means of stones or other markers, of meadow

land.[32]

It was not until the late 18th century that a major drainage programme was carried out in the Hull valley. However, several small-scale drainage schemes were undertaken by private individuals in the second half of the 17th century, for example the draining of Wawne Carrs by Sir Joseph Ashe in the 1670s.[33] Following these improvements, it was possible to plant crops on some of the carrlands. A popular crop to grow on newly drained land was rape. In 1663 the earl of Winchilsea considered improving the low-lands in Watton parish 'by inclosure, draining, plowing or burning any part thereof, and sowing with cole or rape-seed'.[34] No such drainage scheme appears to have been carried out at this date. There is no record of drainage schemes being proposed or executed in other Bainton Beacon division townships, but the introduction of rape in the late 17th century suggests that some improvements had been made. The report to the Georgical committee of the Royal Society in the 1660s makes no reference to this crop being grown in the area, but by the 1690s rape was being grown in some townships in the division; tithes of rape are mentioned in a glebe terrier for Lockington parish in 1690, and on his death in 1696 Stephen Blyth of Rotsea had 'some rape sown down'.[35] Entries in the account book of Sir Charles Hotham, drawn up in the 1690s, record payments for dressing rape, and there are references to parcels of rape seed taken in for processing.[36] The seed was crushed at the Scarborough rape or oil mill, to which there are numerous references in the Hotham estate accounts dating from the first half of the 18th century.[37]

(b) The high Wolds

The inventories examined for those townships which extended across

the higher parts of the Wolds suggested there was a pastoral bias in the economy of this area. In contrast to the Hull valley, where cattle predominated, sheep were the most important type of livestock kept. Although some cattle were bred, the shortage of water and lack of meadow meant the Wolds were much more suited to sheep grazing. Each of the 14 inventories examined for Warter parish mention sheep, and in only one case are cattle valued more highly than sheep.[38] William Wilson, for example, had cattle valued at £36, but his sheep flock was valued at £120. He also possessed a store of wool valued at £50.[39] The picture was similar at North Dalton, where all the inventories mention sheep. Apart from the inventory of a small farmer who kept only a couple of beasts and ten sheep, the sheep valuations were all substantially greater than the cattle valuations. George Callan, for example, had a flock of sheep valued at £55, but his cattle were worth only £10, whilst Elizabeth Layton had 235 sheep valued at £79 2s, but cattle worth only £9 15s.[40] This is a reversal of the pattern which was found in the Hull valley.

Apart from supporting sheep, some of the rough pasture in certain Wolds townships was profitably converted to rabbit warren. At Eastburn, on the lower slopes of the Wolds, for example, a warren had been established by 1707, and the stock of rabbits in 1740 apparently numbered in excess of 7,500.[41]

Although sheep and rabbits played a major role in the economy of the Wolds townships, a considerable acreage was also devoted to arable. An infield/outfield system was employed in many of the Wolds parishes, in which the fields nearest to the village were cultivated intensively, whilst the outfields, on the less fertile higher grounds, were left

fallow for several years. This meant that townships on the higher parts of the Wolds often had a greater number of open fields than was traditional in townships on the lower slopes; at Middleton on the Wolds, for example, there were six.[42] The Geographical committee was told that 'upon our Wolds which lie near the chalk and flint they have in many towns seven fields and the swarth of one is every year broken for oats and let lie fallow until its turn at seven years' end, and these seven are outfields'.[43]

Few of the inventories examined specified the types of crops which were grown, but those which did indicated that barley and oats were the chief crops of the high Wolds. Warter estate records suggest that the usual rotation, presumably for the infields, was barley, followed by oats or peas, followed by a fallow.[44] Barley was principally grown to produce malt for brewing. On his death in 1692 William Reay of North Dalton possessed a malt mill worth £3, and a store of malt worth £11. In his will, drawn up a year before his death, he described himself as a maltster.[45]

Although the East Riding was generally slow to adopt new crops and methods of husbandry, attempts to improve the fertility of the soil by introducing new grass seeds, such as clover and sainfoin, were made in some Wolds parishes in the first half of the 18th century. A reference to 'clover grass close' at Warter occurs in 1712, and there are references to the use of clover seed in the township from the 1720s.[46] In January 1743 the estate steward at Warter suggested that 'the outfields would come much better and sooner to swarth if laid down with trefoil [clover] or common hay seeds, and keep more stock the first year after it was laid down than it will at present'.[47] Sainfoin, said to

grow well on the thin, dry soils of the Yorkshire Wolds, is thought to have been introduced into the riding by the Osbaldestons of Hunmanby, probably in the 1730s.[48] The earliest reference found to its use in the Bainton Beacon division is at Warter in the 1740s. Accounts dated 1753 show that the seed was brought up to the township from London.[49]

(c) The Bainton Beacon division: an overview

The high Wolds and Hull valley areas have been discussed in some detail, since they illustrate the variety of land types and associated farming practices which can occur within a relatively narrow area. Representative of the Bainton Beacon division as a whole was the farmer of the mid Wolds settlements, such as Thomas Andrew of Bainton, who died in 1729. On his death he had horses valued at £30, cattle at £30, sheep at £28, swine at £4 together with 14 oxgangs of corn valued at £98, showing a pattern of mixed farming typical of the area.[50] Although barley and oats were the principal crops on the high Wolds, in most townships in the Bainton Beacon division all the standard cereal crops were grown. In his farming book Henry Best described the range of crops which were grown at Elmswell in the 1640s - barley, oats, several varieties of wheat, rye, and a mixture of wheat and rye known as maslein. He also gave details of where these products were marketed; barley, for example, was marketed at Beverley and Malton in the winter, and Malton in the summer, oats were usually sold at Beverley, whilst much of the wheat grown was exported via Bridlington to Newcastle and Sunderland.[51]

The absence of any reference to new crops in the inventories examined for the Bainton Beacon division is a reflection of the picture

which has emerged for the East Riding as a whole in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. In his argument for an agricultural revolution having taken place in the early modern period, Kerridge asserted that new crops, such as turnips, lucerne and sainfoin were widely grown in England in the latter part of the 17th century, and 'by 1720 they had spread everywhere and percolated far down'.[52] This is simply not true as far as the East Riding is concerned. The only new crop which had been introduced into the region by the end of the 17th century appears to have been rape. The innovations to be found in some southern counties, such as Oxfordshire, where ryegrasses, clover, trefoil and lucerne were introduced into the open fields in the late 17th century, did not occur in the East Riding.[53] Although there are occasional references to the introduction of new grass seeds in the first half of the 18th century, for example the experiments at Warter with clover and sainfoin, their widespread adoption was not until the latter part of the 18th century. Following his visit to the riding in 1769, Arthur Young wrote 'clover and ray-grass and sanfoin are unknown among the common farmers'.[54] The adoption of root crops was equally slow. Turnips were grown in the open fields of South Cave soon after 1744, but in most townships they were not introduced until the second half of the 18th century, usually following parliamentary enclosure.[55] William Marshall, who visited the riding in the 1780s, described turnips as 'a new thing to the Wolds, not more than of twenty years' standing'.[56] The earliest reference to root crops found for the Bainton Beacon division is at Kilnwick, where a glebe terrier drawn up in 1764 mentions tithes of 'turnips, potatoes and all such kind of roots'.[57] Tithes of such produce are not mentioned in a terrier which had been drawn up fifteen years earlier. Since Kilnwick was not enclosed until the 1780s it is possible that, as at South Cave, the root crops had been

introduced into the open fields.

Several references to the growth of hemp and flax in the Bainton Beacon division have been found, although there are few references to these crops in inventories. John Sowersby, a husbandman of Bainton, whose will was proved in 1696, had hemp and line [flax] valued at £13, but this may have been purchased to spin to make cloth.[58] The reports to the Georgical committee in the 1660s suggest that flax was grown extensively in the western part of the East Riding at this date, but no reference to the crop was made in the returns for the Bainton Beacon division.[59] However, manorial by-laws for Driffield manor, dating from the first half of the 17th century, include a clause that hemp or flax should not be rated in the river but only in the old hemp dike, suggesting that both crops were grown locally at this date.[60] Occasional references to tithes of hemp and flax have been found, for example in a glebe terrier for Lockington parish dated 1690, and for Driffield parish dated 1743.[61] Leases of land at Hutton Cranswick in the 1650s and 1660s include references to hemp garths, and a mortgage dated 1749 for land in Lockington includes Hempgarth Close.[62] The occupation of flax dresser is recorded at Driffield in 1742.[63]

In most townships in the Bainton Beacon division outside the Hull valley and high Wolds areas, both cattle and sheep were kept. Horses were kept by the more substantial farmers in all parts of the division. Most people also had a small number of pigs and poultry, and bees and bee stocks or hives are sometimes mentioned in inventories. Although never listed in inventories, since they were classed as wild fowl, doves or pigeons were commonly kept. There are numerous references to the building of dovecotes in the area, for example, in the Hotham estate

accounts for 1744, when £11 17s 7d was spent on making a new dove house for John Robinson of Lockington, a yeoman farmer.[64] Apart from providing meat, pigeons provided a useful source of manure. In response to a question concerning the manuring of land, the Geographical committee was told that in the Bainton Beacon division 'we use not compost but muck of rotten straw, and pigeon dung when we can get it'.[65] A detailed case concerning tithes of pigeon dung at Beswick in Kilnwick parish was heard in 1675-7. This concerned Philip Stoakes, a yeoman farmer, whose dovecote was estimated to yield 200 bushels of pigeon dung a year.[66] The Warter estates accounts for the 1720s refer to the sale of pigeon dung.[67]

Both in its physical characteristics and in its general pattern of agriculture in the period 1660-1760, the Bainton Beacon division can be viewed as a microcosm of the East Riding, comprising a mixture of ill-drained lowlands and more hostile uplands, with much of the land falling between these extremes, and suited to a mixed pattern of farming. Although in certain townships pastoral farming predominated, arable farming made an important contribution to the economy of all areas of the division. The significance of this, in terms of a lack of proto-industrialisation and associated population growth in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, will be returned to in a later chapter.

Chapter 7 - References

- [1] See below, Chapter 10.
- [2] Harris Rural Landscape pp 1-3.
- [3] Woodward Henry Best of Elmswell; HUL DX/16/1 (copy of East Riding returns to Geographical Committee of the Royal Society).
- [4] These documents are filed according to the date when the will was proved or letters of administration granted.
- [5] BIHR Probate inventories: John Denton, N Dalton, Nov 1727, William Leake, Lund, March 1729.
- [6] See M Overton 'Probate Inventories and the Reconstruction of Agricultural Landscapes' in M Reed (ed) Discovering Past Landscapes (London, 1984) pp 167-94.
- [7] See below p 349-51.
- [8] Of the six inventories examined only two, those of men who had farms at the former monastic grange of Swinekeld, contained references to crops. Field names on a mid-17th century map of Watton (HCRO DDX/128/3) suggest that the eastern area of the township, where the smaller farms were situated, was in pasture by this date. See below p 393, Figure 43.
- [9] HUL DDHO/37/2.
- [10] BIHR TER I (Lockington); HUL DDHO/21/2.
- [11] BIHR Probate inventories: Stephen Blyth, Rotsea, Dec 1696; Robert Wilson, Wilfholme, Sept 1723; William Wallis, Aike, April 1728; Richard Hodgson, Corps Landing, Feb 1737.
- [12] HUL DDHO/15/4; DDHO/47/1.
- [13] K C Bramley 'An Historic Record of Dutch Decoys' Bulletin of Hull Natural History Society vol 3 no 4 (1973) p 17.
- [14] PRO E317 (Yorks) f.34.
- [15] LeCRO DG7 Box 4984 - 2nd letter book of Heneage Finch p 383.
- [16] HUL DDHO/15/2,3.
- [17] HUL DDHO/15/6.
- [18] HUL DDHO/15/9.
- [19] E Crackles 'A rush called the dumbles' Local Historian vol 11 pt 2 (1974) pp 63-7.

- [20] HUL DDHO/15/3.
- [21] BIHR Probate inventories: Robert Rayley, Swinekeld (Watton), Feb 1693, Richard Pursglove, Swinekeld (Watton), July 1695.
- [22] BIHR Probate inventory, William Garton, Rotsea, Sept 1727.
- [23] BIHR Probate inventory, Daniel Wisker, Scarborough, Jan 1709.
- [24] BIHR Probate inventories: Stephen Blyth, Rotsea, Dec 1696, Ruth Smithson, Scarborough, Dec 1714.
- [25] WSRO PHA 1176.
- [26] BIHR Probate inventory, Gilbert Dove, Hutton Cranswick, Aug 1725.
- [27] BIHR, Probate inventory, William Garton, Rotsea, Sept 1727.
- [28] HUL DDCV/87/5.
- [29] J A Sheppard The Draining of the Hull Valley EYLHS series no 8 (1958) p 11.
- [30] *ibid.*
- [31] NUL De I 5/1 (manorial by-laws, Beswick); BIHR Probate inventory, Anthony Ryder, Hutton Cranswick, Sept 1726.
- [32] HUL DDHO/15/4; A Harris The Open Fields of East Yorkshire EYLHS series no 9 (1959) p 12.
- [33] Sheppard Hull Valley p 10.
- [34] HMC Report on Finch Manuscripts p 234.
- [35] BIHR TER I (Lockington); Probate inventory, Stephen Blyth, Rotsea, Dec 1696.
- [36] HUL DDHO/15/3.
- [37] In 1734, for example, payment was made for thatching the mill (HUL DDHO/15/6).
- [38] In the East Riding as a whole, in the 1690s, the average Wolds farm supported a sheep flock three times the size of that found on a lowland farm. See A Harris 'The Agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire before the Parliamentary Enclosures' YAJ vol 40 for 1959-62 (1962) p 127.
- [39] BIHR Probate inventory, William Wilson, Warter, May 1729.
- [40] BIHR Probate inventories: George Callan, N Dalton, March 1696/7; Elizabeth Layton, N Dalton, July 1729.
- [41] HUL DDHO/29/9.
- [42] HCRO RDB CI/47/3.

- [43] HUL DX/16/1.
- [44] HUL DDWA/12/1(a) (29 May 1732).
- [45] BIHR Will and probate inventory, William Reay, N Dalton, April 1692.
- [46] HUL DDWA/6/86; DDWA/6/22.
- [47] HUL DDWA/12/1(e) (7 Jan 1743).
- [48] Strickland General View of Agriculture ER p 145.
- [49] HUL DDWA/10/18; DDWA/10/29.
- [50] BIHR Probate inventory, Thomas Andrew, Bainton, June 1729.
- [51] Woodward Henry Best of Elmswell pp 104-8.
- [52] E Kerridge The Agricultural Revolution (London, 1967) p 294.
- [53] M A Havinden 'Agricultural Progress in Open-Field Oxfordshire' in E L Jones (ed) Agriculture and Economic Growth in England 1650-1815 (London, 1967) p 69.
- [54] A Young A Six Months Tour through the North of England (1771, reprinted New York, 1967) vol 1 p 163.
- [55] Harris Open Fields p 10.
- [56] W Marshall The Rural Economy of Yorkshire (2nd edn, London 1796) vol 2 p 249.
- [57] BIHR TER I (Kilnwick).
- [58] BIHR, Probate inventory, John Sowersby, Bainton, July 1696.
- [59] HUL DX/16/1.
- [60] HUL DP/4.
- [61] BIHR TER I (Lockington, Gt Driffield).
- [62] HUL DDHO/34/55; DDHO/34/58; DDHO/42/72.
- [63] HUL DP/4.
- [64] HUL DDHO/15/9.
- [65] HUL DX/16/1.
- [66] BIHR CPH 4874.
- [67] HUL DDWA/10/4.

AGRARIAN REORGANIZATION AND CHANGES IN LAND USE

Within the basic framework of land use and agricultural practice in the East Riding, and more specifically in the Bainton Beacon division, in the period 1660-1760, a number of changes took place, many of which contributed to settlement contraction. Landowners were active in enclosing, engrossing farms and converting land to rabbit warren or private park land, often regardless of the wishes of their tenants.

8.1 Enclosure by agreement

In the middle ages enclosure of open field land was usually associated with the conversion of arable to pasture, primarily a result of high wool prices in England, especially during the 15th century. For this reason enclosure was often accompanied by depopulation, since sheep farming required a much smaller labour force than the cultivation of arable land.[1] The enclosures of the 17th century and early part of the 18th century were somewhat different. Some conversion to pasture for sheep farming still took place, but a change from arable to pasture was more likely to be for cattle grazing, or to enable the introduction of a system of convertible husbandry, where in some closes cereal crops were grown for several years followed by a period when the land was laid to pasture, to enable it to regain fertility. Enclosure did not necessarily lead to a change of land use. In some townships enclosure was carried out primarily to overcome the inconvenience of open field farming, the land being divided into arable closes simply by hedging round blocks of strips.

General opposition to enclosure diminished in the 17th century, as

depopulation more rarely resulted.[2] Nevertheless, some people still felt this might be the consequence; in 1668 it was said of the proposed enclosure at Pickering, in the North Riding that 'it will make a great depopulation, above 150 families will be undone'.[3] Although the fears expressed were not justified, documentary evidence does suggest that enclosure by agreement in the 17th and 18th centuries often resulted in settlement contraction. This is in contrast to the experience of townships enclosed by act of Parliament in the second half of the 18th century and early part of the 19th century, where expansion more commonly occurred. There were two principal differences between these types of enclosure. Firstly, parliamentary enclosure could result in a substantial increase in the acreage under arable cultivation, since the commons were usually ploughed up. This increased the size of the labour force which was needed to work the land and affected housing provision. New farmsteads, large enough to accommodate both farmers and their hired servants, were built amongst the enclosed fields. The old farmhouses in the village centres were retained, and in many places additional cottages were built, to house farm labourers. In the private enclosures of the 17th and early 18th centuries the amount of land under arable cultivation was rarely increased by enclosure; if anything some decrease in the amount of land used for cereal crops was likely to occur. Secondly, and more significantly, the landownership structure of a township enclosed by private agreement was generally different from that of a township enclosed by parliamentary act. Enclosure by agreement usually occurred only in those settlements which were in the hands of one or a small number of proprietors, whereas in townships enclosed under the parliamentary process there were often large numbers of freeholders. In the closed settlements enclosure was often undertaken by a landowner as part of a general reorganization of

his estate, with the objective of farming the land most effectively and at a minimum cost. Frequently such enclosure was accompanied by the division of a township into a few large farms, which could be worked more efficiently than the old open field farms, and for which a smaller number of tenants were required. Surplus cottages were pulled down, with housing retained for only the minimum labour force required to work the estate. At Burton Coggles in Lincolnshire, where an application made in 1685 to pull down a cottage has previously been referred to in the discussion of the settlement acts, the rector claimed that the township already housed too many labourers 'for the little employment there since the enclosures'.[4]

It has recently been estimated that some 75% of open field land in England had been enclosed (in the sense of being held in severalty rather than literally enclosed by hedges or fences) by 1760, before the main period of enclosure by parliamentary act was under way.[5] Since 28% of this enclosure is estimated to have taken place in the 17th and early 18th centuries, it clearly needs to be considered as a factor in settlement contraction. Four counties in England were singled out in the study, as areas where parliamentary enclosure was of greater importance than the private enclosure agreements of 1600-1760; the three Midland counties of Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Rutland, together with the East Riding of Yorkshire.[6] It is possible, therefore, that evidence of settlement contraction linked to enclosure in the later 17th or early 18th centuries is more likely to be found outside the East Riding, in the counties where enclosure in the post-medieval but pre-parliamentary enclosure period was more significant. In spite of this reservation, there are several examples of East Riding townships where a marked decrease in settlement size

between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries does coincide with, or follows shortly after, enclosure of open field land.

At Birdsall, in the north-west corner of the riding, the number of households recorded in 1672 was 70.[7] The open fields of the township were enclosed by agreement in 1691-2.[8] There are no population figures available for the first half of the 18th century, but by 1764 only 37 families were said to reside in Birdsall.[9] At Burnby, near Pocklington, 29 households were recorded in 1672.[10] A map and survey which were drawn up in 1725 suggest the parish comprised 32 farmhouses and cottages at this date.[11] Six years later, in 1731, the open fields of Burnby were enclosed by private agreement and by 1743 there were only 17 families living in the township.[12] The decrease in size of the Hull valley settlement of Routh may also have been associated with enclosure. A glebe terrier dated 1685 contains references which suggest that the township was then on the point of enclosure; some twenty years after it was described as lately enclosed.[13] The enclosure can be linked to a drainage scheme carried out there by Sir James Bradshaw in the 1690s.[14] Routh, which had supported 45 households in 1672, had shrunk to a community of only 22 families by 1743. [15]

A drainage scheme was also undertaken at Wawne, another Hull valley settlement, in the late 17th century and it is likely that the open fields were enclosed during the same period. A reference to crops growing 'in the fields of Waghen [Wawne]' in 1650 and a more specific reference to East, West and South fields in 1652 indicate that the township still retained its common arable fields at this date.[16] The Wawne estate had been purchased the previous year by Sir Joseph Ashe

and he was responsible for the drainage improvements of the 1670s.[17] A map dated 1773 shows the arable land of Wawne lying in closes, the shapes of many of which are typical of enclosures formed by the consolidation of blocks of strips from the open fields.[18] Some reorganization resulting from the drainage and enclosure may have contributed to the reduction of Wawne from a substantial settlement of around 95 households in 1670 to a community of only 43 families in 1743.[19] It is likely that much of the shrinkage took place in an area south-east of the present village nucleus known as Croft Garths. Considerable confusion has surrounded the morphology of Wawne, which some historians have suggested was centred solely around Croft Garths in the middle ages, later shifting to its present site further north. A recent study by Hayfield has corrected many of the misunderstandings concerning Wawne, showing that in the middle ages the settlement was a polyfocal one, with housing centred on the present nucleus north of the church, the area further south known as Croft Garths, and a separate area further to the west, closer to the river. Croft Garths was not abandoned as an area of settlement until the 17th century.[20] Hayfield (on the basis of the archaeological evidence) has suggested an early 17th century date for the depopulation of this area of the village, but the documentary evidence of a decrease in size of Wawne by around 50% between the 1670s and 1740s indicates that a post-1670 date would be more realistic.

At Brandesburton, on the eastern side of the Hull valley, the arable fields were enclosed by agreement in 1630.[21] The Corporation of London held a large estate in the township (in trust for the benefit of Emanuel Hospital, Westminster) and in 1700 the following report was presented to the Mayor and Aldermen:

That in pursuance of the agreement of 1629 the township was surveyed and the freeholders had all their parts and shares laid together near the town where the land was much better and more convenient than in the remote parts of the township ... Whereas heretofore the greatest part of this Lordship was let to ten or twelve substantial tenants and the rest of the inhabitants there were only cottagers and maintained their families by their daily labour, and of which there was no want whilst the township was all in tillage and uninclosed. But after inclosure all lands belonging to the Lords of the said Manor except 270 acres was converted into grazing and only a gate allotted for each cottage in Starr Carr, whereby the poor have nothing to employ themselves [22]

The report continues by recounting how the cottagers were then allocated parcels of land of 10-20 acres to farm, but that many became idle and failed to pay rents, and allowed their cottages to fall into a poor state of repair. The following solution was put forward:

The best way to improve this Lordship, I think, will be to reduce it into six or eight farms, and to erect six or seven new convenient brick houses in proper places ... And for the cottagers who are the present occupiers of the grounds whereof the said farms must be composed; either they are poor, or they have a competency to live upon. If they be poor ... they or their children may have some provision made for them out of this charity ... if they have a competency to live upon they may without charge to the parish be continued to enjoy the cottage and gates thereto belonging during their lives.[23]

To what extent these proposals were implemented is unclear, but some form of reorganization of the estate almost certainly contributed to the loss of around 35 households in the township between 1672 and 1743.[24]

In the Bainton Beacon division enclosure of open field land took place over several centuries. Table 17 shows that 11 of the 25 townships in the division were enclosed by private agreement, the majority before the 18th century. The distribution of townships whose open fields were enclosed by private agreement is largely a reflection of the landownership pattern of the area. Topographical factors did, however, play a part, especially in relation to the Hull valley. Each of the settlements along the river valley (with the exception of Aike, which was jointly enclosed with Lockington by act of Parliament in 1770-1) experienced enclosure by agreement, usually in or before the 17th century. It is likely that these settlements never had extensive open fields, much of this area consisting of poorly drained lands used primarily for summer grazing. Enclosure must have been more easily achieved in townships with a relatively small acreage of open field land, such as Rotsea (where the whole township covered only just over 800 acres, much of which was undrained carrland) than in a township such as Middleton on the Wolds, where the unenclosed arable lands covered 2000 acres prior to enclosure in 1803-5.[25]

In at least two of the 11 townships in the Bainton Beacon division which experienced early enclosure, Eastburn in Kirkburn parish, and Neswick in Bainton parish, this enclosure took place within the period 1660-1760. Depopulation resulted in both cases.

At Eastburn the circumstances surrounding enclosure were more

Table 17 Enclosure patterns in the Bainton Beacon division

(a) Enclosure of open fields by private agreement*

<u>Township</u>	<u>Date</u>
Skerne	1596
Bracken	? 17th c. or earlier
Sunderlandwick	? 17th c. or earlier
Scorborough	c.1609
Watton	by mid-17th century
Kirkburn	17th c. - probably after 1650 (common enc. by act 1836-51)
Eastburn	c.1666
Rotsea	17th c. - probably after 1675
Neswick	c.1710-1750
Beswick	1768-9 (Wilfholme common enc. by act 1806-18)
Warter	c.1791 (followed by act 1794 to allot roads and improve lands. Some enclosure had taken place earlier in the 18th century)

(b) Enclosure of open fields by act of Parliament

<u>Township</u>	<u>Date</u>
Great Driffield	1741-2
Little Driffield	1741-2
Hutton Cranswick	1769-71
Elmswell	1770-1 (only two families involved)
Lockington	1770-2
Aike	1770-2
Bainton	1774-5
North Dalton	1778-9
Kilnwick	1785-8
Southburn	1793-7
Lund	1794-6
Tibthorpe	1794-6
Holme on the Wolds	1795-8
Middleton	1803-5

* 'enclosure' in the sense that they were no longer farmed on a communal basis

Source: see individual township profiles in Appendix

typical of the middle ages than of the 17th century, with a deliberate clearance of the village by a new landowner who considered it more profitable to graze sheep. The whole of Eastburn was acquired by John Heron of Beverley between 1664 and 1666, and soon after he converted the township to pasture. This eventually led to a dispute concerning tithes of hay; it is from the evidence presented before the church courts in connection with this dispute that the association between the depopulation of the township and the conversion of its lands to pasture is known. Details from the case are quoted below.[26] Eastburn was not enclosed in the physical sense; following depopulation the township was initially used as a sheep walk 'not divided by fences or ditches' and later a rabbit warren was planted there.[27]

At Neswick enclosure of the open fields was a more gradual process, which took place during the first half of the 18th century. The witness in a case concerning a dispute about enclosure in the adjacent settlement of Bainton also gave details of enclosures which had been made in Neswick. His evidence suggests that part of the North and South fields were enclosed in the second decade of the 18th century, with subsequent enclosures made in the South and East fields in the 1740s. By 1750 most of the township was enclosed.[28] These events followed the acquisition of the Neswick estate by Thomas Eyres in 1714, and the gradual buying out of freeholders in the township by Eyres and his successor, Robert Grimston, during the first half of the 18th century.[29] Associated with enclosure was the progressive clearance of the settlement. In 1672 25 households were recorded at Neswick but by 1764 there were only eight resident families.[30] A map of 1779 shows that by this date the township comprised only two farms together with Neswick Hall.[31] A parkland setting for the hall was created

from the former open field land.

Enclosures of a piecemeal nature were made in many Bainton Beacon division settlements, often to provide additional grazing lands. At Elmswell Henry Best noted in his farming book of 1642 how certain lands which had originally been let for three shillings each could, since they had been turned into pasture closes, be let for three times that amount.[32] Records relating to Driffield show that several people had laid down leys [blocks of meadow land] within the open fields of the township in the 17th century; the manorial by-laws stipulate that these leys had to be thrown open for common grazing once the arable fields had been harvested.[33]

The question of availability of land for common grazing after enclosure sometimes led to disputes. At Bainton certain enclosures were made in the open fields in the 17th century and during the first half of the 18th century since the garths and crofts of the township (the only enclosed grounds in the township before that date) 'were far from being sufficient for the support of their cattle necessary to till their land and their sheep'.[34] Evidence given in a law suit in 1750 shows that several enclosures had been made in Beacon field and Suddell field 'beyond memory', and that further enclosures had been made within both these fields and a third field, Elwell field, in the 1720s and 1730s.[35] Most of these enclosures were used for grazing, although clay for brick-making was dug from the enclosure known as Kirklands in the 1730s.[36] The enclosures made from the open fields led to a dispute over common rights. The rector, William Territt, was prosecuted by John Shaw, lord of the manor of Bainton, for breaking down one of these enclosures over which he, the rector, claimed right of common.

Shaw lost his case against the rector, who then brought a case against Shaw's tenants for removing his animals from the enclosure over which he had claimed right of common. Although he put forward the loss of his common rights as his principal grievance, Territt was reputedly a member of the Beverley Club, a group of clergymen who met together to oppose enclosure where they felt that the value of their tithes would be affected.[37]

Another township where several enclosures were made in the first half of the 18th century was Warter. In February 1728 payment was made for ditching and fencing a new enclosure in West Crofts, and in 1745 £22 19s 8d was spent on enclosing a dale called Millers Dale, a flat known as Short Ludhill, and two small closes called the Becks. Further enclosures were made the following year.[38] It is likely that the new closes at Warter were used for arable husbandry.

Although such piecemeal enclosures cannot be linked directly to settlement contraction, they frequently took place within the framework of a more general reorganization of estates by landlords in closed settlements. In the absence of a full enclosure, or as a consequence of enclosure, a major feature of such reorganization was the engrossment of farms, and with it a reduction in the number of tenants required to work an estate. This in turn resulted in the ultimate contraction of many settlements.

8.2 Engrossing of farms

Although it was common for enclosure to be followed by the amalgamation of farms into larger units, enclosure was not an essential precursor to such engrossment, and reorganization involving a reduction

in the number of farms occurred on many estates where no enclosure had taken place. It has been suggested that the decline of small farms was most marked in the late 17th century and first half of the 18th century, and that many of the townships where holdings were amalgamated in this period were still farmed under the open field system.[39]

The economic circumstances which led freeholders to sell up in this period, and for some tenants to relinquish their tenancies voluntarily, will be examined later. From the landowner's point of view, engrossment brought a number of economic benefits. An estate with only a small number of tenants was more easily managed than one with many tenants. Some initial outlay on improved farm buildings might be necessary when larger farms were created, but fewer tenants generally meant less expenditure on property repairs. The amalgamation of farms provided an opportunity to increase rents, if the economic conditions were favourable, and a larger tenant was more likely to be able to pay his rent during periods of agricultural depression. In 1749 an East Riding farmer complained in a letter to the York Courant that:

The gentlemen of estates, to prevent the trifling expense of repairing their cottage-houses, have suffered them in all a manner to drop down over the heads of the poor cottagers, throwing the little ground which belonged to them to the larger farms, at the old or perhaps an advanced rent, tho' there is now no house to maintain ... [40]

Engrossment of farms commonly followed the purchase of freeholds within a township by the principal owner. Rather than let any holding which had been acquired to a new tenant, a landowner might choose to add

it to another holding, or split the land between a number of existing tenants. In this case any dwelling attached to the freeholding became surplus. At Warter, where in 1725 Sir Joseph Pennington had acquired a small farm which had belonged to Robert Hurdsman, he did not take on a new tenant, but instead divided the land amongst 16 of his existing tenants. This in turn resulted in an increase in the rentals of these tenants' farms. The rental of Mary Lambert's farm, to which the smallest amount of Hurdsman's land (35 perches) was added, increased by 6d whereas the rent paid by Jane Autherson, who had acquired almost two acres of new land, increased by 3s 9d.[41] Tenants who rented their farms on an annual basis often had little choice about the increase in the size of their farms - either they accepted the additional land, and consequently the rent increase, or moved elsewhere.

In smaller townships the concentration of freehold land into the hands of a single owner could result in the depopulation and conversion of the whole township into one or two large farms. This occurred at Towthorpe, in Buckrose wapentake, where a resident yeoman farmer William Taylor, and subsequently his son Thomas, purchased several freeholds in the township between 1660 and 1709.[42] The result was a depopulation of the settlement, which had comprised eleven households in 1672.[43] A map of 1772 shows the abandoned garths of the former houses.[44]

Although engrossment commonly followed the acquisition of new land, landowners also amalgamated farms on their existing estates, sometimes in association with enclosure or reorganization of open field land. The ease with which such engrossment was possible depended on how the land was tenanted; the structure of farms held by lease could only be altered when the lease expired, but farms let under annual

tenancy agreements could be reorganized at the end of the rental year. In a list of alterations to the 1739 rental of the Warter estate, where the tenants had annual agreements, the death of Benjamin Wilson, and the subsequent division of his farm between four other tenants, is recorded.[45]

It was common for a landowner to maintain only sufficient housing for the number of tenants required to work his estate, together with perhaps a handful of small cottages for elderly tenants, often widows. Following engrossment, it was usual for a surplus cottage to be pulled down or converted to a barn. At Warter, for example, the rental for 1721 mentions a barn 'which was James Twedles house'.[46] The state of the housing at Warter at this date appears to have been generally poor, and there was little distinction between a cottage and barn. In 1735, following a fire in the township, it was suggested that the rehousing problem could be solved by reconverting a barn, formerly a house; the steward reported that 'the chimney is pretty good and still standing ... by making some divisions in the inside it might be made a tolerable dwelling house'.[47]

When a cottage was demolished, it was usual for the garth to be taken over by another tenant, most commonly that of an adjoining cottage and garth. The Warter rental for 1709 shows that John Waterworth and Richard Smith held adjacent houses; by 1715 Waterworth was no longer listed as a tenant at Warter, and Smith had acquired 'Waterworth garth'. Waterworth's house does not appear in the 1715 rental.[48] References in rentals for the Hotham estate at Scarborough, and in the church rate assessments for Watton, both dating from the first half of the 18th century, show that here, as at Warter, a number of tenants

held additional garths or 'wastes', a reflection of the contraction experienced by each of these townships between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries.[49]

8.3 The creation of warrens

A significant change of land use evident in the period 1660-1760 resulted from the enthusiasm exhibited in the East Riding for commercial rabbit breeding. More than thirty warrens were in existence in the riding during this period (the majority of which had been established after 1660), including at least eight in the Bainton Beacon division.[50] It was common for warrens to be established on the less fertile grounds of the high Wolds parishes and a number were planted on deserted village sites. In many cases this change in land use occurred two or three centuries after depopulation had taken place, the former open field land initially having been converted to pasture for sheep grazing. However, the retiming suggested in the present study of the desertion of a number of East Riding settlements from the medieval period to the 17th or 18th century suggests that in some cases the planting of warrens closely followed depopulation of a settlement, and may have been planned when the depopulation was carried out. This was almost certainly the case at Cottam, which lies just to the north of the Bainton Beacon division, adjoining the parish of Great Driffield.

At Cottam, which formed part of Langtoft parish, there were 50 poll tax payers in 1377 suggesting a population of around 80.[51] The township appears to have been reduced in size later in the middle ages; it was no longer assessed separately for taxation purposes after the 15th century, although a survey of benefices taken in 1650 recommended that Cottam became a separate parish, indicating that the settlement was

still considered a viable one at this date.[52] The majority of the land in the township was owned by the Dean and Chapter of York, and when they leased the estate to Mary Mountaign of York in 1698, it still comprised nine messuages and cottages, surrounded by open field land.[53] However, in 1719, when the lease came up for renewal, the Dean and Chapter authorised the demolition of all but four of the remaining houses.[54] Some years earlier it had been recorded that the tenants were poor, and the lack of timber in the area made it difficult and costly to keep their houses in good repair.[55] Six houses remained in 1726 but by 1743 only one family was said to reside in Cottam.[56] A rabbit warren had been created on former arable land in the southern part of the township by 1732, almost certainly co-inciding with the final depopulation of the settlement.[57]

Of the eight warrens established within the Bainton Beacon division before 1760, three were associated with deserted villages or hamlets; those at Eastburn/Battleburn in Kirkburn parish, Kellythorpe/Driffield Greets, in Driffield parish, both of which existed by 1707, and Enthorpe in Lund parish, which had been established by 1750.[58] The dates of abandonment of the hamlets of Kellythorpe and Enthorpe are unknown, but the final depopulation of Eastburn is well-recorded. This did not occur until the 1660s, when the remaining houses were demolished and the township converted to sheep pasture.[59] Some of the land there and in the adjacent deserted townships of Battleburn was converted to rabbit warren within 40 years of the depopulation.[60]

Other warrens recorded in the Bainton Beacon division were at Creyke Hill in Kirkburn parish, established before 1694, Arden Fleets in North Dalton parish established by 1739, and Warter, where references to three

warrens have been found.[61] In 1714 reference was made to the New Warren in Cob Dale, Newcoat Field was used as a warren at some time in the first half of the 18th century, and a further warren was established at the former grange of Blanch in 1749, on land which had previously been used as a sheep-walk.[62] After the Blanch warren had been established, the annual rental gradually increased and by 1770 it was almost double the pre-1749 average.[63]

8.4 Emparking

A change in land use with which settlement contraction or depopulation is often closely linked was the conversion of agricultural land to private parkland. The period 1660-1760 was not a key one in the history of emparking. Many of the functional deer parks which had been created in the middle ages had ceased to be economically viable by the close of the 16th century, and it was not until the second half of the 18th century that the fashion for landscaped parks became widespread.[64] There are, however, sufficient examples of emparking in England in the later 17th century and first half of the 18th century to merit its consideration as a contributory factor to settlement contraction or depopulation during this period. These include Kirby in Northamptonshire, which was destroyed in 1685 when the elaborate gardens of Kirby Hall were laid out, and the North Riding settlement of Hinderskelfe, which was swept away in the opening years of the 18th century in order to build Castle Howard.[65]

A clearly documented if less well-known example of a village which was depopulated as a result of emparking in the period 1660-1760 is the East Riding settlement of Easthorpe, in Londesborough parish. The site of Easthorpe lies south-east of Londesborough village, its eastern

boundary adjoining the Bainton Beacon division. The settlement, which comprised twelve households in 1672, and ten cottages and four farms in the early 18th century, was depopulated to enable the extension of the deer park associated with Londesborough Hall.[66]

There may have been a small medieval deer park at Londesborough, but it was not until the mid 17th century, when the estate was in the hands of Richard Boyle (1st earl of Burlington), that the creation of the extensive park which still survives commenced. Extensions to this new park were made throughout the second half of the 17th century and in the early part of the 18th century. On the death of the first earl in 1698 the estate was inherited by his grandson, who died in 1703. He in turn was succeeded by his son Richard, then aged ten, who was to achieve fame as the third Lord Burlington, architect, patron of the arts and a pioneer in the 'natural' landscaping of parks.[67] He was responsible for significant additions and alterations to the park.

A reference in 1704 to land in the park 'in Easthorpe constabulary' shows that by the time the third earl inherited the Londesborough estate the park had extended sufficiently far south to have taken in land belonging to Easthorpe township, although it was some years later that the settlement itself was directly affected.[68] The timing of the destruction of Easthorpe village is pinpointed by a list of the additions which had been made to Londesborough Park in the year 1738. These include Easthorpe Green and several houses and garths suggesting that the village was finally depopulated and taken into the park at this date.[69] A rental dated 1739 includes references to two ruinous cottages and a further five cottages 'all pulled down'.[70] Earthworks of the former village can still be seen within the park.

Although the final depopulation of Easthorpe occurred in the late 1730s, the village may have been reduced in size gradually in the preceding years, perhaps with the prospect of extending the park in mind. The list of additions made to the park in 1738 mention not only houses and associated garths, but also several additional garths, each bearing the surname of a former tenant, but with no reference to buildings, which suggests there were already some empty house sites in the village by this date.[71]

In the north-western corner of the riding the settlement of Scampston was partially destroyed in the early 18th century when the grounds of Scampston Hall were laid out. A map of c.1730 suggest that some houses in the eastern half of the village had recently been cleared for this purpose, and by 1766 more cottages had gone in order to create the kitchen gardens of the hall.[72] Forty-nine households were recorded at Scampston in 1672, but by 1743 only about 24 families were reported as living there.[73]

Examples of contraction or depopulation caused by emparking become more common as the period under examination draws to a close. At Sledmere, another East Riding settlement, the first phase of emparking in the 1750s resulted in a partial depopulation of the nucleus of the village, some thirty years before the whole village was removed and replaced by estate housing. Building work on the new house at Sledmere commenced in 1751, followed by the rebuilding of the church in 1755, and it was almost certainly around this time that the funnel-shaped avenue in front of the house was laid out. This avenue cut through the centre of the old village, and earthworks visible within the park suggest that several cottages must have been destroyed in its making.[74] There is

no evidence to suggest that the dispossessed tenants were rehoused elsewhere on the estate. The decrease in the number of households in Sledmere parish (which comprised the main township together with the deserted hamlet of Croom) from 52 in 1672 to only 27 in 1764 must in part be a result of the depopulation caused by the initial phase of emparking.[75] By the 1780s the rest of the village had been swept away and new houses built outside the park. Initially the new buildings comprised only the vicarage, an inn, two farms, the surviving arched terrace known as Gardeners' Row, and two isolated terraces of farm labourers' cottages, and it was not until the late 19th century that a compact estate village was created.[76]

The changes necessary to enable emparking to take place affected one settlement within the Bainton Beacon division in the period under discussion, Neswick, in Bainton parish. The depopulation of the village is discussed more fully elsewhere; in brief it appears to have been associated with the gradual enclosure of the open fields of the township in the first half of the 18th century which in turn enabled the creation of a park around Neswick Hall. The settlement lost two-thirds of its households between 1672 and 1764, and by 1779 comprised only the hall, and two outlying farms.[77]

Although emparking affected only a relatively small number of settlements in England between the mid 17th and mid 18th centuries, and was a contributory factor in the depopulation of only one village in the Bainton Beacon division at this time, its impact was often greater and more immediate than most other causes of settlement contraction. Even if landowners replaced cottages cleared at emparking with new estate housing, provision was not necessarily made for all existing

tenants. Emparking was commonly associated with agrarian reorganization, and provided landowners with an opportunity to reduce the number of cottages to the minimum required to house the key estate workers. Whilst many tenants benefitted from the improved quality of housing provided by the new estate villages, others found themselves forced to look elsewhere for shelter.[78]

Chapter 8 - References

- [1] Taylor Village and Farmstead p 171.
- [2] M Beresford 'Habitation versus Improvement: The Debate on Enclosure by Agreement' in F J Fisher (ed) Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England (Cambridge, 1961) pp 40-69.
- [3] Ibid p 43.
- [4] LAO Calendar of Red Book pp 256-7.
- [5] J R Wordie 'The Chronology of English Enclosure 1500-1914' ECHR 2nd ser vol 36 no 4 (1983) p 488.
- [6] Ibid pp 495,500.
- [7] PRO E179/205/504.
- [8] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 19.
- [9] BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [10] PRO E179/205/504.
- [11] HCRO DDAN/239; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol I p 87.
- [12] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 27.
- [13] M W Beresford 'Glebe Terriers and Open Field, Yorkshire' YAJ vol 37 for 1951 (1951) pp 341,351-2.
- [14] Sheppard Hull Valley p 10.
- [15] PRO E179/205/504; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol III p 34.
- [16] BIHR Probate inventory, Ralph Taylor, Wawne, Oct 1650; HUL DDWI/6. There is a more general reference to the 'common fields' in 1691 (HUL DDWI/15) suggesting the township was still unenclosed at this date.
- [17] C Hayfield 'Wawne, East Riding of Yorkshire: a case study in settlement morphology' Landscape History vol 6 (1984) p 45.
- [18] HCRO DDBV/46/2.
- [19] PRO E179/205/514; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol III p 224.
- [20] Hayfield 'Wawne' esp pp 58-62.
- [21] G Poulson History and Antiquities of Holderness (Hull 1840/1) vol 1 pp 270-7.
- [22] CLRO Emanuel Hospital Records Box 3.8.

- [23] Ibid.
- [24] There were 85 households in 1672, but only 50 families in 1743. (PRO E179/205/504; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol I p 107.)
- [25] HCRO RDB CI/47/3 (Middleton on the Wolds enclosure award).
- [26] See below pp 349-51.
- [27] A Harris 'The Lost Village and the Landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds' AHR vol 6 pt 2 (1958) p 98.
- [28] HCRO DDWR/1/54.
- [29] See below p 300.
- [30] PRO E179/205/504; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [31] HUL DDCV/116/1.
- [32] Woodward Henry Best of Elmswell p 135.
- [33] HUL DP/4.
- [34] HCRO DDWR/1/54.
- [35] Ibid.
- [36] HCRO DDWR/1/51.
- [37] HCRO DDWR/1/53-9.
- [38] HUL DDWA/10/5; DDWA/10/51.
- [39] G E Mingay 'The Size of Farms in the Eighteenth Century' ECHR 2nd ser vol 14 (1961-2) pp 480-1.
- [40] York Courant 21 Feb 1749. I owe this reference to David Neave.
- [41] HUL DDWA/6/23.
- [42] HUL DDLG/33/2, 6, 16, 17, 28, 32, 46, 97, 124, 128, 136.
- [43] PRO E179/205/504.
- [44] HUL DDLG/33/152.
- [45] HUL DDWA/14/9.
- [46] HUL DDWA/14/5.
- [47] HUL DDWA/12/1(b) (16 May 1735).
- [48] HUL DDWA/14/2; DDWA/14/4.
- [49] HUL DDHO/14/8 (Scorborough rentals); HCRO PE/66/9 (Watton churchwardens' accounts).

- [50] Harris 'The Rabbit Warrens of East Yorkshire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' YAJ vol 42 for 1967-70 (1971) p 436. This list contains only seven of the warrens which existed in the Bainton Beacon division; reference to a further warren at Cob Dale, Warter, has been found.
- [51] HUL DX/177/40.
- [52] Cox 'Parliamentary Survey of Benefices' p 53.
- [53] Harris 'Lost Village' p 98.
- [54] Ibid.
- [55] Allison VCH Yorks ER vol 2 p 267.
- [56] Ibid; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol I p 161.
- [57] Allison VCH Yorks ER vol 2 p 267.
- [58] Harris 'Rabbit Warrens' p 436. The earlier dates than those given by Harris for the existence of the Eastburn/Battleburn and Kellythorpe/Driffield Greets warrens are taken from a reference amongst the Quarter Sessions records (HCRO QSF Midsummer 1707) to poaching in these warrens.
- [59] See below pp 349-51.
- [60] HCRO QSF Midsummer 1707.
- [61] Harris 'Rabbit Warrens' p 436. The earlier date than that given by Harris for the existence of Creyke Hill warren is taken from HUL DDSY/39/27. For details of the warrens at Warter, only two of which are recorded by Harris, see note [62] below.
- [62] HUL DDWA/10/2; DDWA/12/2(a) (24 March 1748/9); DDWA/7/1.
- [63] Harris 'Rabbit Warrens' p 439.
- [64] S Neave Medieval Parks of East Yorkshire (in press, July 1990).
- [65] Taylor Village and Farmstead p 202 (Kirby); M W Barley 'Castle Howard and the Village of Hinderskelfe, North Yorkshire' Antiquaries Journal vol 58 pt 2 (1979) pp 358-60.
- [66] PRO E179/205/504; D Neave Londesborough: History of an East Yorkshire Estate Village (Londesborough, 1977) p 6.
- [67] Ibid pp 13-16.
- [68] CHA Bolton Abbey MS 293.
- [69] CHA Bolton Abbey MS - Bundle entitled 'Old Indentures, Distresses, Valuations and Agreements'.
- [70] CHA Bolton Abbey MS 321.

- [71] CHA Bolton Abbey MS - Bundle entitled 'Old Indentures, Distresses, Valuations and Agreements'.
- [72] HUL DDSQ(3)/31/2,5. I am grateful to Deborah Turnbull for drawing my attention to these maps.
- [73] PRO E179/205/504; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol III p 122.
- [74] J S Hobson 'Sledmere and the Sykes Family' (dissertation, Hull School of Architecture, 1978) pp 9,20; Harris Rural Landscape pp 73-6.
- [75] PRO E179/205/504; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret. There are no visitation returns for Sledmere for 1743.
- [76] Hobson 'Sledmere' p 22.
- [77] See above pp 168-9.
- [78] Note, for example, the situation at Chippenham in Cambridgeshire where in 1702 Lord Orford demolished a number of houses in order to create a park. A row of new cottages was built to rehouse some of the displaced tenants, but the overall decrease in the number of houses in Chippenham by around twenty between the mid 1660s and 1712 suggests that a number of tenants were forced out of the village. See Spufford Contrasting Communities p 62.

ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS AND THE AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY

9.1 Introduction

The various forms of agrarian reorganization undertaken by landowners which have been outlined above were, in the majority of cases, prompted by economic motives - in other words, a desire to increase income. To a certain degree the generally difficult economic conditions which prevailed between the mid 17th and mid 18th centuries both facilitated and encouraged such reorganization. This period was one of fluctuating price levels and uncertain profit margins, coupled with heavy post-Civil War taxation, and many smaller landowners were forced to sell their lands. Larger landowners were able to take advantage of these sales in order to consolidate their estates, and perhaps enclose or engross farms.[1] The seeming benefits brought to major landowners during periods of economic distress were, however, largely offset by the concurrent impact of such distress on the prosperity of their tenants and their ability to pay rent. During the late 17th and early 18th centuries it was not unusual for landlords to have to offer rent reductions or other concessions if they wished to retain their tenants for there were numerous occasions, particularly at the end of the period, when the oft-repeated claim of hardship from farmers was fully justified.[2]

9.2 Cereal production

The weather was a key factor in determining the level of prosperity of the farming community, in particular of those members heavily dependent for their livelihood on the production of cereal crops. Cold winters, spring frosts and wet or excessively dry summers could lead to

harvest failure, and the high grain prices which followed were of little benefit to a farmer whose crop had been destroyed. Farmers were, however, equally affected by years of favourable weather when crops were plentiful, and prices low. It has been suggested that many farmers were particularly afraid of a good harvest, when the profits from the sale of corn might barely cover the cost of growing it.[3] Table 18 lists each of the harvest years between 1640 and 1749 when grain prices were at least 20% higher or lower than the average across the whole period.[4] Favourable weather conditions leading to an abundant harvest could pose as great a threat to the farming community as the harsh winters or periods of drought which could result in harvest failure.

In February 1669, following a run of good and abundant harvests nationally, a letter was written to the Mayor of Hull, on behalf of the tenants on the estate of the Corporation of Hull at Killingholme in North Lincolnshire, requesting an abatement of rents. The writer comments on 'the decaying condition of the poor farmer, generally throughout the whole land' and describes how at Killingholme 'many farmers [are] decayed, some are run away for debt into Ireland, others broken, and fled into other countries, and others who were substantial tenants turned labourers'.[5] Similar observations on the hardships of tenants were made in the 1670s and 1680s when again cereal prices were generally lower than average. Further south in the Lincolnshire Marshland a land agent reported in 1671 that 'the times are extreme ill with tenants. I am sure this year will break hundreds in this country'.[6] Throughout the following decade the picture was little changed and in 1680 the same agent recorded 'We have sad times with us for money ... Many thousands of acres are thrown up this year ...'.[7] Prices rose in the 1690s but the following decade saw a long run of low

Table 18 **National price indices of grain crops 1640-1749**
 (average for wheat, barley and malt, oats, and rye)

<u>Low Price Years</u> (80 and below)*		<u>High Price Years</u> (120 and above)*	
(Harvest Year)		(Harvest Year)	
1653/4	72	1646/7	132
1654/5	60	1647/8	173
1666/7	74	1648/9	166
1667/8	76	1649/50	164
1687/8	77	1650/1	121
1688/9	73	1658/9	123
1689/90	76	1659/60	126
1690/1	73	1661/2	164
1701/2	79	1673/4	123
1702/3	70	1674/5	135
1704/5	79	1693/4	129
1705/6	80	1697/8	130
1706/7	72	1698/9	141
1731/2	80	1708/9	120
1732/3	76	1709/10	141
1743/4	70	1727/8	125
1744/5	76	1728/9	133
1745/6	80	1740/1	127
1747/8	80		

* base of 100 taken from average of prices 1640-1749

Source: Thirsk Agrarian History vol 5 pt 2 pp 828-31

prices followed by a period of severe dearth.[8]

During the harvest year 1702/03 the average price of cereal crops was the lowest recorded in the period 1640-1749. At this date corroboratory evidence of the distress comes from the parish of Lund in the Bainton Beacon division where in March 1703 the possibility of allowing the rental of a vacant farm there to fall from £16 to £12 per annum in order to obtain a tenant was discussed.[9] Prices remained low until 1707, but a very poor harvest in 1708 caused a sharp upward swing, which peaked in 1709/10. Thereafter prices remained fairly stable until the late 1720s, when the harsh winter of 1727/8 caused harvest failure resulting in two years of very high prices and the onset of the most prolonged period of agricultural distress in the period under discussion.[10] During the 1730s and 1740s both cereal production and animal husbandry suffered and the severe economic impact can be well illustrated from the East Riding and more especially from the Bainton Beacon division.

This national period of agricultural decline began with poor harvests. The difficulties which ensued for tenants on the Warter estate of Sir Joseph Pennington, in the Bainton Beacon division, led to his steward suggesting in January 1732 that the tenants should be allowed some reduction in their rents, owing to 'the badness of the last two years'.[11] In April of the same year he wrote:

Most of the great tenants in the town have been very slack at paying their last half years rent there being upwards of £100 in arrears amongst them a good part of which I believe will scarcely be got before midsummer without making distress. We

have had a very fine seed time here and a forward spring so far, which makes me in hopes they will make better out another year.[12]

In September he confirmed that there had indeed been an 'exceeding fine harvest' and 'very plentiful crop'.[13] The tenants were less optimistic about the benefits of the good harvest, and the following month Dickinson, the steward, reported that 'the country people have got such a notion that the prices of everything will be still lower, that they will scarcely take a farm except they can have it just at their own rates'.[14] In December he was still anticipating an improvement in the situation, but had to admit the good harvest meant that 'the markets for corn be but low'.[15] Some of the tenants were still in arrears with their rents.[16] As they had feared, the good harvest resulted in a sharp fall in prices, low profit margins and a continued inability of many to pay their rents.

These fluctuations in grain prices continued throughout the 1730s. In 1735 three tenants gave notice of their intention to leave their farms at Warter, and abatements were offered to persuade them to remain.[17] By March of 1737 the steward was able to report that the tenants 'have paid rather better than usual' and in May of that year he wrote 'there seems a pretty good prospect of the times mending amongst the farmers in these parts as barley hath sold well all last winter and the demands for corn makes it very likely for keeping up the price'.[18]

Grain prices rose substantially following the harsh winter of 1739/40 (one of the worst on record) resulting in an embargo on grain

exports in 1741, the first since the bad harvest of 1709.[19] This was followed by another period of good harvests. In December 1742 the Warter steward recorded that 'the times are full as good now for farmers as they have ever been this several years past', but the plentiful harvests soon led to a fall in prices which remained low through to the late 1740s, and led once again to economic difficulties for many small farmers.[20]

9.3 Cattle and sheep

Periods of agricultural depression in the late 17th and early 18th centuries are closely linked with fluctuations in grain prices, and the major impact was therefore felt in areas of arable production. Nevertheless pastoral regions were also adversely affected, especially during the 1730s and 1740s.[21] Although weather conditions had less impact in pastoral areas, and stock prices were generally more stable than grain prices, even at the height of the depression (see Table 19), periods of drought, fodder shortages following poor harvests, and outbreaks of disease could all create serious problems for pastoral farmer. Most areas of the Bainton Beacon division had a mixed pattern of farming; at Warter, for example, the economy was based on both corn and sheep, whilst in the settlements of the Hull valley there was an emphasis on cattle.

The principal disease found amongst sheep was sheep-rot. An outbreak affected the country in 1735, co-inciding with the general period of agricultural depression. At Warter this was actually seen to be of benefit to local sheep farmers, since rot mainly affected flocks kept on low grounds. In October 1735 Dickinson, the steward, wrote 'there seems to be a pretty good prospect for these Wold farms at

Table 19 Fluctuations in national grain and livestock prices
over a sample 20-year period (1725/6-1744/5)*

<u>Harvest Year</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Barley & Malt</u>	<u>Sheep</u>	<u>Cattle</u>
1725/6	113	107	95	109
1726/7	99	109	100	119
1727/8	129	140	102	97
1728/9	129	144	103	113
1729/30	87	110	100	102
1730/1	77	89	97	106
1731/2	67	95	112	106
1732/3	67	85	101	93
1733/4	79	87	93	102
1734/5	95	91	122	81
1735/6	101	99	95	85
1736/7	93	109	115	82
1737/8	82	105	100	98
1738/9	81	94	101	104
1739/40	109	114	106	104
1740/1	132	129	106	116
1741/2	90	118	123	109
1742/3	68	105	109	104
1743/4	60	79	106	108
1744/5	66	79	111	89
Price range:	60-132	79-144	93-123	81-119

* Price indices from a base of 100 taken from an average of prices 1640-1749

Source: Thirsk Agrarian History vol 5 pt 2 pp 830-1, 841-2

present on account of a great many of the lower ground sheep being rotten'.[22] He anticipated that this would lead to an increase in the price of Wolds sheep.

High sheep prices were, however, linked with other problems. In April 1742 the Warter steward reported that 'sheep at present sells at great prices in this part of the country'.[23] Those who wished to sell their stock benefitted from the high prices, but by the end of the year the disadvantages became apparent, when the tenants experienced difficulty in stocking or letting their sheep-gates 'now that sheep is so scarce in the country'.[24] One tenant applied to plough up part of the outfield in lieu of some of his sheep-gates, since he found it impossible to let them.[25]

For those farmers engaged in cattle rearing or dairying one of the major concerns was drought. In the summer of 1731 the steward on Sir Marmaduke Constable's estate at Everingham in the Vale of York wrote:

The weather here is exceeding dry; the pastures, and meadows burnt up, that there will be a great scarcity of hay, beans, peas, oats and barley ... This year in all probability will break many tenants.[26]

More serious problems were in store. Towards the end of the 1740s many cattle farmers suffered a major setback, a severe and prolonged outbreak of rinderpest, more commonly known as the 'contagious distemper'. This particular outbreak of cattle plague, which started in England in 1745 and lasted until 1758, spread through the country from the south, arriving in the East Riding in December 1747.[27]

Towards the end of 1748 it was said to have broken out in the Holderness area 'with such violence that now all begun to be in great fear; and now many that had great stocks of fine cows and other cattle did not know how soon they might be only fit for nothing but to tumble into the ground'.[28] Restrictions placed on the movement and sale of cattle in an attempt to prevent further spread of the disease had only limited success. Many farmers continued to sell infected cattle; at Pocklington the local Justice of the Peace, Sir Edmund Anderson, and the constable made strenuous efforts to prevent cattle being brought into the town when a fair was held there in February 1749.[29]

The economic effects of the outbreak of rinderpest were particularly severe in the principal cattle rearing areas of the East Riding, notably parts of Holderness, the Hull valley and the Vale of York. On 2 October 1748 the estate steward at Everingham reported that, as a result of the loss of their beasts 'All the tenants at Shipton belonging to Sir Henry Slingsby have given notice to deliver up their lands. Holme and Everingham I fear will follow the example', and later that month he wrote 'many of tenants at Everingham and Thorpe have been with me ... some say that they are not able to continue in their farms ...'.[30]

In the Bainton Beacon division the townships which specialised in dairying and cattle rearing lay chiefly in the Hull valley, and many farmers in this area suffered heavy losses during the outbreak of rinderpest. The Hotham estate accounts for December 1749 show that substantial payments were made by the estate to assist tenants who had lost stock; John Robinson, for example, was allowed £44 12s 6d 'towards the loss of his cattle that died in the contagious distemper at Lockington and Scarborough'.[31] It was not, however, only the Hull

valley settlements of the division which were affected. Although principally an area of sheep/corn husbandry, many farmers in the Wolds settlement of Warter also kept some cattle. In February 1749 the estate steward wrote 'with respect to the distemper at this town, I think the very most of the farmers hath now had it amongst their cattle; but [it] hath generally been very fatal amongst them, so that I think they have not in general saved above one part in three; if that, as there is a great many families that have lost all they had'.[32]

The long-term effects of the outbreak of cattle plague are difficult to assess. Although government compensation, together with some compensation from individual landlords, was paid to farmers for the slaughter of infected beasts, this did not cover the full loss. In the Bainton Beacon division there is some evidence of a movement, although perhaps only temporary, from cattle to sheep farming. At Warter it was reported in April 1749 that 'sheep hereabouts are the dearest that ever I have known them ... there has been such a loss amongst the other cattle, that people must have something or other to eat up the herbage'.[33] The alternative was to convert some pasture land to arable. At Brandesburton, on the eastern side of the Hull river, the pasture known as Star Carr was ploughed out in April 1749 'by consent of the landlord and tenants, the last having lost the greatest part of their horned cattle in the contagious distemper the preceeding year; whereby the said pasture could not be stocked'.[34]

9.4 Summary

Although difficult economic conditions prevailed for farmers on a number of occasions between the mid 17th and mid 18th centuries, it was the agricultural depression of the 1730s and 1740s which appears to

have had the most significant impact on tenant farmers in the Bainton Beacon division. Many farmers built up substantial rent arrears during this period, and some eventually gave up their tenancies. Estate accounts covering the period 1728-48 relating to a small estate at Lockington show that in the 1730s the majority of the tenants there had difficulty in paying their rents. The principal tenant, John Richardson of Hall Garth farm, was periodically in arrears from 1732. In 1737 he managed to pay £54 of £75 due but of the other eight tenants of the estate only one was able to pay anything. By 1739 most of the tenants had given up their farms or closes and all their land, apart from one close, had been engrossed with Richardson's holding.[35]

Similar difficulties were experienced by tenants on the Pennington estate at Warter, where the problems were most acute in the 1740s. Figure 9 shows the build up of rent arrears on the Warter estate by Lady Day 1745. A peak appears to have been reached in 1747, when arrears amounting to £589 were collected.[36] Four tenants had left their farms by this date, and by 1750 there were half a dozen unlet farms on the estate.[37]

The situation at Warter and Lockington mirrored the experience of the country as a whole. Chambers and Mingay have found evidence of the depression of the 1730s and 1740s in counties as far apart as Cheshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Kent. On the Coke estates in Norfolk, for example, arrears of rent between 1734 and 1736 amounted to one third of the gross rental.[38] It is probable that the amalgamation of farms and associated contraction which occurred in many settlements during this particular period owed as much to the departure of tenants for economic reasons as to direct pressure from their landlords.

Figure 9 'A Particular of Arrears at
Warter December 13 1745'

<u>Michaelmas 1743</u>	£	s	d	<u>Lady Day 1745</u>	£	s	d
Wm Storey	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>	Wm Turner	16	7	4
				Wm Storey	18	7	7
<u>Lady Day 1744</u>				Thos Jewetson	17	4	1½
Wm Storey	18	7	7	Geo Mitchel		19	0½
Thos Jewetson	14	4	1½	Thos Brown	3	6	5
Thos Brown	1	17	3	Marm Smith	4	1	7
Wm Autherson	14	19	11½	Fran Sutton	4	5	4½
John Sowersby	7	4	6	Wm Autherson	20	19	11½
	<u>56</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>	John Sowersby	20	6	3
				Wm Hotham	18	4	5
<u>Michaelmas 1744</u>				Chris Hessey	8	17	11
Wm Turner	14	11	8	Wm Dorsey	11	12	4
Wm Storey	18	7	7	Robt Milner	2	1	8
Thos Jewetson	17	4	1½	Robt Atkinson	2	16	11½
Thos Brown	3	6	5		<u>[sic]</u>	<u>150</u>	<u>0</u>
Wm Autherson	20	19	11½	Mich 1743	4	2	7
John Sowersby	20	5	6	L Day 1744	56	13	5
Wm Dorsey	11	12	4	Mich 1744	106	7	7
	<u>106</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>		<u>317</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6½</u>
				undercharged			
				John Sowersby			
				arrears for			
				Mich 1744	0	0	9
				<u>[TOTAL ARREARS]</u>	<u>317</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3½</u>

Source: HUL DDWA/6/24

Chapter 9 - References

- [1] H J Habakkuk 'La Disparition du Paysan Anglais' Annales Économies Sociétés Civilisations vol 20 (1965) p 658; Mingay Enclosure and the Small Farmer pp 26-8.
- [2] G E Mingay 'The Agricultural Depression, 1730-1750' ECHR 2nd ser vol 8 (1956) pp 328-9. Concessions granted sometimes included assistance with payment of land tax. In 1728 tenants of the Hotham family's 'newly purchased estate at Lockington' were allowed 'the two first quarterly payments of land tax'. Similar references occur amongst the records of the Pennington estate at Warter - see, for example, DDWA/10/15 (entry July 30 1744 'Allowed John Witty for Farberry Garth Land Tax').
- [3] Mingay 'Agricultural Depression' p 327.
- [4] A run of wheat prices from 1708 given in the minute books of Hull Quarter Sessions (KHRO CQ 2-6) shows that local prices were broadly in line with those found nationally.
- [5] KHRO L.787 (3 Feb 1669).
- [6] J Thirsk English Peasant Farming (London, 1957) p 194.
- [7] Ibid.
- [8] W G Hoskins 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1620-1759' AHR vol 16 pt 1 (1968) p 22.
- [9] HUL DDCV/108/16. The situation was similar elsewhere in England - see T S Ashton Economic Fluctuations in England 1700-1800 (Oxford, 1959) p 16.
- [10] Hoskins 'Harvest Fluctuations' pp 22-3; Mingay 'Agricultural Depression' pp 323-4.
- [11] HUL DDWA/12/1(a) (7 Jan 1732).
- [12] Ibid (28 April 1732).
- [13] Ibid (11 Sept 1732).
- [14] Ibid (2 Oct 1732).
- [15] Ibid (29 Dec 1732).
- [16] Ibid (29 Dec 1732).
- [17] HUL DDWA/12/1(b) (20 Sept 1735, 6 Oct 1735, 15 Dec 1735).
- [18] HUL DDWA/12/1(c) (4 March 1736, 20 May 1737).
- [19] Hoskins 'Harvest Fluctuations' p 23.

- [20] HUL DDWA/12/1(e) (30 Dec 1742); Mingay 'Agricultural Depression' p 334.
- [21] Mingay 'Agricultural Depression' p 327.
- [22] HUL DDWA/12/1(b) (21 Oct 1735).
- [23] HUL DDWA/12/1(e) (30 April 1742).
- [24] Ibid (30 Dec 1742).
- [25] Ibid.
- [26] Roebuck Constable of Everingham Estate Correspondence p 44.
- [27] J Broad 'Cattle Plague in 18th century England' AHR vol 31 pt 2 (1983) p 105.
- [28] C Jackson (ed) Yorkshire Diaries Surtees Society vol 65 for 1875 (1877) pp 238-9 n.
- [29] HUL DDWA/12/2(a) (28 Feb 1749).
- [30] HUL DDEV/60/16 (2 & 28 Oct 1748).
- [31] HUL DDHO/15/9.
- [32] HUL DDWA/12/2(a) (17 Feb 1749).
- [33] Ibid (23 April 1749).
- [34] J D Hicks (ed) The Parish Registers of Brandesburton 1558-1837 Yorkshire Parish Register Society vol 142 (1979) p 153.
- [35] HCRO DDBE/21/7.
- [36] J V Beckett 'Yorkshire and the Agricultural Depression, 1730-1750' YAJ vol 54 for 1982 (1982) p 121. Beckett erroneously classifies Warter as a clayland parish (p 123); it is in fact situated on the chalklands of the high Wolds.
- [37] HUL DDWA/10/18; DDWA/10/23.
- [38] J D Chambers & G E Mingay The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880 (London, 1966) p 41.

NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT

10.1 Introduction

Between the mid 17th and mid 18th centuries there was nationally a significant drop in agricultural employment which may have owed much to the land-use reorganization and agricultural distress discussed above. Wrigley has calculated that between 1670 and 1750 the proportion of the English population supported directly by agriculture fell from 60.5% to 46%, representing an estimated drop in rural agricultural population from 3.01 million to 2.64 million. This decline was offset in some rural areas by a significant increase in numbers engaged in non-agricultural employment, resulting in an estimated rise of the rural non-agricultural population from 1.29 million to 1.91 million.[1]

In some areas the displaced agricultural worker found employment opportunities in the marked expansion of traditional rural crafts and trades. This expansion, which has been termed 'proto-industrialisation', is considered to be the significant first phase of modern industrialisation.[2] In many rural areas 'the growth in non-agricultural employment was so great as to dwarf the remaining agricultural population'.[3] There was a great expansion of metalworking in the West Midlands and south Yorkshire, of textile manufacture in south Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and the West Country, and of coal mining in Northumberland and Durham.[4]

In the rural East Riding, however, there was no such growth in alternative employment for the rural worker. Non-agricultural

employment existed but there was no identifiable expansion or transformation in the period under discussion. Throughout the riding were found the usual crafts and trades associated with the processing of agricultural products and the provision of clothing, equipment and buildings for the rural population. Tanning, brewing and malting were concentrated in the market towns whilst corn-milling was more widespread. Mills were also associated with a limited textile industry which was largely carried out on a domestic scale with almost every settlement having at least one weaver. One small-scale industry that was expanding was the making of bricks which in the early 18th century were becoming the chief building material of the riding. Quarrying provided some employment in the villages along the Jurassic limestone belt, and in other parts of the riding chalk was quarried as a low grade building material and also for lime burning and later whitening manufacture.[5] In the coastal areas of the riding, fishing provided an alternative form of employment to agriculture, as it had for centuries, whilst inland fishing and fowling contributed to the economy of the ill drained lowlands such as the Hull valley.[6]

10.2 Non-agricultural employment in the Bainton Beacon division

The pattern of non-agricultural employment in the Bainton Beacon division differed little from that of the East Riding as a whole outlined above, and the evidence for particular industrial enterprises is confined to brickmaking and textiles.

Small brick-kilns began to appear in East Riding villages in the 17th century, and brickmaking is recorded in various townships in the Bainton Beacon division from the first half of the 18th century.[7] At this date brickmaking was commonly undertaken by an itinerant

craftsman, and took place close to where the bricks were required, provided that suitable clay was available. At Warter the estate accounts for 1710-12 show several payments related to brickmaking, for example, to a cooper for making and mending tubs for bricks, and to the brickmaker himself for bricks made.[8] These may have been for work at Warter Hall since there is no evidence that the village farmhouses and cottages were being rebuilt in brick at this date.

At Bainton, John Shaw, the local landowner, entered into several agreements with brickmakers from York and Lund in the 1720s-40s to make bricks at Bainton, using locally dug clay. Shaw undertook to provide the clay and coals to fire the kiln, with the brickmakers supplying all the other necessary equipment. Specifications were laid down regarding the size of the bricks to be made. As well as using the bricks on the estate, some bricks were sold, usually to residents of Bainton or neighbouring townships.[9] A similar enterprise was apparently undertaken in the 1730s by Thomas Eyres who owned the adjacent estate at Neswick. An entry recording payment for the purchase of 8000 bricks from 'Mr Eyres' occurs in the Warter estate accounts for 1734, and in 1737 the churchwardens of Watton in the Hull valley recorded a payment for the carriage of 800 bricks from Neswick, presumably to be used for repairs to the church.[10] A later map shows an area of Neswick township known as Brick Kiln Closes.[11]

During the same period the Hothams employed a brickmaker to make bricks at Lockington, for use in rebuilding a number of farmhouses and cottages in the locality. Entries in the estate accounts of the 1730s-50s include payments for the purchase of scuttles and baskets for both brick and lime kilns, and for the delivery of sea coal for burning

bricks.[12] For a brief period in the 1740s bricks were also made on the Hotham estate at Hutton Cranswick.[13]

Brick making was carried out for other landed gentry on a similar scale elsewhere in the East Riding, for example at Everingham, where bricks were made regularly in the 1730s for work on Sir Marmaduke Constable's estate, the surplus bricks being sold.[14] It was not until the late 18th that any larger scale enterprise was undertaken, with the birth of an industrial settlement, Newport in Howdenshire, which was based on brickmaking following the discovery of suitable clay during the cutting of the Market Weighton canal.[15]

References to clothmaking occur throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, but most of this was on a minor domestic rather than an industrial level. The frequent occurrence of spinning wheels in inventories suggests that many households spun their own yarn, and most villages supported at least one weaver who would make this up into cloth.[16] There is evidence of slightly larger scale cloth production taking place in certain settlements in the Bainton Beacon division and adjoining areas. At Driffield, a fulling mill (used to mechanically 'walk' cloth) was in operation in the 16th century.[17] The occupations of clothmaker, linen weaver and dyer are recorded there in the second half of the 17th century.[18] Similarly at Watton, in the Hull valley, a fulling mill is recorded from the late 17th century and a map dated 1761 marks the 'walk' mill, situated on Watton beck, together with 'tenter banks' where cloth would have been stretched.[19] Cloth making was seemingly still carried out at Watton in the late 18th and early 19th centuries when a dyer and bleacher resided there.[20]

This embryonic textile industry saw a rapid though short-lived expansion in the late 18th century, with the establishment of three large mills, one of which (Bell Mills) lay within the Bainton Beacon division, and the other two in the adjacent Dickering wapentake. The first of these was a woollen mill built by the Stricklands at Boynton, near Bridlington, sometime before 1770, which in its early days is said to have employed about 150 people.[21] The second was a carpet mill which was established at Wansford, south-east of Driffield, towards the end of the 18th century. In 1793 the mill was said to employ 400 people.[22] At about the same time the long-established Bell Mills on the Driffield/Skerne boundary was rebuilt as a cloth and carpet manufactory; this too was intended to employ about 400 people.[23] None of these ventures appears to have lasted for more than thirty or forty years.

Other manufacturing activity in the area in the 17th and 18th centuries was largely concerned with the processing of agricultural products. Since the only readily available power was that driven by water or wind, mills played an important role in the economy of the region, as has already been demonstrated in relation to cloth making. In addition to their use as fulling mills, or their more common use for processing corn to make flour, water mills were also used to process rape seed to produce oil. Rape was grown in several areas of the East Riding, including the Hull valley, from the 17th century and a rape mill was in operation at Scarborough by the early 18th century.[24] It was rethatched in 1734, and shortly afterwards a new water wheel was fitted. The mill was still in use in 1762.[25] Several East Riding water mills were also used for paper making in the 18th century, including Bell Mills in the 1750s.[26]

The Hull river provided a small amount of non-agricultural employment in the townships situated in its valley, as did the other rivers in the riding. The principal landing place on the Hull river for those townships in the Bainton Beacon division was Corps Landing in Hutton Cranswick parish and there are frequent references to goods being transported to and from that point. An inventory drawn up in January 1737 of the possessions of Richard Hodgson of Corps Landing gives his occupation as mariner and listed amongst his possessions are 'a sloop with rigging laid up at Beverley' valued at £30, a keel in the Hull river valued at £62, and a carr boat, used to travel around the low lying carr lands, valued at £7 6s.[27] The building of a new warehouse at Corps Landing, at a cost of £46 19s 4d, is recorded in the Hotham estate accounts of 1739/40.[28]

The opportunities for employment in non-agricultural activities in the Bainton Beacon division - as in the rural East Riding as a whole - in the 17th and 18th centuries were therefore largely confined to isolated pockets of small scale manufacturing activity, together with specialised employment on landed estates, and to the normal trades and crafts which were to be found in villages throughout England. An examination of occupations given in parish registers suggests that the most common trades and crafts between the mid 17th century and mid 18th century were that of shoemaker, tailor, weaver, carpenter and blacksmith. [29] It was generally only in the large, open villages that there was an opportunity for more specialised trades and crafts to flourish. Occupations recorded at Great Driffield (the most populous settlement in the Bainton Beacon division) in the mid 17th century include a glover, a roper, a ploughwright and an oatmeal-maker whilst

among the occupations recorded at Hutton Cranswick in the first half of the 18th century were a maltster, cooper and grocer.[30] The smaller, closed settlements drew on these open villages or on the more distant towns for specialist trades and crafts. Amongst the craftsmen regularly employed on the Hotham estates in the mid 18th century, for example, were two Beverley men, Christopher Welbank, a glazier, and Edward Todd, a bricklayer.[31]

It was fairly common for village tradesmen and craftsmen to engage in farming as their secondary, or sometimes primary, occupation, a practice which can be described as 'dual economy' or 'dual occupation'. [32] A probate inventory listing the possessions of John Wright, a Hutton Cranswick mercer who died in 1693, shows him to have been a wealthy yeoman farmer as well as a shop keeper.[33] Wright kept three shops, one at Cranswick, where he lived, and others at Bainton and Kirkburn. The goods sold ranged from buttons, ribbon, thread and various types of cloth to drugs, knives, tobacco, starch, sugar, gunpowder, rape oil and treacle, with the total stock of the three shops valued at £441 4s. Trade was not, however, Wright's sole source of income. In addition to the contents of his house and shops, his inventory mentions six oxgangs of sown corn together with various stored crops, 10 pairs of oxen, 19 cows, 1 steer, 6 heifers, 2 calves, 8 pigs, 1 hog, 1 sow, 40 sheep, 20 ewes and lambs and 20 horses. The total value of the inventory was in excess of £1000, a very substantial sum for a tradesman or farmer at this date.

The late 17th century inventory of Richard Preston, a Driffield dyer, provides a similar example of dual occupation. On his death Preston possessed vats, presses and dyeing wares valued at £48 but a

greater part of his wealth was in the form of stock and crops, jointly valued at over £175.[34] Lower down the social scale, Robert Archer, a Drifffield blacksmith who died in 1675, possessed stock and crops valued at £6 11s, whilst his blacksmithing equipment, which comprised an anvil, bellows and a variety of tools were valued at only ten shillings.[35] Probate inventories of other tradesmen and craftsmen throughout the East Riding show dual occupation to have been a common practice. In an unpublished study of East Riding textile workers 56 inventories from rural settlements, mainly dating from the late 17th and early 18th centuries, were examined. An analysis of these inventories suggested that 70% of the craftsmen derived part of their income from agriculture.[36] Other sources also confirm this pattern of dual economy; at Bainton in the mid 18th century occupations given in the parish registers include 'trader and husbandman' and 'innkeeper and husbandman' again emphasising that many tradesmen and craftsmen were also engaged in agriculture.[37]

10.3 The reasons for lack of industrialisation

It has been demonstrated that non-agricultural employment in the Bainton Beacon division was confined to the usual trades and crafts with little evidence of rural industries developing on any significant scale. A number of factors contributed to this lack of industrial growth.

Clearly one prerequisite for industrial growth was the availability of natural resources, of which the East Riding was in short supply. There was no lead and virtually no iron ore to be found in the riding, minerals which contributed to the growth and development of many West Riding settlements. Nor was there any cheap source of fuel. As H E Strickland, writing in 1812, noted 'The surface of this Riding is little

calculated for manufactures of any kind, having neither coal, nor wood for charcoal within itself, nor any rapid streams for working machinery.' [38]

Periodic attempts were made by landowners to find coal on their estates, one of the earliest and best documented being that made at Warter, the Yorkshire estate of Joseph Pennington of Muncaster, in 1711-14. [39] Pennington's search for coal on the Warter estate was almost certainly prompted by the success of his wife's cousin, Sir James Lowther of Whitehaven, whose vast wealth had come from the coal trade. In 1711 Pennington engaged a Cumberland clergyman, the Reverend Thomas Robinson, who had for many years collected information on minerals and mining, and a borer from the same county, to bore trial pits on the Warter estate. Early attempts were unsuccessful, but in April 1713 Robinson was certain that he had located a coal seam. A small colliery was established, and half a dozen 'north country' colliers were engaged. Robinson was seemingly mistaken in thinking that he had located coal, since the colliery was short-lived, with no record of coal production. Similar attempts to locate coal at Market Weighton and Everingham later in the century were equally unsuccessful.

Proto-industrialisation was not, however, dependent simply on the availability of natural resources. An examination of areas where rural industry thrived suggests a close relationship with the type of agriculture which was practised. As demonstrated earlier, the East Riding, and more particularly the Bainton Beacon division, was primarily an area of mixed farming with a strong emphasis on arable production. By contrast, those areas which most commonly experienced proto-industrialisation were regions where pastoral farming predominated.

Several factors contributed to this. In pastoral areas the system of partible inheritance, where land was subdivided into small parcels to provide a living for both the eldest and younger sons, was more possible than in arable areas where small holdings in the open fields were difficult to subdivide yet still retain farms large enough to provide a viable living. Thus in pastoral areas a larger number of children were likely to remain in their native settlements in adulthood. Pastoral farming, particularly as holdings became smaller, also resulted in a degree of seasonal under-employment, with some workers moving into arable areas to supplement the labour force at key times such as harvest, but under-employed at other times, providing a pool of surplus labour which could be absorbed by the developing rural industries. Conditions were favourable for industrial growth in these pastoral areas which in turn attracted capital from the rising urban merchant class.[40]

Whilst it would be misleading to suggest that all pastoral areas experienced proto-industrialisation, or that rural industries developed only in pastoral areas, there are many areas where such an association can be made, for example in the Pennine region of Lancashire and Yorkshire.[41] By comparison the East Riding, with its heavy concentration on grain production, coupled with a lack of natural resources, was an unlikely candidate for proto-industrialisation. This absence of incipient industrialisation was clearly a factor in the lack of growth of East Riding rural settlements in the late 17th to mid 18th centuries, and indirectly contributed to the diminishing size of many settlements. It has been demonstrated that those areas which experienced proto-industrialisation were much more likely to experience population growth than areas where agriculture continued to provide the principal

form of employment.[42] Apart from the increased likelihood of younger sons staying on the land in the 'industrialised' settlements, there was little need to discourage new settlers in areas where the growth of rural industries offered plenty of employment opportunities. Chambers, in his work on the Vale of Trent region of Nottinghamshire, divided the settlements he studied into those which he classified as industrial and those he considered to be predominantly agricultural in character.[43] Taking the period 1674-1743, the pattern he observed was that the industrial villages of the Vale of Trent experienced an increase in size approximately four times greater than those where most of the employment available was of an agricultural nature.[44] In fact, a reassessment of Chambers's work suggests that many of the villages in this region failed to grow at all, and that some experienced a decrease in size similar to that observed in East Riding settlements over a parallel period.[45]

Many other examples of population growth in rural areas experiencing industrialisation can be cited. In 12 parishes around Bromsgrove in Worcestershire the estimated population rose from 7,167 in 1700 to 9,018 in 1750, an increase of approximately 25%. Similarly in 17 parishes around the village of Coalbrookdale in Shropshire the population rose from c.11,500 in 1711 to 17,326 in 1750, an increase of over 50%.[46]

In a study of the parish of Ecclesfield in south Yorkshire (now a suburb of Sheffield), where industrialisation was already evident in the mid 17th century, Hey has demonstrated how subsequent population growth was associated with the expansion of the principal local industry.[47] The economy of Ecclesfield was based jointly on agriculture and on the iron trade (in the form of nail and cutlery making), with one in every

seven or eight houses in 1672 having some kind of smith. With the expansion of the iron trade there were increasing opportunities for young men to remain in the parish and set up on their own after only a short apprenticeship, enabling them to marry young and thus promoting a natural increase of population in the parish. In 1672 the total number of households in the four constituent townships of the parish was only 308, but by 1743 there were about 560 families living there.[48]

In the East Riding there were no settlements which shared this experience of proto-industrialisation and attendant rapid population growth. For most inhabitants of the rural East Riding in the 17th and 18th centuries, the prospects were poor when agricultural employment was no longer available or attractive. This was especially true of the Bainton Beacon division where, in addition to the lack of industrial employment available, many of the townships were too small to support a wide range of tradesmen and craftsmen. Only one course lay open to many people no longer engaged in agriculture - migration away from the countryside, principally to industrialised settlements outside the riding and, more commonly, to the growing towns.

Chapter 10 - References

- [1] Wrigley 'Urban Growth' p 140.
- [2] The term 'proto-industrialization' was first used by F Mendels in 'Proto-industrialization: The First Phase of the Industrialization Process' Journal of Economic History vol 32 (1972) pp 241-61.
- [3] Wrigley 'Urban Growth' p 136.
- [4] J Langton 'Industry and Towns 1500-1730' in R A Dodgshon & R A Butlin (eds) An Historical Geography of England and Wales (London, 1978) pp 174-85.
- [5] Allison ER of Yorks Landscape pp 199-200. Lime kilns are recorded at Beswick, in the Bainton Beacon division, in the first half of the 18th century. (HUL DDHO/15/9.)
- [6] See above pp 145-6.
- [7] Allison ER of Yorks Landscape p 201; see below.
- [8] HUL DDWA/10/2.
- [9] HCRO DDWR/1/51-2.
- [10] HUL DDWA/10/8; HCRO PE 66/9. Watton church is largely constructed of brick.
- [11] HUL DDCV/116/1 (Bainton/Neswick map, 1779).
- [12] HUL DDHO/15/9.
- [13] Ibid.
- [14] Roebuck Constable of Everingham Estate Correspondence - see, for example p 90 (letter 10 May 1736) 'All the bricks made two years ago, being either used or sold some at 12 some at 13 shillings per thousand there is only remaining about 15000'.
- [15] Allison ER of Yorks Landscape p 215.
- [16] Hemp, and to a lesser extent flax, was grown in certain areas of the East Riding, including parts of the Bainton Beacon division. See above p 155.
- [17] K J Allison East Riding Water-Mills EYLHS series no 26 (1970) p 18.
- [18] HCRO DDBD/16/1; PE/10/2; BIHR Probate inventory, Richard Preston, Great Driffield, Jan 1694.
- [19] HCRO DDRI/33/20; Map of Watton 1761 (private collection - R A Bethell).

- [20] A copy of the poll for Beverley - 2 April 1784 (Hull, 1784) p 22;
A copy of the poll for Beverley - 19 June 1790 (Hull, 1790) p 21;
A copy of the poll for Beverley - 5 July 1802 (Beverley, 1802)
p 32.
- [21] Allison VCH Yorks ER vol 2 p 26.
- [22] Ibid p 292; Universal British Directory vol 2 (1793) p 827.
- [23] Allison ER Water-Mills p 20; University British Directory
vol 2 p 827.
- [24] HUL DDHO/14/6.
- [25] HUL DDHO/15/6; DDHO/14/22.
- [26] Allison ER Water-Mills p 19.
- [27] BIHR Probate inventory, Richard Hodgson, Corps Landing,
Feb 1737.
- [28] HUL DDHO/15/9.
- [29] For details of registers for parishes in the Bainton Beacon
division see above p 41, note [19]. The range of occupations to
be found at Kilwick in 1759 confirms the pattern shown in the
registers. A list of all the male residents of the township aged
between 18 and 50 at this date shows that, in addition to several
husbandmen, labourers, servants, a shepherd and a schoolmaster,
the village supported two weavers, two tailors, two bricklayers,
a blacksmith and a carpenter (HCRO DDGR/35/2.) Surprisingly no
shoemakers are mentioned, but this may be due to the exclusion
of male residents aged over fifty.
- [30] HCRO PE/10/2; PE/72/3.
- [31] HCRO DDHO/15/22. Both craftsmen were freemen of Beverley - see
HCRO BC IV/7/1 (Apprenticeship Indentures Register 1728-1809).
- [32] Hey has suggested that the term 'dual occupation' is now a more
appropriate description for this practice than 'dual economy'
since economists now use the latter term in a different
context. See D Hey The Rural Metalworkers of the Sheffield
Region (Leicester, 1972) p 7 n 3.
- [33] BIHR Probate inventory, John Wright, Hutton Cranswick,
Feb 1694.
- [34] BIHR Probate inventory, Richard Preston, Great Driffield,
Jan 1694.
- [35] BIHR Probate inventory, Robert Archer, Great Driffield,
April 1675.
- [36] I am grateful to Norman Creaser for allowing me to use this
material.
- [37] HCRO PE/5/2.

- [38] Strickland General View of Agriculture ER p 282.
- [39] Neave 'The Search for Coal in the ER' pp 194-7. The remainder of the paragraph is based on this article.
- [40] Langton & Hoppe Town and Country pp 24-30.
- [41] C Clay Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500-1700 vol 1 (Cambridge, 1984) p 101.
- [42] Langton & Hoppe Town and Country p 27.
- [43] J D Chambers The Vale of Trent 1670-1800 ECHR Supplement no 3 (1957).
- [44] Ibid p 20.
- [45] See below pp 283-4.
- [46] R Lawton 'Population and Society 1730-1900' in Dodgshon & Butlin An Historic Geography of England and Wales pp 231-2.
- [47] D Hey 'The parish of Ecclesfield in an era of change 1672-1851' (MA thesis, University of Leicester, 1967).
- [48] Ibid esp pp 48-53; 87-91.

11.1 National pattern of rural migration

The greater part of this study has concentrated on those causes of rural settlement contraction which, although diverse in character, have a common element. They all contributed to the 'push' from the countryside, in other words, they led to involuntary migration away from the rural areas. The causes examined have ranged from the specific, for example the deliberate actions of an individual landowner in demolishing cottages and engrossing farms as part of an economic reorganization of his estate, to the more general, notably decreasing employment opportunities in an area where proto-industrialisation was insignificant. Whilst such factors appear to have made a major contribution to settlement contraction, consideration must also be given to the view that a certain number of those who left the countryside did so simply through choice, because they were attracted by opportunities available elsewhere. Emigration, military service and urban employment provided possible alternatives to remaining on the land.

It has been estimated that between 100,000 and 150,000 people emigrated to the Caribbean, Virginia and New England between 1660 and 1700. However, the peak occurred during the first decade of this period, with the outflow declining as the 17th century progressed.[1] There are no sources available to indicate what proportion of these emigrants originated from the East Riding, but it seems unlikely that emigration was a major factor in causing individual settlements to contract in the late 17th century or early 18th century.[2] It is similarly impossible to estimate how many men from the rural settlements

of the riding were recruited into the armed forces. It is probable that many of those who enlisted were country-born people who had initially moved to the towns to find work, and joined up in the absence of finding other means of employment. Of the men recruited into the armed forces a substantial number were obviously killed in action and many more died on long sea voyages.[3] Of those who returned some remained in the ports where they joined the already considerable number of the urban poor. The records of the Corporation of Hull, for example, make periodic references to payments to injured soldiers. The Corporation also found that provision for the deserted wives and children of members of the armed forces added to the burden of poor relief.[4]

Although emigration and recruitment into the armed forces must have accounted for some movement away from the countryside, there can be little doubt that the majority of those who migrated away from rural settlements, including women, sought employment in the towns. A proportion of these would have been voluntary migrants, attracted by the greater range of opportunities which the urban centres could offer. In the south of England the natural magnet was the capital. It has been estimated that the population of London rose from approximately 400,000 in 1650 to 575,000 by 1700, making it the largest city in Europe by the end of the 17th century. For this increase in population to have occurred, at a time when the death rate in the city was extremely high, it has been estimated that each year around 8000 more people must have entered the city than left it. The city continued to expand rapidly in the 18th century, and by 1750 the population stood at 675,000.[5]

Although a high percentage of those moving to the capital came from

southern counties, substantial numbers migrated to London from other parts of England. It has been suggested that at the end of the 17th century one in six members of the adult population of England may have had or would have some experience of life in London.[6]

11.2 Urban growth

Urban growth in pre-industrial England was by no means confined to the capital. The work of historians of the early modern town, notably Clark and Slack, does suggest, however, that the most noticeable urban growth in the second half of the 17th century was chiefly confined to the larger towns and the developing industrial centres.[7] The view expressed by Clark and Slack that the smaller and middle ranking towns were probably undergoing a period of stagnation has not been fully accepted by other scholars.[8] In demographic terms it is difficult to obtain an accurate picture of changes which occurred in the provincial towns between about 1660 and 1700, owing to the lack of reliable population figures. What is clear from the wider range of statistics available after 1700 is that many towns, whether or not they had experienced this period of stagnation, expanded in the first half of the 18th century. Population figures available for several provincial towns, for example Chester, Lincoln and Taunton, around the beginning and middle of the 18th century show that, whatever the pattern had been in the 17th century, expansion did occur after 1700.[9] Even where no noticeable growth in population had occurred, as in the case of York, urban death rates were generally so high that it is reasonable to conclude that such towns must have attracted a substantial number of migrants in order to maintain their population levels.[10]

In the south of England, the development of dockyard towns such as

Chatham, Plymouth and Portsmouth also provided an increase in employment opportunities for migrants from the surrounding villages.[11] In the Midlands and north of England, it was the new industrial centres which attracted a high level of immigration. Birmingham saw its population rise from less than 5,000 in the 1670s to 11,400 by 1720, followed by a doubling in size to 23,700 by 1750.[12] The population of Sheffield, a town dominated by metal-working trades, rose from between 2,300 and 2,700 in the 1670s to over 10,000 in 1736.[13] To sustain such growth, these industrial centres must have drawn much of their population from the immediate rural hinterland and to a lesser extent from further afield. These new urban areas, unlike the old corporate towns, encouraged such immigration. When Sir Frederick Eden published The State of the Poor at the end of the 18th century he wrote:

Does the tradesmen or manufacturer, while his trade or his manufacture flourishes, refuse to take an apprentice, or employ a journeyman, because he was born or settled in a different parish, or in a distant part of the kingdom? On the contrary, does he not eagerly look out for him, and gladly receive him, from whatever quarter he may come? Were it otherwise, how has it happened, that Sheffield, Birmingham, and Manchester, have increased, from almost mere villages, to populous towns, that rival, or even surpass, in magnitude, our largest cities, the capital alone excepted. [14]

Amongst the other towns which showed considerable growth in the late 17th and early 18th centuries were the major ports. The population of the north-east port of Newcastle and the adjoining suburb of Gateshead

increased from around 16,000 in the 1660s to 29,000 by the mid 18th century. Another Tyneside port, Sunderland, experienced even more rapid growth, the estimated population of 6,000 in 1719 having risen to 16,000 by 1755.[15] Although small by comparison, the north-west coal port of Whitehaven provides another example. Described in 1633 as a village with nine or ten thatched cottages, Whitehaven was developed by Sir John Lowther, and later his son, Sir James, to serve as a port to handle coal from their extensive mines in west Cumberland. The new town which was created housed over 450 families by the end of the 17th century. By 1713 its population stood at around 4,000, a figure which had doubled by 1750.[16]

11.3 Urban growth in eastern Yorkshire

Although some of the developing industrial centres of the north, together with London, may have attracted migrants from the East Riding, one must look to the towns within or on the fringe of the riding as the most likely destinations for the bulk of those migrating from the countryside, in particular the regional capital of York, the East Riding county town of Beverley, and the developing port of Hull.

It has been suggested that the population of the city of York, which at the end of the Elizabethan period was the third most populous provincial city in England, had settled at between 10,000 and 12,000 by the latter half of the 17th century, and remained at around 12,000 during the first half of the 18th century.[17] This may have been due in part to the restrictive policies of the corporation which discouraged the type of trade and industry which would have provided employment for the poor. York has been described as a town which 'neither attracted nor encouraged' immigration during the first half of the 18th

century.[18] However, a constant and at times considerable excess of burials over baptisms throughout the second half of the 17th century and first half of the 18th century meant that a fairly substantial amount of migration into the city must nevertheless have occurred.[19] As the regional capital, York might be expected to attract a certain number of migrants from the Bainton Beacon division. However, studies of migration into other urban centres suggest that the majority of migrants usually travelled relatively short distances; a study of a group of immigrants into Sheffield between 1624 and 1799 showed that about two-thirds travelled a distance of less than 21 miles.[20] Using the Sheffield study as a guide, this suggests that Hull and Beverley were more obvious destinations than York. All of the villages within the Bainton Beacon division lie within a 15-mile radius of Beverley (the majority within a ten-mile radius) and all within a 21-mile radius of the port of Hull. By contrast only the most westerly settlement in the division, Warter, lies within a 21-mile radius of the regional capital, York.

In spite of the restrictive practices of its corporation (like that of York), a modest but significant growth appears to have been experienced by the county town of Beverley between the mid 17th and mid 18th centuries. Around 1670 the population stood at an estimated 2,800 but by 1764 the figure had risen to at least 3,500. The demographic experience of the town was similar to that of many others over this period, in that the natural population of the town decreased with the obvious result that migration into the town was required to maintain population levels.[21]

Although Beverley, as a local marketing centre, was clearly a town

with which many potential migrants would be familiar, the expanding port of Hull was likely to offer more by way of employment opportunities to both the unskilled labourer and the more specialist craftsman. It has been estimated that the population of the town rose from about 7,500 in 1700 to almost 12,000 in 1750, with a natural decrease in population of more than 900 over this period, signifying a very high level of migration into the town.[22] It is probable that many of those migrating from the Bainton Beacon division chose Hull as their ultimate destination.

11.4 Migration from the Bainton Beacon division - documentary evidence

It is impossible to obtain any accurate assessment of the numbers and place of origin of those entering the towns from the countryside in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. In the absence of more substantive evidence, the demographic statistics alone must be considered sufficient proof that migration from the rural areas to the towns took place on a considerable scale. There are, however, certain sources available which provide some evidence in support of this statement. The most important of these are apprenticeship and freemen records, settlement certificates, and the depositions of witnesses in the church courts.[23] Fragmentary evidence also occurs from time to time in other documents; estate correspondence relating to the East Riding village of Everingham, for example, includes a reference in 1731 to a tenant moving to Hull, whilst an indenture dating from 1787 describes a labourer as 'late of Neswick [a Bainton Beacon settlement in the process of desertion] now of Beverley'.[24] Marriage records, where place of residence of both spouses is given, offer some information on personal mobility but do not readily provide the type of evidence required to assess migration from rural to urban areas.

(a) Apprenticeship records

Apprenticeship documents, sometimes relating to a specific guild, survive amongst the records of many English towns. Indentures of apprenticeship commonly give the name, place of residence and occupation of the father of the apprentice, and are therefore useful for studying labour mobility. The records have several drawbacks in attempting any general conclusions about levels and patterns of migration to the towns, notably that they relate only to certain occupations, and to a limited age group. Gordon Jackson's examination of Hull Corporation's apprenticeship records relating to merchants between 1720 and 1790 showed only a small number of apprentices who were not themselves of merchant or gentry origin.[25] Nevertheless, in the absence of more satisfactory material, apprenticeship records offer some insight into the mobility patterns of a selected group of people attracted to the towns by the training opportunities presented. It was almost certainly the 'pull' of the towns rather than the 'push' of the countryside which was responsible for the migration of the majority of those seeking apprenticeships in the urban centres. It is likely that apprentices who had obtained the status of freeman by the serving of their apprenticeship would then remain permanently in the town.

A useful study based on apprenticeship records, referred to briefly above, is that undertaken by Buckatzsch, who examined the apprenticeship indentures of the Cutlers' company of Hallamshire between 1624 and 1799 to ascertain the place of origin of a major group of immigrants into the town of Sheffield. He concluded that 'immigrants' (defined as those from outside a five-mile radius) accounted for between 15% and 25% of the total number of apprentices bound in different periods.[26] A similar study has been made of the apprenticeship registers for the town

of Southampton, which cover the period 1609-1740. Taking the sample period 1683-1710, the registers showed that 56% of the apprentices were from Southampton itself, 4% from adjacent parishes, 26% from other places in Hampshire and 8% from further afield, the remaining 6% representing duplicate entries or those where place of origin was not given.[27]

In the search for evidence of residents of settlements in the Bainton Beacon division moving into urban centres, three local sets of apprenticeship records were examined; the register of indentures of apprentices kept by the Corporation of Hull for the period 1660-1760, a similar register of apprentices to the freemen of Beverley for the period 1728-1760, and the more specialised indenture register of the Merchant Taylors' company of York, for the period 1660-1750.[28]

The Hull registers were examined for the hundred years from 1660. The registers contain in excess of 3,500 entries over this period, most of which give the place of residence of the father of each apprentice. An examination of these entries shows that a high proportion of the apprentices came from within the town of Hull, from Holderness, or from the adjacent county of Lincolnshire. Twelve apprentices came from the Bainton Beacon division, the majority from a farming background, two each from the townships of Kirkburn, Watton and Kilnwick, and one each from Beswick, Warter, Lockington, Cranswick, Scarborough and Middleton. The occupations of the burgesses to which the apprentices were bound included the specialist crafts of pewterer, cooper and pumpmaker.[29]

Of the 560 entries in the Beverley register between 1728 and 1760, 11 (2%) related to apprentices from the Bainton Beacon division. These

included Thomas Stoakes of Lund Warren, the son of a yeoman who was apprenticed to a cabinet maker, and a gentleman's son, John Dixon of North Dalton, who was apprenticed to Ramsden Barnard, alderman, a Beverley attorney. The remaining apprenticeships were to a currier, bricklayer, mercer, butcher, plumber (two), mariner and flax dresser, with one trade or craft unspecified. It is interesting to note that five of the apprentices came from Great Driffield and Hutton Cranswick, illustrating that migration occurred from the large, open settlements to the towns, as well as from more closed settlements. A further two apprentices were from the small settlement of Scarborough which lay less than five miles north of Beverley, the remaining young men originating from North Dalton, Little Driffield and Lund. [30]

The York Merchant Taylors' apprenticeship indenture register, dating from 1606, was examined from 1660 until its termination in 1750. This produced only one apprentice from the Bainton Beacon division and only a limited number from the East Riding as a whole.[31] This result was not particularly surprising since it reflected the pattern shown by Palliser's study of immigration into York in the 16th century. Using the chamberlains' account books (which show the birthplace of new freemen) for a number of years, Palliser showed that few York immigrants amongst this group were from the East Riding, concluding that the growing port of Hull was a more natural centre for migrants from the south-east area of Yorkshire.[32]

(b) Settlement certificates

Settlement certificates have similarly been used by historians to study migration into growing urban centres. Following the 1662 act which dealt with settlement, and especially after the additional

legislation of 1697 regarding the issue of settlement certificates, it was common practice for migrants to obtain a certificate from their legal place of settlement which would guarantee that the issuing parish would provide poor relief should it be required. Studies of poor law settlement certificates relating to migrants to Birmingham over the period 1686 to 1757 show that many of the workers attracted to this expanding industrial centre came from the surrounding rural areas.[33]

Only a small number of settlement records have survived for the East Riding. They include certificates and the more detailed settlement examinations, mainly dating from the 1740s onwards, for people living in the urban parish of St Mary, Beverley, several of which indicate that migration from villages in the Bainton Beacon division to the town had occurred.[34] The settlement examinations (made by the officers of the migrant's new parish), are especially useful since, in addition to recording the place of legal settlement, it was usual for the means by which settlement had been obtained to be recorded. Occasionally the place of settlement was birth place, for example the settlement examination of William Cook dated 27 December 1742 shows his legal place of settlement as Hutton Cranswick, the township in which he was born.[35] More commonly though, legal settlement in the Bainton Beacon division had been obtained through having being hired as a servant on one of the farms in the area. The majority of these people worked as labourers after settling in the town. Those recorded in the settlement examination records of the 1750s for the parish of St Mary, Beverley included James Fairbotham whose place of settlement was Kilnwick, John Smith whose place of settlement was Lund, and William Peck, whose place of settlement was Southburn. Each of these men had been hired on farms in the respective townships and thus obtained legal settlement, prior to

moving to Beverley.[36] Although these settlement records do not, therefore, necessarily show the movement of those born in the Bainton Beacon area into Beverley, they are nevertheless useful in recording a move from rural to urban employment.

(c) Church court papers

Much of the most recent work on migration into the towns has been based on records from the church courts, which dealt with both civil and criminal actions. Clark has found that for the province of Canterbury, the depositions of witnesses called to give evidence in such cases usually give age, occupation or status, place and length of residence. Sometimes witnesses also gave place of previous residence, and in some cases a more detailed autobiography was presented, offering a rare insight into individual migration patterns. Clark has analysed the biographical data relating to more than 7,000 witnesses from seven different diocesan courts between 1600 and 1730 in order to study patterns of migration.[37] A similar study, more directly focussed on migrants to the towns in the second half of the 17th century, has been undertaken by Souden. Souden examined the depositions of over 2,000 town witnesses extracted from the records of the diocesan courts of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Salisbury, Oxford, Norwich and the archdeaconry of Leicester, including the cities of Exeter, Oxford and Norwich, for the period 1661-1707.[38] His analysis has shown that between half and two-thirds of urban residents whose depositions were examined were migrants. Of these, about two-thirds of the men, and half the women, had moved into the towns from rural areas. Of those who had migrated to the cities of Exeter, Oxford and Norwich, from both rural areas and smaller towns, approximately one-third had travelled over 50 kilometres (just over 30 miles).[39]

Cases brought before the church courts in the province of York rarely provide detailed biographical information. A search through 85 sets of cause papers relating to the East Riding, dating from between the mid 17th and mid 18th centuries, suggests that the place of birth or previous residence of witnesses was usually given only where this was directly relevant to the case, particularly in tithe disputes where a witness was required to prove that he knew the customs of a particular settlement well.[40] Most of these cases relate to agricultural communities, the witnesses selected commonly being those who had remained in or near their settlement of birth. The use of such cause papers relating to East Riding settlements is therefore generally limited to showing short distance migration within a rural locality, perhaps from a closed to a more open settlement or, on occasions, from a depopulated township to a neighbouring settlement.

11.5 Intra-village migration

Apart from migration to the towns, movement from small, closed settlements to the large settlements of a more open nature may have contributed to the contraction of the smaller villages. Although evidence from the Bainton Beacon division shows that even the largest villages show no real increase in size between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries, this does not preclude the possibility of in-migration having occurred. It is likely that the stability in size of the larger villages reflects a degree of out-migration to the towns to balance migration in from the smaller closed settlements.

As mentioned above, tithe cause papers sometimes show evidence of movement from closed to open settlements. In 1672 Richard Newlove, a 60 year old 'grassman' from the large village of Hutton Cranswick gave

evidence in a tithe dispute, in which he described how he had been born, and spent the first thirty years of his life, at Eastburn, a small closed settlement. Another Hutton Cranswick resident, Peter Darfield, who gave his occupation as labourer, had previously served for 12 years as a servant in Kirkburn, another small township.[41] Settlement records also provide examples of this type of migration for a small number of open settlements in the East Riding. These include Eastrington in Howdenshire, and Seaton Ross near Pocklington, both settlements to which people from more closed settlements in the Bainton Beacon division had migrated in the first half of the 18th century. The Eastrington records, for example, include a settlement certificate dated 1737 for a man and wife whose place of settlement was Beswick.[42] The papers for Seaton Ross include a removal certificate dated 1740 ordering the removal of Robert Wreathell and his wife Ann back to North Dalton, and a settlement certificate dated 1751 for John Kemp, a weaver, and his family, whose legal place of settlement was Warter.[43] The Quarter Sessions files also contain evidence of migration from closed settlements; the papers for Christmas 1721, for example, record the removal of a woman and her three children from Hutton Cranswick, the second most populous settlement in the Bainton Beacon division, back to the much smaller settlement of Middleton.[44]

11.6 Conclusion

There can be little doubt that the growth experienced by urban centres in the late 17th and early 18th centuries was at the expense of the countryside. The demographic evidence alone is sufficient to reach this conclusion, and the growing body of research based on those sources available for studying migration offers additional proof that this was the case. In the Bainton Beacon division the reduction in the

number of households recorded in the majority of settlements between the 1670s and 1740s at a time when no natural drop in population occurred suggests a movement away from the countryside. The sustained if modest growth of Beverley, and the rapid expansion of the port of Hull, both within easy travelling distance of the Bainton Beacon settlements, suggests that these centres are likely to have been ultimate destination points for many migrants from this particular area of the East Riding.

Chapter 11 - References

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- [2] For a summary of the limited range of sources available for studying emigration in the 17th century see H A Gemery 'Emigration from the British Isles to the New World, 1630-1700' Research in Economic History vol 5 (1980) pp 181-2.
- [3] It has been suggested that battalions could lose up to 300 of every 800 men on shipboard in the early 18th century. C Barnett Britain and Her Army 1509-1700 (London, 1970) p 148.
- [4] K J Allison VCH Yorks E Riding vol 1 (London, 1969) p 163.
- [5] Wrigley 'London's Importance 1650-1750' pp 191-3.
- [6] Ibid p 196. Dealing with a more specific section of the population, Wareing has shown that in 1690 over 10% of all London freemen whose origins are known came from the northern counties (Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Derby, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Rutland). This compares with 31% from the city itself, 12% from the Home Counties, the remainder being drawn principally from other parts of England and Wales. See J Wareing 'Changes in the geographical distribution of the recruitment of apprentices to the London companies 1486-1750' Journal of Historical Geography vol 6 no 3 (1980) p 243.
- [7] Clark & Slack English Towns in Transition pp 84-5.
- [8] A Dyer 'Growth and Decay in English Towns 1500-1700' Urban History Year Book (1979) pp 64-8.
- [9] West Towns Records, pp 314,320,328.
- [10] See below pp 218-9.
- [11] Clark & Slack English Towns in Transition pp 36-7.
- [12] Borsay English Urban Renaissance p 27; Large 'Urban growth' p 171.
- [13] Hey Yorkshire from AD 1000 pp 227-8.
- [14] Eden State of the Poor vol 1 pp 297-8.
- [15] Ellis 'Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1660-1760' p 194. For the Sunderland figures see West Town Records p 328.
- [16] C M L Bouch & G P Jones The Lake Counties 1500-1830 (Manchester, 1981) p 82; R Millward 'The Cumbrian town between 1600 and 1800' in Chalklin & Havinden Rural Change & Urban Growth pp 217-9; C Chalklin 'The making of some new towns, c.1600-1720' ibid pp 231-2.

- [17] P M Tillott (ed) VCH Yorks - City of York (London, 1961) pp 62-3,212.
- [18] Ibid pp 212,215.
- [19] Ibid pp 162,212.
- [20] E J Buckatzsch 'Places of origin of a group of immigrants into Sheffield, 1624-1799' EcHR 2nd ser vol 2 (1949-50) p 305.
- [21] K J Allison (ed) VCH Yorks E Riding vol 6 (Oxford, 1989) pp 108,119.
- [22] Allison VCH Yorks ER vol 1 pp 189,192.
- [23] Freemen records have not been used in the present study since the local records do not give the birthplace of freemen. The majority of outsiders who gained freedom did so through apprenticeship, and their movement into the towns has therefore been covered by the enrollments of apprenticeship.
- [24] Roebuck Constable of Everingham Estate Correspondence p 32; HUL DDHO/42/125.
- [25] G Jackson Hull in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1972) p 106.
- [26] Buckatzsch 'Immigrants into Sheffield' pp 303-16.
- [27] A J Wilson & A L Merson A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740 Southampton Records Series vol 12 (1968) p xxix.
- [28] KHRO BRG/6-7; HCRO BC IV/7/1; BIHR MTA 3.1.
- [29] KHRO BRG/6-7.
- [30] HCRO BC IV/7/1.
- [31] BIHR MTA 3.1
- [32] D M Palliser 'A Regional Capital as Magnet: Immigrants to York, 1477-1566' YAJ vol 57 for 1985 (1985) p 116. The birthplace of York freemen is not recorded in the freemen rolls for the period covered by this study. See J Malden Register of York Freemen 1680-1986 (York, 1989).
- [33] A Parton 'Poor-law settlement certificates and migration to and from Birmingham 1726-57' Local Population Studies no 38 (Spring 1987) pp 23-9.
- [34] HCRO PE/1/691-2.
- [35] HCRO PE/1/691.
- [36] Ibid.
- [37] Clark 'Migration in England' pp 219-31.

- [38] D Souden 'Migrants and the population structure of later 17th century provincial cities and market towns' in Clark Transformation of English Provincial Towns pp 133-68.
- [39] Ibid pp 139,142,146.
- [40] Cause papers for the diocese of York are at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York (class CP).
- [41] BIHR CPH 3133.
- [42] HCRO Folder of extracts from settlement records relating to East Riding parishes.
- [43] Ibid.
- [44] HCRO QSF Christmas 1721.

Section III

THE PHYSICAL IMPACT OF CONTRACTION

THE SHRUNKEN VILLAGE

12.1 The process of contraction

The most common type of East Riding settlement in the mid 17th century was the nucleated village, with few townships supporting more than two or three isolated farms.[1] Early enclosure in this region was rarely accompanied by the building of dispersed farmsteads, and it was not until the mid/late 18th century, following parliamentary enclosure, that a substantial number of outlying farmsteads were built.[2] It can therefore be anticipated that empty house sites resulting from contraction of East Riding settlements in the period 1660-1760 would be found primarily in or around the centre of a village.

Although one might expect many house sites to have been built over, especially in recent years, a surprising number of earthworks associated with former areas of settlement survive in the Bainton Beacon division. Shrunken or deserted village earthworks have been recorded in 18 (72%) of the 25 constituent townships of the division, including each of those where contraction between the mid/late 17th and mid 18th century was especially marked.[3] Traditionally such earthworks have been labelled 'medieval' but there is an increasing awareness that such features may date from a later period. Taylor in Village and Farmstead provides several examples of villages with earthworks which represent settlement shrinkage in the 17th century, whilst Reed, in his work on the East Midlands, has acknowledged that 'we must be prepared to accept that an unknown, but possibly a large, proportion of those house platforms which are so characteristic of

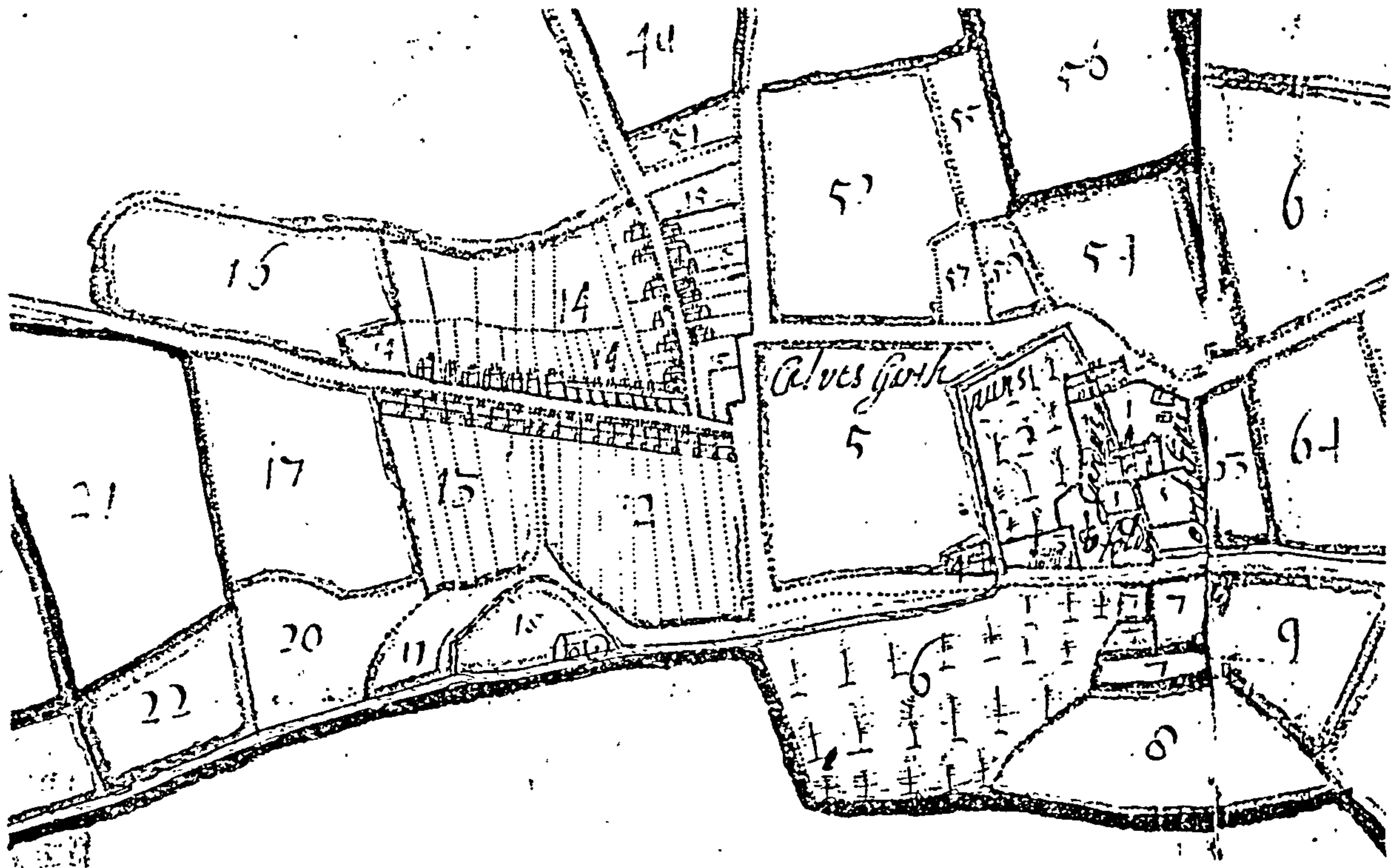
deserted and shrunken villages are sixteenth- and seventeenth-century abandonments rather than medieval ones'.[4] A detailed examination of two of the settlements in the Bainton Beacon division where the decrease in number of households between the 1670s and 1740s was most marked, Watton and Warter, has established that the shrunken settlement earthworks date from this late 17th- or early 18th-century contraction.

Contraction which took the form of a planned clearance of housing, largely occurring at one pointⁱⁿ time, could result in a permanent change to the shape of a settlement. One of the principal reasons for this type of clearance nationally was emparking. Often the whole of a settlement was swept away to create a formal garden or park, resulting in a deserted rather than a shrunken village (the subject of the next chapter), but sometimes only part of a settlement was destroyed. At Scampston near Malton, for example, it has been shown how the eastern half of the village was cleared in the early 18th century to create the grounds of Scampston Hall, whilst the western half of the village survived intact.[5] Although there is no direct parallel in the Bainton Beacon division, the contraction which occurred at Watton in the Hull valley produced a similar result in that a whole section of the village was swept away. The cause of the contraction is uncertain but it may have been associated with plans to extend the grounds of the surviving portion of Watton Priory which was used as a private dwelling in the late 17th century.

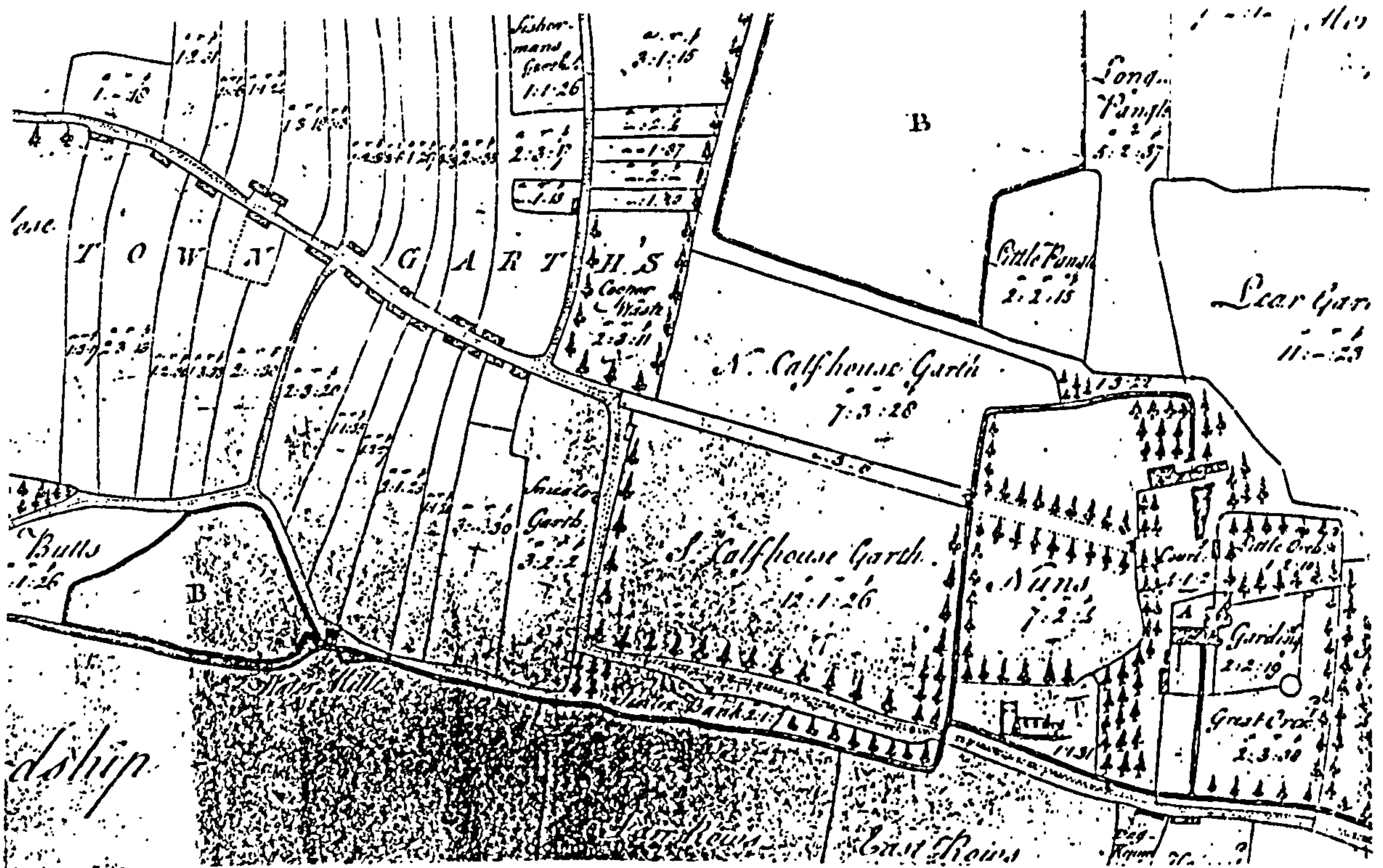
Three maps dating from the 17th and 18th centuries survive for Watton. The earliest map appears to date from the mid 17th century.[6] (See below p 393 Figure 43) It was drawn up for the earl of Winchilsea, who held all the land in the township, and predates the sale of much of

the estate in 1672. On this map the nucleus of the village is depicted as comprising two streets forming an L-shape, with houses lining both sides of each street (represented by a handful of crudely drawn buildings). The map also shows the surviving remnant of Watton Priory, the three former monastic granges of Burnbutts, Cawkeld and Swinekeld which lay west and north of the village centre, and several dispersed farmsteads in the eastern half of the township. Although the presence of these outlying farms makes Watton somewhat untypical of the East Riding in its settlement pattern, the contraction which occurred was confined to the nucleus of the township.

In 1672 much of the Watton estate, including 45 cottages attached to the manor, was sold to William Dickinson of the Customs House, London, to whom Winchilsea owed money.[7] Shortly after Dickinson also acquired the former grange and associated land at Swinekeld.[8] Through the marriage of Dickinson's daughter Sarah to Hugh Bethell all these lands at Watton passed in 1690 to the Bethells of Rise.[9] The second map of Watton bears the date 1707, and was drawn up for Hugh Bethell.[10] It does, however, show the whole township and not simply that part owned by Bethell. Furthermore, it is described as having been drawn from an old survey, which throws some doubt as to whether it really shows the village as it appeared in 1707, or actually depicts the village as it would have appeared at the date of the missing survey from which it was made. The map is larger than that of the mid 17th century, and the buildings in the village centre are more clearly drawn, enabling the houses to be counted. The distribution of outlying farms appears to be identical to that on the earlier map. The map of 1707 has no names, only numbers, which presumably correspond to the missing survey from which it was drawn. (See Figure 10)



(a) The village as depicted on a map of 1707. The map is described as having been 'drawn from an old survey' and may therefore portray the village as it would have appeared in the mid/late 17th century.



(b) The village in 1761

The last of the three maps is dated 1761, and primarily shows that part of Watton owned by the Bethells, which included the village nucleus, but not the area of scattered farms in the eastern half of the township.[11] Dramatic changes to the shape and size of the village nucleus had taken place by this date. The east-west street contains far fewer houses than on the earlier maps with those remaining more spread out, whilst the street which runs north-south now contains only empty garths apart from one cottage or outbuilding surviving on the western side. (See Figure 10)

The mid 17th-century map, used in conjunction with that of 1707 (since the latter enables a detailed count to be made of houses in the village nucleus), show Watton to comprise about 70 farms and cottages at these dates - perhaps slightly fewer since it is occasionally difficult to distinguish between cottages and farm buildings. This accords well with the hearth tax assessment for 1673 which lists 71 households. The number of houses shown in the village nucleus on the 1707 map is 48, corresponding closely to the 45 cottages referred to in 1672. By 1761 only 20 houses are shown. This decrease in the number of cottages would account for 80% of the reduction from 71 households in the hearth tax of 1673 to the 36 families reported as living in Watton in 1764.[12]

If the early 18th-century map is accurate, the contraction of Watton must have occurred between 1707 and 1761, when the Bethells owned the principal estate. It is possible, however, that some of the contraction occurred in the late 17th century, and that it was William Dickinson who was responsible for it. When the marriage settlement on his daughter was drawn up in 1690, the description of the 45 cottages attached to the manor which he had purchased in 1672 was amended to read 'all those

tenements or cottages in the town of Watton or ground where cottages heretofore stood with the houses demolished being forty-six [sic] in number.' [13] This suggests that an unspecified number of the cottages in the village centre had been demolished between 1672 and 1690, supporting the theory that the 1707 map, based on the old survey, was actually out of date.

The reason for the demolition of such a large number of cottages at Watton, presumably either by Dickinson or Bethell, is unknown, but the loss of a complete street suggests that the village was deliberately reduced in size, perhaps over a short period of time. It is possible that the street which ran north-south was cleared of houses simply as part of a reorganization of the estate, but it may have been carried out with a view to improving the environs of Watton Priory, placing the contraction at Watton in a similar category to emparking clearances such as that found at Scampston. By 1761 a small amount of landscaping had taken place around the house, although the empty cottage sites and garths were never taken into the formal grounds. (See Figure 10) House platforms can still be seen on the eastern side of the abandoned street.

Contraction which occurred over a longer period of time is more likely to have led to the appearance of empty house sites scattered throughout a village. This is the case at Warter, where the estate records suggest that the number of tenants on the Pennington estate was gradually diminished over several decades. No maps which indicate the layout of the township before the mid 19th century have survived, but a series of rentals and other estate papers enable a conjectural reconstruction of the village in the early 18th century to be made.

In 1673 there were 85 households at Warter.[14] A rental made by 'house row' in 1715 suggests that by this date there were 31 tenanted cottages and associated garths at the west end of the village, and 24 at the east end, together with a total of ten freehold properties.[15] Allowing for Warter Hall and the outlying farm Blanch, this would give a total of around 67 households in 1715, 18 fewer than in 1673. About 27 empty garths are also recorded in the 1715 rental, presumably marking the sites both of those cottages demolished since 1673, and of some which must have been demolished earlier.[16]

Estate records suggest that contraction at Warter was of a piecemeal nature, with cottages demolished when they fell into a poor state of repair, or when a tenant died or moved away. The vacant garth was then allocated to another tenant.[17] Figure 11 shows how this gradual process of contraction initially resulted in the spacing out cottages throughout the village, rather than the abandonment of any particular area of settlement. The empty plots seem, in the majority of cases, to have been rented by the tenant of the adjoining house. In 1715, for example, Robert Turner's house and garth adjoined that of Richard Parkins, which in turn adjoined that of John Sherwood.[18] By 1736 William Turner had succeeded Robert Turner as tenant. Parkins or Sherwood no longer appear in the rental, and their cottages are no longer listed, but 'Sherwoods and Parkins Garths' have been acquired by Turner.[19]

Contraction at Warter continued throughout the first half of the 18th century, partly achieved through the purchase and demolition by the Pennington estate of some of the other freehold property in the township.[20] By 1743 only 58 families were said to live at Warter and

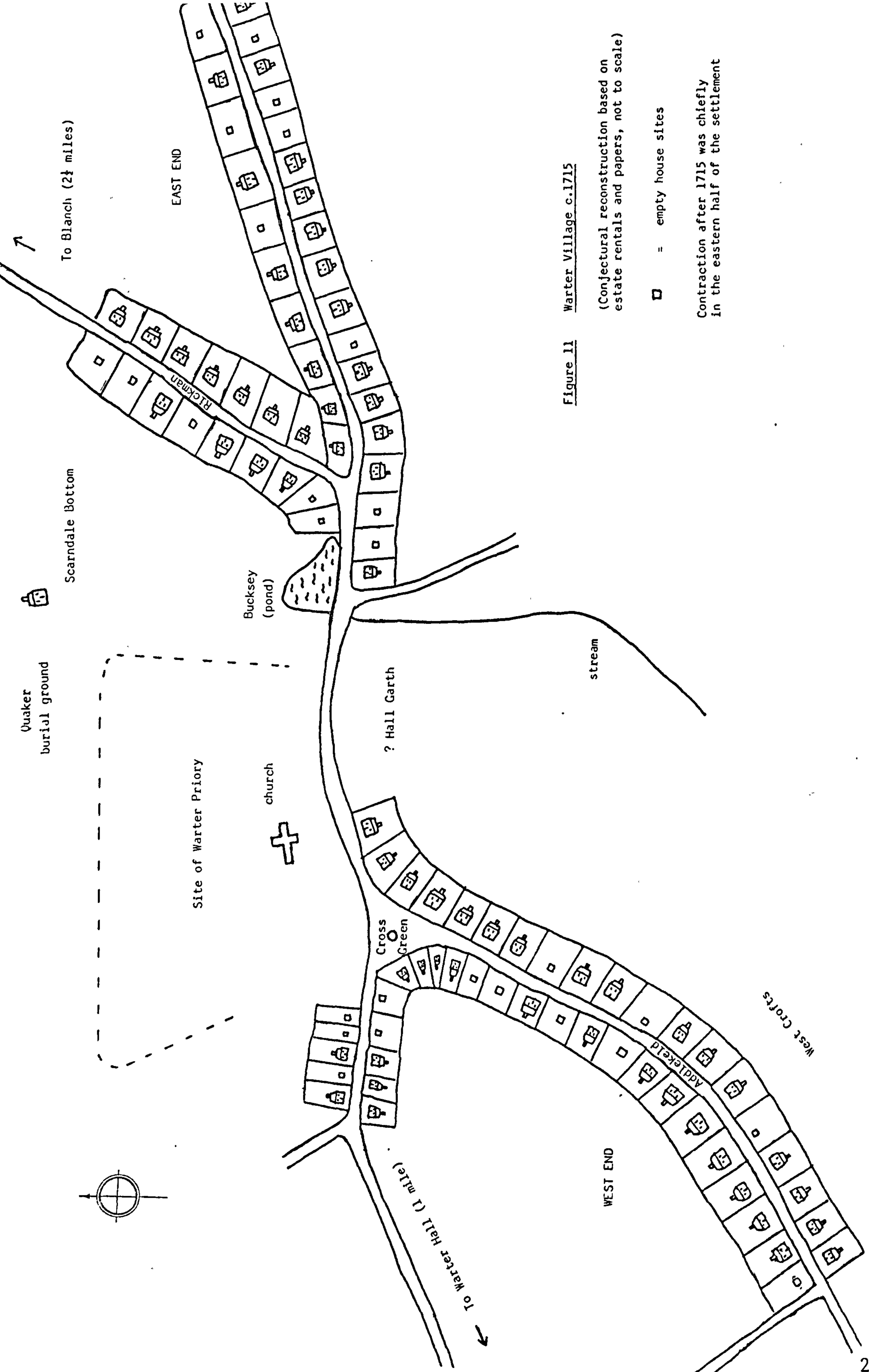


Figure 11 Warter Village c.1715

(Conjectural reconstruction based on estate rentals and papers, not to scale)

□ = empty house sites

Contraction after 1715 was chiefly in the eastern half of the settlement

in 1764 the number of families was given as only 50.[21] During this later phase of contraction the houses demolished appear to have been located mainly in the eastern end half the village, and probably included several in the street branching off to the north-east known as Rickman. The ultimate result was a concentration of housing at the western end of the village, perhaps achieved by moving some tenants into different cottages rather than simply demolishing whatever properties fell vacant. Apart from two post-enclosure farmsteads, only the 'foundations of old buildings' are shown at Rickman on the 1855 Ordnance Survey map, and only a handful of houses remained at the eastern end of the village.[22] Extensive earthworks, many clearly visible as house platforms, survive in both areas. (See Plate 1) Warter was largely rebuilt as a uniform estate village in the later 19th century but these abandoned areas of settlement were not reoccupied.

12.2 The rebuilding of farmhouses and cottages

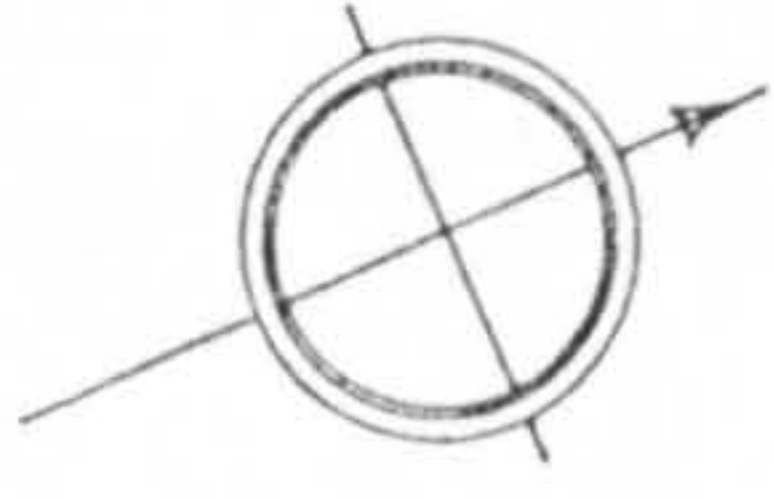
A reduction in the number of farmhouses and cottages was not the only physical change which took place in many settlements in the years 1660-1760. It was also in this period that the first major phase of the so called 'Great Rebuilding', that is, the rebuilding of houses in more permanent materials, took place in the East Riding. This initial phase of the 'Great Rebuilding' in the region chiefly related to tenanted property and can be linked to settlement contraction and reorganization.

Hoskins first put forward the theory of a 'Great Rebuilding' in England, which he suggested took place between about 1570 and 1640.[23] There is no evidence for this in the rural East Riding, where smaller domestic buildings dating from this period are extremely rare. In his



Plate 1

Aerial view of the area
of Warter village known
as Rickman, showing
house sites



NGR: SE 873 505

Source:

Cambridge University
Collection of Air Photogra

reassessment of Hoskins' theory, Machin (in a study of 17 counties spread throughout England, although excluding Yorkshire) provided evidence which indicated a peak of rebuilding around 1700, whilst Hutton has suggested that in the East Riding the major period of rebuilding did not occur until the second half of the 18th century and early 19th century, coinciding with the parliamentary enclosure movement.[24] Although both documentary and visual evidence support Hutton's opinion, it can also be demonstrated that a significant amount of rebuilding had taken place in the East Riding in the second quarter of the 18th century. The distinguishing characteristic of this particular phase of rebuilding is that the activity was largely confined to improvements on the landed estates of the riding, with little evidence of rebuilding by the owner-occupiers who feature so prominently at other periods.[25]

Much of this rebuilding of the second quarter of the 18th century followed the reorganization of estates, suggesting that landowners were prepared to spend money on their remaining properties once these had been reduced to the required number. The evidence also suggests that a certain amount of rebuilding may have been carried out in order to attract or retain tenants during the agricultural depression of the 1730s and 1740s.[26]

Contemporary accounts indicate that, prior to the general adoption of brick, much of the rural housing of the East Riding was fairly primitive in its construction. Both timber and good quality stone were scarce in the region, and mud appears to have been the principal building material in many settlements until at least the 18th century. Thatch continued to be the chief roofing material, even for new houses,

until about 1750 when the use of pantiles gradually became more widespread.[27] The evidence from both the hearth tax returns of the 1670s and probate inventories of the late 17th and early 18th centuries shows that many farmhouses and cottages were very modest in scale. At Warter, for example, of 83 households listed in the hearth tax returns of 1673, 79 were assessed on only one hearth.[28] The rooms listed in the inventory of John Blanshard of Warter, drawn up in 1694 - a 'house' and parlour (used for sleeping) on the ground floor, with two chambers for storage above - represent a typical arrangement of many East Riding farmhouses and cottages at this date.[29]

At Brandesburton, which Celia Fiennes described in 1697 as 'a sad poor thatched place', a survey of 1700 describes many of the properties on the Emanuel Hospital estate as 'mean' or in a bad state of repair; two houses had actually fallen down in recent years, and another was on the point of collapse.[30] A glebe terrier of 1726 describes the four houses belonging to the rectory there as mud-walled and thatched.[31] A survey of houses on the earl of Egremont's estate at Leconfield taken in 1797 shows that mud and thatch still predominated.[32]

Documentary evidence confirms that many of the farmhouses and cottages of the Bainton Beacon division were similar in construction to those at Brandesburton and Leconfield. The vicarage at Lund, for example, was described in 1726 as 'an old building of mud walls and thatch'.[33] At Beswick, where a group of single-storey mud and thatch cottages survived into the present century, several cottages were described in about 1765 as built partly of mud, and in 1843 a report made to the Royal Commission on the Employment of Women and Children in

Agriculture noted that at neighbouring Lockington 'Some cottages are of the old fashion, clay walls and thatched ...'.[34] Farmhouses and cottages in the Wolds settlement of Warter appear to have been of a similar nature, although the estate accounts suggest that more timber may have been used in their construction.[35] As late as 1865, shortly before many of the cottages in the township were rebuilt as architect-designed estate housing, an investigation into the state of the dwellings of rural labourers described Warter as 'an extraordinarily shabby village' where the inhabitants 'have to put up with mossy, mouldy thatch, with bulging walls, uneven floors, windows that won't open and doors that won't shut'.[36]

The general impression, therefore, is that there had been little rebuilding of farmhouses and cottages in the East Riding, and in particular in the Bainton Beacon division, by the second half of the 18th century. This is, however, somewhat misleading, since records show that several landowners had improved the quality of housing on their estates, especially during the 1730s and 1740s.

The earliest plans for any substantial rebuilding in the Bainton Beacon division relate to Watton in the 1660s when the earl of Winchilsea put forward his elaborate scheme for the township. This included the building of several new farms which he anticipated would cost about £100 each. The farmhouses were to be built of brick and stone, and roofed with tile.[37] These plans for the estate did not materialise; ironically the only mud, cruck and thatch cottage to survive in the Bainton Beacon division until the 1970s was at Watton. (See Plates 2 & 3)



Plate 2 Ruins of a cottage at Watton c.1900

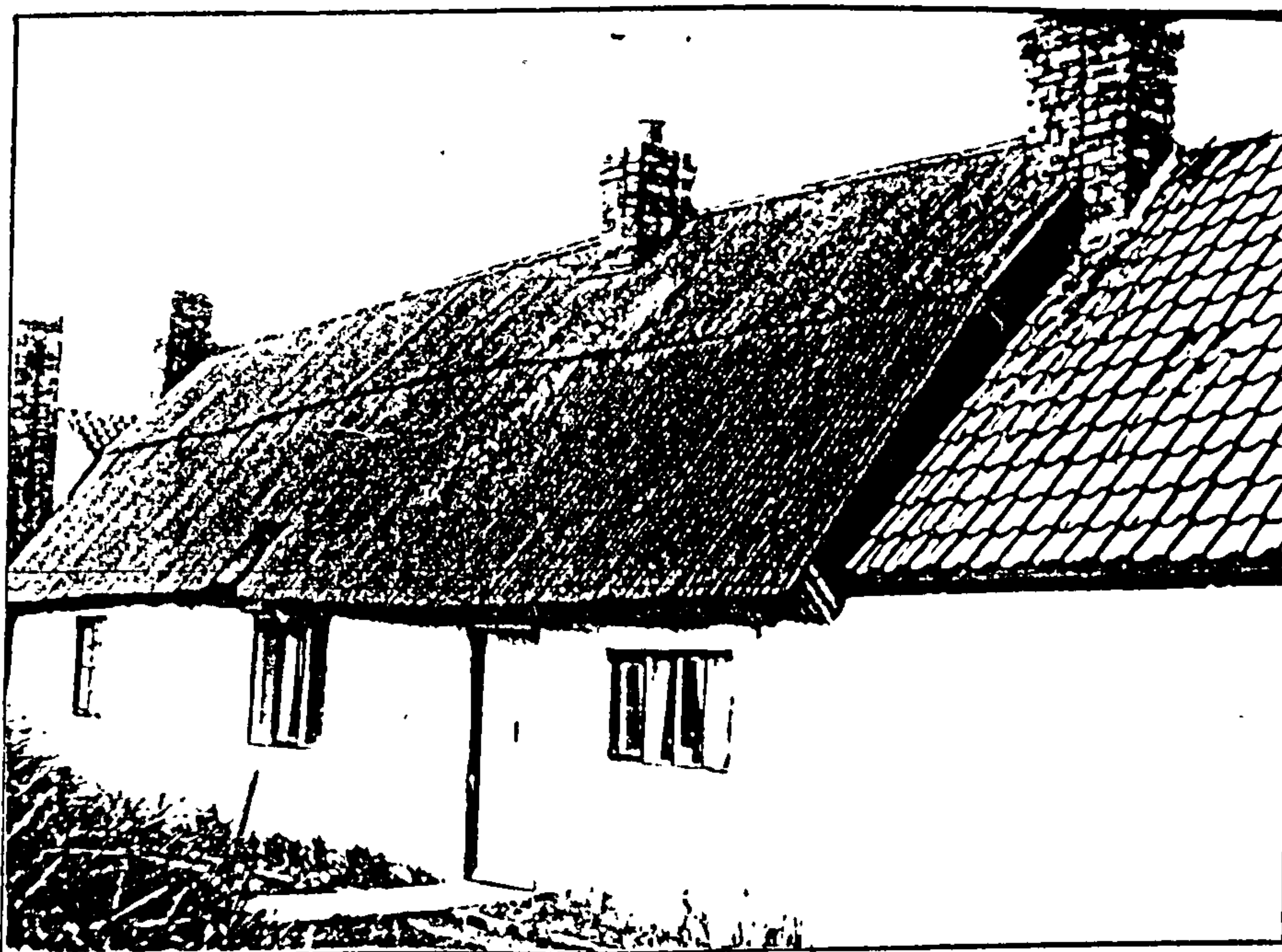


Plate 3 Mud and cruck cottage at Watton c.1970

The cottage, which was situated on the north side of the main village street, was demolished shortly after the photograph was taken.

Although a handful of surviving brick cottages in the area may date from the late 17th or early 18th centuries, the first evidence of any substantial rebuilding in the Bainton Beacon division is not found until about 1730, when several properties were rebuilt on the Shaw estate at Bainton, the Hotham estates at Hutton Cranswick, Lockington and Scarborough and, to a more limited extent, on the Pennington estate at Warter.

At Bainton contracts for brickmaking on the Shaw estate survive for various dates between 1727-46.[38] There are references to the building or rebuilding or at least five houses in the 1730s and 1740s, and to alterations to a number of other properties.[39] A survey of the estate, which appears to date from the 1730s or 1740s, makes comments on the condition of 15 dwellings, of which one was described as new, one very good and nine good. The remaining four were described as very bad (1), bad (1) and indifferent (2).[40]

The most detailed evidence of rebuilding in the Bainton Beacon division during this period comes from the records of the Hotham estate. A brickmaker was active at Lockington producing bricks for the estate from the 1730s.[41] Building work undertaken in the second quarter of the 18th century included four houses at Cranswick, and at least seven at Lockington, together with a new mill house at Bryan Mill. Costs ranged from less than £10 to over £20 for a 'cottage house' to an average of around £45-£50 for a more substantial farmhouse.[42] Considerably more was spent on new buildings for the principal tenants, for example almost £100 was spent on a new house for John Robinson of Lockington, a yeoman farmer.[43] The biggest outlay on a single property appears to have been £142 for a new house at Corps Landing on

the Hull river in 1736.[44] The importance of Corps Landing to the economy of the estate is indicated by the construction there of a new warehouse, at a cost of almost £68, four years after the house had been rebuilt. The accounts show that 25,000 bricks and 1,600 tiles were used in its construction; the reference to tiles (almost certainly pantiles) is particularly interesting since thatch was still used as the general roofing material for new buildings on the Hotham estate at this date.[45]

Most significant, perhaps, was the rebuilding carried out in Scarborough, since here the construction of new farmhouses clearly followed the contraction of the settlement. This demonstrates that, having reduced the total number of houses at Scarborough to a minimum, the Hothams were prepared to spend money on rebuilding or repairing the remaining farmhouses and cottages. The properties which were rebuilt included farmhouses for Jane Duke, in 1736 at a cost of £55, and for John Halliday in 1748 at cost of £53.[46] (See Plate 4)

Co-inciding with this period of activity on the Shaw and Hotham estates, some rebuilding also took place on Sir Joseph Pennington's estate at Warter. The poor condition of many houses at Warter in the early 18th century is well-documented; in December 1734, for example, one of the cottages fell down and the tenant had to move into another house.[47] In 1740 the steward wrote 'A great many of the houses are very mean and much of the wood decayed ... it would be a good deal better to build with brick'.[48] Two years later, when a couple of the tenants threatened to quit their farms if repairs (or some allowance towards repairs) to their houses and outbuildings were not made, the steward again commented on the poor housing conditions at



Plate 4 Farmhouse at Scarborough

The house is believed to date from the 1730s or 1740s when considerable rebuilding took place on the Hotham estate.



Plate 5 Manor House or Coatgares Farm, Warter

The house was built in 1731-2, using stone from the priory site. The associated farm was vacant until 1734 when the tenancy was taken on by Robert Oxtaby; this date and his initials are crudely inscribed on a stone to the right of the ground floor centre window of the farmhouse.

Warter: 'There is an abundance of trouble with these old houses, as they have a great many of them been built with ash wood they are continually coming to decay'.[49] The report of 1865 quoted from earlier suggests that little improvement was evident well over a century later. Nevertheless, the estate records do show that several of the houses of the principal tenants were rebuilt in the first half of the 18th century.

In 1731-2 a house in the village centre associated with the then-vacant 'Wharrams farm' was rebuilt in brick and faced with dressed stone, presumably taken from the nearby priory site. The farm remained vacant until 1734 when the tenancy was taken by Robert Oxtaby; the initials R.O. and the date 1734 are crudely inscribed on the front of the house.[50] (See Plate 5) Shortly afterwards a new brick and thatch house was built for Christopher Wilson, one of the principal tenants of the estate, and in May 1735 preparations were under way for work on the house of James Sanderson.[51] Initially an addition to the existing house was planned, but a reference to his 'new house' in December 1735 suggests that the alterations were more substantial.[52] Like Wilson, Sanderson tenanted one of the larger farms in the township and the rebuilding may have been undertaken in an effort to retain him. Some years later, in 1748, when the outlying farm Blanch was vacant, a potential tenant would only agree to a 21-year lease if an additional roomstead and chamber, built in brick and tiled, were added to the farmhouse.[53] It is not clear what agreement was reached, but when the new tenant actually arrived in Warter the following year he found the existing house looked more like a barn than a house.[54] There is no further correspondence available to throw light on subsequent events, but an account totalling almost £49 for work in building the new house

at Blanch, dated December 1749, indicates that the tenant had probably insisted on the house being totally rebuilt. It was, however, roofed with thatch and not with the tiles for which he had earlier expressed a preference.[55] The building costs suggest the farmhouse may have been comparable in scale to those built on the Hotham estate at Scarborough at a similar date.

There is also evidence of rebuilding elsewhere in the East Riding, for example at Brandesburton and Everingham, both townships which experienced marked contraction between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries. In 1700 it was recommended that the Brandesburton estate of Emanuel Hospital should be divided into six or eight farms.[56] The township had been enclosed some seventy years previously. The new farmhouses were to be constructed of brick and 'each to contain three rooms on a floor and chambers over them, together with a low isle or out-shott backwards for dairy, pantry and such like conveniences' at a cost of about £75 apiece.[57] The extent to which these proposals were implemented is unknown; by 1743 there were several brick farmhouses at Brandesburton, including one described as having been built 30 years previously, but a number of mud and thatch cottages remained.[58] A further phase of rebuilding clearly took place in the second half of the 18th century, and the description of several of the farms in a survey of 1794 closely corresponds with the designs proposed in 1700. Old House Farm, for example, was described in 1794 as 'A brick farmhouse, tiled, three rooms on the ground floor. Chambers over them. A back house and dairy under one roof'.[59]

At Everingham the rebuilding of farmhouses in the second quarter of the 18th century can be closely linked with contraction. In April 1730

Sir Marmaduke Constable instructed his steward 'I would rather have my cottages diminished, than increased, though I am now in Everingham at or about the number of houses I would be at', and two years later he wrote 'I am glad Blackburn house is down ... I will not diminish the town no more ...'.[60] He confirmed in July 1740 that 'Few houses and good is what I propose in Everingham'.[61] There are various references in the estate correspondence of the 1730s and 1740s to the rebuilding of houses, many of which had fallen into a poor state of repair.[62] In 1739 Sir Marmaduke (an absentee landlord) wrote expressing surprise that 'I have any farm houses upon my estate in bad repair, since my absolute orders were to put all in good order by degrees'.[63] Pantiles had been introduced as an experimental roofing material on the estate by 1740; in July of that year the steward reported 'The house covered with red tile continues in good repair, but whether it turns to better account than thatching with straw I cannot determine'.[64] In February 1742 Sir Marmaduke Constable instructed that a new house for one of the tenants should be 'a very good one' and added: 'When ever you build a house of mine, be sure you step up into the house, not down. Most of the houses in Everingham the floor is lower by half a yard than the surface of the earth'.[65] Later that year he gave similar instructions, suggesting that if the floor was raised six or seven inches above the ground, the houses would be drier, healthier and would last longer.[66]

In both the Bainton Beacon division and elsewhere in the East Riding, therefore, settlement contraction sometimes resulted in a change both to the shape of a village and to the physical appearance of many of its farmhouses and cottages. Correspondence and surveys suggest that village housing was generally in a poor state at the beginning of the 18th century. The houses were small, constructed of poor quality

materials and had suffered long term neglect. On a number of estates a significant amount of rebuilding appears to have taken place in the second quarter of the 18th century, often in settlements where some recent reorganization had taken place. Landowners no longer burdened with the cost of repairs to surplus cottages saw the advantages of investing in more substantial properties, which in the long run were more economical to keep in repair. Furthermore, a newly-built brick farmhouse was likely to prove an attraction to a potential tenant, an important factor during the agricultural depression of the 1730s and 1740s, when many landowners were experiencing difficulties in finding suitable tenants for their estates.

Chapter 12 - References

- [1] See above p 18.
- [2] Allison East Riding of Yorks Landscape p 160-1; Harris Rural Landscape pp 70-1. Some dispersed farmsteads had been built following enclosure by agreement earlier in the 18th century, for example at Howsham in Buckrose wapentake, but the major period of dispersal of farmsteads in the riding coincided with the parliamentary enclosure movement.
- [3] N Loughlin & K R Miller A Survey of Archaeological Sites in Humberside (Humberside Joint Archaeological Committee, 1979) pp 23,30,31,73-4,98,106,113,122,129,135,137-8 (Bainton, Bracken, North Dalton, Eastburn, Elmswell, Kilnwick, Kirkburn, Lockington, Lund, Neswick, Rotsea, Scarborough, Skerne, Southburn, Sunderlandwick, Tibthorpe, Warter, Watton). In a study of a group of 38 Somerset settlements a similar picture emerged; 22% were deserted, and a further 50% had surrounding earthworks indicating shrinkage. See M Aston 'A Regional Study of Deserted Settlements in the West of England' in M Aston et al (eds) The Rural Settlements of Medieval England (Oxford, 1989) p 120.
- [4] Taylor Village and Farmstead pp 201-9; M Reed 'Pre-Parliamentary Enclosure in the East Midlands, 1550-1750, and its impact upon the landscape' Landscape History vol 3 (1981) p 67.
- [5] See above p 178. A similar situation occurred at Howsham, also near Malton, where one side of the village street was swept away during emparking sometime between 1758 and 1772. See Harris Rural Landscape p 77.
- [6] HCRO DDX/128/3.
- [7] HCRO DDRI/33/7.
- [8] HCRO DDRI/33/16.
- [9] HCRO DDRI/33/20.
- [10] Map of Watton, 1707 (private collection - R A Bethell).
- [11] Map of Watton, 1761 (private collection - R A Bethell).
- [12] PRO E179/205/523; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [13] HCRO DDRI/33/20 (emphasis added).
- [14] PRO E179/205/523.
- [15] HUL DDWA/14/4.
- [16] Ibid.
- [17] See above pp 171-4.
- [18] HUL DDWA/14/4.

- [19] HUL DDWA/14/9.
- [20] See above pp 103-4.
- [21] Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol III p 212; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [22] OS 6" edn 1855. It is not possible to establish precisely when many of the houses were demolished; in 1801 there were 50 inhabited houses in the parish, including several outlying post-enclosure farmhouses, suggesting that some cottages in the nucleus of the village must have been demolished since 1764. (Population Abstract of GB pt 1 p 405.)
- [23] W G Hoskins 'The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640' Past & Present no 4 (Nov 1953) pp 44-59, reprinted in W G Hoskins (ed) Provincial England (London, 1963) pp 131-148.
- [24] R Machin 'The Great Rebuilding: A Reassessment' Past & Present no 77 (Nov 1977) pp 33-56; B Hutton 'Rebuilding in Yorkshire: The evidence of inscribed dates' Vernacular Architecture vol 8 (1977) pp 819-24, esp p 821. The 17 counties examined by Machin (using dated houses listed in the volumes of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments and the Department of the Environment lists of buildings of architectural or historic interest) were Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cheshire, Cornwall, Dorset, Essex, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Kent Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Rutland, Suffolk, Westmorland and Wiltshire.
- [25] The rebuilding of the 16th and 17th centuries was largely undertaken by owner-occupiers. (Hoskins 'The Rebuilding of Rural England' p 139; Machin 'The Great Rebuilding: A Reassessment' pp 51-3.) Both the landed gentry and owner-occupiers were involved in the rebuilding of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.
- [26] For a general discussion of the agricultural depression which occurred during the first half of the 18th century see Mingay 'Agricultural Depression' pp 323-38.
- [27] D Neave 'Pantiles, their early use and manufacture in the Humber region' in festschrift for Rex Russell (forthcoming).
- [28] PRO E179/205/523.
- [29] BIHR Probate inventory, John Blanshard, Warter, June 1694.
- [30] D Woodward (ed) Descriptions of East Yorkshire: Leland to Defoe EYLHS series no 39 (1985) p 50; CLRO Emanuel Hospital Records Box 3.8.
- [31] BIHR TER H (Brandesburton).
- [32] WSRO PHA 3075.
- [33] BIHR TER I (Lund).

- [34] NUL De I 3/8/6/2; Reports of the Special Assistant Poor Law Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture PP 1843 XII (510) p 341. For an illustration of the Beswick cottages see below p 339, Plate 10.
- [35] See, for example, HUL DDWA/12/1(e) (30 Dec 1742).
- [36] Inquiry on the State of the Dwellings of Rural Labourers by Dr H J Hunter. Seventh Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council 1865 p 294.
- [37] HMC Report on Finch Manuscripts vol 1 p 320.
- [38] HCRO DDWR/1/51-2.
- [39] HCRO DDWR/1/30-1.
- [40] HCRO DDWR/3/6.
- [41] HUL DDHO/15/6,9,22.
- [42] Ibid.
- [43] HUL DDHO/15/6 (March 1734).
- [44] Ibid (Feb 1736).
- [45] HUL DDHO/15/9 (Feb 1740); DDHO/15/22 (accounts and vouchers 1739-40).
- [46] HUL DDHO/15/6 (Nov 1736); DDHO/15/9 (Dec 1748).
- [47] HUL DDWA/12/1(b) (20 Dec 1734).
- [48] HUL DDWA/12/1(e) (3 June 1740).
- [49] Ibid (30 Dec 1742).
- [50] Payment was made in January 1732 for 'levelling at the front of the New House at Warter' (HUL DDWA/10/7). A stable which blew down in February 1732 was referred to as belonging to the vacant 'Wharrams farm'; the following month the same stable was described as 'belonging the New House'. A reference in April 1733 to surplus stones 'in New House Yard' suggests that some stone, presumably from the priory site, had been used in the construction of this house. (HUL DDWA/12/1(a) (11 Feb 1732, 27 March 1732, 2 April 1733).) A reconstruction of Warter village in the early 18th century, using rentals taken by 'house row' together with other sources, enabled the identification of the surviving stone-faced house in the village centre (variously known as Manor House or Coatgares Farm) as the 'new house' of 1732. This was confirmed by the discovery of the initials R.O. and the date 1734 crudely inscribed on the front of the house. In 1734 Robert Oxtaby took over the tenancy of Wharram's Farm. (HUL DDWA/14/9). The house stands close to the priory site. In 1856 it was described as a former meeting place of the manor courts. See Sheahan & Whellan History of York and ER vol 2 p 493.

- [51] HUL DDWA/10/8; DDWA/12/1(b) (2 May 1735).
- [52] HUL DDWA/12/1(b) (2 May 1735); DDWA/10/9.
- [53] HUL DDWA/12/2(a) (7 & 14 March 1749).
- [54] Ibid (3 May 1749).
- [55] HUL DDWA/6/26.
- [56] CLRO Emanuel Hospital Records Box 3.8.
- [57] Ibid.
- [58] CLRO Emanuel Hospital Records Box 3.10.
- [59] CLRO Emanuel Hospital Records Box 3.12.
- [60] Roebuck Constable of Everingham Estate Correspondence pp 28,60.
- [61] Ibid p 128.
- [62] Ibid - see, for example, pp 92,97,128.
- [63] Ibid pp 112-3.
- [64] Ibid p 130.
- [65] Ibid p 145.
- [66] Ibid p 150.

THE DESERTED VILLAGE

13.1 The deserted 'medieval' village: a reassessment

If any particular image is conjured up by the term 'settlement contraction' it is that of the shrunken settlement. In certain cases, however, the contraction which occurred during the period 1660-1760 was so extensive, or the village already so reduced in size by events of an earlier period, that a settlement finally ceased to exist. Deliberate clearance for emparking is the explanation most commonly sought for 17th or 18th-century village depopulation, but there are many examples of places depopulated for other reasons. Some of these villages were the victims of deliberate clearances swiftly executed, whilst others gradually diminished in size, usually through a process of deliberate but more prolonged reorganization and engrossment until insufficient households remained to constitute a viable settlement.

The deserted village is one of the most evocative themes of economic, social or landscape history. As a serious focus of academic study it was given little credence until the publication of the results of the pioneering work of Hoskins and Beresford in the 1940s. An essay by Hoskins on 'The Deserted Villages of Leicestershire' was published in 1946, at which time Beresford was also working on village depopulation in the Midlands.[1] His work on Warwickshire was published in 1950, followed by a four-part study of deserted villages in Yorkshire which appeared in the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal volumes for 1951 to 1954.[2] In 1954 the first edition of his classic and inspiring work The Lost Villages of England was published.[3]

Shortly before the publication of The Lost Villages of England the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group was established, in order to carry out the task of identifying former settlements.[4] The definition of a deserted medieval village laid down by the group was one where three or less houses survived. The group subsequently dropped the preface 'Deserted' and more recently amalgamated with the Moated Sites Research Group, under the new title of the Medieval Settlement Research Group, adopting a somewhat broader approach.

When 'lost villages' were first studied, it was assumed that desertion had almost always taken place in the middle ages, with post-medieval depopulations usually attributed to emparking. Some early work demonstrated that this was not necessarily the case; Harris, for example, writing in 1958, showed how the East Riding settlement of Cottam was depopulated in the early 18th century, and a rabbit warren planted there soon after.[5] It has, however, only gradually become more widely accepted that desertion could occur at later periods and for a variety of reasons. A number of recent studies have paid more attention to this later period of desertion. Wrathmell has made a particular study of Northumberland villages deserted in the 17th and 18th centuries, and Christopher Taylor in Village and Farmstead also draws attention to depopulation in the early modern period.[6] Unfortunately there is still a reluctance amongst some academics to accept post-medieval village desertion as an important phenomenon. Indeed, a recent publicity leaflet for the Medieval Settlement Research Group notes that 'Thousands of "lost" villages, most of them deserted at the end of the middle ages, have been identified', perpetuating the myth that village desertion is of little importance after about 1500.[7]

By far the most important source to show that a settlement survived into the late 17th century is the hearth tax returns of the 1660s-70s, described in some detail above.[8] When Beresford published his book on lost villages, and in particular the series of articles on Yorkshire, he based his evidence for the existence of many settlements on 14th century taxation returns and later medieval documents, and then examined the 1801 census returns, but failed to use the hearth tax returns, where these were available, to ascertain whether or not these villages had disappeared by the late 17th century.[9] Evidence from the East Riding shows how an examination of the hearth tax lists can radically revise the timing of the desertion of certain settlements. In the East Riding gazetteer of deserted villages published in the early 1950s, Beresford suggested that Cowlam, for example, could be a genuine Black Death depopulation. The hearth tax returns show, however, that the township still comprised 14 households in the early 1670s.[10] The evidence for the depopulation of Cowlam in the late 17th century is presented more fully below. This failure to use the hearth tax returns must cast doubt on aspects of some of Beresford's early work. It is, as he himself remarked when referring to the sources he used 'a far cry from the Poll Tax of 1377 to the first Census of 1801'.[11]

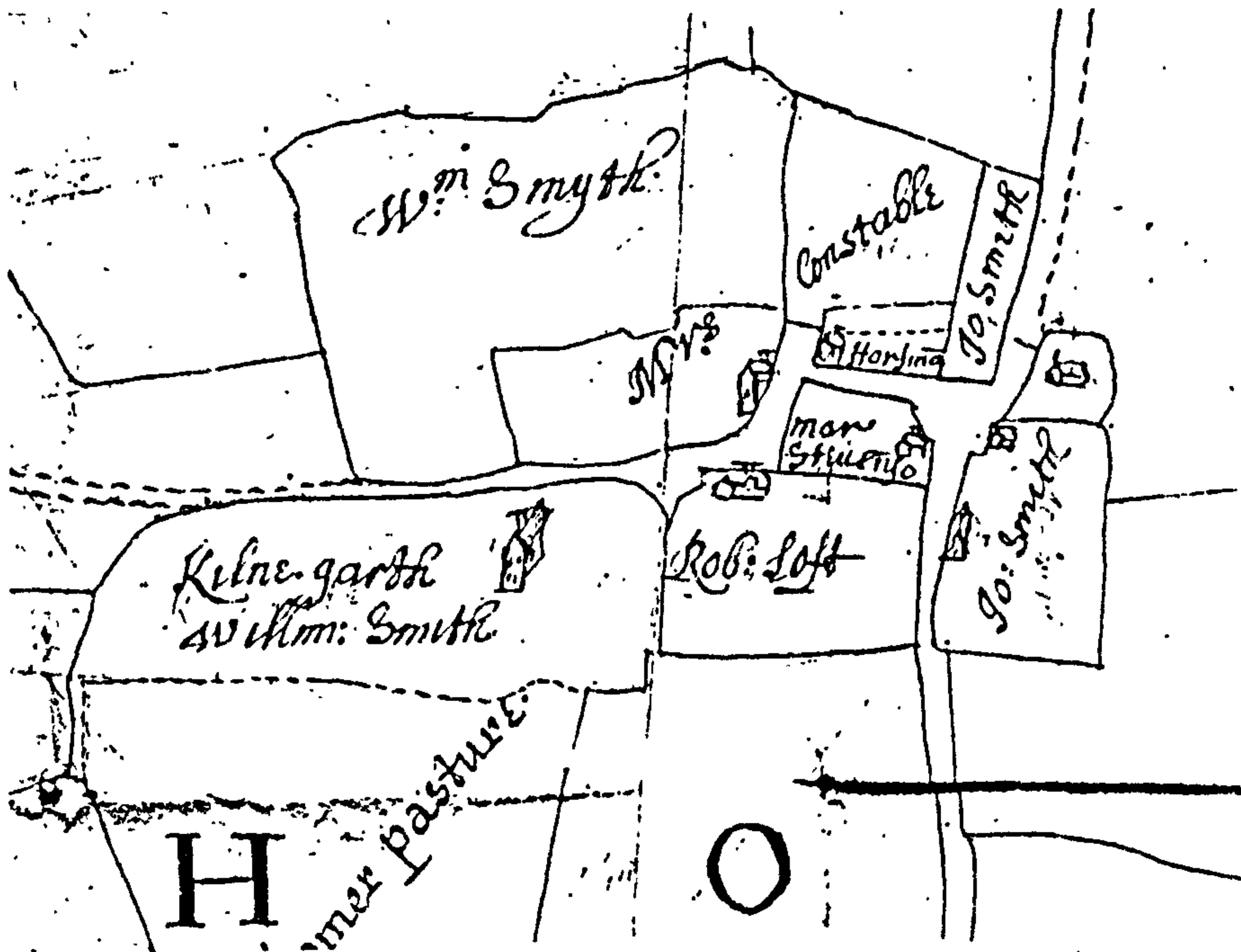
Deserted Medieval Villages by Beresford and Hurst, which was published in 1971, incorporated some modifications to Beresford's earlier work (including a revised date for the desertion of Cowlam) and recognised that certain relevant sources, including 17th-century taxation records, had not originally been consulted.[12] Unfortunately the title given to this book did little to change the notion that desertion was almost wholly a phenomenon of the medieval period. Yet the evidence from the hearth tax assessments shows that of those settlements

classified as deserted medieval villages in the East Riding gazetteer in Beresford and Hurst's book, 30 were listed separately when the tax was collected in 1672. Of these only four were technically 'deserted', having three or fewer households; a further seven had between four and six households suggesting they were 'very shrunken'. The remaining 19 still had seven or more households in 1672 and of these two-thirds had at least 12 households.[13] Since the settlement pattern found in the East Riding in the 17th century was generally one of nucleated villages, one can be reasonably certain that the majority of those townships with more than three households in the 1670s still had some sort of identifiable nucleus, rather than simply being composed of several scattered farmsteads. Seventeenth-century maps which exist for two of the settlements listed in Table 20, Thorpe le Street and Wauldby, confirm this to be the case. (See Figure 12)

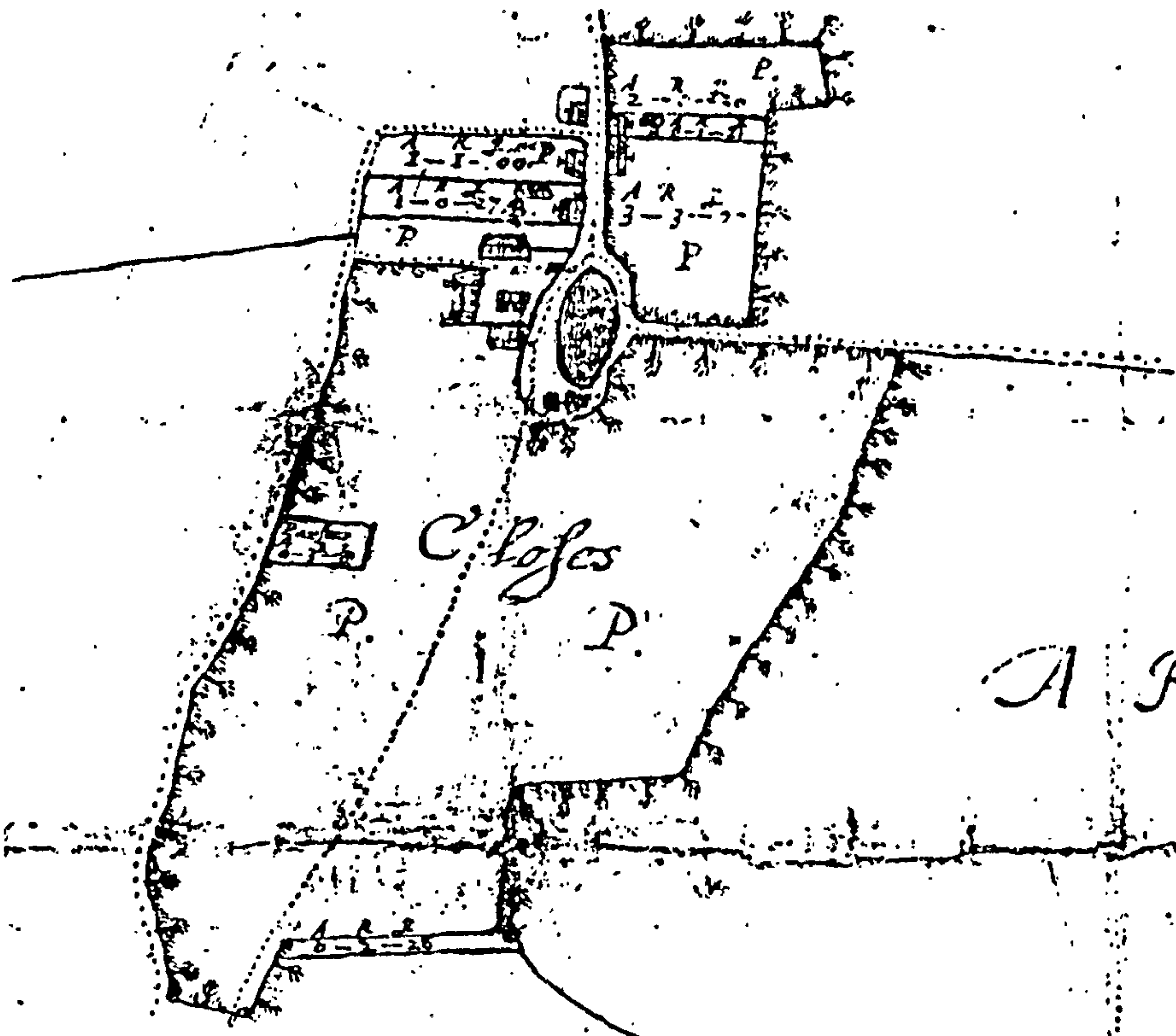
Table 20 lists the 'deserted medieval villages' which still had four or more households in the hearth tax returns. Using the returns for 1671 and 1673 in addition to the 1672 return referred to above, 28 settlements fell into this category.

Figure 12 17th century maps of the deserted villages of Thorpe le Street and Wauldby

Although both Thorpe le Street and Wauldby were 'very shrunken' by the mid 17th century, the maps illustrate how in both townships the surviving houses still formed a nucleated settlement. Five households were recorded in each settlement in 1672.



(a) Thorpe le Street c.1635 (Source: HUL DDEV/70/2)



(b) Wauldby 1653 (Source: HCRO DDHB/50/1)

Table 20 East Riding settlements classified by Beresford and Hurst as 'deserted medieval villages' which still supported four or more households in 1670-3 (number of households in brackets)*

Birdsall (70)	Kilnwick Percy (10)
Sledmere (52)	Cotness (9) [in 1673]
Neswick (25)	Sunderlandwick (9)
Willerby (in Dickering) (20)	Rotsea (7) [in 1670]
Scorborough (19)	Danthorpe (8) [in 1670]
Belby (17)	Hilderthorpe (8) [in 1670]
Benningholme (17)	Thirkelby (8)
Cowlam (14)	Eske (6) [in 1670]
Menethorpe (in Buckrose) (14)	Risby (6)
Drewton (13)	Bracken (5) [in 1670]
Goxhill (13)	Thorpe le Street (5)
Waplinton (13)	Wauldby (5)
Easthorpe (12)	Eastburn (4)
Towthorpe (in Buckrose) (11)	Welham (4)

* in 1672 unless otherwise indicated

Source: Beresford & Hurst Deserted Medieval Villages pp 207-9;

PRO E179/205/504; E179/205/514; E179/261/9

Cottam, in Langtoft parish, has been omitted from the table, since it was not assessed separately in the hearth tax. Other sources show the township still comprised nine messuages in 1698.[14]

It can, of course, be argued that the term 'medieval' is used, somewhat unnecessarily, to denote that the village was 'medieval' in origin, and has since been deserted, at whatever date. Yet one would not describe a village such as Snap in Wiltshire, abandoned in the early years of the present century as a 'deserted medieval village' and there can likewise be no justification for using this terminology to describe those villages which finally disappeared in the 17th or 18th centuries.[15]

The evidence of the hearth tax assessments has not been universally accepted as proof that a deserted village was a victim of post-medieval depopulation. It has been suggested that this source may be used to identify the repopulation of a site some time between its inevitable 'medieval' desertion and the late 17th century.

Since the Hearth Tax recorded the number of hearths in each house it is additionally useful in demonstrating what sort of houses were to be found in a deserted township two or three hundred years after its depopulation. Where there are a substantial number of one-and-two hearth houses in a township that has good-quality deserted village earthworks and well documented depopulation in the 15th and 16th centuries, it is clear that resettlement for arable or mixed husbandry had already begun in the 1660's.[16]

Beresford and Hurst admit that this suggestion can only be made where positive evidence of earlier depopulation is available, and no such examples of medieval depopulation followed by resettlement have been found in the material examined for the East Riding. It is not

clear how the presence of 'good-quality deserted village earthworks' can show that a village had been abandoned in the medieval period, and subsequently repopulated, rather than simply having been depopulated at a later date, since the earthworks of a village abandoned in late 17th or early 18th century appear much the same as those of settlements deserted earlier. Even following professional excavation, the dating of an archaeological site is rarely definitive.

13.2 Post-medieval village desertion - some local examples

Assuming that one is prepared to accept that a number of settlements were deserted in the period 1660-1760, what characteristics distinguish these from settlements deserted at an earlier period? The size of villages at various stages in their history must clearly be seen as relevant when considering their vulnerability to desertion. As was pointed out by Beresford and Hurst, settlements of all sizes might be depopulated in the medieval period, but those most vulnerable were the smaller, poorer settlements.[17] Beresford had, however, in his earlier work noted that several of the 'to be deserted' villages of the East Riding - Towthorpe (in Wharram), Eastburn, Cottam, Eske, Easthorpe and Bracken - had quite large populations in the late 14th century.[18] It is not surprising to discover, on examining the post-medieval documentary evidence, that all the villages cited lingered on until at least the late 17th century.[19] This suggests that their size had afforded them some protection against desertion. By the 17th century such settlements could be classified as 'shrunken villages' which in turn made them vulnerable during the wave of contraction which occurred during the period 1660-1760. A theory which may be worthy of consideration by historians working in other counties is that the larger the population of a deserted village had been in the 14th

century, the greater the likelihood that final desertion did not occur until the post-medieval period.

The clarity of the earthworks of an abandoned settlement may also suggest a late desertion. (See Plates 6 and 7) It is interesting to note that approximately half of the depopulated settlements of the East Riding whose earthworks were classified as excellent or very good by the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group in 1965 were, on the evidence of the hearth tax or other documents, deserted after 1660.[20] If excavations were carried out at these sites one could confidently predict that, as at Cowlam (see below), evidence of occupation until at least the late 17th century would be found.

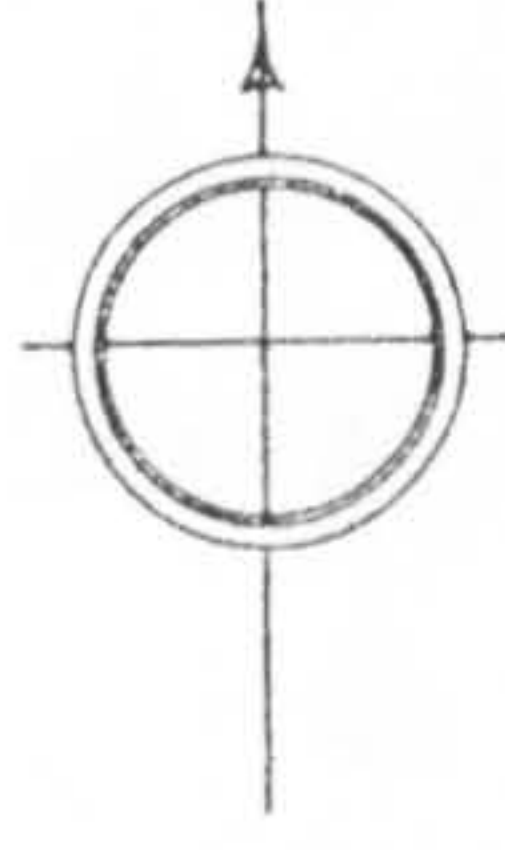
The various factors contributing to settlement contraction in the period 1660-1760 have already been considered in some detail. Some of these (notably emparking, where a quick and complete clearance of houses was often carried out), were more likely than others to result in total depopulation. However, protracted contraction due to a gradual process of reorganization by a landowner might well result in a deserted rather than simply a shrunken settlement, especially one already made vulnerable by contraction at an earlier date. In the Bainton Beacon division six of the townships assessed separately when the hearth tax was collected in the 1670s are now deserted. Of these, Elmswell can be excluded from the present discussion since it still had a number of cottages in the 19th century. Little is known about the final desertion of Bracken, where there were still five households in 1670, Rotsea, which had seven households in 1670, or Sunderlandwick, which had nine households in 1672.[21] By contrast, the depopulation of Eastburn is well-documented in a set of tithe cause papers. In brief, all the



Plate 6

Aerial view of the deserted
village of Neswick

Twenty-five households were recorded there in 1672, but by the late 18th century the settlement comprised only Neswick Hall and two farms.



NGR: SE 974 526

Source:

Cambridge University
Collection of Air Photographs

freehold was purchased by John Heron of Beverley in 1664-6, and he was responsible for demolishing most of the remaining houses and converting the township to sheep pasture. When the hearth tax was collected in 1672 only four houses remained, and by 1682 only one poor woman and a shepherd lived at Eastburn.[22] At Neswick, still a substantial settlement with 25 households in 1672, the depopulation appears to have taken place more gradually, and was associated with the purchase by the principal landowner of several small freeholds. As previously noted, depopulation coincided with the gradual enclosure of the open fields during the first half of the 18th century, followed eventually by emparking. The township had diminished to eight households by 1764, and the settlement comprised only Neswick Hall and two farms by 1779.[23] (See Plate 6)

Turning to other parts of the East Riding, the evidence for the post-medieval depopulations of several settlements, notably Towthorpe, Easthorpe and Cottam has already been discussed elsewhere in this study.[24] Within a few miles of Cottam lies the deserted Wolds settlement of Cowlam, a classic example of a late 17th-century depopulation. Prior to the ploughing out of the exceptionally clear earthworks of the village site in the early 1970s, an excavation at Cowlam was undertaken. (See Plate 7) The archaeological evidence revealed that a group of buildings at Cowlam had been occupied until the late 17th century, correlating with the documentary evidence available about the township. A detailed case study of Cowlam by Hayfield, based on Brewster's excavations, has recently appeared in Post-Medieval Archaeology. [25]

When the hearth tax was collected in 1674, Cowlam still comprised

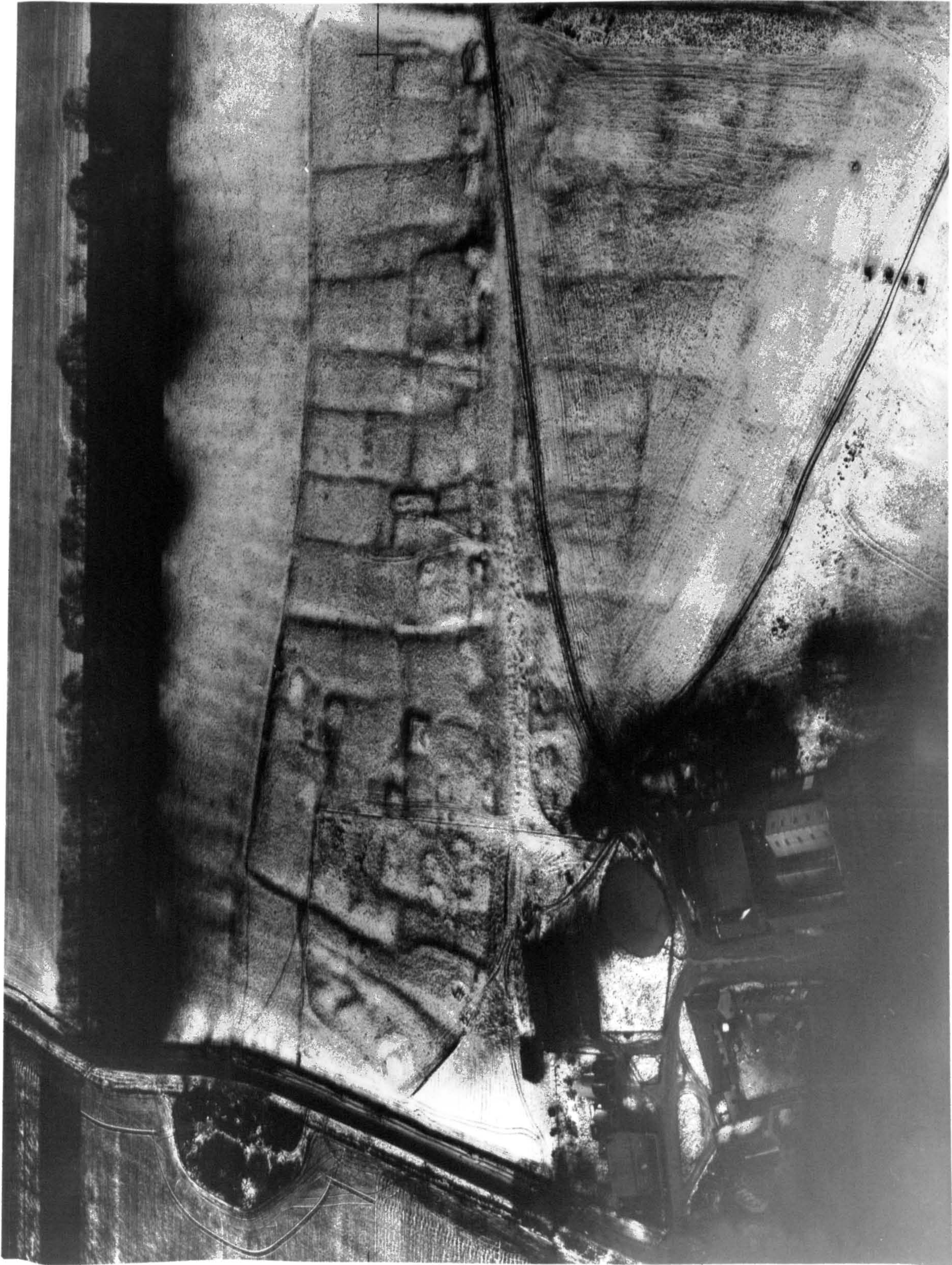
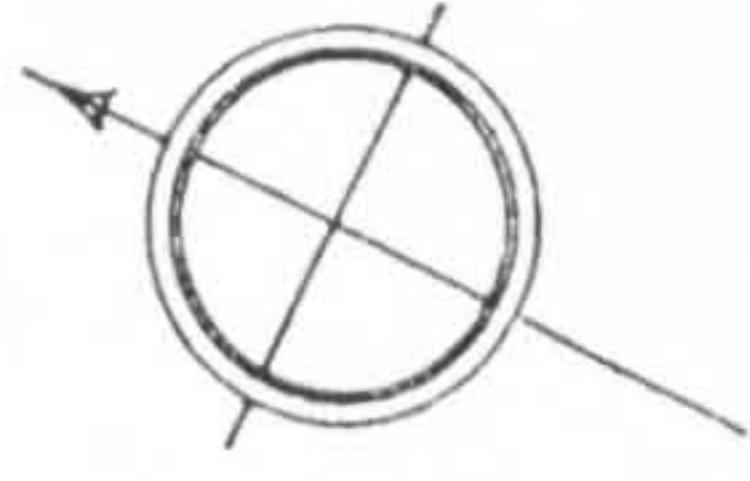


Plate 7

Aerial view of the
deserted village of
Cowlam

The settlement still
comprised at least 14
households in 1672, but
had been abandoned by
the end of the 17th century.



NGR: SE 966 656

Source:

Cambridge University
Collection of Air Photographs

at least 14 households. In the same year the manor of Cowlam changed hands, and came into the ownership of Sir George Marwood. Documentary evidence suggest that most, if not all, of the residents were tenants. Entries in the Cowlam parish registers include two baptisms in 1674, three burials in 1675 and a further baptism in 1678 - thereafter there are no entries until the late 18th century, when Cowlam comprised only one large farm. This has led to Hayfield's suggestion that depopulation had occurred by c.1680.[26] Of particular significance (although not included in Hayfield's article) are the comments of Archbishop Sharp, made c.1695-6, who noted of Cowlam:

The Living from £100 p.a. (which I am told it was formerly worth) is reduced to £45 by reason of the enclosures. The town they tell me has now no inhabitants but the parson and 2 shepherds. The church is kept in repair. The tithe barn is fallen down. [27]

This comment confirms Hayfield's opinion that the depopulation occurred over a relatively short period of time, if not within the six-year period which he suggests. Hayfield presents the obvious conclusion - that a depopulation which took place over such a short time-scale was probably deliberate, and coincided with the change of ownership.[28] Archbishop Sharp's comment on enclosure (perhaps a reference to the land being held in severalty and converted from arable to pasture, rather than enclosure in the literal sense) supports this view, placing the depopulation in the same category as that which occurred at Eastburn a little earlier. Nevertheless, Hayfield chooses to throw some doubt on this argument, commenting:

... the landowner may have played an almost passive role in depopulation, for elsewhere on the Wolds during the later 17th century there is now growing evidence of more prosperous and enterprising tenants of a village taking over the tenancies of their neighbours and consolidating holdings; a process leading ultimately to depopulation, and the creation of a single holding. [29]

This is a somewhat dubious statement, suggesting that tenants had a degree of control which should be more correctly attributed to the landowner. It is unlikely, too, that a depopulation thought to have been caused by the gradual engrossing of farms could have taken place over such a short time period as the six years envisaged by Hayfield at Cowlam.

Another Wolds settlement which was deserted at a similar period, and one to which Hayfield may be referring, was Towthorpe, now identified as a late desertion by Beresford.[30] However, at Towthorpe the process of engrossing was not undertaken by a tenant, but appears to have resulted from the gradual purchase by the dominant freeholder of other freeholds in the township, and took place over several decades.[31] If Cowlam, by contrast, was depopulated in the space of a few years, one is forced to conclude that the principal landowner played a key role in the depopulation.

It is clear that much greater consideration needs to be given to settlement desertion in the post-medieval period. The evidence from the East Riding suggests that many settlements survived contraction in the medieval period, and continued in existence until the late 17th

century or beyond. Historians and archaeologists alike have begun to accept that many settlements were finally abandoned in this later period. There is, however, much work still to be done if the village depopulated after 1660 is to receive the attention it deserves. The plea made by Jarrett in 1972, in his review of Deserted Medieval Villages, for a book on post-medieval deserted villages, has as yet gone unanswered.[32]

Chapter 13 - References

- [1] W G Hoskins 'The Deserted Villages of Leicestershire' Trans. Leicestershire Archaeological Society vol 12 for 1944-5 (1946) pp 241-64 (revised in W G Hoskins Essays in Leicestershire History (Liverpool, 1950) pp 67-107); M W Beresford 'The Deserted Villages of Warwickshire' Trans. Birmingham & Midlands Archaeological Society vol 66 for 1945 (1950) pp 49-106.
- [2] M W Beresford 'The Lost Villages of Yorkshire' Parts I-IV YAJ vol 37 for 1951 (1951) pp 474-91, vol 38 for 1952-5 (1955) pp 44-70, 215-40, 280-309.
- [3] M W Beresford The Lost Villages of England (1953, reprinted Gloucester, 1983).
- [4] A brief history of the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group appears in the Medieval Settlement Research Group 1st Annual Report (1986) pp 8-13.
- [5] Harris 'Lost Village' p 98.
- [6] S Wrathmell 'Deserted and shrunken villages in southern Northumberland' (PhD thesis, University of Wales, 1975); S Wrathmell 'Village Depopulation in the 17th and 18th centuries: Examples from Northumberland' Post-Medieval Archaeology vol 14 (1980) pp 113-26; Taylor Village and Farmstead pp 201-12.
- [7] Medieval Settlement Research Group publicity leaflet (1988) (emphasis added).
- [8] See above pp 42-5.
- [9] Beresford The Lost Villages of England; Beresford 'The Lost Villages of Yorks' Parts I-IV.
- [10] Beresford 'The Lost Villages of Yorks' Part II p 60; PRO E/179/205/504.
- [11] Beresford 'The Lost Villages of Yorks' Part II p 49.
- [12] Beresford & Hurst Deserted Medieval Villages p 70.
- [13] Ibid pp 207-9. The hearth tax figures for 1672 were extracted from Purdy 'The Hearth Tax Returns for Yorks' and checked against a copy of the original return for 1672 (PRO E179/205/504). The criteria used to classify villages as 'deserted' and 'very shrunken' were laid down by the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group on its formation in 1952. Two of the villages deserted after 1672, Birdsall and Sledmere, were subsequently rebuilt on new sites. It is doubtful whether Beresford and Hurst should have included Scarborough in their list of deserted villages; this is a shrunken settlement still comprising several houses and a church. In addition to the 30 'dmvs' listed separately in the 1672 hearth tax a further 26 appear in the returns but are grouped with other townships. It is probable that the majority of these consisted of only one or two farms.

- [14] Harris 'Lost Village' p 98.
- [15] For an account of the desertion of Snap see M Weaver Smith 'Snap - A modern example of depopulation' Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine vol 57 (1960) pp 386-90.
- [16] Beresford & Hurst Deserted Medieval Villages p 47.
- [17] *ibid* p 20.
- [18] Beresford 'The Lost Villages of Yorks' Part II p 49.
- [19] PRO E179/205/504; Harris 'Lost Village' p 98. None of the six villages listed by Beresford were finally depopulated until the 17th century or early 18th century. Beresford stressed in particular the size of Towthorpe, where he claimed there were 72 poll tax payers in the late 14th century. Unfortunately this figure (corrected in later works) was erroneous and should have been 32, which invalidates the inclusion of Towthorpe in his list. Nevertheless, the settlement did manage to escape desertion until the late 17th century.
- [20] Deserted Medieval Village Research Group 13th Annual Report (1965) Appendix E p 4.
- [21] PRO E/179/205/504,514.
- [22] See below pp 349-51.
- [23] See below pp 299-300.
- [24] See above pp 172,174-5,176-8.
- [25] T C M Brewster & C Hayfield 'Cowlam deserted village: a case study of post-medieval village desertion' Post-Medieval Archaeology vol 22 (1988) pp 21-109.
- [26] *Ibid* pp 26-32.
- [27] BIHR BpDio.3 (Archbishop Sharp's survey of parishes in the diocese of York).
- [28] Brewster & Hayfield 'Cowlam' p 31.
- [29] *Ibid* p 31.
- [30] M W Beresford 'Mapping the medieval landscape: forty years in the field' in S R J Woodell (ed) The English Landscape - Past, Present and Future (Oxford, 1985) p 125.
- [31] See above p 172.
- [32] Review by M G Jarrett of Beresford & Hurst Deserted Medieval Villages in Geographical Journal vol 138 (1972) pp 91-2, reproduced in the Medieval Village Research Group 20th/21st Annual Report (1972-3) pp 14-15.

CONCLUSION

It has been established that the second half of the 17th century and first half of the 18th century was a period of limited and fluctuating population growth, interspersed with significant periods of population stagnation and decline. During the same period there was a marked rise in the population of most towns, suggesting a real decline in rural population and consequent contraction of settlements. This rural depopulation is confirmed by evidence from the rural East Riding, and more especially the Bainton Beacon division, where a detailed study was made over the period 1672 to 1743 to determine the impact of population change on the size of individual settlements.

The extent to which settlements were found to contract varied in different wapentakes and divisions, but across the whole of the rural East Riding an average decrease in number of households of around 19% between the late 17th century and mid 18th century was discovered. Whilst some individual settlements changed little in size, and a handful grew, the vast majority experienced some contraction, and a number of settlements, the majority of which had probably experienced some shrinkage at an earlier date, were finally deserted during this period. In the Bainton Beacon division, where the overall contraction between 1672 and 1743 was just under 22%, four of the 25 settlements in the division were deserted between these dates, and a further three lost more than 50% of their households. With the possible exception of Driffield, for which no satisfactory estimate could be made, none of the settlements increased in size between these dates.

In seeking the reasons for contraction, the impact of epidemics on

individual communities was given serious consideration but it did not provide a satisfactory explanation. Although the severe mortality crises which resulted from the periodic widespread incidence of virulent epidemics undoubtedly contributed to the reversal of national population growth in the later 17th and early 18th centuries, they cannot be seen as a direct contributory factor to the contraction of individual settlements. The rapid recouping of population shown in the case of the parishes in the Bainton Beacon division is borne out by Tranter's findings in Bedfordshire where he discovered that 'The population loss caused by most crises from 1670-1800 was usually retrieved within five or six years of the conclusion of each crisis.' [1] Between the 1670s and 1740s the overall number of baptisms exceeded the number of burials in the Bainton Beacon division, confirming that the contraction of settlements could not be explained simply in terms of natural population decline.

Since mortality crises do not provide an explanation for settlement contraction, other forces must have been at work. What emerges most clearly from the detailed work on the Bainton Beacon division is that landowners played a major role in settlement contraction. It was, however, not simply the structure of landownership which determined how liable a settlement was to contraction, but also the form of land tenure which prevailed. In the Bainton Beacon division, where freeholding was limited, and where the majority of farms and cottages were held by lease or, more commonly, under annual tenancy agreements, a landowner was able to reduce the number of tenants on his estate with much greater ease than in areas where copyhold tenure predominated.

The provisions relating to place of legal settlement enacted in

relation to the poor laws have been seen as an important factor in the 'closing up' and associated contraction of settlements from the late 17th century, and undoubtedly the settlement acts did provide landowners with an incentive to minimise the burden of the poor rate and to reduce the quantity of surplus housing on their estates. There were, however, stronger economic motives behind the actions of many landowners than simply making savings on the poor rates, and economising on the cost of keeping surplus housing in repair. In many settlements a reduction in the number of farmhouses and cottages was a result of some form of agrarian reorganization undertaken as a response to the economic forces that were at work in the century after 1660.

During this period there were several occasions of agricultural depression when smaller landowners were forced to sell their holdings. This provided many a large landowner with the opportunity to increase his dominance over a settlement, which in turn facilitated enclosure and/or the engrossment of farms into larger units, improvements often necessary to maintain profit levels in the face of economic uncertainties. Such improvements commonly led to a reduction in the size of the labour force needed to work an estate and thus to the physical contraction of the settlement. Furthermore, during the most severe depression of the period, that of the 1730s and 1740s, many of those tenants who had been retained left simply because they could no longer make sufficient profit to pay their rents, and landowners were then faced with providing incentives in order to fill vacant farms. The extensive rebuilding of farmhouses which took place on East Riding estates at this time was undoubtedly in part an attempt to attract or retain tenants during the agricultural depression.

Landowners in the East Riding also engaged in village contraction and destruction for the purpose of laying out parks and pleasure grounds around their houses, but the primacy hitherto given to this factor in accounting for post-medieval desertion cannot now be sustained.

All of the factors outlined above which contributed to settlement contraction can be seen as 'push' factors. There were, however, 'pull' factors provided by proto-industrialisation and urban growth. The surplus or ambitious agricultural worker in the East Riding was unlikely to find alternative non-agricultural employment in the countryside. When both employment on the land and accommodation were no longer available in the closed settlements, migration, perhaps initially to a larger, more open settlement, but ultimately to one of the expanding towns or areas of proto-industrialisation, appears to have been the most common solution. The towns undoubtedly drew in large numbers of rural migrants at this period. Borsay has demonstrated that the late 17th century was a period when many English provincial towns experienced a 'renaissance', offering new social and cultural attractions as well as employment opportunities.[2] The 'pull' of the towns was clearly of significance to rural depopulation; nevertheless it was the 'push' factors that principally accounted for settlement contraction and desertion.

Having in this thesis established the extent, and possible reasons for, settlement contraction in the East Riding, the question then arises: to what extent are these findings reflected nationally? Many individual examples of village contraction and desertion in the late 17th and early 18th centuries can be cited from across the country but the true extent of settlement contraction and rural depopulation in Britain in the early modern period has yet to be determined. The only

directly relevant studies that have so far been made are those by the archaeologist Stuart Wrathmell on post-medieval settlement desertion in Northumberland, and the wide-ranging and significant study by the historical geographer Mary Dobson on population decline in south-east England in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.[3] Dobson, although concerned primarily with discovering geographical reasons for the regional differences in population change, rather than the physical change in size of individual settlements, bases her work on a large number of individual parishes. As well as using periodic population enumerations and a detailed analysis of parish registers, Dobson has collected a wide range of data on each individual parish which she terms the 'parish identifiers'.[4] Not surprisingly, since she deals with over 1,000 parishes, her range of data does not include any information on patterns of landownership and tenure. This type of material can only be obtained through extensive documentary research such as that carried out in the present micro-study of an area of the East Riding, where it emerged that patterns of landownership and land tenure are crucial for determining the incidence and extent of settlement contraction. Without this information it is not surprising that Dobson concludes, after analysing parish population decline in 17th-century Kent and Sussex, that:

A complete breakdown of the demographic statistics using the range of parish identifiers suggests no regular features to distinguish those static or declining communities from the minority of parishes which did manage to increase in population over the period. The geographical environment, the physical landscape, the pattern of farming, the type of settlement, the occupational activities, the accessibility of

the community to transport networks provide few clues as to why so many parishes underwent this pattern of zero or negative growth.[5]

Dobson's necessary reliance on the Compton census as a guide to population size for parishes in two of her three counties in the 1670s indicates that evidence for rural depopulation and individual settlement contraction in the period 1660-1760 as reliable as that for the East Riding is not readily available for all areas of England.[6] For the East Riding it has been shown that the hearth tax returns, where exemptions are included, provide a trustworthy guide to settlement size, as do the bulk of the returns made to visitation queries in 1743 and 1764. In the case of the largely nucleated agricultural settlements of the East Riding the numbers of households in the hearth tax returns are directly comparable to the numbers of families recorded in the visitation returns. Most work that has been done on settlement population for other counties during the period 1660-1760 has had to rely on generally less reliable sources. Although hearth tax returns of the 1660s-70s survive for many counties, frequently the lists do not include exempt households and therefore use is made of the far less satisfactory Compton census of 1676. There are numerous diocesan visitation returns for the 18th century which provide numbers of families, but they relate chiefly to the first or last quarter of the century, and do not provide a satisfactory indication of settlement size mid-century.

Table 21 presents figures for the frequency distribution of parishes, in seven English counties or county divisions, according to percentage changes of population between enumerations in the later 17th

Table 21 Depopulation in selected English counties between the mid 17th and mid 18th centuries*

	CUMBERLAND		WESTMORLAND		E RIDING OF YORKSHIRE		NOTTINGHAM-SHIRE	
	1688-1747		1670-1747		1672-1743		1664-1743	
Population % change	No. of parishes	%	No. of parishes	%	No. of parishes	%	No. of parishes	%
-100 to -50	3	4.0	0	0	8	9.5	12	12.5
-50 to 0	24	33.0	9	39.0	66	78.5	67	71.5
0 to 50	30	41.0	10	43.5	10	12.0	16	17.0
50 to 100	9	12.5	3	13.0	0	0	0	0
over 100	7	9.5	1	4.5	0	0	0	0
Total	73		23		84		95	
	LINCOLNSHIRE (Kesteven)		ESSEX		KENT		SUSSEX	
	1665-1723		1671-1723		1676-1758		1676-1724	
Population % change	No. of parishes	%	No. of parishes	%	No. of parishes	%	No. of parishes	%
-100 to -50	9	8.5	38	12.2	11	3.9	32	13.6
-50 to 0	61	57.0	193	62.1	122	43.3	142	60.4
0 to 50	35	32.5	57	18.3	104	36.9	45	19.1
50 to 100	2	2.0	17	5.5	31	11.0	8	3.4
over 100	0	0	6	1.9	14	5.0	8	3.5
Total	107		311		282		235	

* Frequency distribution of parishes according to percentage change of population

Sources: See note [7]

and mid 18th centuries.[7] The figures for Cumberland, Westmorland, the East Riding of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and the Kesteven division of Lincolnshire relate solely to rural settlements, whilst those for Essex, Kent and Sussex cover urban and rural parishes. Other figures are available for Gloucestershire, where between 1650 and 1712 a drop in families/households is recorded for 45% of villages; and Bedfordshire, where 17 (63%) out of 27 rural parishes studied by Tranter had a fall in estimated population between 1671 and 1720.[8] In a more limited study of eight rural parishes in the mid-Wharfedale region of the West Riding of Yorkshire, a decrease in number of households/families of 14% between 1664 and 1743 was found.[9]

Tranter's figures for Bedfordshire, and those drawn from Dobson for Essex, Kent and Sussex in Table 21, are based on estimated population totals for individual settlements calculated by using a range of multipliers.[10] Such results do not necessarily provide much guidance to the changing physical size of settlements with which this thesis is concerned, the actual numbers of households or families being far more relevant than the total numbers of individuals. The general reliability of hearth tax returns and visitation returns as indicators of change in settlement size is far more questionable when multipliers are used to reach comparable population totals. Arkell has remarked on 'the danger of overemphasising the importance of totals of individual people ... Since families or households were the basic unit of pre-industrial society in a way in which they are no longer, it [i.e. the use of these units] should be a perfectly satisfactory method of recording the size and growth of communities'.[11]

Despite the inadequacy of some of the sources used, Table 21

confirms the presence of rural depopulation, although of differing intensity, throughout England in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. More than a third of all rural settlements experienced a reduction in population and probably in physical size in this period, and in some areas, notably Lincolnshire, Essex, Sussex, Nottinghamshire and the East Riding of Yorkshire, two thirds or more of the settlements were so affected.

The figures for depopulation in Nottinghamshire and the East Riding are the most marked and it is these which are both more reliable and more directly comparable. For both areas the information is restricted to those rural parishes where returns at both dates are reliable and unambiguous. The results are remarkably similar. The extent and scale of the depopulation revealed in Nottinghamshire, where for 95 parishes there was an overall fall of 18.6% between households in 1664 and families in 1743, compared with a 19.3% drop between 1672 and 1743 in the East Riding, is particularly surprising in the light of the figures presented by Chambers in The Vale of Trent 1670-1800[12] Using the hearth tax returns of 1674 and the visitation returns of 1743 for 62 Nottinghamshire 'agricultural villages' Chambers recorded an overall 12.7% increase in the average population and for 40 'industrialised villages' the increase given is 47.8%.[13] The discrepancy between Chambers's figures and those given above can partly be explained by the inadequacy of the 1674 Nottinghamshire hearth tax which is not consistent in recording exempt households.[14] If the incomplete 1674 returns are used for the 95 parishes examined, in place of those for 1664, then a modest rise of 1.5% in average population by 1743 is recorded, but this goes little way towards accounting for Chambers's substantial rises for agricultural and industrial villages.

Unfortunately it is impossible to determine precisely which villages Chambers studied but the majority, if not all, of the 95 Nottinghamshire villages studied for this thesis are included in his 102 agricultural and industrial villages.

Similar conclusions to those of Chambers of a general rise in rural population between the mid 17th and mid 18th centuries have been put forward by those who, through a lack of available 18th century figures, have compared the hearth tax or the Compton census returns with the first census returns of 1801.[15] The 1801 figures, falling as they do after a period of some forty years of accelerated population growth nationally, have been interpreted as showing a steady rise since the 1670s. If the figures for 1672 and 1801 are compared for all townships in the Bainton Beacon division then a 17% rise is revealed, completely disguising a 15% decrease between 1672 and 1743.[16] Other writers, where their sources do reveal rural depopulation at this period, have been unwilling to accept the evidence. Sogner, using parish registers to study the population of 17 Shropshire parishes, was of the opinion that it did 'not seem reasonable that the population actually decreased between the Compton Return, 1676, and 1711'; he therefore inflated the baptism figures to provide a more acceptable result.[17] Summers, writing early this century on Buckinghamshire population, similarly doubted the figures when he found they showed a drop in the population of country villages and a rise in urban population between 1676 and 1712-4: 'The very noticeable discrepancy between the returns of 1676, and those given nearly half a century later, is not easy to account for'.[18]

The incidence of widespread rural depopulation in the period

1660-1760, similar in extent to that of the late 19th century, cannot be denied. However, as Table 21 shows, its impact was by no means uniform across the country. Nor was depopulation uniform within a single county or county division, as demonstrated by the figures given above for the wapentakes and wapentake divisions within the East Riding.[19] To provide explanations for the marked differences in the degree of rural depopulation within a region or between regions such as the Lake Counties and Kent and the other five counties analysed in Table 21, it is necessary for further local micro-studies to be undertaken. It is unlikely, however, that any such studies would provide more convincing reasons for the incidence of settlement contraction than are proposed here. Distance from growing urban centres, lack of non-agricultural employment, enclosure and other changes in land use, and the virulence of epidemics all contributed to rural population decline, but actual settlement contraction is largely determined by the nature of landholding.

The impact of rural depopulation in the late 17th and early 18th centuries on English villages has for too long been ignored. This thesis has highlighted its significance in terms of settlement contraction, indicating that the shrunken village was a common product of the period. It has also gone some way to establishing the century 1660-1760 as a significant period in the history of the deserted village, the study of which has hitherto been largely confined to the middle ages.

Conclusion - References

- [1] N L Tranter 'Demographic Change in Bedfordshire from 1670-1800' (PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 1966) p 81.
- [2] Borsay English Urban Renaissance passim.
- [3] Wrathmell 'Deserted and Shrunken Villages'; Wrathmell 'Village Depopulation'; M J Dobson 'Population, Disease and Mortality in Southeast England 1600-1800' (D Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1982); Dobson 'The last hiccup of the old regime'.
- [4] Dobson 'The last hiccup of the old regime' p 406.
- [5] *ibid* pp 406-7.
- [6] The Compton census as a population source is discussed in more detail on pp 25-6 above.
- [7] The table is based on the following sources:
CUMBERLAND: [1688] D & S Lysons Magna Britannia vol 4 - Cumberland (London, 1816) pp xxv-xliv; [1747] CuRO D/ML/1/9 (Miscellany accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle - additional notes by Chancellor John Waugh 1747); WESTMORLAND [1670] J F Curwen The Later Records relating to North Westmorland or the Barony of Appleby Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Record Series vol 8 (1932) pp 63-373 (Hearth Tax 1669-72); [1747] CuRO D/ML/1/9; EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE: see above p 52 Table 10; NOTTINGHAMSHIRE [1664] Webster Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax pp xvi-xvii; [1743] Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol IV; LINCOLNSHIRE (Kesteven): [1665] PRO E/179/140/791 (hearth tax 1665) - typescript copy in LAO; [1723] R E G Cole (ed) Speculum Dioeceseos Lincolniensis Part 1 Lincoln Record Society vol 4 for 1912 (1913); ESSEX, KENT, SUSSEX: Dobson 'The last hiccup of the old regime' pp 404-5.
- [8] A Percival 'Gloucestershire Village Populations' Local Population Studies vol 8 (1972) Appendix; Tranter 'Demographic Change' pp 105-6. Tranter presents figures for 29 parishes, two of which have not been considered here since they contain the market towns of Dunstable and Leighton Buzzard.
- [9] M F Pickles 'Agrarian Society and Wealth in Mid-Wharfedale 1664-1743' YAJ vol 53 for 1981 (1981) pp 72-3.
- [10] Tranter, for example, multiplies hearth tax figures by 4.25, and visitation returns by 4.0, to arrive at total population.
- [11] T Arkell 'Multiplying Factors for Estimating Population Totals from the Hearth Tax' Local Population Studies no 28 (Spring 1982) p 56.

- [12] Detailed information on population change in the 84 townships on which the East Riding calculations are based is given in Table 10 on p 52 above. The same exercise was carried out for 95 Nottinghamshire townships using the 1664 hearth tax returns and 1743 visitation returns (for sources see note [7] above). Chambers' own calculations appear in Chambers Vale of Trent p 20.
- [13] Chambers Vale of Trent p 20.
- [14] Webster Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax pp xvi-xvii.
- [15] See, for example, Marshall's study of Bedfordshire population using the hearth tax returns of 1671 and the census returns of 1801. She concluded that 'The impression received ... is that the period 1671-1801 was one of general growth'. L M Marshall The Rural Population of Bedfordshire 1671-1921 Bedfordshire Historical Record Society vol 16 (1934) p 12.
- [16] Figures based on all townships in the Bainton Beacon division, including Great Driffield, for which a notional figure of 200 households in 1743 was used.
- [17] S Sogner 'Aspects of the Demographic Situation in Seventeen Parishes in Shropshire 1711-60. An Exercise Based on Parish Registers' Population Studies vol 17 (1964) p 142.
- [18] W H Summers 'Population Returns for Buckinghamshire, 1676' Records of Buckinghamshire vol 8 (1903) p 152.
- [19] See above p 50, Table 9.

APPENDIX

Appendix

TOWNSHIP PROFILES

In seeking explanations for settlement contraction in the East Riding in the period 1660-1760, a particular study was made of the 14 parishes which comprise the Bainton Beacon division. A short account of each of the townships within these parishes is given below.

The township profiles fall broadly into two categories.

(a) Settlements still in existence

For these the standard information presented relates primarily to the size of the settlement (in terms of number of households or families) and pattern of landownership in the 17th and 18th centuries, and the timing of enclosure, together with a note on surviving buildings of the period.[1] Where the population figures suggest some contraction had occurred within the relevant period, documentary evidence which supports the figures or enables the timing of contraction to be charted is also presented.

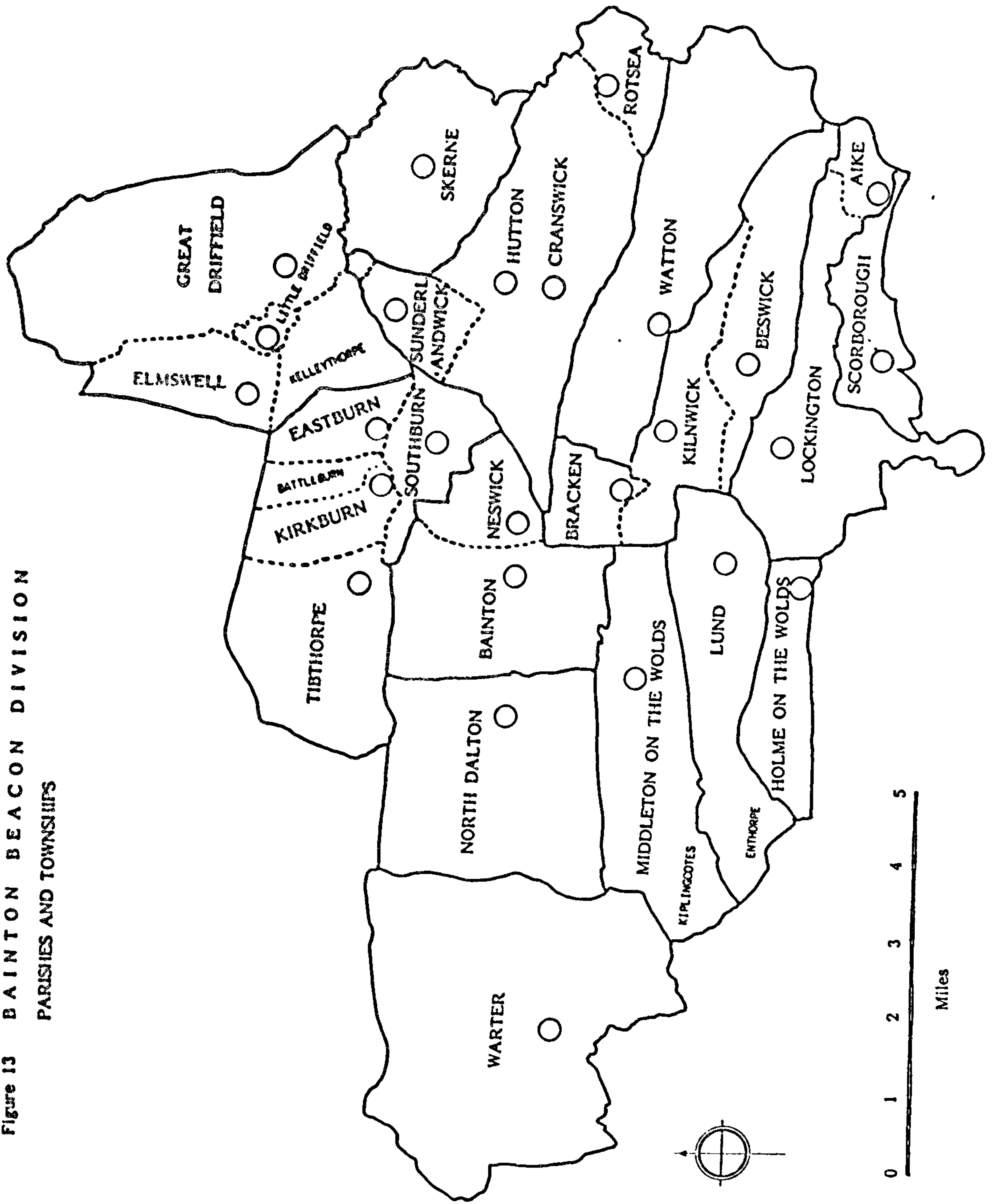
(b) Deserted settlements

A small number of the settlements studied still comprised several households in the mid 17th century, but are now deserted. The information presented is slightly different, commencing with a brief note concerning the size of these settlements in the middle ages. This is followed by the evidence for their survival into or beyond the late 17th century, together with an account of their final depopulation, where the circumstances of this are known.

For both groups the presence of shrunken or deserted village earthworks, usually of an unspecified date, is also noted. In a limited number of cases it is possible to associate a specific group of earthworks directly with contraction occurring in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The profiles are arranged alphabetically by ecclesiastical parish. Within each parish the entry for the principal township is given first, with entries for subsidiary townships following in alphabetical order. For each entry a National Grid Reference (relating to the approximate centre of the settlement) is given, together with the acreage of the township as recorded in 1801.[2] A map of the township accompanies each profile.[3]

Figure 13 B A I N T O N B E A C O N D I V I S I O N
P A R I S H I E S A N D T O W N S H I P S



Index to township profiles

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Township</u>	<u>Page no.</u>
1. BAINTON	Bainton	293
	Neswick	299
2. NORTH DALTON	North Dalton	302
3. GREAT DRIFFIELD	Great Driffield	306
	Little Driffield	310
	Elmswell (with Kelleythorpe)	311
4. HOLME ON THE WOLDS	Holme on the Wolds	315
5. HUTTON CRANSWICK	Hutton Cranswick	318
	Rotsea	323
	Sunderlandwick	327
6. KILNWICK ON THE WOLDS	Kilnwick on the Wolds	332
	Beswick	337
	Bracken	341
7. KIRKBURN	Kirkburn (with Battleburn)	344
	Eastburn	349
	Southburn	353
	Tibthorpe	357
8. LOCKINGTON	Lockington	360
	Aike	364
9. LUND	Lund (with Enthorpe)	367
10. MIDDLETON ON THE WOLDS	Middleton on the Wolds (with Kiplingcotes)	370
11. SCARBOROUGH	Scarborough	375
12. SKERNE	Skerne	380
13. WARTER	Warter	383
14. WATTON	Watton	387

1. Bainton Parish

Township: BAINTON

Grid ref: SE 964 524

Acreage: 2982 acres

Bainton lies on the eastern edge of the Wolds, six miles south-west of the town of Driffield.

There were 46 households recorded in the township in 1672. A combined figure for Bainton and Neswick of 48 families is given in the visitation returns of 1743 but in 1764 there was a separate figure for each township; 42 families lived at Bainton.[4]

In 1662 two landowners held substantial estates at Bainton, John Favour (rector of Bainton) and William Whitmore of Hackney, Middlesex. In 1724 John Shaw of York purchased the two manors into which the township was divided, East Bainton and West Bainton.[5] Shaw seemingly did not take up residence at Bainton, since in 1729 there were only three resident freeholders in the township who held land valued in excess of £10 per annum, all of whom were described as yeomen farmers.[6] Margaret Shaw, daughter and heiress of John Shaw, married (as his second wife) Robert Grimston of the adjacent township of Neswick, shortly before his death in 1756, and thus the Bainton estate passed to the Grimstons.[7]

Some enclosure took place at Bainton in the 17th and early 18th centuries, but most of the township was enclosed by act of Parliament in 1774-5. With the exception of one award of just over four acres, and awards to the parish clerk and for stone for highway repairs, all the

allotments made were over 30 acres in size. Of these the most substantial award (1704 acres) was made to Robert Grimston of Neswick, lord of the manor, with an award of 581 acres to the Reverend William Territt as rector of Bainton, and three further awards of 34, 59 and 298 acres.[8] By 1782 the total number of proprietors in the township had risen to nine. Of these nine, Robert Grimston and the Reverend William Territt were assessed for more than 86% of the land tax due from the township.[9]

Although Bainton appears to have experienced only a minor decrease in size between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries, more extensive shrinkage had taken place earlier in the 17th century, and some further contraction apparently occurred in the latter decades of the 18th century. A map of 1629 depicts approximately 60 houses, together with associated outbuildings.[10] These include five to the east of the village, on the road to Neswick, one of which was known as Applegarth Farm. Applegarth may have formed a subsidiary hamlet in the middle ages.[11] The lane leading to Neswick was still known as Applegarth Lane in the mid 19th century.[12] In addition to 60 houses, some abandoned house sites are shown on the 1629 map, and further shrinkage undoubtedly occurred between 1629 and 1672 when only 46 households were recorded at Bainton. Little change occurred between 1672 and 1764 when 42 families still lived in the township.[13] A map of 1779 shows 38 houses together with four post-enclosure farms, suggesting some minor contraction of the village nucleus, perhaps due to the gradual dispersal of farmsteads following enclosure.[14] (See Figure 15)

A comparison of the maps of 1629 and 1779 enables identification of those areas of the village where shrinkage had occurred. These include

that part of Bainton known as Applegarth where only one of the five houses shown in 1629 survived in 1779. This too had gone by the mid 19th century.[15] The census returns of 1801 record only 34 inhabited houses in the township, together with one empty house.[16] Since the figure of 34 includes at least four post-enclosure farms, the main nucleus of the settlement cannot have comprised more than about 30 houses at this date, half the number shown in 1629.

The oldest surviving houses in the village probably date from the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Estate accounts show that brickmaking was carried out for John Shaw at Bainton in the 1720s-40s, and there are references to the rebuilding of a number of houses in the settlement at this time.[17] The seven outlying farmsteads at Bainton all post-date the enclosure of 1774-5. Numerous earthworks surround the village centre, many of which are in areas where houses are shown on the 1629 map, and which therefore represent the contraction of the village in the 17th and 18th centuries.[18] (See Plate 8)

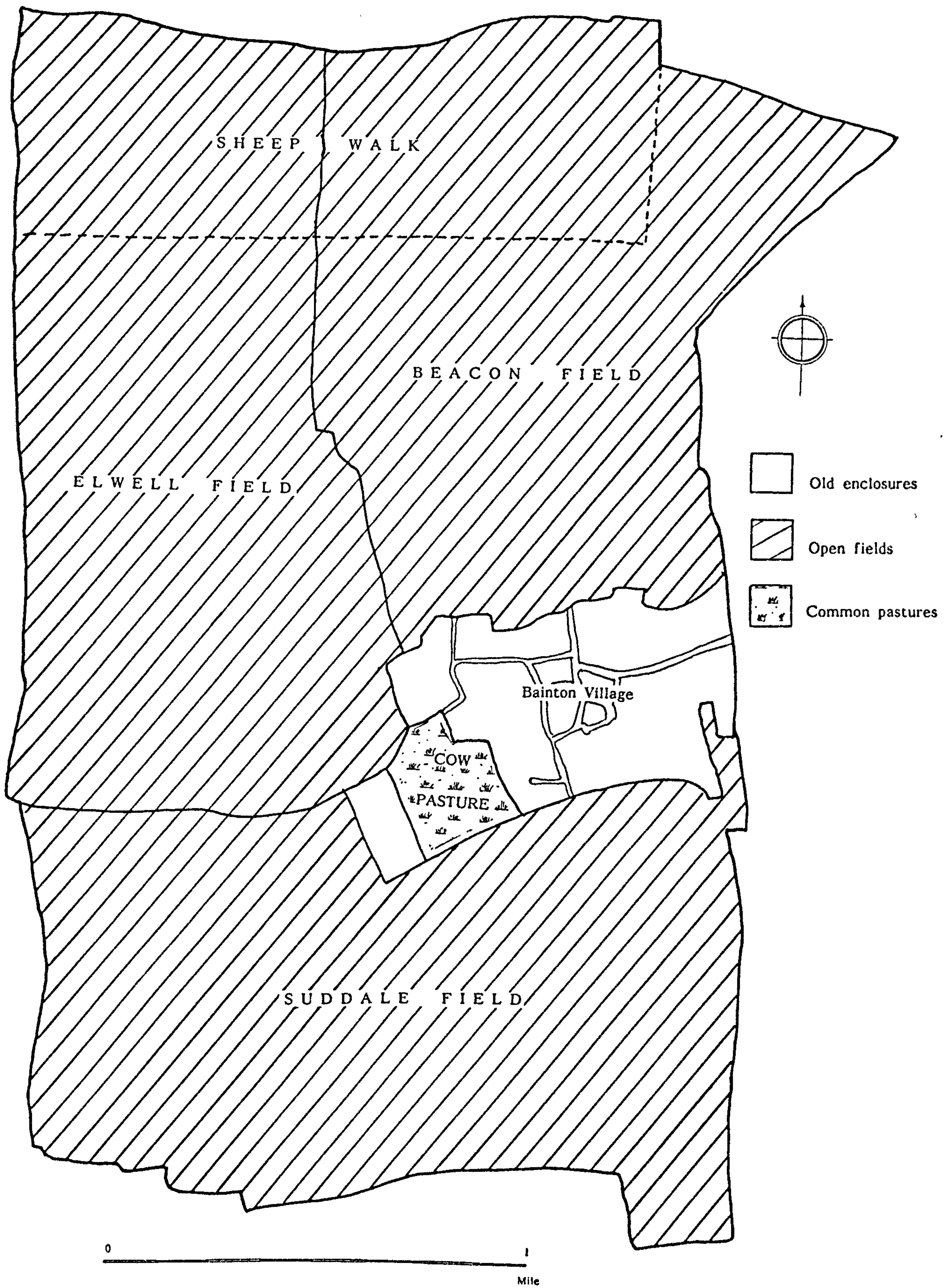


Figure 14 BAINTON BEFORE ENCLOSURE IN 1775
 Based on enclosure plan of 1775 (HCRO IA)
 and plan of 1629 (BIHR Maps 22a & b)

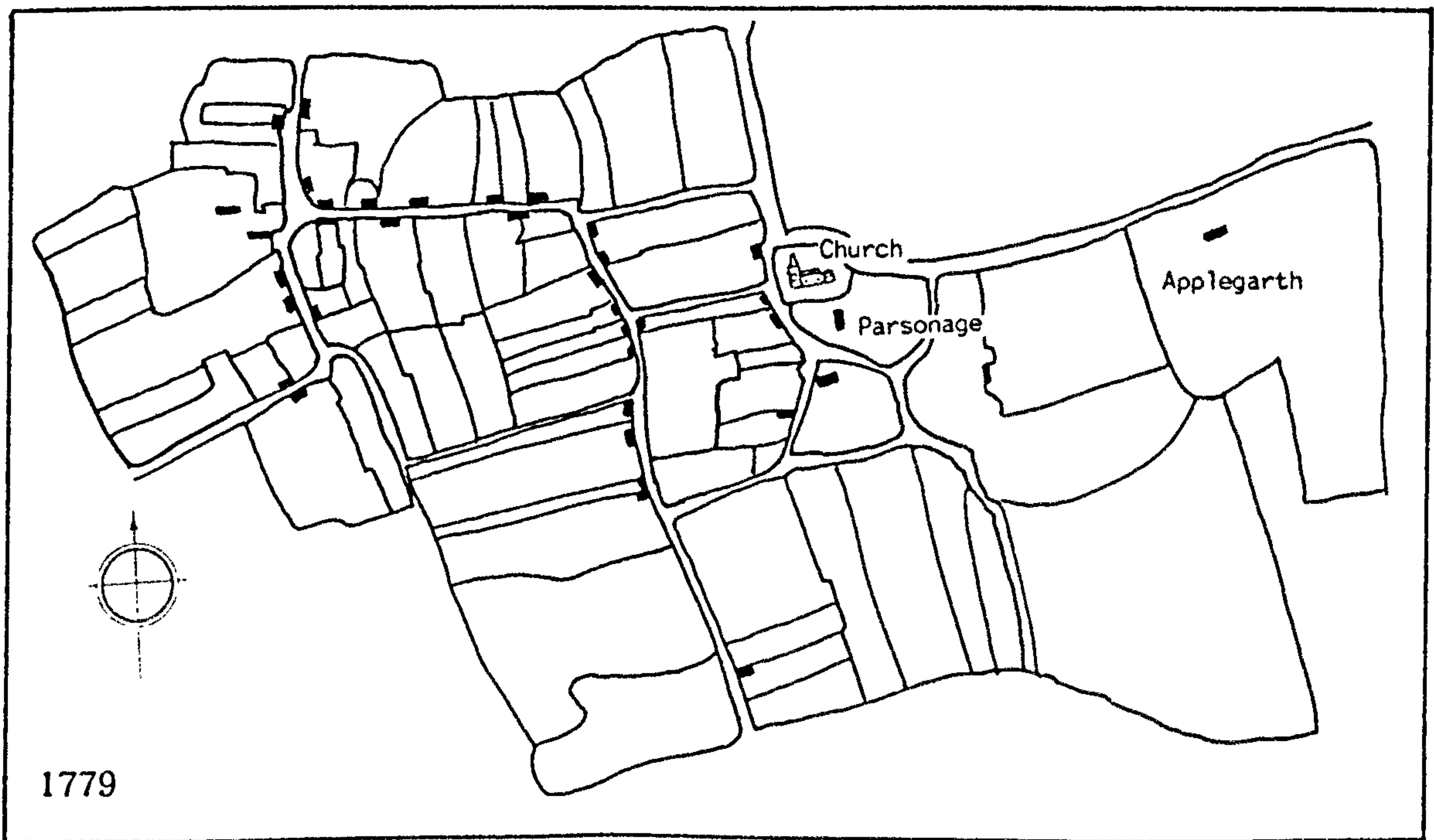
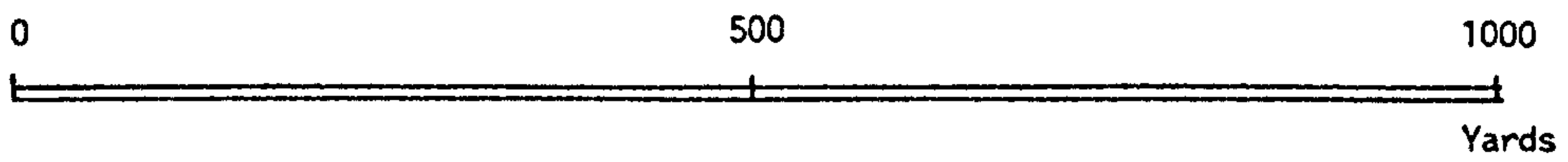
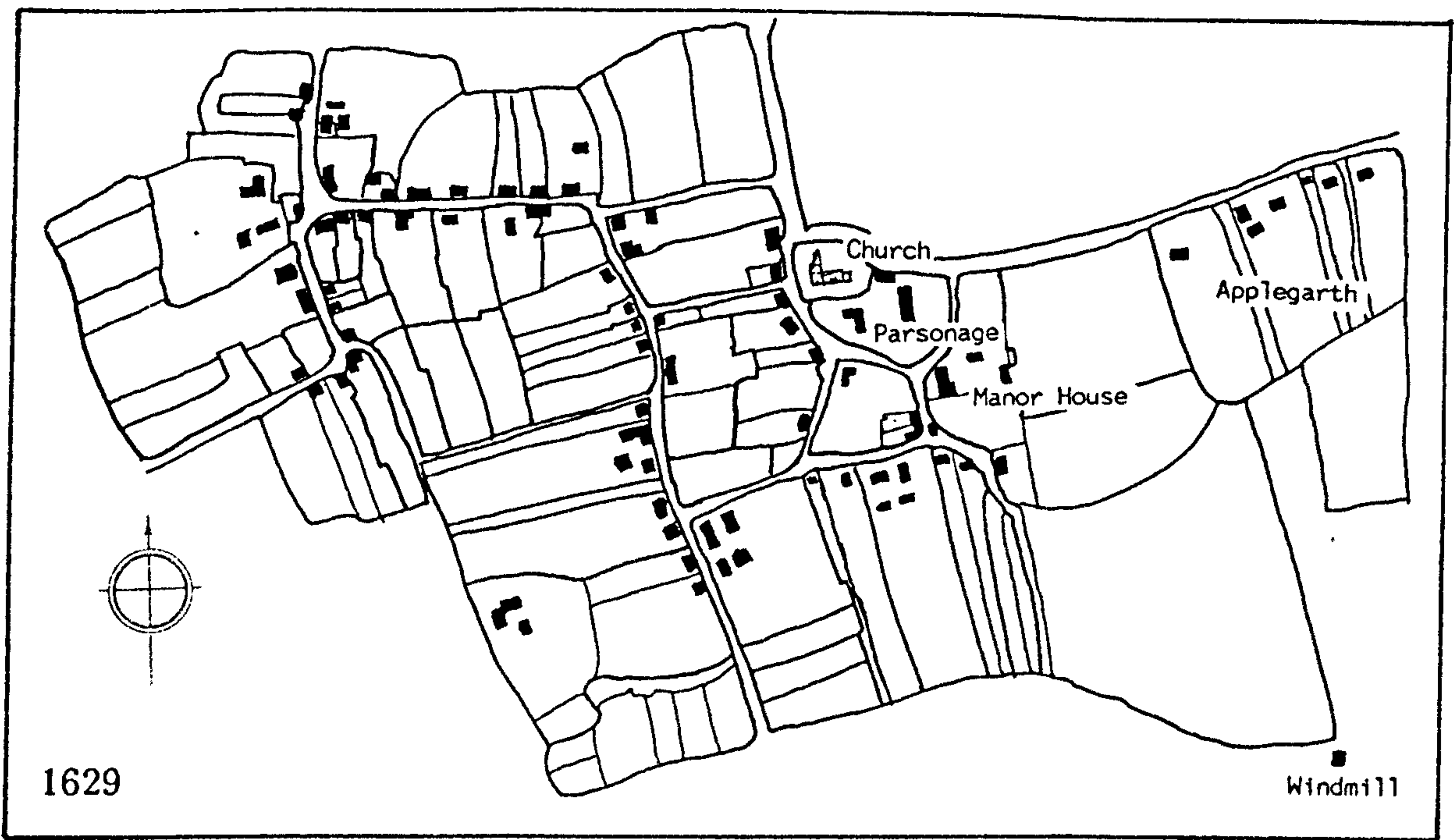
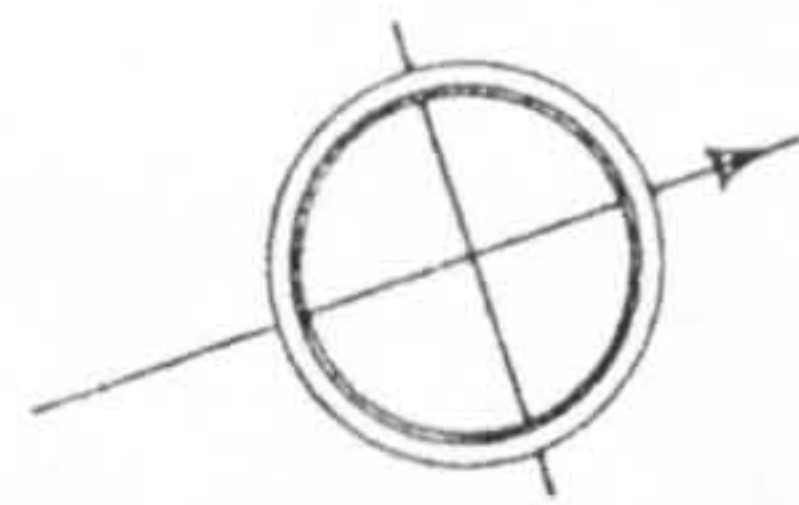


Figure 15 BAINTON: VILLAGE CONTRACTION 1629 - 1779
 Based on plans of 1629 (BIHR Maps 22a & b)
 and 1779 (HUL DDCV/116/1)



Plate 8

Shrunken village
earthworks at
Bainton



NGR: SE 959 523

Source:

Cambridge University
Collection of Air Photogra

Township: NESWICK

Grid ref: SE 974 528

Acreage: 987 acres

The site of the village of Neswick lies only half a mile north-east of Bainton. Neswick was a settlement of some size in the middle ages, with 110 poll tax payers recorded in 1377, perhaps representing a population of between 180 and 190.[19] The township had its own chapel, which in 1544/5 was said to lie only a quarter of a mile from the parish church of Bainton but needed to be maintained so that the 'old folk' of the township could hear mass, which was said there three times weekly. The chapel stood on freehold land owned by Francis Salvin, lord of the manor.[20] A grant of lands in Neswick 'late of the chapel there' in 1574 suggests that the chapelry had been dissolved by this date.[21] However the potential congregation cannot have been especially small; when a Parliamentary survey of benefices was made in 1650, Neswick was described as a hamlet 'fit to be made a parish'.[22] Twenty-five households were recorded there when the hearth tax was collected in 1672. A manor house was referred to in 1713, and this may have been the three-hearthed house mentioned in 1672.[23] A manor court was still held at Neswick in the early 18th century, and call rolls survive for several years, although it is not clear how many of those listed as attending the court were actually resident in the township rather than simply tenants of land there.[24] No separate number of families for the township was given at the ecclesiastical visitation of 1743, but in 1764 only eight families were said to reside at Neswick.[25] A map of 1779 suggests that by this date the township comprised only Neswick Hall and two outlying farms.[26]

The manor of Neswick was held by the Salvin family from the middle

ages, and in 1613 it was sold to Thomas Anlaby of Etton. The estate was divided up c.1710/11 when Matthew Anlaby of Lebberston died without male heirs and left his land at Neswick to his five daughters. In 1714, however, the original estate was reconstituted when Thomas Eyres, husband of one of the heiresses (Elizabeth Anlaby), purchased the shares of the other four sisters.[27] The destruction of much of the village appears to have coincided with Eyres's acquisition of the estate, and his subsequent enclosure of the open fields; by the middle of the century it was reported that the greatest part of Neswick was enclosed, and a description of those enclosures which had made from the former South, North and East fields of the township within the previous forty years was given.[28] Two other freeholders are known to have held land at Neswick in the 1730s but both their holdings had been acquired by the principal estate by 1742.[29] Following the death of Thomas Eyres the estate passed to his two daughters, but in 1746 Robert Grimston, husband of one of the heiresses, purchased the other share from his wife's sister and her husband (Elizabeth and Edward Nixon) and became sole owner of the Neswick estate.[30]

It is not clear whether it was Eyres or Grimston who was actually responsible for building Neswick Hall and laying out of the surrounding parkland, but it seems likely that the gradual enclosure of the open fields and clearance of much of the village was to enable the creation of an appropriate setting for the new 18th-century house. Neswick Hall was demolished in 1954 and only the remnants of the kitchen garden survive.[31] Earthworks mark the village site, and ridge and furrow can be seen in the surrounding pasture land.[32]

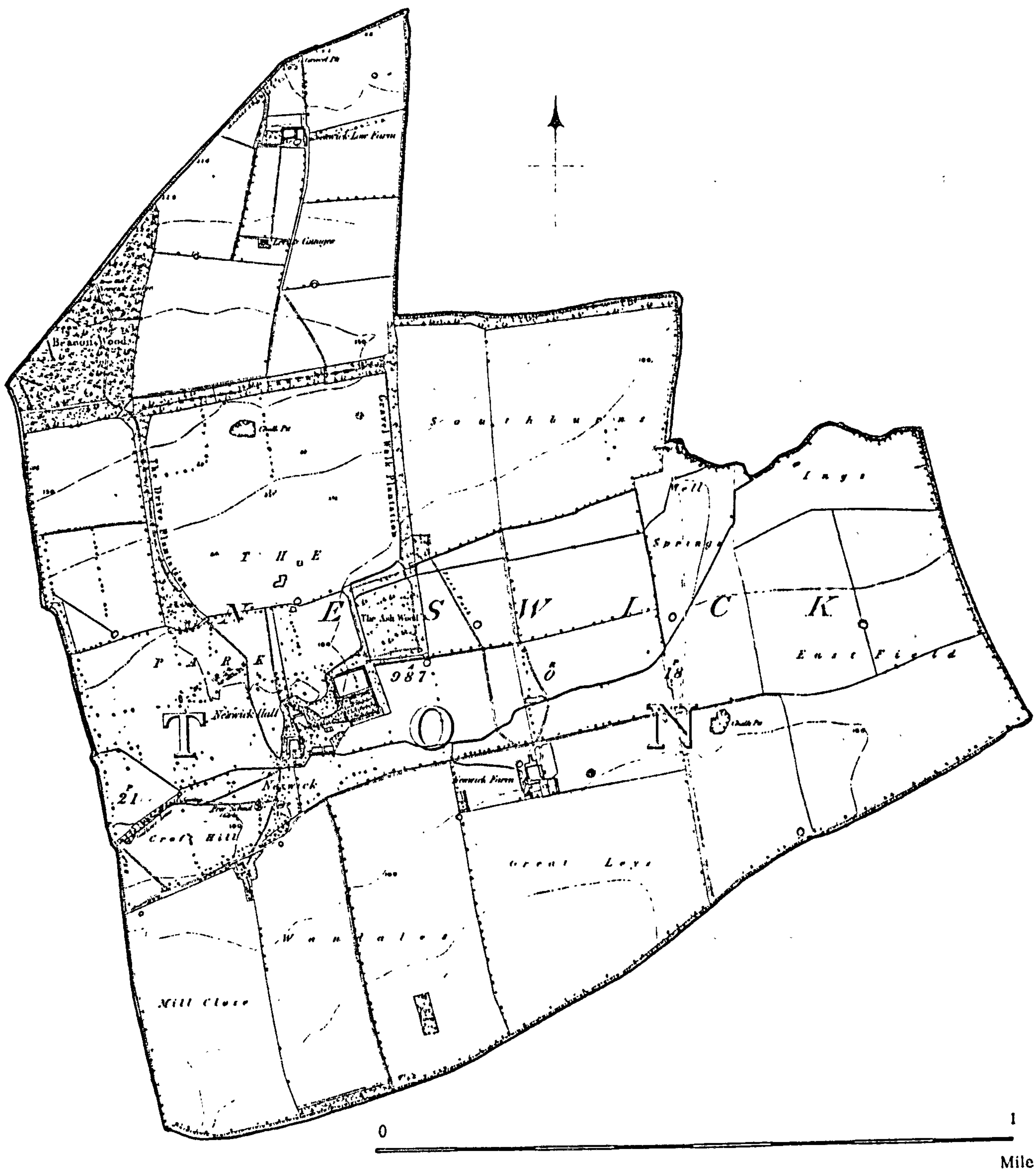


Figure 16 NESWICK TOWNSHIP 1850s
 1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

2. North Dalton Parish

Township: NORTH DALTON

Grid ref: SE 935 522

Acreage: 4639 acres

North Dalton, a Wolds parish comprising a single township, adjoins the parishes of Bainton to the east, and Warter to the west. There were 58 households listed at North Dalton in 1672, but only 48 families reported in 1743. The number of families in 1764 was given as 55.[33] Correspondence of 1776 concerning the proposed enclosure of the township suggests there were 50 houses in North Dalton at this date.[34]

The principal estate at North Dalton was held by the Langdale family in the early 17th century, but was confiscated from Sir Marmaduke Langdale (a leading Royalist) during the Civil War, and subsequently sold. By 1662 it had been acquired by Edward Barnard, a local attorney. A smaller estate was held in 1662 by Sir William Lowther.[35] In 1729 there were four resident freeholders with estates valued in excess of £10, including Barnard.[36] There were eleven freeholders in the township in 1776, the largest being the duke of Devonshire, then owner of the principal estate. His holding comprised 35 oxgangs together with three messuages and ten cottages.[37] Enclosure took place in 1778-9.[38]

To the south-west of the village stands a fine 17th-century house, formerly known as Southwold. A number of architectural features suggest the house was built early in the 17th century when the estate was in the hands of the Langdale family; the pediment displays the Barnard family crest, a bear, but this may have been a later addition. This house may

have been designed as a hunting lodge, since the manor house stood in the centre of the village. Of the latter only the 17th century gate pillars, located at the entrance to Manor Farm, survive.

Several cottages in the village appear to date from the 17th or early 18th centuries. Shrunken village traces have been recorded to the west, north-west and north of the present village.[39]

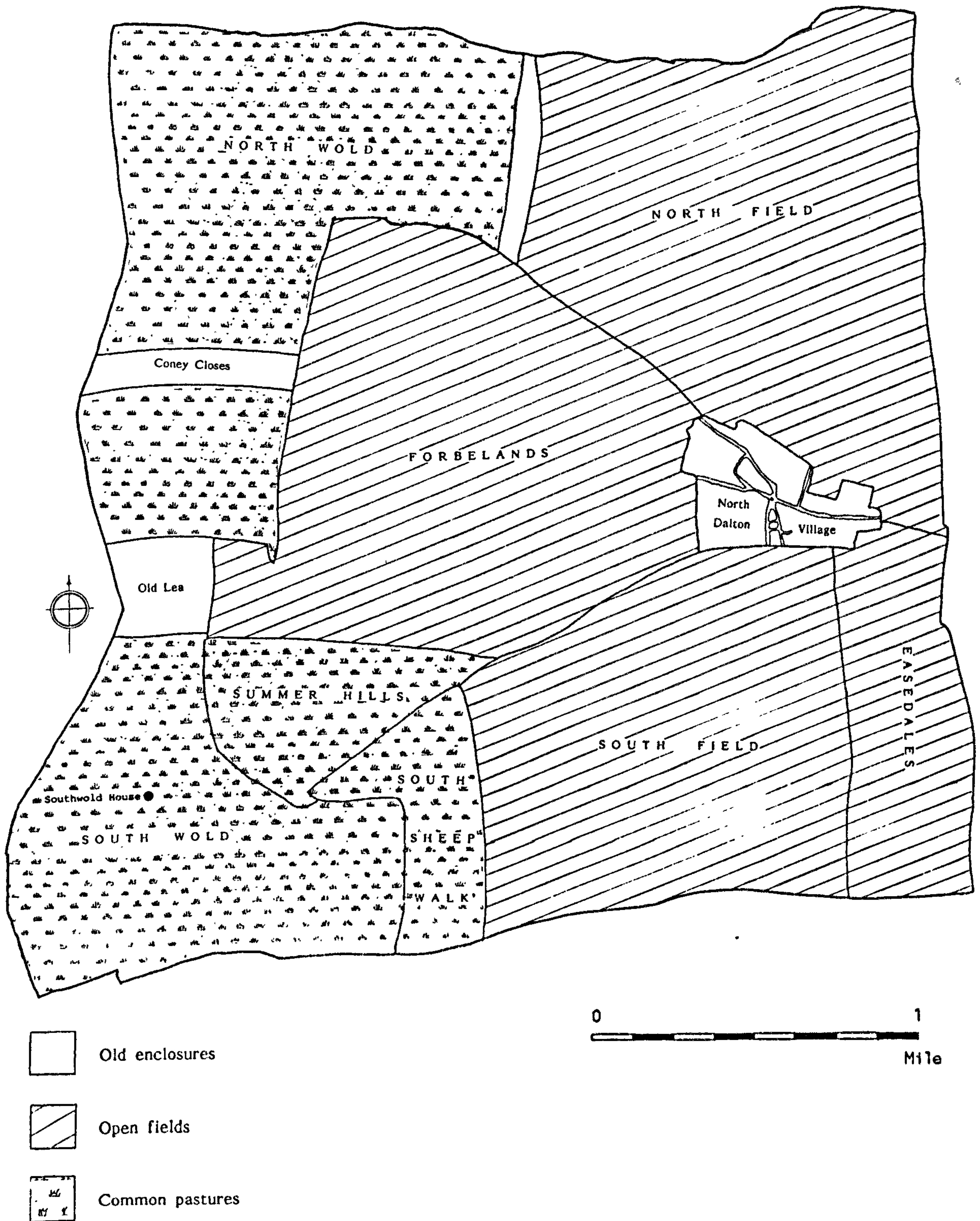


Figure 17 NORTH DALTON BEFORE ENCLOSURE IN 1779
Based on enclosure plan (HCRO DDX/96/1)

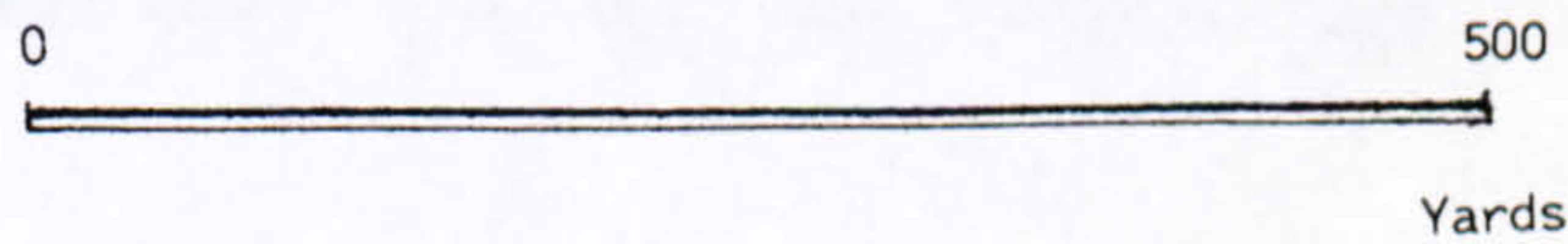
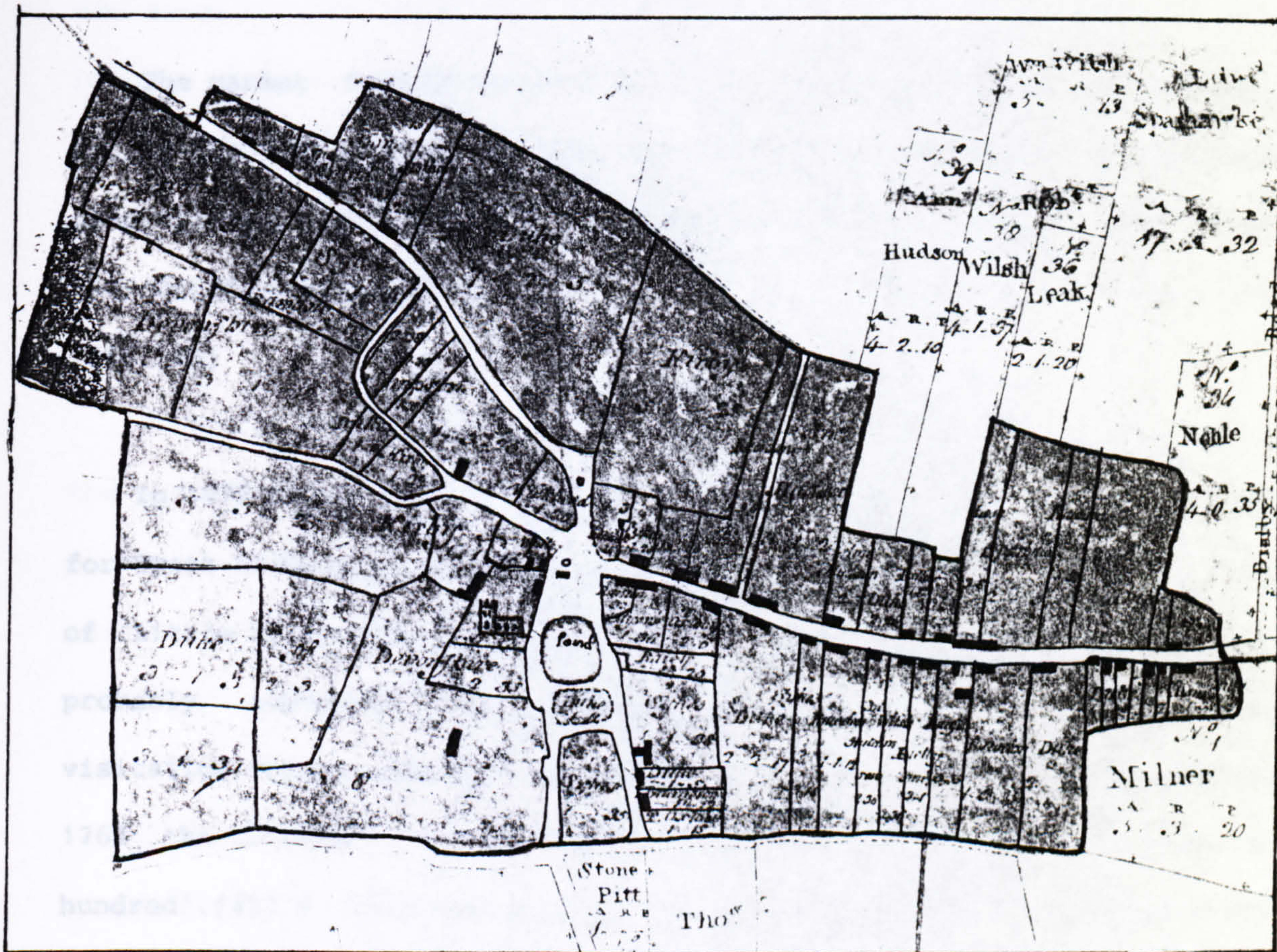


Figure 18 NORTH DALTON VILLAGE 1779
From enclosure plan (HCRO DDX/96/1)

3. Great Driffield Parish

Township: GREAT DRIFFIELD

Grid ref: TA 025 577

Acreage: 4814 acres

The market town of Great Driffield lies at the foot of the Wolds. During the 17th century and for most of the 18th century it was a large open village, its subsequent development arising from the opening of the Driffield Navigation in 1770, and the coming of the railway in 1846.[40]

In 1673 there were 153 households listed in the hearth tax returns for Great Driffield, which included those households from the township of Little Driffield which were discharged from payment. The latter probably accounted for between five and ten households. No visitation return was made for Great Driffield parish in 1743, and in 1764 the incumbent simply gave the number of families as 'above a hundred'.[41] A 19th-century antiquarian estimated that the population of the town of Driffield was around 800 in 1770, but it is not clear on what this figure was based.[42] By 1801 there were 321 families in the town, living in 320 houses, with seven properties standing empty.[43]

In 1662 large estates at Driffield were held by Mrs Cesia Crompton, Thomas Danby, John Heron and a Mr Hutton, with Gregory Creyke and Walter Crompton also holding land in the township. Six resident freeholders with land valued in excess of £10 per annum were reported in 1729.[44]

The townships of Great Driffield and Little Driffield were enclosed

by act of Parliament in 1741-2, the earliest parliamentary enclosure in the Bainton Beacon division. The largest award was made to the lord of the manor, Richard Langley, who received 1,747 acres. Thomas Etherington was awarded 421 acres and there were nine further awards of more than 100 acres. Nine awards of between 25 and 100 acres were made, 28 of between five and 24 acres, with 38 awards of less than five acres, many of the latter in lieu of common rights.[45] Manorial call rolls show a considerable increase in the number of freeholders in both townships following enclosure.[46]

Although Great Driffield could not be described as a town until the end of the 18th century, it was sufficiently large and 'open' in character to support a range of tradesmen and craftsmen in the 17th and early 18th centuries. These included a ploughwright, roper, oatmeal maker and glover in addition to the more common occupations such as tailor, weaver and shoemaker.[47] There is also evidence of small-scale industrial activity in the village at this time, in the form of paper-making and cloth manufacture, the latter experiencing a rapid but short-lived expansion later in the 18th century.[48]

The present appearance of Driffield reflects the great expansion it experienced during the 19th century. Virtually no buildings survive which predate the coming of the canal in 1770. Driffield has continued to expand rapidly in recent years, with modern housing developments gradually encroaching upon the surrounding farm land.

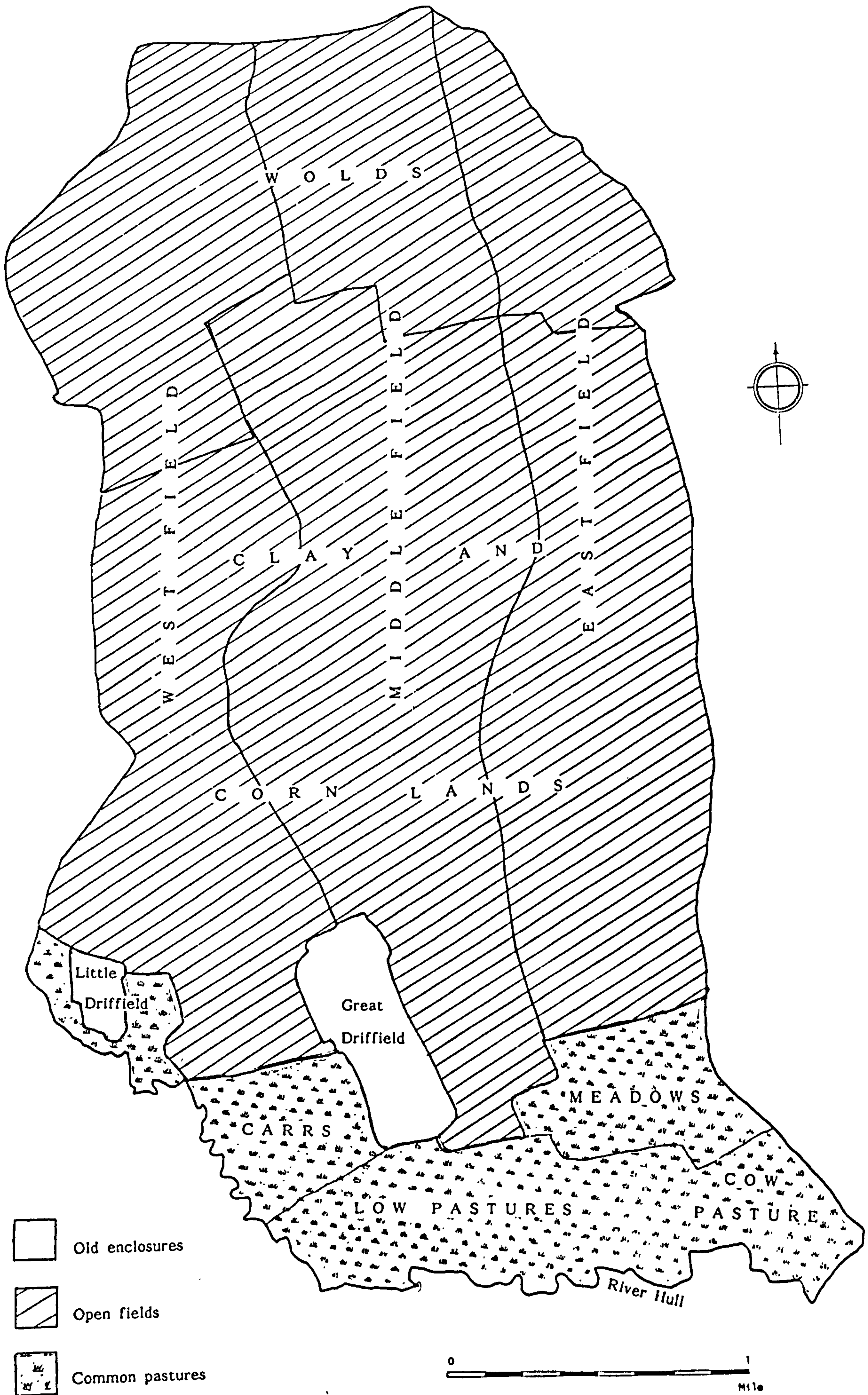
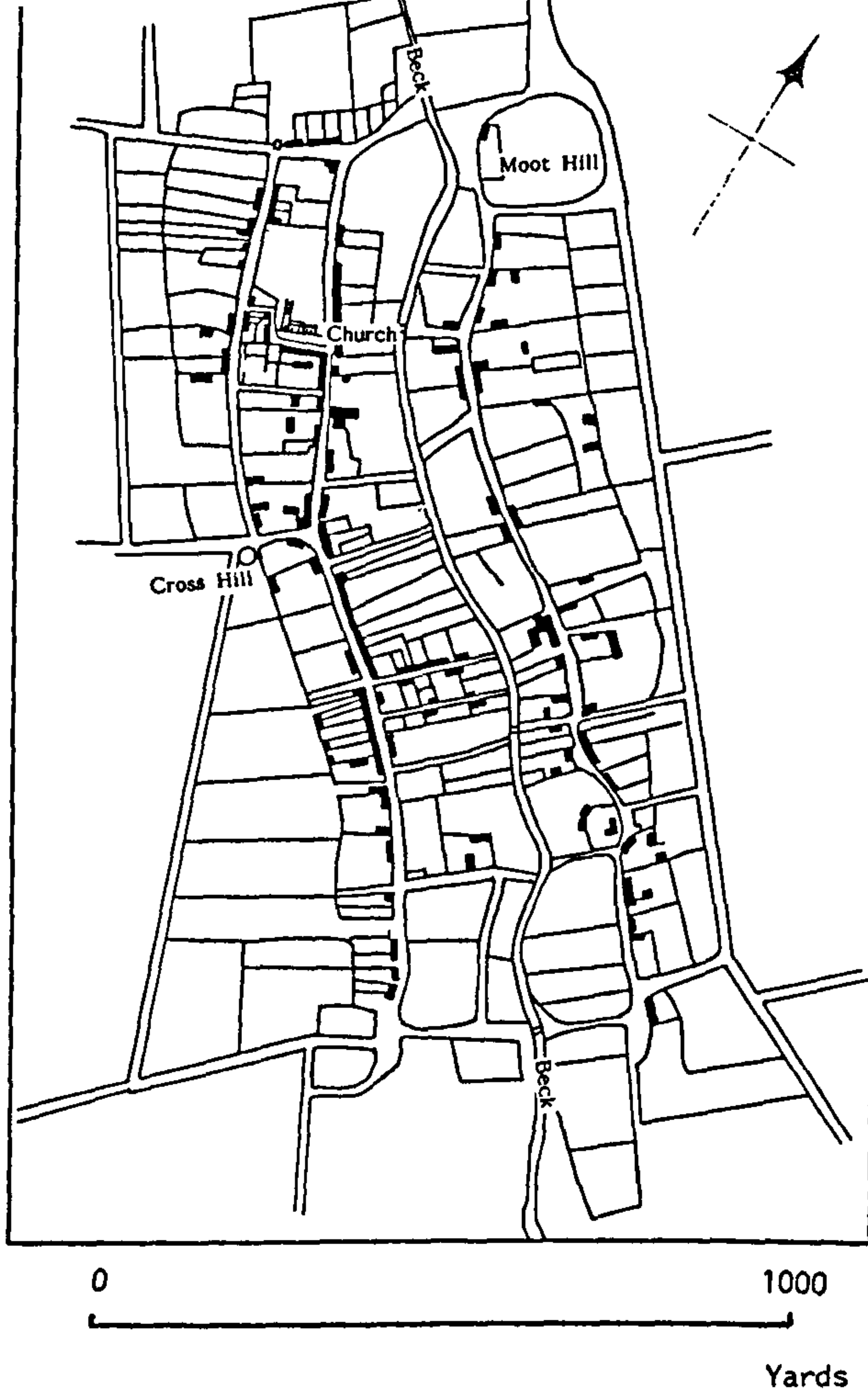
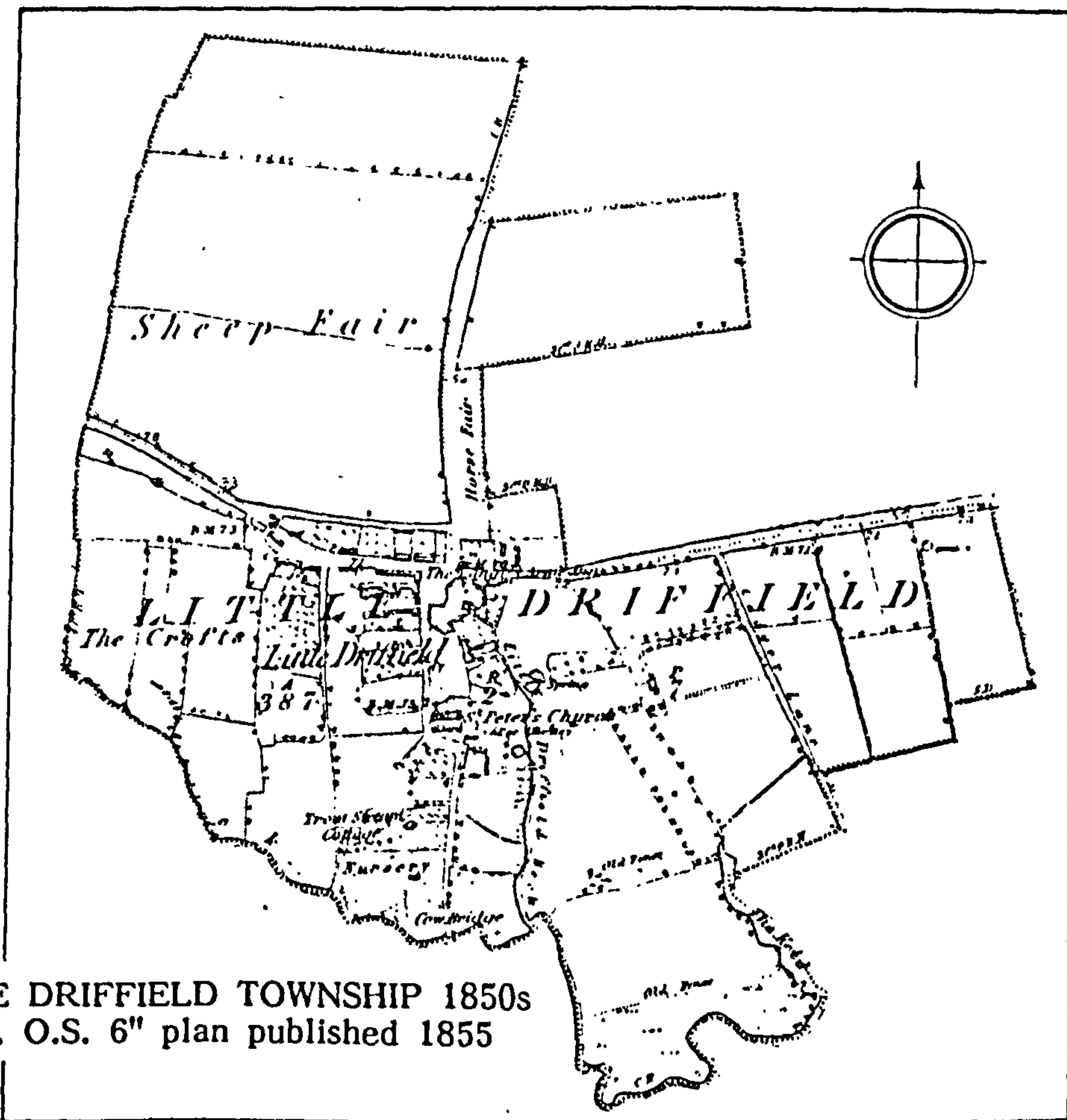


Figure 19 GREAT AND LITTLE DRIFFIELD BEFORE ENCLOSURE IN 1742
Based on enclosure plan (HUL DDKG/172)



A. GREAT DRIFFIELD SETTLEMENT PLAN 1742
Based on enclosure plan (HUL DDKG/172)



B. LITTLE DRIFFIELD TOWNSHIP 1850s
1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

Township: LITTLE DRIFFIELD

Grid ref: TA 010 580

Acreage: 388 acres

Little Driffield, the township with the smallest acreage in the Bainton Beacon division, has sometimes been described as a separate parish, but is in fact a chapelry within Great Driffield parish.[49] The settlement lies less than a mile west of the town of Great Driffield. There were 21 households recorded there in 1670.[50] There are no comparative figures available for the mid 18th century.

One cannot separate the pattern of landownership in the township in the 17th and 18th centuries from that of Great Driffield. The two townships formed a joint manor, for which records survive from c.1730.[51] The open fields, pastures and commons of both townships were enclosed in 1741-2.[52]

From at least the 17th century it was customary to hold fairs at Little Driffield, rather than at Great Driffield. Areas known as Sheep Fair and Horse Fair are marked on the Ordnance Survey map of 1855 and a street in the village is still known as Horsefair Lane.[53] Until the late 19th century villagers were permitted to sell ale without licence on fair days by observing the custom of hanging a green bush outside their house.[54]

Although Great Driffield has grown considerably in the 20th century, the settlement of Little Driffield, centred around the medieval church and village pond, has succeeded in retaining its separate identity.

[for map see Great Driffield entry, Figure 20]

Township: ELMSWELL (with Kelleythorpe)

Acreage: 2398 acres Grid ref: SE 999 583 (Elmswell)

SE 012 565 (Kelleythorpe)

The deserted village of Elmswell lies due west of Little Driffield. Its name is familiar to agrarian historians owing to the survival of the farming and memorandum books of Henry Best who lived at Elmswell manor house in the first half of the 17th century. Henry Best purchased the manor of Elmswell from his brother Paul in 1618, and resided in the township until his death in 1645.[55]

By the 17th century the adjacent township of Kelleythorpe was jointly assessed with Elmswell for taxation purposes. The site of the deserted village of Kelleythorpe lies approximately one mile south-east of Elmswell. Both settlements appear to have declined in size during the middle ages although Kelleythorpe was possibly never more than a hamlet. In 1377 there were 92 poll tax payers at Elmswell and 16 at Kelleythorpe.[56] When the hearth tax was collected in 1672 there were only 12 households in both townships combined. Of these, three were apparently located at Kelleythorpe.[57]

In the mid 17th century the principal landowners at Elmswell and Kelleythorpe were John Best (Henry Best's son) and John Heron.[58] The Heron estate at Kelleythorpe was subsequently inherited by his daughter Katherine, wife of Sir John Hotham of Scarborough.[59] There was little freehold land in Elmswell or Kelleythorpe other than that in the hands of the Best or Heron/Hotham families. An early 17th century manorial survey of Elmswell, which until the Reformation had formed part of the possessions of St Mary's Abbey, York, suggests that at that date there

were two small freehold farms at Elmswell, one held by William Whitehead which was probably a four-oxgang farm, and another freehold located at Elmswell which belonged to the separate manor of Kelleythorpe.[60] The Whiteheads may have sold up their freehold by 1691, when they paid rent for Elmswell farm.[61] The only resident freeholder with land valued in excess of £10 per annum in 1729 was Francis Best.[62] When the land tax was collected in 1787 there were three proprietors, Revd Francis Best being assessed for approximately half the tax, with William Strickland and his sister-in-law Sarah Moyser (who had acquired the Hotham holding through the second marriage of Katherine Hotham, formerly Katherine Heron, to John Moyser of Beverley) jointly assessed for the remainder.[63]

The arable fields of Kelleythorpe appear to have been enclosed in the late 16th century or early 17th century.[64] Some enclosures had been made at Elmswell in the 17th century, but the township was not formally enclosed until 1770-1. By this date there had been much consolidation of open field strips, and the long curving fields evident on the Ordnance Survey map of 1855 are indicative of enclosures effected simply by hedging round these consolidated strips.[65]

There are no figures available for the mid 18th century from which the number of households or families at Elmswell and Kelleythorpe can be estimated, but in 1801 there were 13 inhabited houses suggesting little change since the late 17th century. Elmswell was said to comprise four farms and a handful of cottages in 1857.[66] It was subsequently depopulated. Apart from the 17th-century manor house, which stands empty and in a poor state of repair, the village site is now marked only by house foundations together with a derelict terrace of

Victorian cottages.[67]

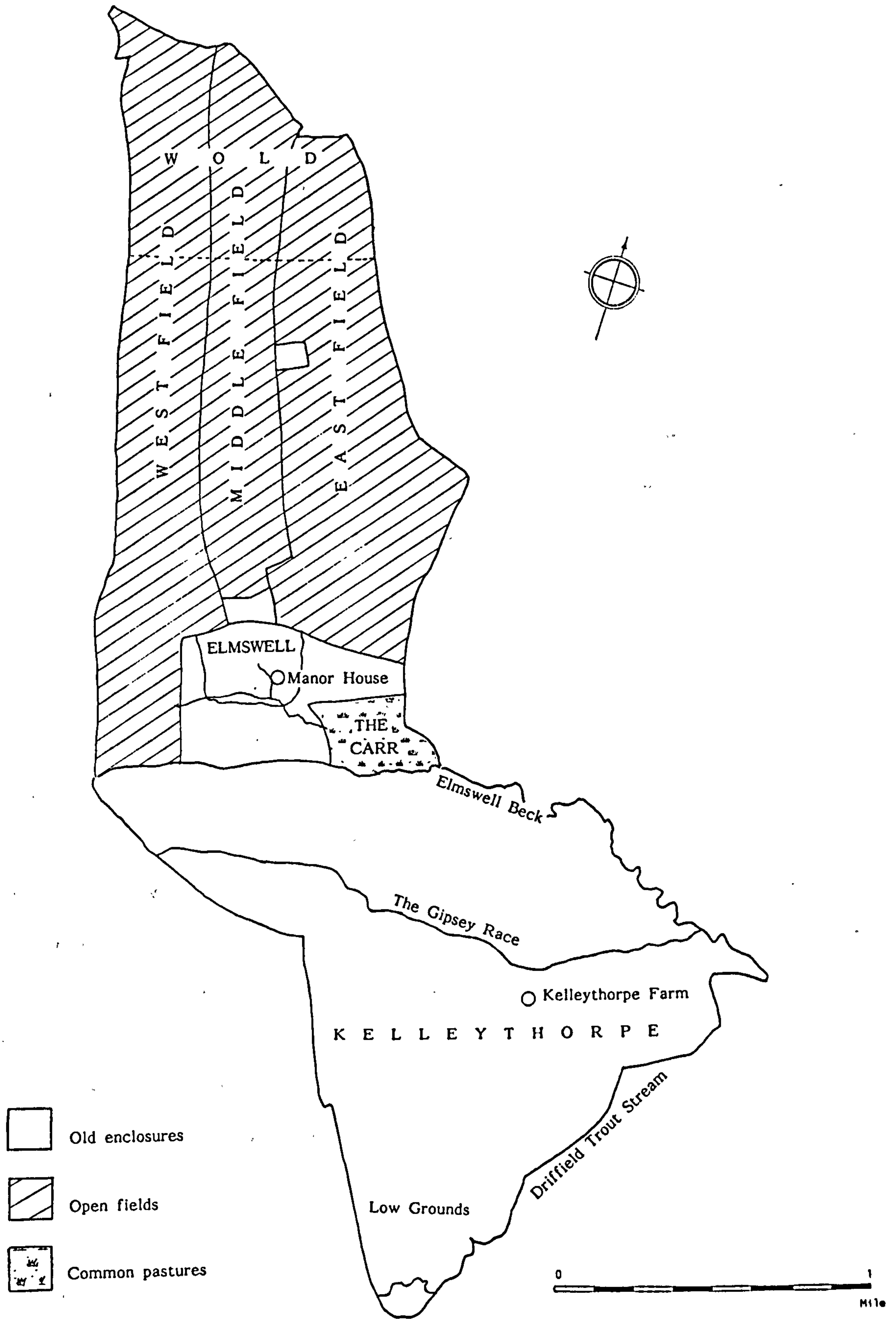


Figure 21 **ELMSWELL AND KELLEYTHORPE PLAN**
 Based on 1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855 and
 figs I-IV in Woodward, Henry Best of Elmswell.

3.5 Holme on the Wolds Parish

Township: HOLME ON THE WOLDS

Grid ref: SE 967 464

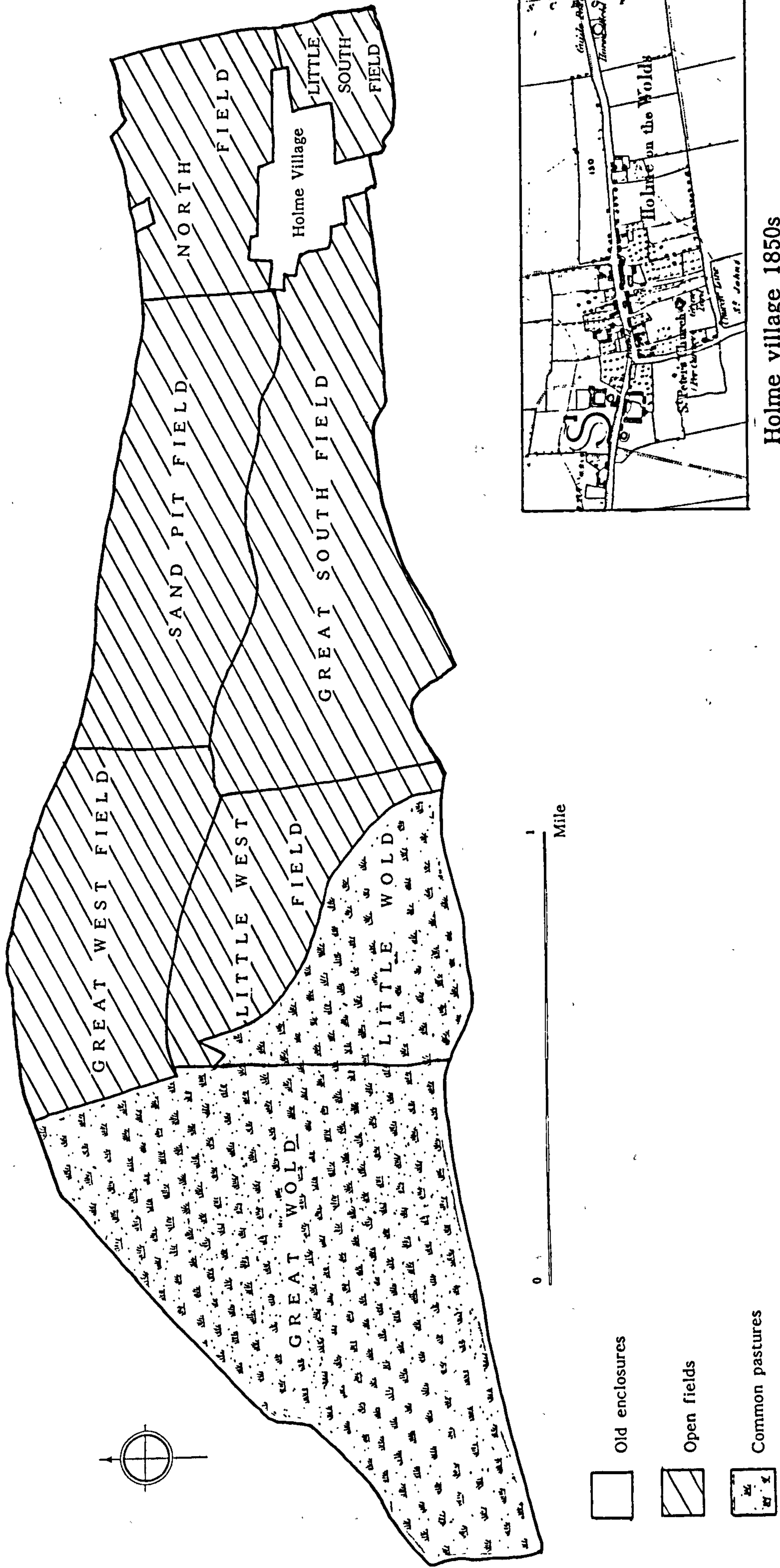
Acreage: 1516 acres

The small parish of Holme on the Wolds, described in the mid 19th century as one of the poorest livings in the county, was amalgamated with the adjacent parish of South Dalton in 1861, to form the new parish of Dalton Holme. The original parish contained only one settlement, Holme on the Wolds which lies approximately six and a half miles north-west of Beverley.[68]

The settlement changed little in size between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries. In the 1672 hearth tax return 22 households were recorded there, and in 1743 it was reported that 20 families were resident in the parish. Seventeen families were recorded in 1764.[69] Although it was never a large settlement, the lack of one dominant landowner may have prevented any marked contraction in size taking place. In 1662 there were two substantial landowners, a Mr Callis and a Mr Allen Lamont. The amount of freehold held by smaller landowners at this date is unknown, but in 1729 two yeoman farmers with freehold estates valued in excess of £10 per annum were resident in the township.[70] In the land tax returns of 1782 the total number of proprietors was 13, of whom one, the duke of Devonshire, was assessed for one third of the tax, with Thomas Clarke being assessed for a further 25%. There were four owner-occupiers.[71]

The open fields, commons and pastures of the township were enclosed in 1795-8.[72]

Holme on the Wolds has remained a small settlement to the present day. Two houses in the village may date from the late 17th or early 18th centuries. The greater part of the church was demolished in 1862 following the creation of the new parish of Dalton Holme, when services were transferred to South Dalton church.[73] Only the overgrown burial ground now survives.



Holme village 1850s
1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

Figure 22 HOLME ON THE WOLDS BEFORE ENCLOSURE IN 1798
Based on enclosure plan (HCRO IA)

5. Hutton Cranswick Parish

Township: HUTTON CRANSWICK

Grid ref: TA 025 534 (Hutton)

Acreage: 4814 acres

TA 025 523 (Cranswick)

The township of Hutton Cranswick comprises two distinct areas of settlement, Hutton to the north where the parish church is located, and Cranswick to the south, centred on a large green. These two areas have sometimes been described as separate townships, but more correctly they form one bifocal township. Although in the late 17th-century hearth tax returns the households at Hutton are differentiated from those at Cranswick, this was not a standard practice. When the assessment known as ship money was collected in 1640 no such division was made; Hutton Cranswick was regarded as one township, although separate assessments were made upon the other, much smaller, townships of Rotsea and Sunderlandwick within the same parish.[74]

In the mid 17th century Hutton Cranswick was the second largest settlement in the Bainton Beacon division; only Great Driffield was more populous. In 1670 a total of 139 households were recorded, 52 at Hutton and 87 at Cranswick.[75] A note in the parish registers of Hutton Cranswick of dues belonging to the parish clerk, copied from the notes of the previous incumbent and therefore dateable to sometime between 1711 and 1724, suggests the township had altered little in size over the previous forty or fifty years; 44 cottages and seven messuages were listed at Hutton, together with 81 cottages and nine messuages at Cranswick, a total of 141 houses.[76] In the visitation returns of 1743 and 1764 the number of families in the whole parish was given as 148 and 147 respectively.[77] These figures include the townships of Rotsea and

Sunderlandwick, but both settlements were almost deserted by the mid 18th century. The number of households in Hutton Cranswick had therefore apparently changed little between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries.

Among the more prominent men who held land at Hutton Cranswick in the mid 17th century were Sir John Hotham, the earl of Winchilsea and Sir Thomas Williamson.[78] As one might anticipate from the size of its population however, Hutton Cranswick was an open community with many smaller freeholders holding land in the township. [79] Enclosure by act of Parliament took place in 1769-71. When the land tax was collected in 1782, there were 44 proprietors in the township, a considerable number, although this was in part a consequence of the enclosure at which a number of small allotments of land had been made in lieu of common rights.[80]

Throughout the late 17th and early 18th centuries Hutton Cranswick displayed many of the characteristics of a large, open settlement, with evidence of a range of trades and crafts practised there.[81] Nonconformity was more evident than in most other townships in the area, with Quaker, Anabaptist and Roman Catholic families reported as residing there in 1743. A Quaker meeting house was built at Cranswick in the early 18th century.[82]

Hutton Cranswick has remained a large village to the present day, and has preserved its two distinct areas of settlement. A considerable amount of new housing has been erected in recent years, and few houses of a pre-enclosure date survive. The moated site of South Hall, where a 17th-century house owned by the Hotham family formerly stood, was

excavated prior to destruction in 1967.[83]

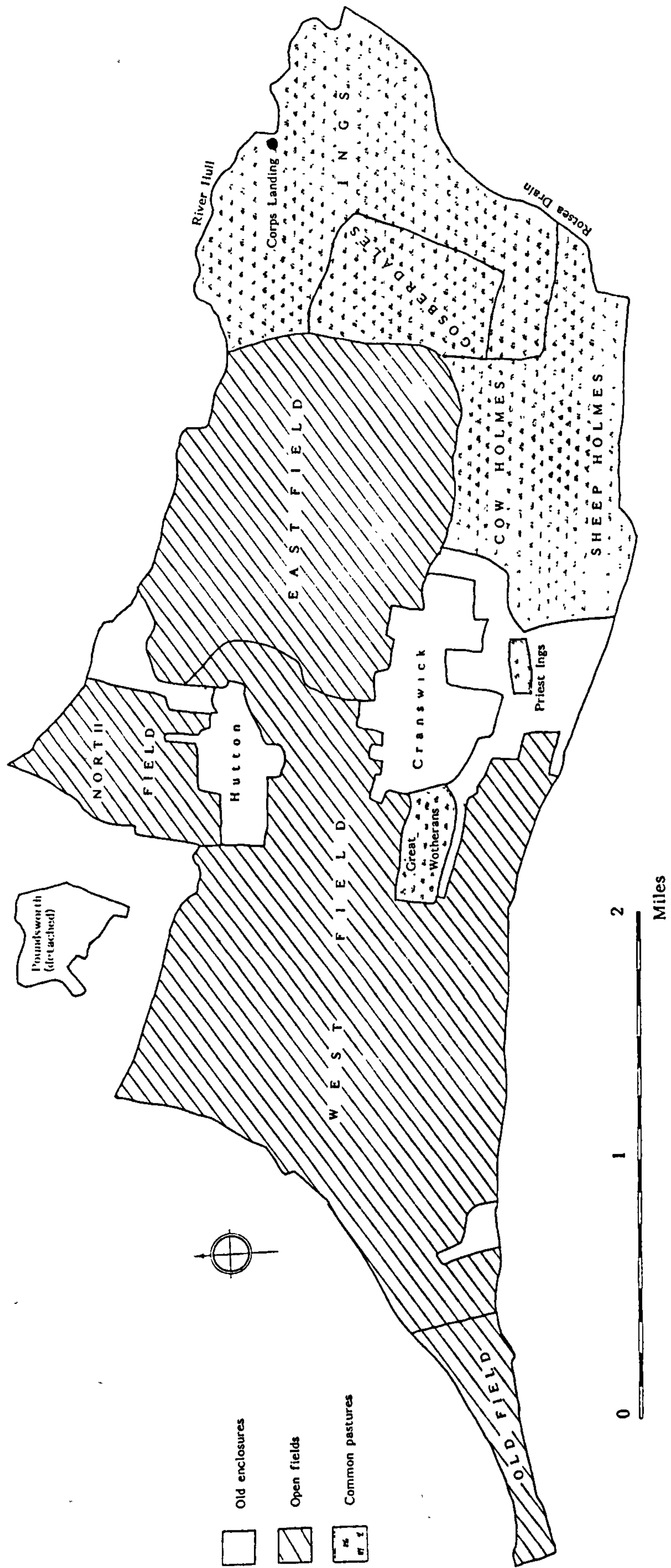


Figure 23 HUTTON CRANSWICK BEFORE ENCLOSURE IN 1771
Based on enclosure plan (HCRO IA)



Figure 24 HUTTON CRANSWICK SETTLEMENT PLAN 1770
Based on enclosure plan (HCRO IA)

Township: ROTSEA

Grid ref: TA 062 518

Acreage: 806 acres

The now-deserted township of Rotsea lies approximately two and a half miles south-east of Hutton Cranswick, in the low grounds of the Hull valley. A rental of Guisborough priory dated c.1300 suggests that at this date there were over 40 tofts in the township, indicating a more substantial population at the beginning of the 14th century than that reflected in the poll tax returns of 1377 when only 52 tax payers were listed, perhaps representing around 80 inhabitants.[84]

Rotsea was described as a small village in 1626 when the naturalist Thomas Johnson, whose relatives came from the settlement, reported on a plant which he found growing in the surrounding dikes.[85] Seven households were recorded in the hearth tax list of 1670. Of these only one household was exempt from payment, three were assessed on one hearth, a further one was assessed on two hearths, with the remaining two assessed on three hearths.[86] The larger houses may have included the outlying farm at Featherholme depicted on Osborne's map of the river Hull in 1668.[87] This farm lay within Rotsea township, but it is not clear if the hearth tax collectors would have included it in the assessment for that place. Assuming they did, the nucleus of the village would have comprised only six houses, one of which was undoubtedly 'Rotsea House' also shown on the map of 1668.[88] Only one messuage and three cottages are recorded in the township by the early 18th century. [89]

The landownership pattern of the township is somewhat complex. In 1662 two major landowners held estates in the township, Lord Wharton and

William Blunt. The area known as East Carr, perhaps representing his total landholding in Rotsea, was sold by William Blunt to Hesketh Hobman in 1699.[90] Accounts and rentals indicate that the Hotham family also owned land at Rotsea by the late 17th century. In the mid 18th century the Hothams received rent for part of Rotsea Farm.[91] The land tax returns of 1782 show two owners of large estates at this date: Caleb Marshall and Thomas Grimston esquire, together with three other proprietors, the Revd Mark Sykes, Sir Charles Thompson Bart. (a member of the Hotham family), and Godfrey Bosville.[92]

The enclosure history of Rotsea is unknown. East Field was mentioned in 1675, suggesting the township retained its open arable fields at this date.[93] A second open field may have been called Mill Field; a map of 1784 shows closes bearing the names Near Mill Field and Far Mill Field, in the vicinity of the present Rotsea Manor farm, where ridge and furrow can be seen.[94] The position of a third field, South Field, is indicated on the Ordnance Survey map of 1855.[95] Much of the pasture land in the township, including Rotsea Carr, lay near the river Hull and was poorly drained, making it suitable only for summer grazing. An enquiry made early in the 19th century concerning tithes described the land at Featherholme as 'so extremely wet it was very rare that sheep were fed on it' and elsewhere in the township a great part of the land was described as lying under water for much of the year.[96]

The circumstances of the final depopulation of Rotsea are not recorded, but a map of 1784 show that the last remnants of the village had gone by this date.[97]

The site of Rotsea village is an interesting one, with a complex

group of earthworks including house platforms lying between the present
Rotsea Manor and Rotsea Carr farms.[98]

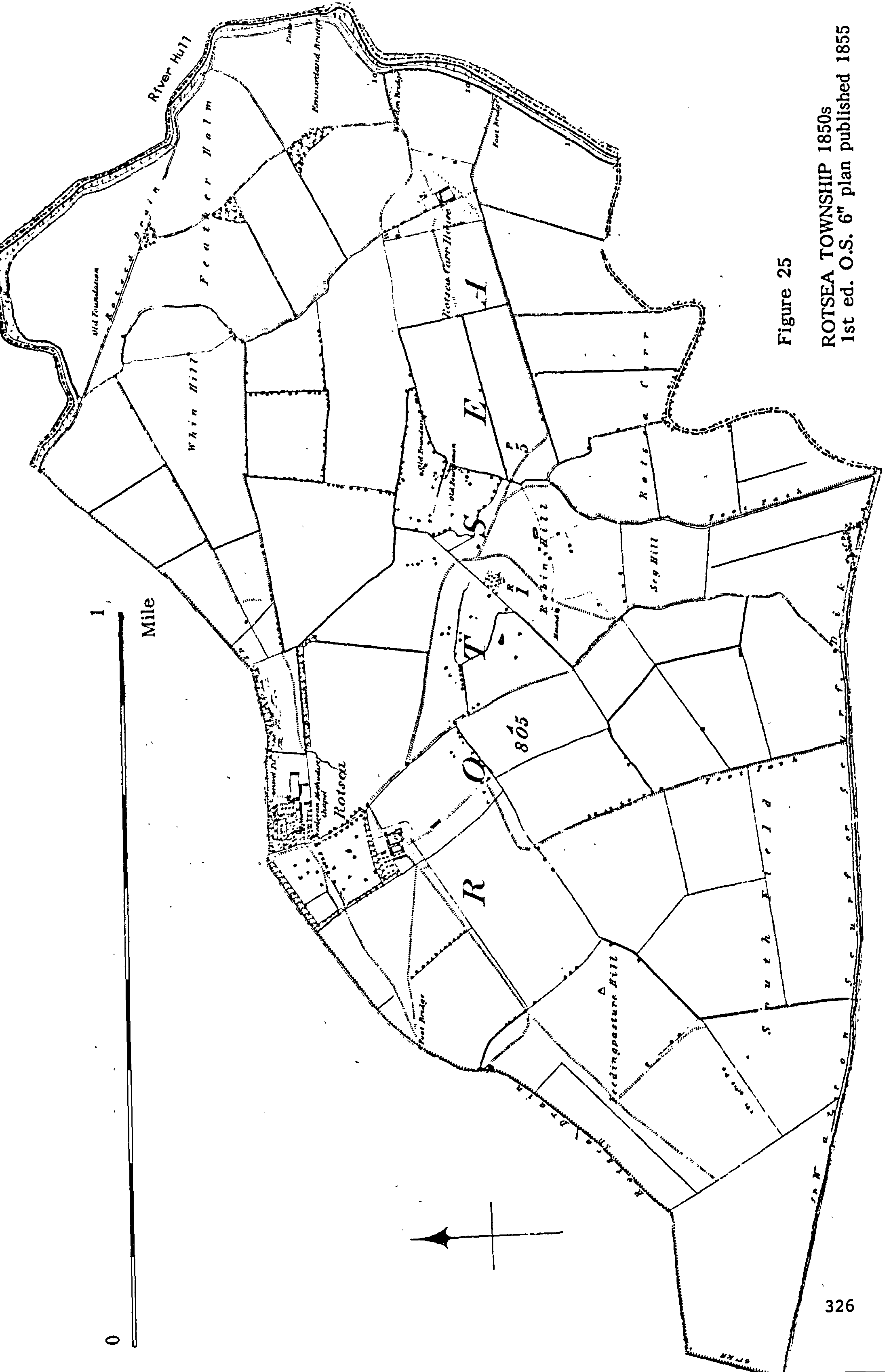


Figure 25

ROTSEA TOWNSHIP 1850s
1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

Township: SUNDERLANDWICK

Grid ref: TA 011 551

Acreage: 823 acres

The site of the former village of Sunderlandwick lies approximately two miles south-east of the centre of the town of Driffield, within Hutton Cranswick parish. The settlement appears to have been small throughout its history: in 1377 there were 38 poll taxpayers, which would suggest a population of around 60-65.[99] The muster rolls of 1584 list seven able-bodied men, together with four named defaulters, which might represent a total population of between 45 and 75, indicating little change since the 14th century.[100] In 1672 the township comprised nine households, four of which were exempt from payment of the hearth tax.[101]

In the mid 17th century at least three people owned land at Sunderlandwick; small estates were held by Sir Thomas Williamson (who owned a large estate at nearby Hutton Cranswick) and Thomas Crompton, the major landowner being Walter Crompton. The latter was assessed on four hearths when the hearth tax was collected in 1672.[102] Following the death of Walter Crompton in 1714, his lands at Sunderlandwick passed to his great nephew of the same name.[103] In 1729 only one freeholder with property worth in excess of £10 per annum was reported as residing in the township (Henry Frank) suggesting that no member of the Crompton family was living there by this date.[104] The Cromptons sold the Sunderlandwick estate to Miles Smith of Westminster in 1756.[105]

Nothing is known of the enclosure history of the township. The presence in the area of well-preserved ridge and furrow suggests enclosure associated with the conversion of arable to pasture, but the

date at which this took place is unclear. Nor is the date or cause of the final depopulation of the settlement known. When Walter Crompton made his will in 1694 he left 20 shillings a year to be distributed to the poor widowers and widows of Sunderlandwick, suggesting sufficient inhabitants remained in the township to benefit from his charity.[106] A note in the Hutton Cranswick parish registers suggests that by some date between 1711 and 1724 Sunderlandwick had been reduced to only two messuages and four cottages.[107] In spite of its diminishing size Sunderlandwick does not appear to have been solely an agricultural community in the early 18th century; the death of a shoemaker's son is recorded in 1718, and that of a butcher in 1725.[108].

Throughout the 1730s and 1740s there are references in the Quarter Sessions files to cases against the inhabitants of Sunderlandwick for not repairing the roads in the township, and no doubt the community was too small and poor to fulfil its statutory obligations.[109] In 1755 the inhabitants appealed against the removal of Thomas Sherwood and his wife and son from Nafferton to Sunderlandwick, their legal place of settlement.[110] It seems unlikely that the township would have either a cottage available or the means to support such a family at this date.

In the mid 19th century Sunderlandwick (then in the ownership of the Reynard family) was said to comprise only Sunderlandwick Hall and two farms. The hall, which stood some distance north of the village site, was destroyed by fire in 1945 but subsequently rebuilt.[111]

Earthworks mark the site of the former village.[112] Ploughing in recent years has destroyed some of the house sites to the east of the road, but those to the west survive. Ridge and furrow surrounds the

village site, and is especially clear to the north-west where a golf course has been established. The site is particularly impressive from the air.[113] (See Plate 9)

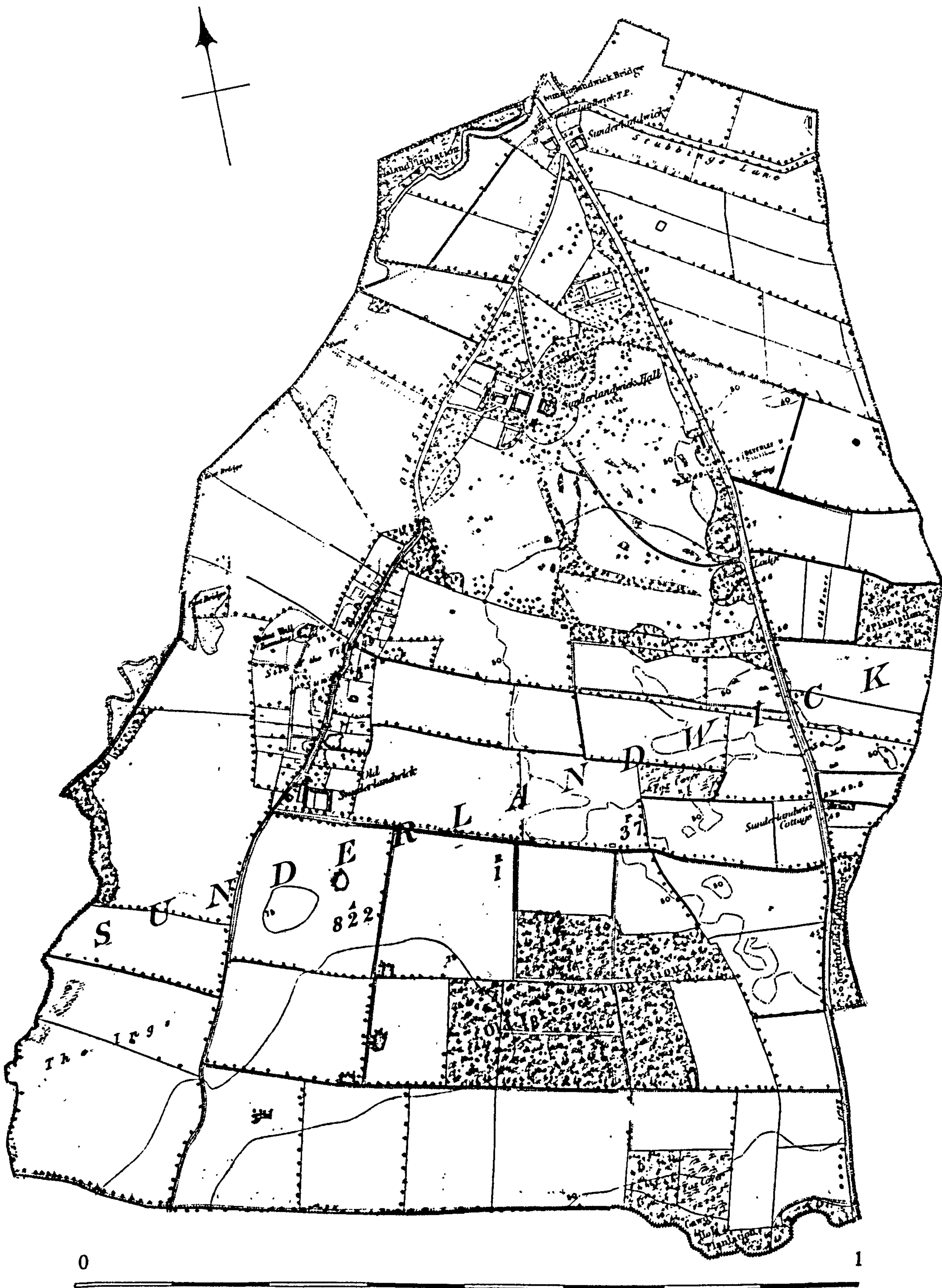


Figure 26

SUNDERLANDWICK TOWNSHIP 1850s
1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

Mile

Plate 9 Aerial view of the deserted village of Sunderlandwick

The settlement still comprised at least 9 households in 1672.



NGR: TA 011 550



Source: Cambridge University Collection
of Air Photographs

6. Kilnwick on the Wolds Parish

Township: KILNWICK ON THE WOLDS

Grid ref: SE 997 495

Acreage: 1700 acres

The township of Kilnwick on the Wolds is situated six miles south-west of Driffield. There were 43 households recorded there in 1673.[114] An accurate assessment of the number of families in the township in the mid 18th century is difficult, since the figures available at this time relate to Kilnwick parish and include several houses belonging to the parish that lay in Lockington township.[115] This led to a number of administrative difficulties within the parish: the overseers of the poor, for example, found it necessary to keep separate accounts specifically relating to the inhabitants of the parish who resided at Lockington.[116]

In 1662 the principal landowner at Kilnwick was Sandford Nevill, a West Riding gentleman who had purchased an estate there some nine years earlier. In 1722 this estate was acquired by Thomas Condon of Willerby near Ganton, and he subsequently acquired more freehold land at Kilnwick. In 1747 the estate was sold again, this time to Henry Medley, who died at sea some three months after the purchase had been made. Medley left Kilnwick to his cousin, Thomas Grimston (who had effected the purchase on his behalf) and on his death in 1751 it passed to his son, John Grimston.[117]

Smaller estates at Kilnwick were held in 1662 by Sir William St Quintin of Hayton, and the earl of Winchilsea.[118] The latter, who

controlled the neighbouring township of Watton, sold his Kilnwick estate (described as the manor of Coatgarth) in 1672. This estate, together with certain lands at Watton, was purchased in trust for Mary Dawson and her heirs, and ultimately passed by marriage to the earl of Banbury.[119] John Grimston made an unsuccessful attempt to purchase the Banbury estate in 1762, when he was told that by making such a purchase he would 'soon be master of all Kilnwick and may inclose when ever you please'. [120] The Banbury estate was not, however, sold, and enclosure was delayed until 1785-7.[121]

The township of Kilnwick was surveyed for Thomas Grimston in 1750 by John Lund. (See Figures 27 and 28) The survey book has been lost or destroyed, but the map has survived.[122] This shows the whole of the township, including the open fields, with the lands and property belonging to Thomas Grimston in colour. Buildings are shown on the map, although occasionally it is not clear if these represent cottages or simply outbuildings, particularly in the vicinity of the manor house. There are several freehold garths with no buildings marked. These may have contained houses which are not illustrated simply because they did not belong to Grimston. Allowing for these difficulties, a tentative count suggests there were probably around 35 households in the settlement at this date, indicating that some slight contraction may have taken place since the late 17th century.

Most of the houses in Kilnwick were rebuilt in a uniform estate style in the first half of the 19th century.[123] Until the early 1950s a focal point of the village was Kilnwick Hall. The earliest known illustration of the hall (which is thought to have had its origins in a monastic grange attached to Watton priory) is by Samuel Buck c.1720,

and shows a largely Jacobean house which perhaps incorporated elements of a medieval building. It was considerably altered both externally and internally in the 18th century. Most of the house was demolished in 1950-1 but the 17th century service/servants' wing (largely untouched by the 18th century alterations) together with the gate pillars and kitchen garden have survived.[124]

Shrunken village earthworks have been recorded to the west of the present settlement.[125]

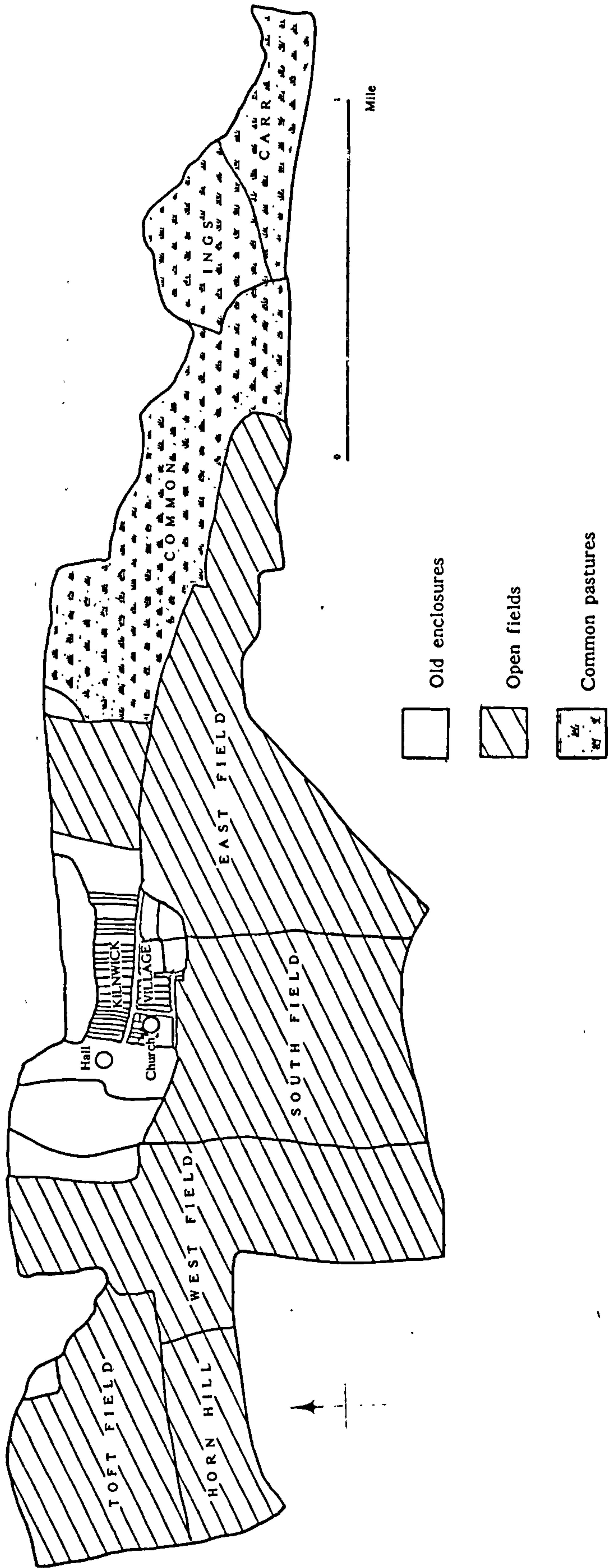


Figure 27 KILNWICK OPEN FIELD PLAN 1750
Based on plan of 1750 (private collection)

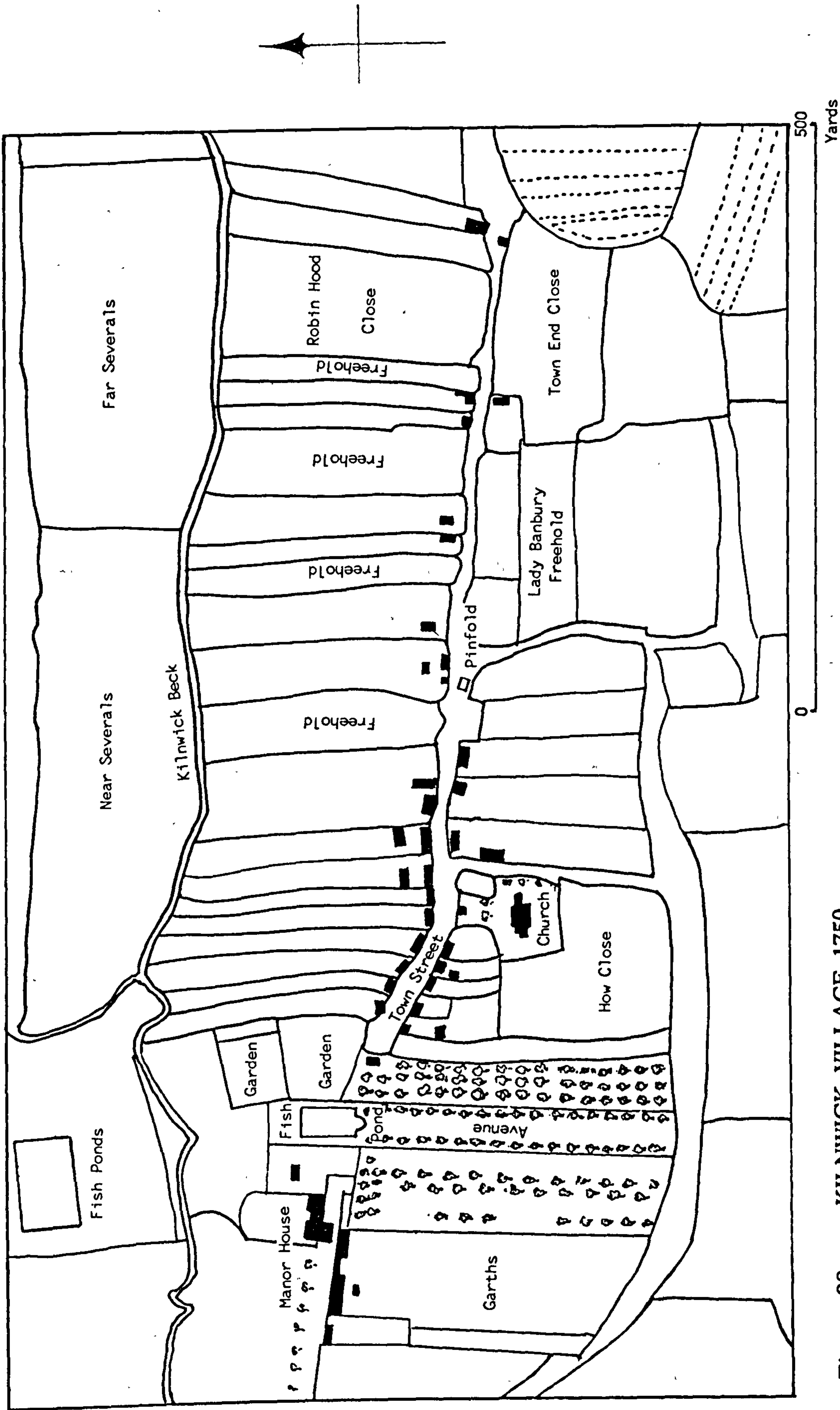


Figure 28 KILN Wick VILLAGE 1750
Based on plan of 1750 (private collection)

Township: BESWICK

Grid ref: TA 013 483

Acreage: 2029 acres

The settlement of Beswick lies six and a half miles north-west of Beverley. The eastern area of the township, lying towards the river Hull, is known as Wilfholme. Prior to its enclosure in the early 19th century, several townships claimed right of pasture on Wilfholme Common.[126]

There were 35 households in Beswick in 1672.[127] By the early 18th century at least one house was located at Wilfholme, possibly an encroachment on the common.[128] Although Beswick forms part of Kilnwick parish, it had its own chapel, and separate visitation returns were made for the chapelry in 1743 and 1764. The number of families reported in 1743 was only 22, indicating the village had decreased considerably in size since the late 17th century. Although some repopulation had apparently occurred by 1764, when 27 families were reported, this still represents an overall reduction of several houses since the late 17th century.[129] This is confirmed by a document dated 1765 which makes reference to a number of cottages 'gone down'.[130] Further details are given in an account dated 1768 which lists 'the tofts, wastes or common rights in Beswick on which has been homesteads but now taken down'.[131] This suggests there were nine empty house sites in the settlement by this date.

The principal landowners at Beswick from the middle ages were the Daniells, who built the present Beswick Hall c.1600. Sir Thomas Daniell was assessed for 15 hearths when the hearth tax was collected in 1672.[132] The Beswick estate passed by marriage to Daniell's son-in-law

William Draper. In 1702 William Draper and Sir Charles Hotham from neighbouring Scarborough jointly leased a messuage, cottage, and certain lands at Beswick, together with the rectory tithes and advowson of the chapel, from the Master of Archbishop Holgate's school at York.[133] No evidence of other freehold property in the township has been located. William Draper's daughter, Dorothy, married Hugh Bethell (d.1747), a cousin of the Bethells of Rise, and they lived at Beswick.[134] In 1750 William Draper's son, Daniel Draper of Beverley, mortgaged the manor of Beswick to Hugh Bethell of Rise, who became the eventual owner of the estate which he sold in 1768 to a Leeds merchant, William Denison.[135] Denison was assessed for the whole township when the land tax was collected in 1787.[136]

The open fields of Beswick were enclosed privately in 1768-9, following Denison's acquisition of the estate.[137] Soon after attempts were made to enclose Wilfholme Common, on which the townships of Beswick, Kilnwick, Lockington, and Aike all had rights of common, but no agreement on the proportion of land to be allotted to each township could be reached. The common was eventually enclosed by act of Parliament between 1806 and 1814.[138]

Beswick Hall, an imposing early 17th-century brick house with mullioned windows and elaborate diaper work, dominates the present village. The house was divided up, and the facade altered, in the 19th century. It was subsequently occupied by two separate families, an arrangement which has continued to the present day. In 1856 both halves were occupied by members of the Duggleby family and members of this family of tenant farmers, who have resided in the township from at least the mid 17th century, continue to live at Beswick Hall.[139]

The original chapel, standing almost opposite the hall, was distinctive for its thatched nave. It was replaced by the present building in the 19th century.[140] An illustration of Beswick village earlier this century shows a group of thatched cottages, which were probably constructed of mud and cruck, and may have dated from the 17th century. (See Plate 10) All these cottages have been demolished, the last said to have been destroyed during the Second World War. With the exception of the hall, only two surviving houses may date pre-date 1700; a house at the north end of the village, together with an isolated cottage at Wilfholme. The rest of the village, which has remained modest in size, is composed of houses ranging in date from the mid/late 18th century to the late 20th century.

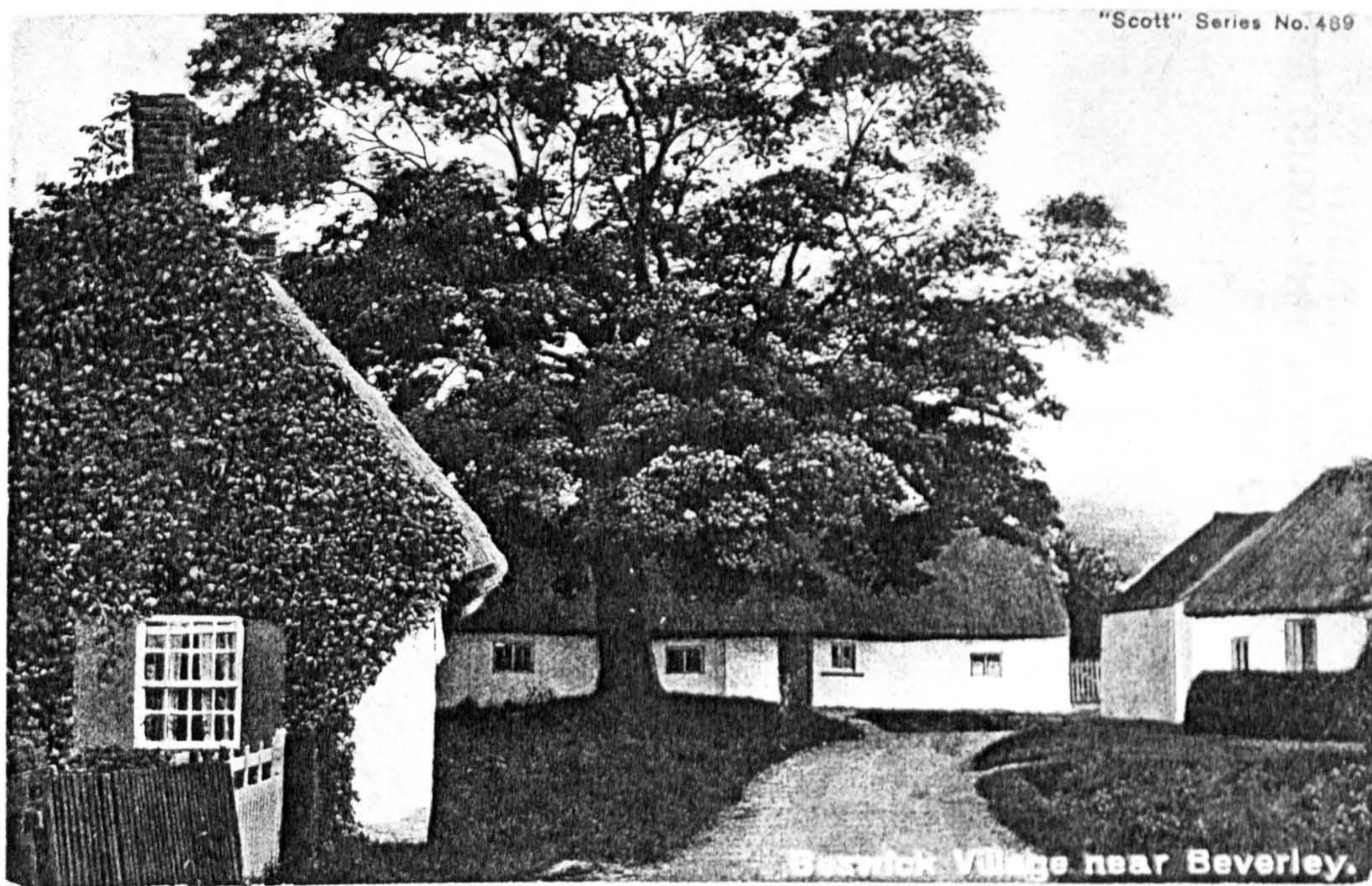
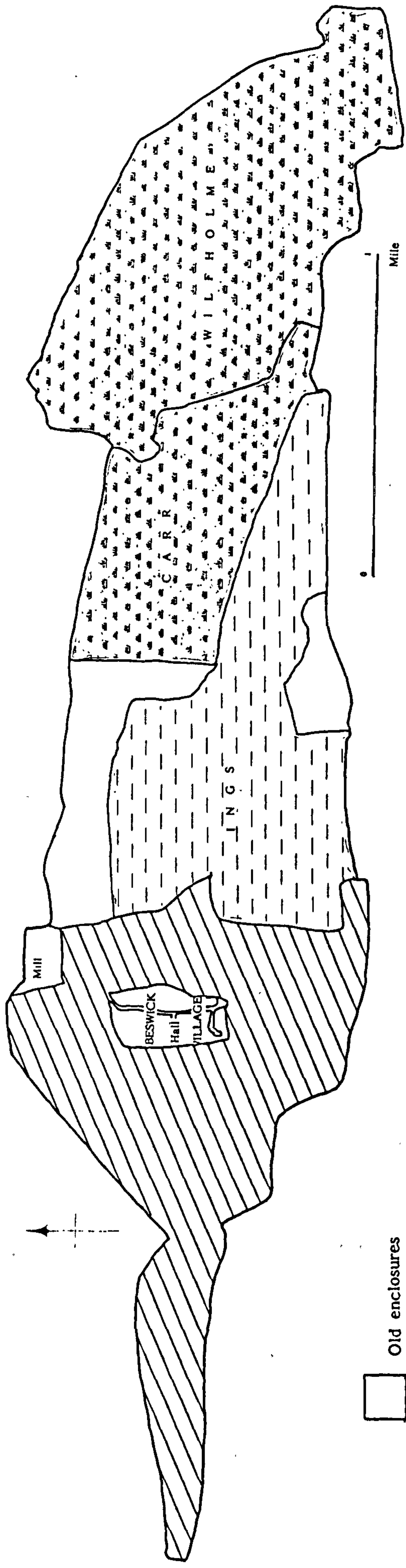





Plate 10

Early 20th century view of Beswick

(south-west end of village)

(personal collection)



-  Old enclosures
-  Open fields
-  Common pastures

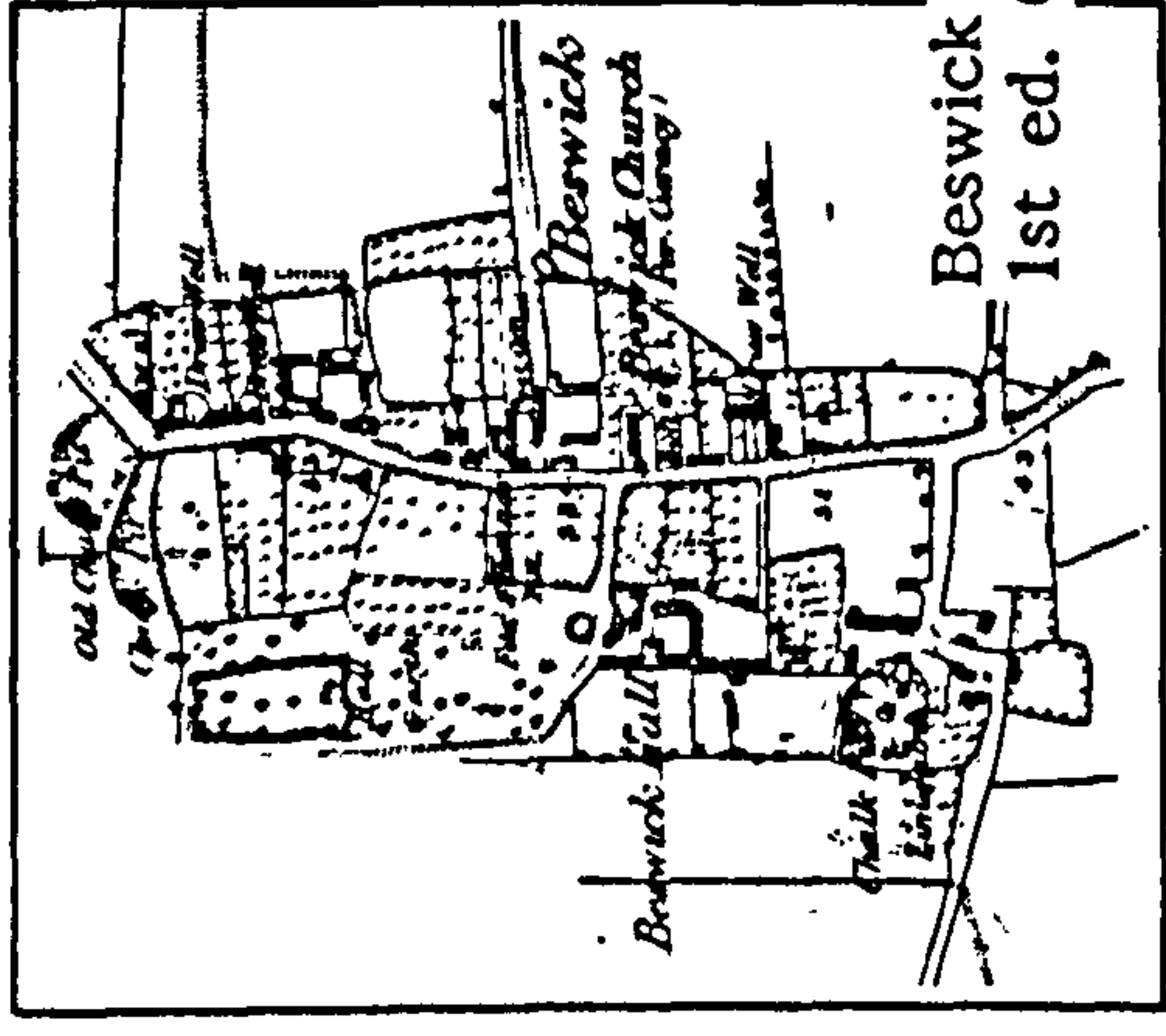


Figure 29 BESWICK OPEN FIELD PLAN
 Based on tithe award plan of 1845 (BIHR) and
 survey of c1768 (NUL De I 3/10/20/1)

Beswick village 1850s
 1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

Township: BRACKEN

Grid ref: SE 984 502

Acreage: 677 acres

Bracken, lying approximately one mile to the north-west of Kilnwick, appears to have been a substantial village in the middle ages. The manor and town of Bracken was granted to the le Scrope family in 1322, and in 1377 78 poll tax payers were recorded there, suggesting a population of around 130.[141] In 1584 the township was still of sufficient size to provide up to 15 able-bodied men for military service.[142] Several inhabitants of the township were named in a case concerning tithes of hay in 1601.[143] The parish registers for Kilnwick indicate that at least half a dozen families were still resident in Bracken in the early 1660s.[144] Inhabitants of the township were mentioned in the jury verdicts relating to Kilnwick manor at this period.[145] Five households were recorded in the hearth tax returns of 1670.[146]

The much reduced settlement continued in existence until at least the end of the 17th century. In 1698 the Kilnwick overseers of the poor obtained an order to ensure that the inhabitants of Bracken, who were reported as having no poor of their own, contributed towards the maintenance of the poor of Kilnwick. A list of seven names is given under Bracken in the overseers' assessment for the same year, including two men who were assessed 'for tithe' and probably not residents of the township. From 1700 until the overseers' account book ends in 1753, however, only one family (excluding those who paid in respect of tithe) contributed towards the Kilnwick parish poor assessment - that of Robert Gray, a yeoman farmer.[147] He and, following his death in 1728, his son, tenanted the duke of Bolton's estate, which had been acquired by the duke through his marriage to an illegitimate daughter

of Emmanuel Scrope.[148] No references to Bracken residents other than members of the Gray family have been found in the parish registers covering the first half of the 18th century, nor are there any wills for inhabitants of the township in this period, and it seems probable that the hamlet had finally been reduced to a single farm. Only one inhabited house was listed in the census returns of 1801.[149]

The date of the enclosure of Bracken is unknown, but conversion from arable to pasture may have taken place in the later middle ages, perhaps causing the reduction in size, but not the total depopulation, of the township. When John Grimston of neighbouring Kilnwick attempted to purchase the Bracken estate in 1760 from the duke of Bridgewater, to whom it had passed by marriage, it was described as 'capable of very great improvement'.[150]

The Ordnance Survey map of 1855 shows a small cluster of earthworks lying to the south-east of a farmstead. A close named Chapel Garth marks the site of a chapel, known to have been demolished by 1573.[151] Clear earthworks are still evident at the village site.[152]

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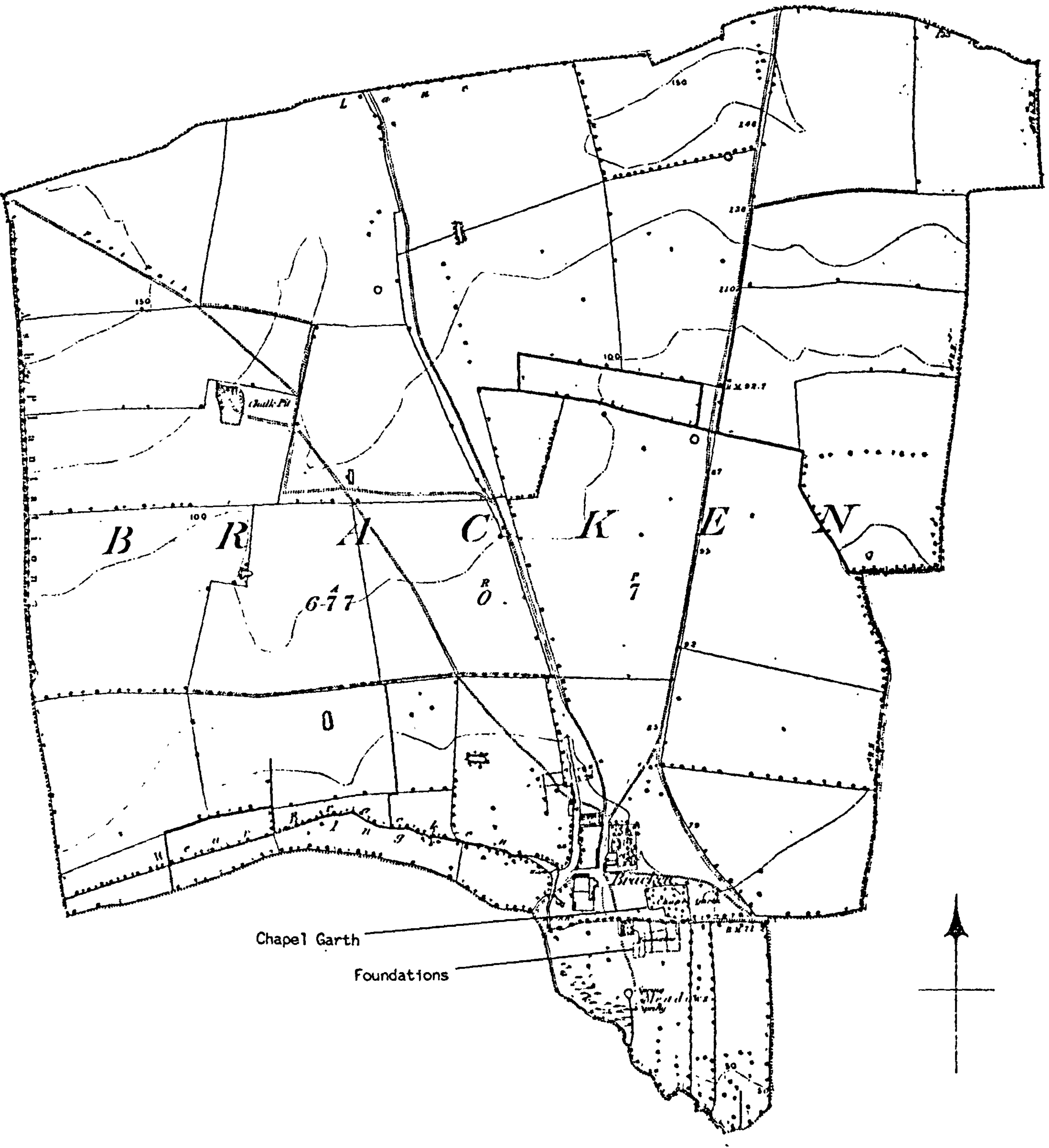


Figure 30 BRACKEN TOWNSHIP 1850s
1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

7. Kirkburn Parish

Township: KIRKBURN (with Battleburn)

Acreage: 1410 acres Grid ref: SE 980 551 (Kirkburn)

: SE 986 554 (Battleburn)

The township of Kirkburn lies four miles south-west of Driffield, and forms the principal settlement within Kirkburn parish. In the 11th century it was known as Westburn, prior to the building of the surviving Norman church.[153]

There were 24 households listed at Kirkburn in 1672.[154] This figure may have included some houses at Battleburn [see below]. No separate figures are given for the townships within Kirkburn parish in the 18th century visitation returns, but the number of families for the whole parish in 1743 was only 45, compared with a combined total of 71 for the parish in the early 1670s, suggesting that considerable shrinkage of some or all of the constituent settlements had taken place between these dates.[155] Only 16 inhabited houses were reported at Kirkburn in the census returns of 1801.[156]

Thomas Young, archbishop of York, was lord of the manor of Kirkburn in the late 16th century and in 1662 the principal landowner in the township was his descendant of the same name.[157] Land purchases at Kirkburn by Mark Kirkby, a Hull merchant, are recorded during the first half of the 18th century, and by 1782 the major landowner in the township was Christopher Sykes, who had inherited the Kirkby estate. Five other people were assessed for land tax at this date.[158]

A rabbit warren known as Crakehill had been established in the township sometime before 1694.[159] The date of enclosure of the open fields of Kirkburn is unknown. A parliamentary survey of 1650 suggests that the township was unenclosed at this date, and several late 17th-century deeds refer to 'oxgangs' in the township, which usually indicates that land was still held under the open field system. [160] A glebe terrier dated 1764 contains references to Kirkburn field suggesting that enclosure may not have taken place until later in the 18th century.[161] There are, however, no records of a formal enclosure, other than that of the common meadows and pasture which were enclosed under an award of 1851.[162]

A number of documentary references suggest that some of the contraction which took place within Kirkburn parish in the late 17th century or early 18th century was due to the demolition of cottages within the settlement of Kirkburn. When the manor was sold by Young's heirs in 1694 reference was made to a cottage 'unbuildd' [demolished?] and in 1707 the property attached to the manor included the site of a cottage.[163] Further demolition of cottages appears to have taken place in the early 18th century; land purchased at Kirkburn by Mark Kirkby in 1739 included the sites of demolished cottages and the following year he purchased the site of another cottage in the township.[164] Shrunken village earthworks have been recorded at Kirkburn, in particular north and south of the modern road at the west end of the village.[165]

The deserted settlement of Battleburn lies to the north-east of Kirkburn village. Little is known of the history of Battleburn, which was apparently never large enough to merit separate taxation from

Kirkburn. In the early middle ages the 'entire vill of Bordel' (alias Bordelbrunne or Battleburn) was granted to Guisborough Priory.[166] Twenty-four bovate holders, each with a half acre toft-and-croft, and land in the open fields are mentioned in a rental of c.1300.[167] It is not known why, or over how long a period, the settlement was deserted. When John Heron of Beverley (who had recently purchased the adjacent manor of Eastburn) purchased land in Battleburn in 1672-3 this apparently included two messuages and three cottages, although these may not have formed a nucleated hamlet.[168] Three cottages at Battleburn were still mentioned in 1740.[169]. Earthworks mark the village site.[170]

[see also Eastburn entry]

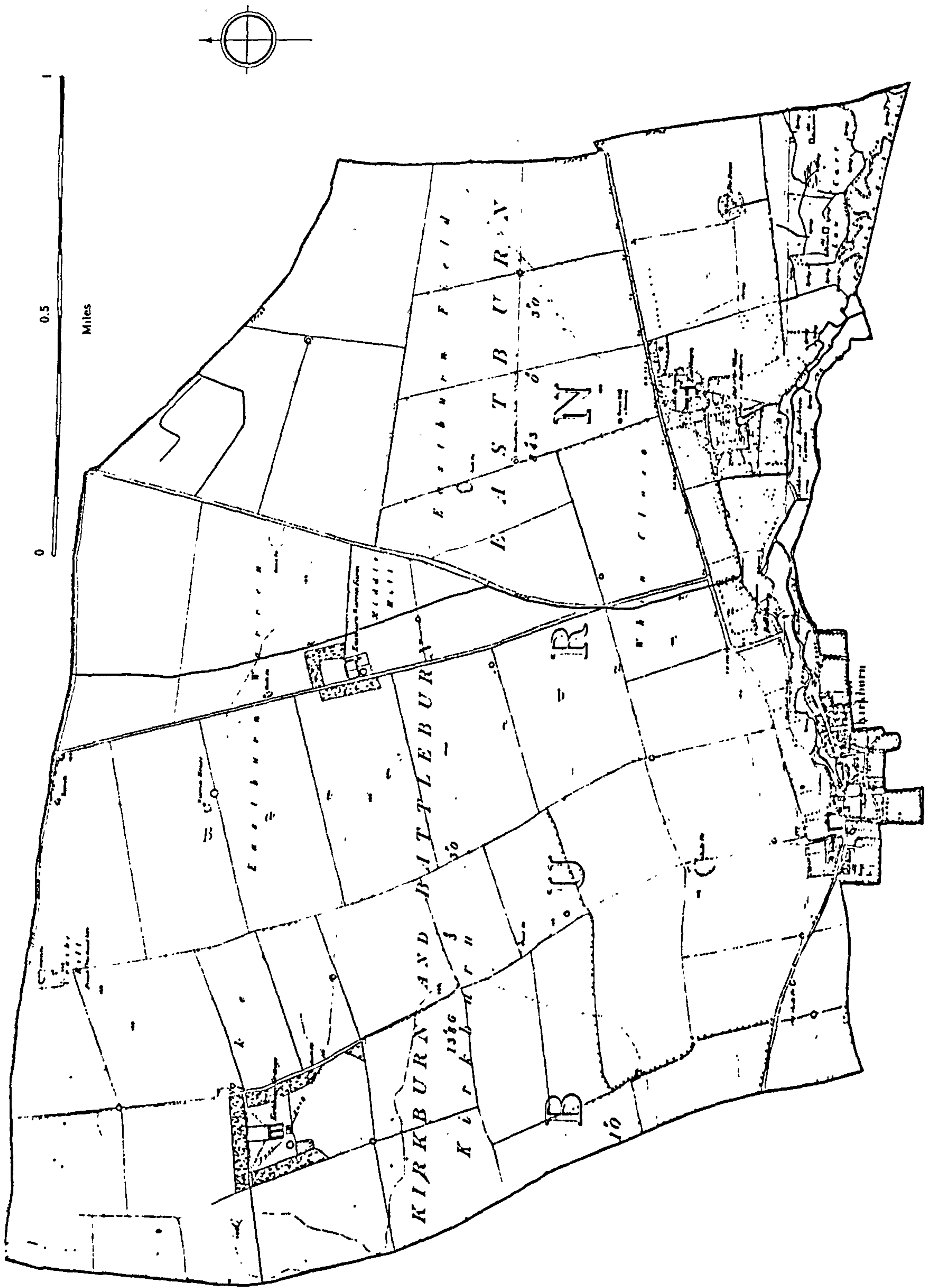


Figure 31 KIRKBURN, BATTLEBURN AND EASTBURN TOWNSHIPS 1850s
 1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

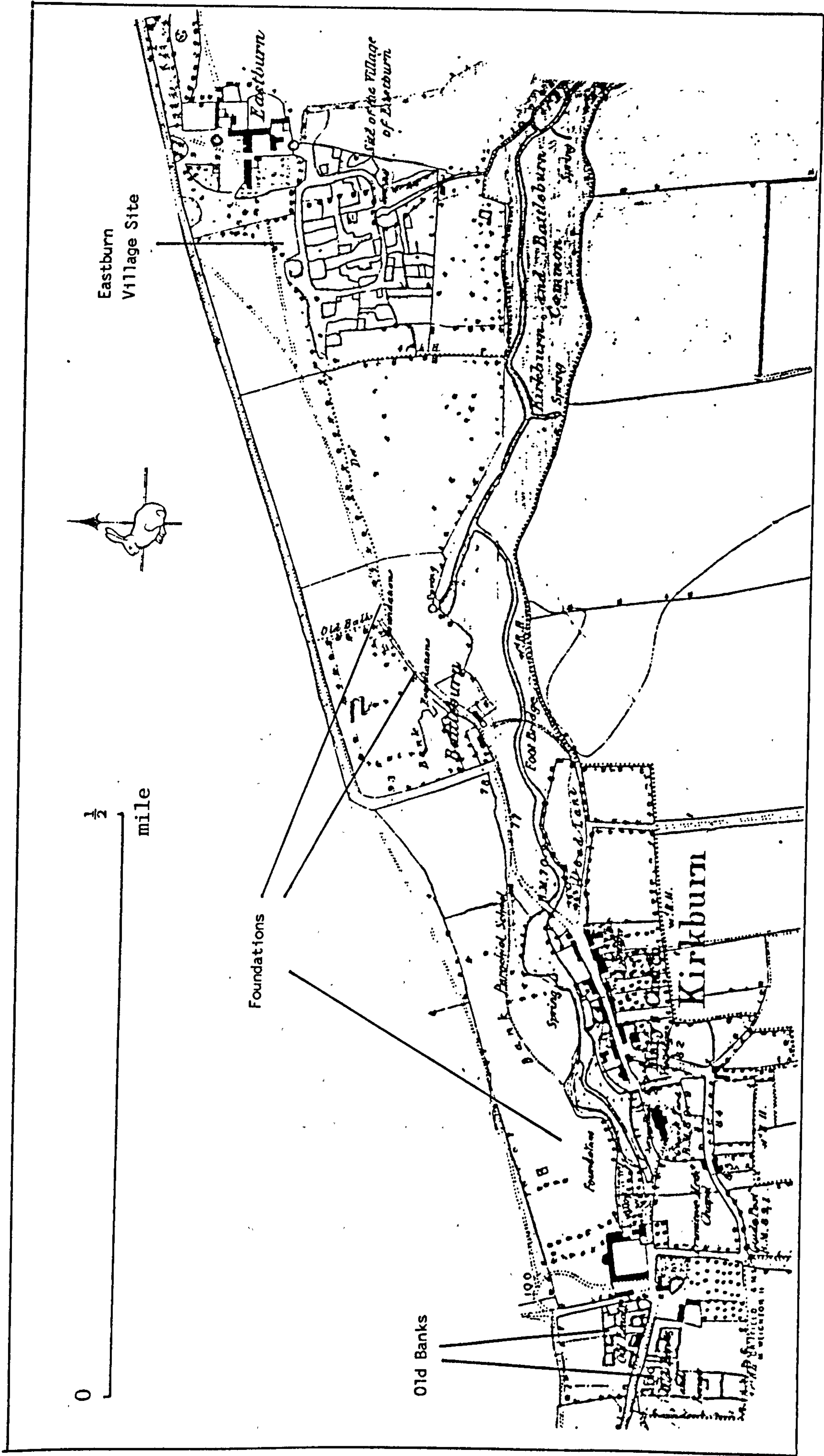


Figure 32 KIRKBURN, BATTLEBURN AND EASTBURN SETTLEMENT PLANS 1850s
1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

Township: EASTBURN

Grid ref: SE 991 555

Acreage: 823 acres

The deserted settlement of Eastburn lies east of Battleburn, within Kirkburn parish.

In the middle ages Eastburn was a settlement of moderate size; 69 taxpayers are recorded there in 1377, suggesting a population of between 110 and 120.[171] Although the settlement appears to have declined in size by the late 16th century, final depopulation did not occur until the mid 17th century. Only four houses remained in the township in 1672, at least one of which may have been demolished soon after that date.[172]

In 1662 estates at Eastburn were held by Sir John Hewit of Waresley in Huntingdonshire, and Thomas Young.[173] At this date John Heron of Beverley owned substantial estates at nearby Kelleythorpe, Driffield, Southburn and Skerne, and in October 1664 he purchased, from Sir John Hewit, the manor of Eastburn and all lands and tenements belonging to it (formerly in the hands of John Vavasour), two oxgangs of land (formerly in the hands of John Hobman) and a parcel of ground called 'Chappell Closes'.[174] Eighteen months later he purchased the estate of Thomas Young (deceased) which comprised the capital messuage of Eastburn, a cottage, closes of meadow or pasture called Great Garth and Little Intack, and three oxgangs of land (described as 'late in the occupation of William Bealby').[175] Thus by March 1666 John Heron had acquired control of the whole township of Eastburn.

The events which followed are recorded in the cause papers relating

to a dispute over the value of the tithes of hay in Eastburn, brought in 1682, from which the following is an extract:

the town or village of Eastburn of the parish of Kirkburn ... did anciently consist of a great many messuages, cottages and dwelling houses ... then the lands or grounds belonging to the same was very inconsiderable and consisted most of tofts, crofts, garths and other backsides belonging the said houses ... the said messuages and other dwelling houses were about twelve years ago totally demolished and the town of Eastburn aforesaid quite depopulated by John Heron late of Beverley ... before the demolishment [and] depopulation of the houses and town of Eastburn aforesaid the tithe hay of the township was very inconsiderable since the said demolishment and depopulation at Eastburn aforesaid the tithes of hay there have been much more valuable ... [176]

The implication that Heron had pulled down 'a great many messuages, cottages and dwelling houses' is clearly something of an exaggeration. The following account was given by Brian Taylor of Lockington, a former steward to John Heron:

... the town of Eastburn aforesaid did anciently consist of several messuages and cottages and the grounds belonging the same were inconsiderable especially as to meadow ... about twelve years ago the said messuages and other dwelling houses were totally demolished by the aforesaid Mr Heron except two little cottages wherein this examnants shepherd and a poor old woman now live and all grounds belonging the township are

converted into meadow and pasture ... [177]

According to another witness, Emma Wilson of Kirkburn, Eastburn comprised 'four husbandmen's houses and three grasmens' houses' before it was purchased by John Heron, and he had 'pulled down all those houses save one of the husbandmen's houses and two grasmens' houses'. [178] The cause papers also record how 'she hath heard there were other houses pulled down there before his time' suggesting some deliberate depopulation had already taken place at Eastburn before its acquisition by Heron. [179]

In 1698 the grounds of Eastburn and Battleburn were described as sheep walk. [180] Some of the land had been converted into a rabbit warren by the early 18th century; a reference to rabbit poaching from this warren occurs in the East Riding Quarter Sessions files for 1707. [181] When the warren was leased to William Boyes in 1740, it was agreed that 3,778 pairs of conies should remain there when the lease expired. [182]. The warren was maintained until 1849-50 when it was reclaimed for arable land. A new farmstead was built at Eastburn at this date. [183]

The well-preserved site of the former settlement lies to the south-west of Eastburn Farm. [184] (See Plate 11)

[for map see Kirkburn entry, Figures 31 & 32]



Plate 11

Aerial view of the
deserted village of
Eastburn



NGR: SE 991 555

Source:

Cambridge University
Collection of Air Photographs

Township: SOUTHBURN

Grid ref: SE 990 544

Acreage: 1103 acres

The village of Southburn lies approximately one mile to the south-east of Kirkburn. The township had its own chapel in the middle ages, last mentioned in 1544/5 when it was reported that mass was said there weekly.[185] Twenty households were recorded in the township when the hearth tax was collected in 1673.[186] There are no separate figures for the number of households or families available for the 18th century, but a map of c.1790 suggests there were only 14 farms and cottages in Southburn by this date.[187]

There were three major landowners at Southburn in 1662; William Plaxton, Thomas Young (who also held land elsewhere in the parish) and John Heron who held the largest estate and who soon after bought up the adjacent township of Eastburn where he was responsible for demolishing most of the remaining cottages.[188] In 1729 there was only one resident freeholder in Southburn with an estate valued in excess of £10, a yeoman farmer. There were, however, 12 freeholders recorded in the land tax returns of 1782.[189]

Enclosure of the open fields, meadows, pastures and wastes of Southburn took place in 1793-7.[190] A map of the village and open fields just prior to enclosure has survived.[191] (See Figures 33 & 34) This shows the township to have had a highly organized field system, which it has been suggested was laid out at one point in time in accordance with a pre-determined plan. The map shows a standard pattern of 25 lands per furlong, with few exceptions, with the occupancy of the strips following a set pattern in each furlong.[192] This suggests there

can have been little flexibility in the number or size of farms in the township. Although the map has largely been studied in the context of medieval field systems, it is possible that some form of reorganization had taken place in the post-medieval period, with the reallocation of strips into a more organized pattern of occupancy as an alternative to enclosure.

Southburn now comprises only a handful of houses and farms. Shrunken village earthworks have been located around the present settlement.[193]

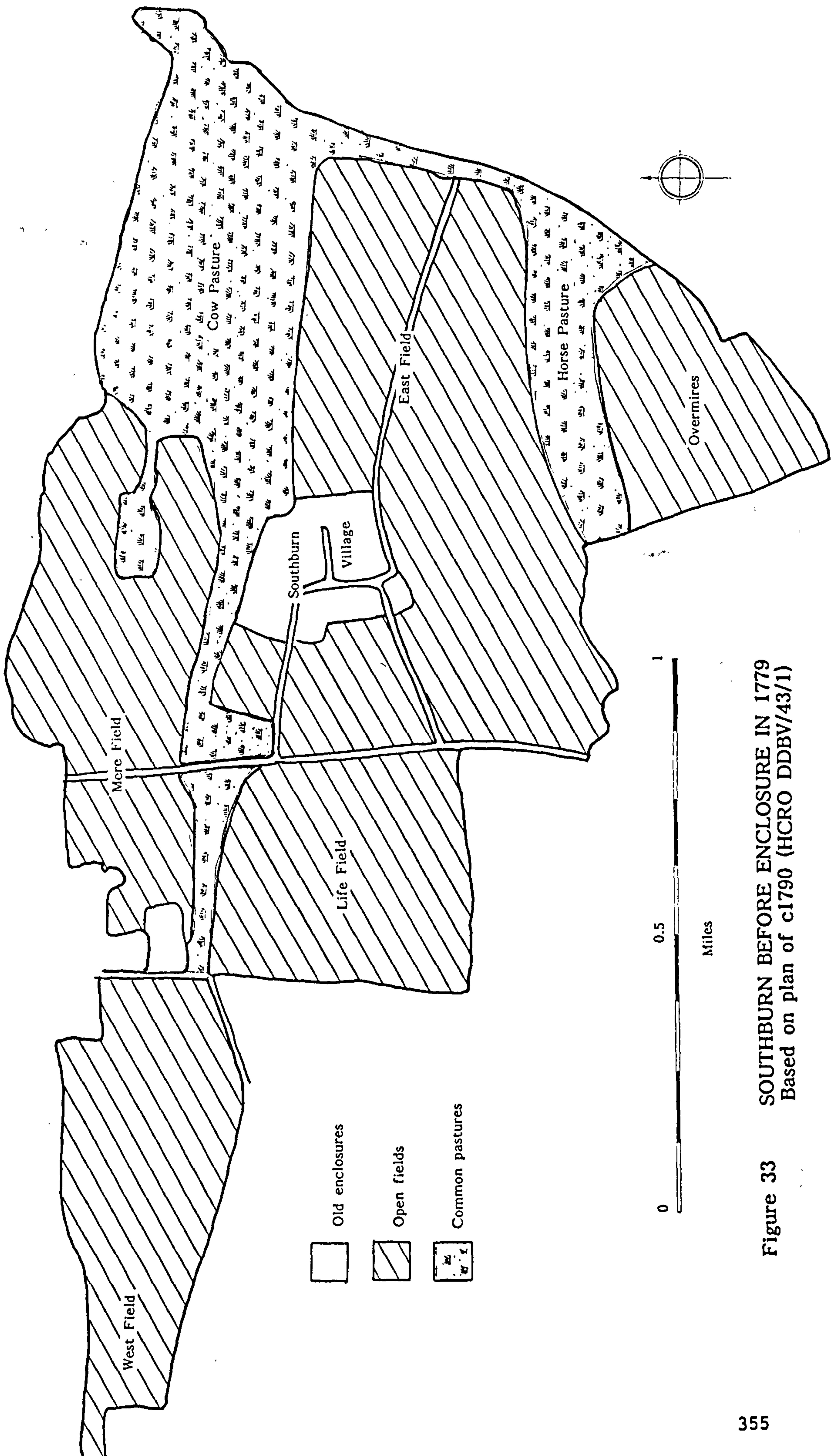


Figure 33 SOUTHBURN BEFORE ENCLOSURE IN 1779
Based on plan of c1790 (HCRO DDBV/43/1)

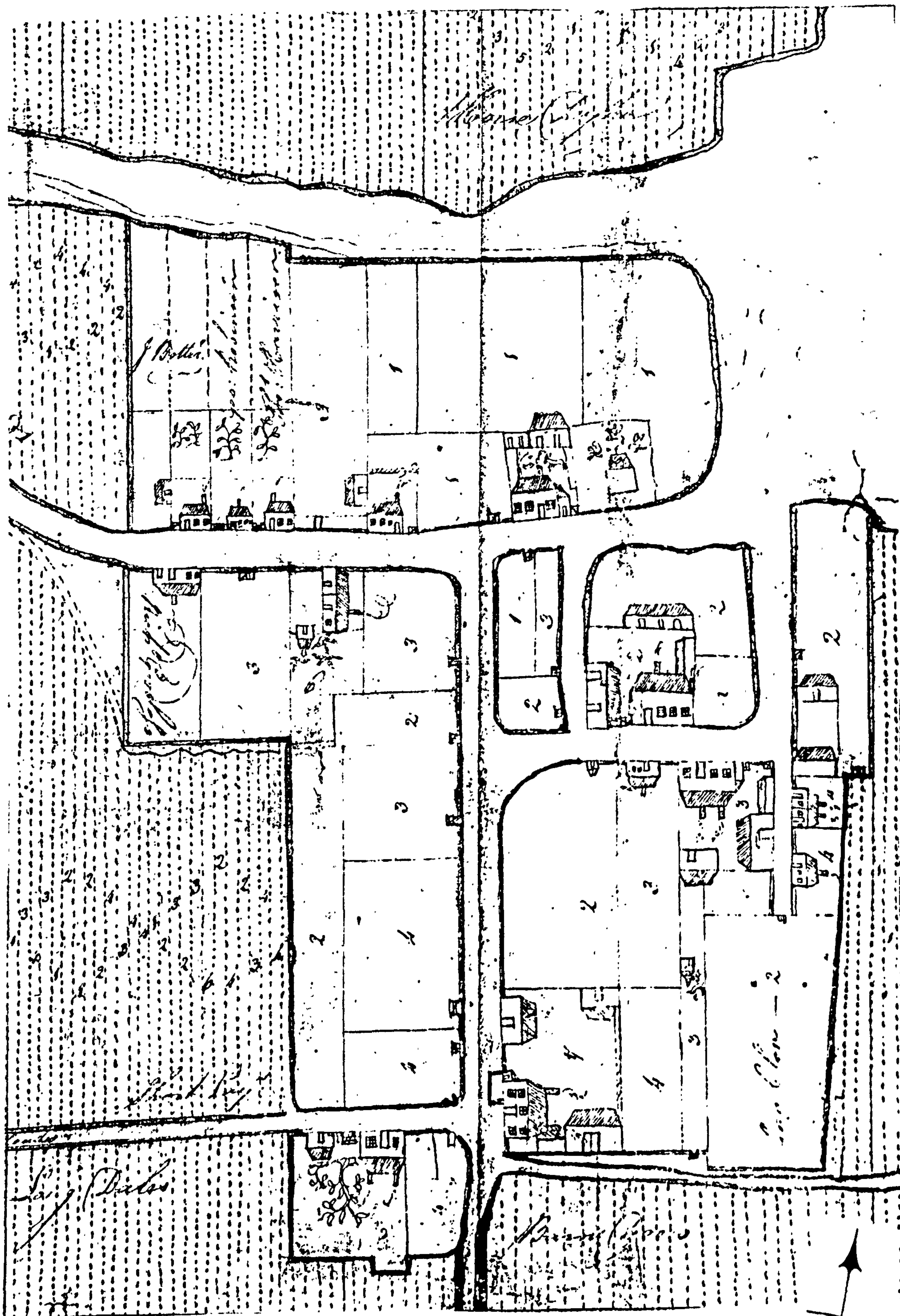


Figure 34

SOUTHBURN VILLAGE c1790

From plan of 1790 (HCRO DDBV/43/1)

Township: TIBTHORPE

Grid ref: SE 960 555

Acreage: 2885 acres

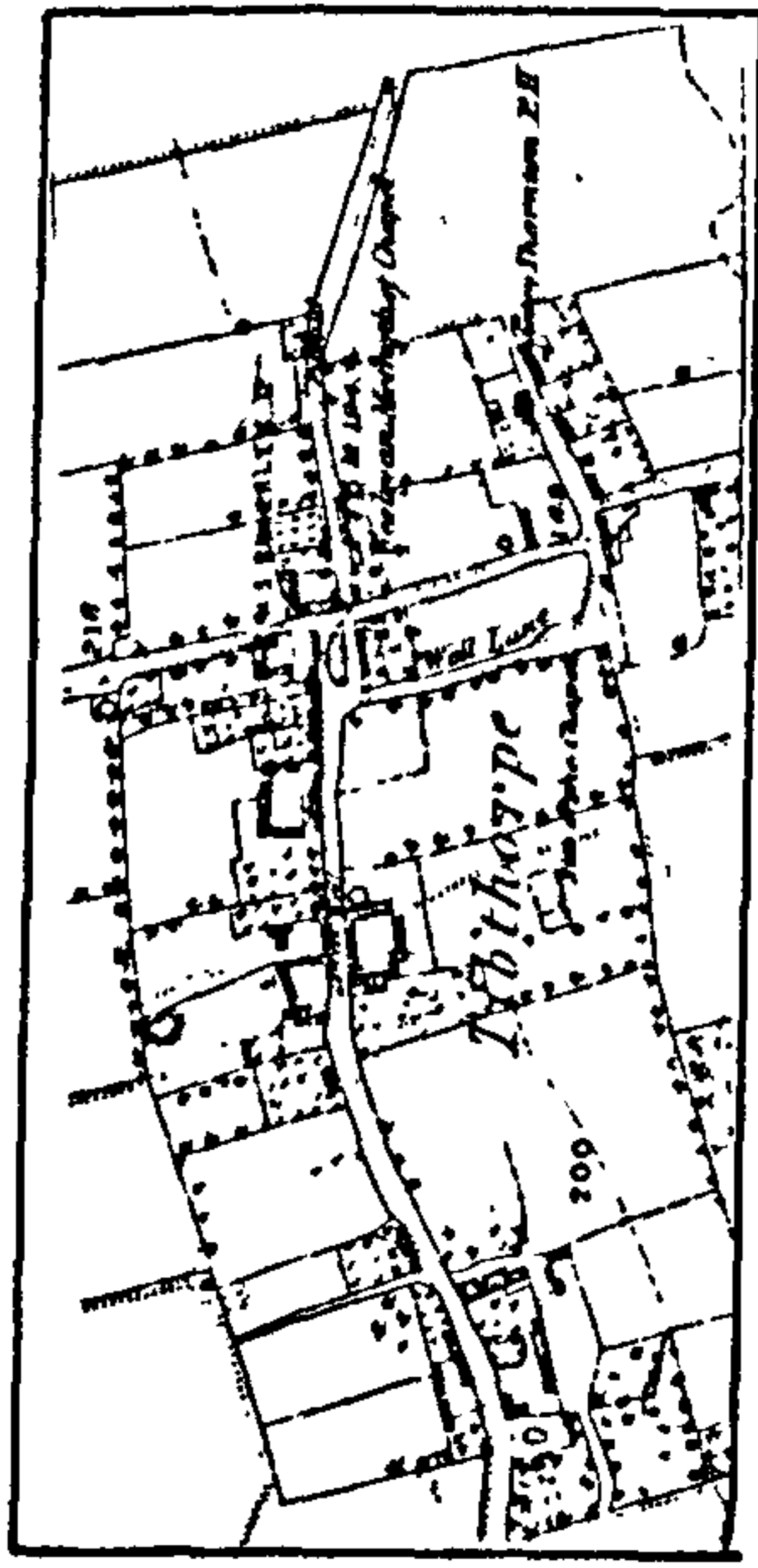
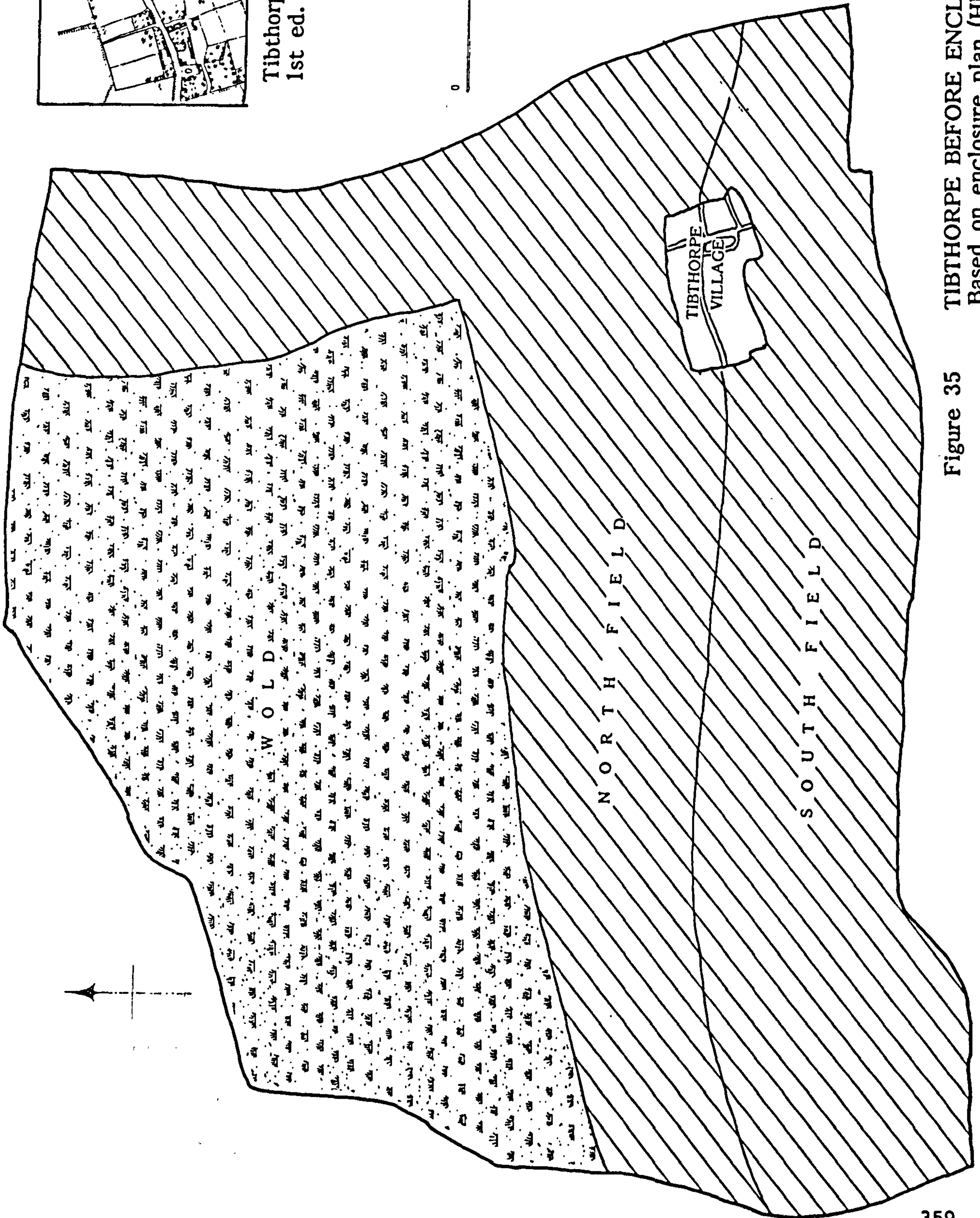
Tibthorpe village lies approximately one mile west of Kirkburn. The township of Tibthorpe is the largest in acreage within Kirkburn parish, being more than twice the size of Kirkburn township, and considerably greater than both Southburn and Eastburn. In 1544/5 Tibthorpe had its own chapel, St James, the maintenance of which, it was claimed was essential for the benefit of 'slow and impotent persons than cannot go to the parish church to hear mass there'. The chapel had a garth, a small close and two oxgangs of land. There is no record of the chapel at a later date although its site is known.[194]

In 1673 there were 23 households recorded in the township, approximately the same number as at neighbouring Kirkburn.[195] There are no separate figures for the number of families at Tibthorpe in the visitation returns for Kirkburn parish of 1743 or 1764. It is possible that some slight contraction at Tibthorpe contributed to the overall reduction in the number of households in the parish between the late 17th century and mid 18th century; in 1771 reference was made to the 'site of a cottage' in the settlement.[196]

In 1662 the major landowner at Tibthorpe was William Goodall of Earswick.[197] There were three resident freeholders with estates valued in excess of £10 in 1729, all members of the Harrison family.[198] Eleven proprietors were assessed for land tax in 1782.[199]

The open fields, pastures, commons and waste lands of Tibthorpe were enclosed by act of Parliament in 1794-6.[200]

There are a number of farmhouses in the township outside the village nucleus which date from the post-enclosure period. No significant development has taken place in the settlement within recent years. Shrunken village earthworks have been recorded to the south of the main east-west village street.[201]



Tibthorpe village 1850s
1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

Figure 35 TIBTHORPE BEFORE ENCLOSURE IN 1796
Based on enclosure plan (HUL DDSY/67/1)

8. Lockington Parish

Township: LOCKINGTON

Grid ref: SE 997 472

Acreage: 3216 acres

Lockington is situated six miles north-west of Beverley. The village comprises the main nucleus together with a subsidiary area of settlement to the south, known as Thorpe, where the parish church is located.

There were 77 households listed at Lockington in 1670.[202] It is impossible to obtain an accurate assessment of the number of households or families in the settlement of Lockington in the mid 18th century from the visitation returns, since a number of houses in Lockington township belonged to Kilnwick parish. In 1650 it was stated that about twenty of the houses at Lockington lay in Kilnwick parish.[203] The first edition (six inches to one mile) Ordnance Survey map of 1855 shows the detached portion of Kilnwick parish.

The major landowners at Lockington in 1662 were John Estoft, Sir John Hotham and Robert Remington, with a smaller estate held by James Moyser.[204] When the hearth tax was collected in 1670, John Estoft was assessed for five hearths.[205] Only the moated site of the Estofts' early house survives, but the house which replaced it, Hall Garth (dated 1685), still stands close by. Following the death of John Estoft in 1694, the estate at Lockington passed to his son. After his death in 1726 a substantial portion of the Estoft estate was sold to Sir Charles Hotham of Scarborough.[206] The Hothams were responsible for rebuilding a number of farmhouses and cottages in Lockington in the

1730s and 1740s, and some of the surviving houses in the village may date from this period.[207]

There were several areas of early enclosure in Lockington, especially in the south-west of the township, notably at Winthorpe, Woodhouse Farm and the area which lay between known as Belaugh, where Meaux Abbey formerly had a grange.[208] The open fields of the township, together with those of Aike, were enclosed by act of Parliament in 1770-2. Twenty-two allotments of land were made at Lockington, excluding those made to the parish clerk and for the stone pits. The largest allotment, of 1065 acres, was made to Sir Charles Hotham.[209]

Although any change in the number of households at Lockington between the mid 17th and mid 18th centuries is impossible to quantify, some contraction of the settlement between these dates may have occurred. The rectory of Lockington owned a number of cottages in the township in the mid 17th century. Seven are mentioned in 1663, but by 1685 the number had been reduced to six. Five of these were located in Thorpe Lane, and one at the east end of the town. By c.1777 Lockington rectory owned only two cottages, the others probably having been demolished.[210] Some property at Lockington (but within Kilnwick parish) was also owned by the vicarage of Kilnwick. According to a glebe terrier dated 1685, this property comprised nine 'houses' together with their yards, orchards or barns; the 'houses', were however, only house sites by this date, the buildings having been demolished, perhaps in recent years.[211]

Shrunken village earthworks have been recorded at Lockington,

especially in the area of the village known as Thorpe, south-west of the parish church.[212]

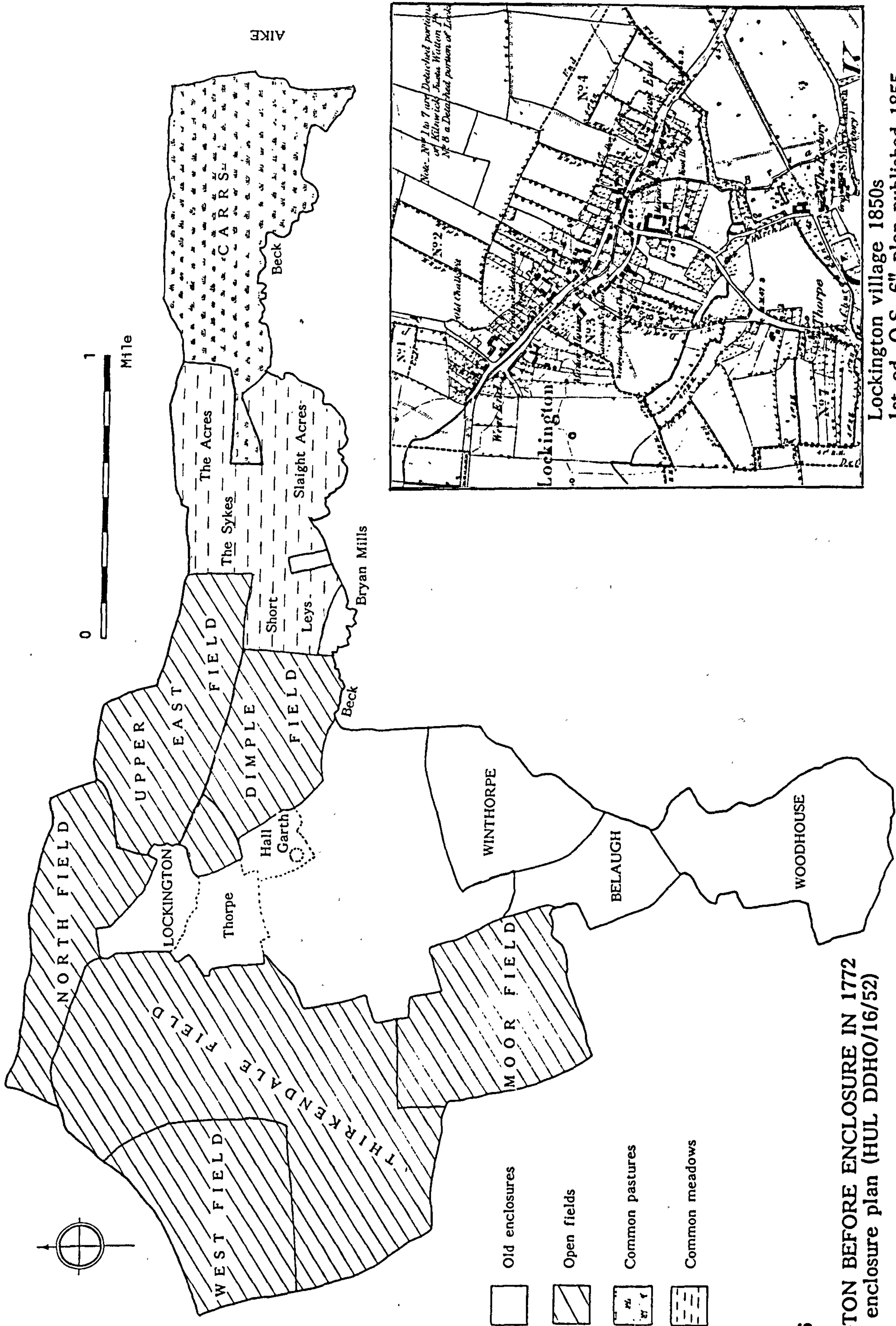


Figure 36

LOCKINGTON BEFORE ENCLOSURE IN 1772
 Based on enclosure plan (HUL DDHO/16/52)

Lockington village 1850s
 1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

Township: AIKE

Grid ref: TA 049 458

Acreage: 540 acres

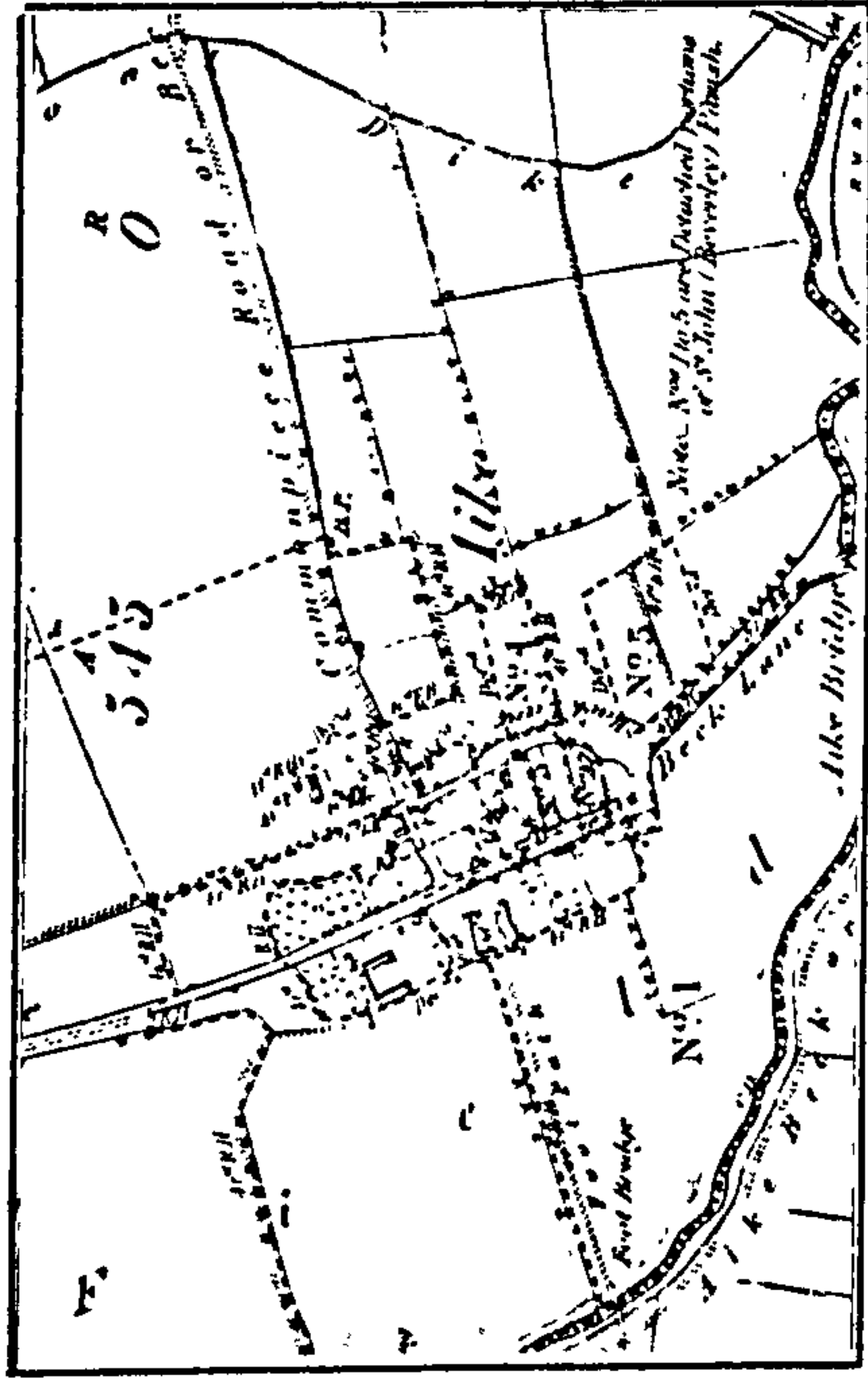
The small settlement of Aike lies five and a half miles north-east of Beverley, in the valley of the river Hull, at the eastern edge of Lockington parish. Approximately two-thirds of Aike township (including most of the area of settlement), formed part of the parish of Lockington. The remainder of the township comprised a detached portion of the parish of St John, Beverley.[213]

Aike was never a large settlement. The poll tax returns of 1377 record only 51 tax payers, perhaps representing a population of around 85, the smallest township in the Bainton Beacon division at this date to escape ultimate desertion.[214] There were only 19 households recorded in the township in 1672, none of which had more than one hearth.[215] This suggests a similar population to that recorded in 1377. There are no separate figures available for 1743 or 1764 but in 1801 there were only 13 inhabited houses, indicating slight shrinkage in the late 17th century or in the 18th century.[216] A deed of 1730 makes reference to the 'site of a cottage or piece or parcel of ground upon which a cottage or tenement lately stood'.[217]

In 1662 small estates at Aike were held by James Moyser and Robert Remington, both of whom had larger estates at Lockington.[218] There was only one resident freeholder in 1729 with an estate valued in excess of £10, a yeoman farmer.[219] Aike and Lockington townships were jointly enclosed by act of Parliament in 1770-72. Eleven awards of land were made, four of which were for less than two acres, including an allotment made to the Crown in lieu of one sixteenth part of the wastes and

commons lying in Aike.[220]

The present village of Aike comprises only a handful of farms and cottages, some of which date from the 18th century.



Aike village 1850s
1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

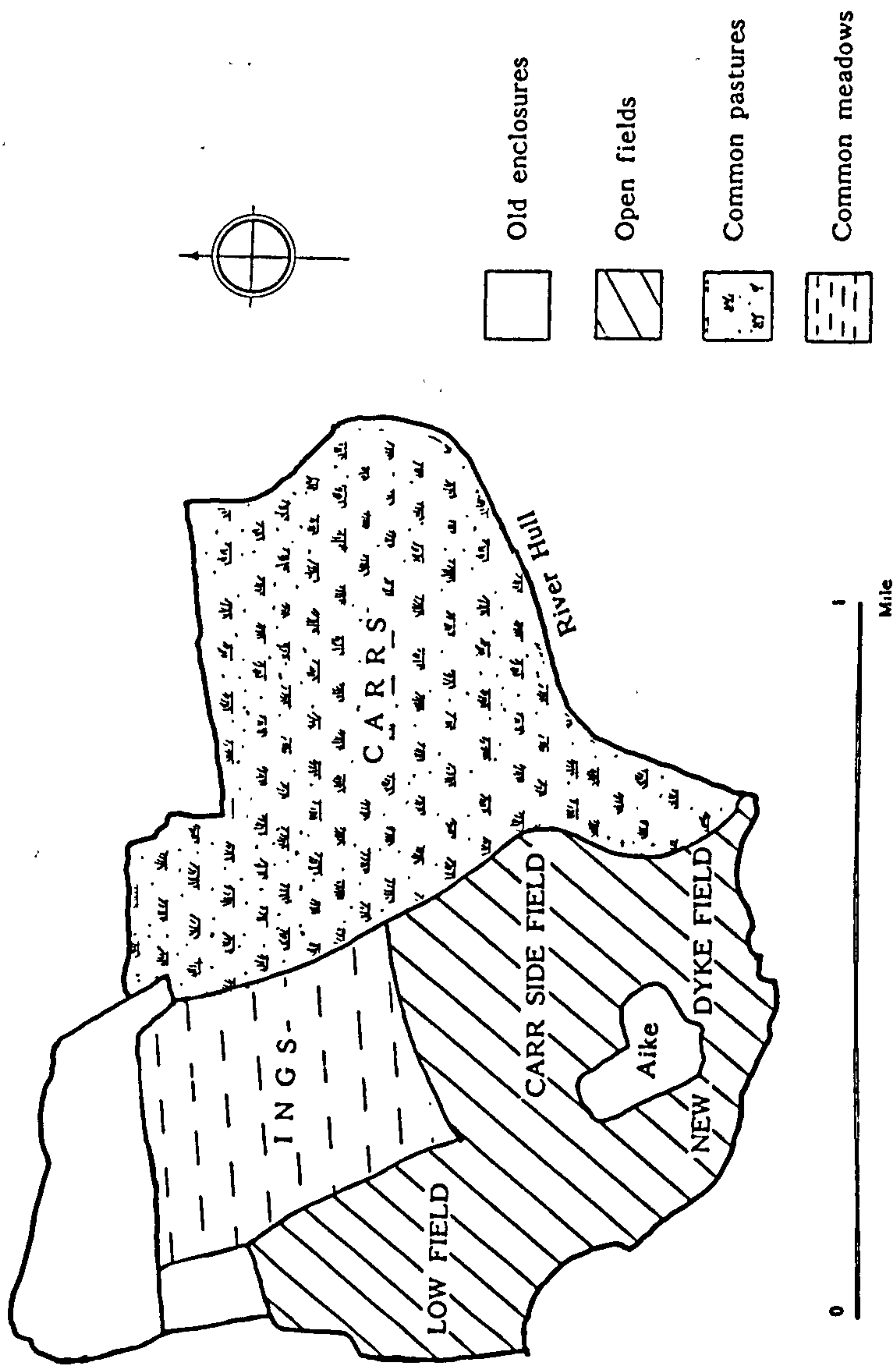


Figure 37 AIKE BEFORE ENCLOSURE IN 1772
Based on enclosure plan (HUL DDHO/16/52)

9. Lund Parish

Township: LUND (with Enthorpe) Grid ref: SE 970 482 (Lund)

Acreage: 3078 acres SE 919 464 (Enthorpe)

The settlement of Lund lies seven miles north-west of Beverley. A parliamentary survey of benefices made in 1650 noted that there was a subsidiary 'hamlet' within the parish of Lund. This was presumably a reference to the deserted hamlet of Enthorpe, the site of which lies at the west end of the parish.[221] Enthorpe never appears to have been large enough to merit separate taxation. A house called Emphorpe (the original name for the hamlet) in the parish of Lund was mentioned in 1596.[222]

There were 56 households at Lund when the hearth tax was collected in 1670.[223] Fifty families are recorded there in 1743, and 48 in 1764.[224]

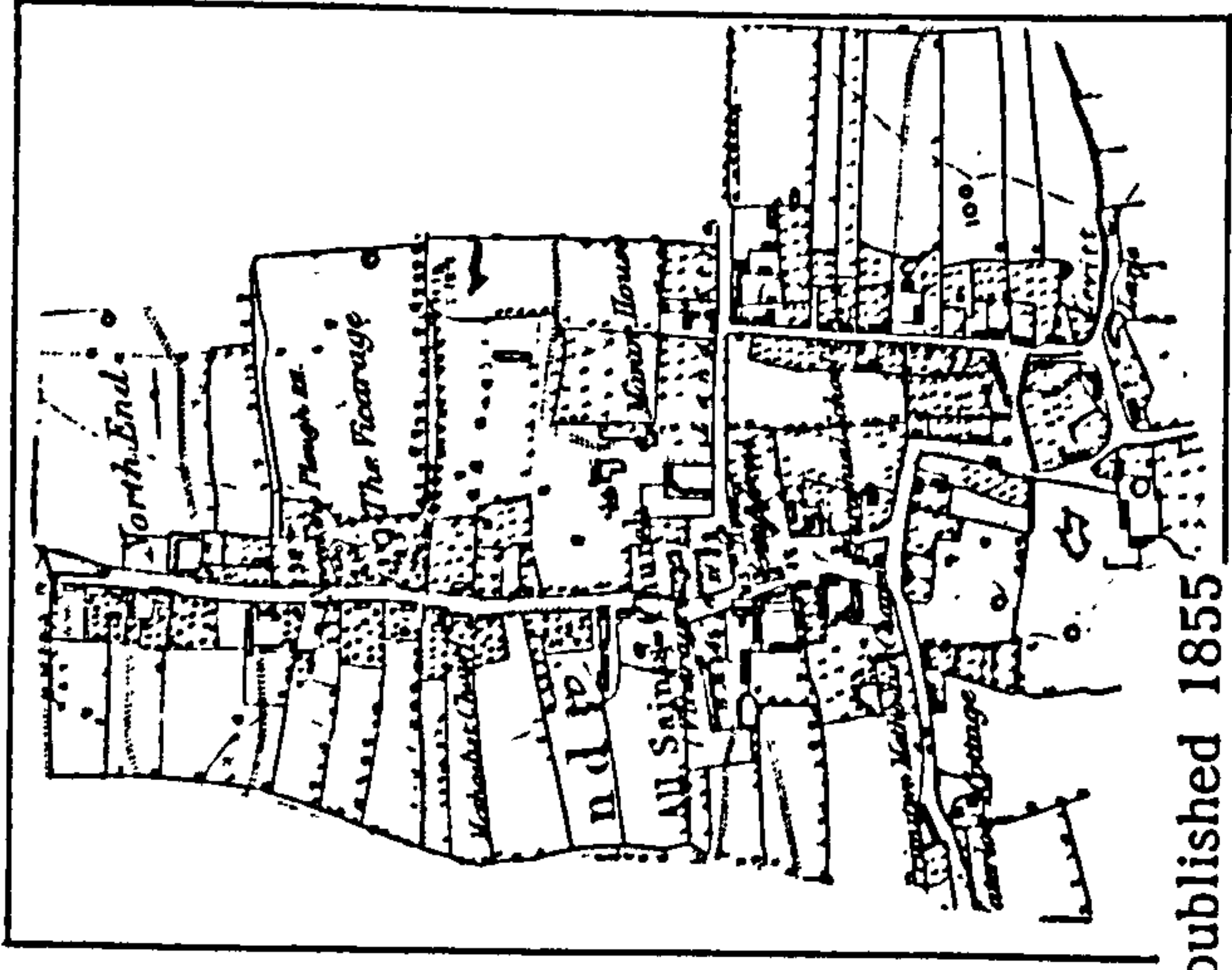
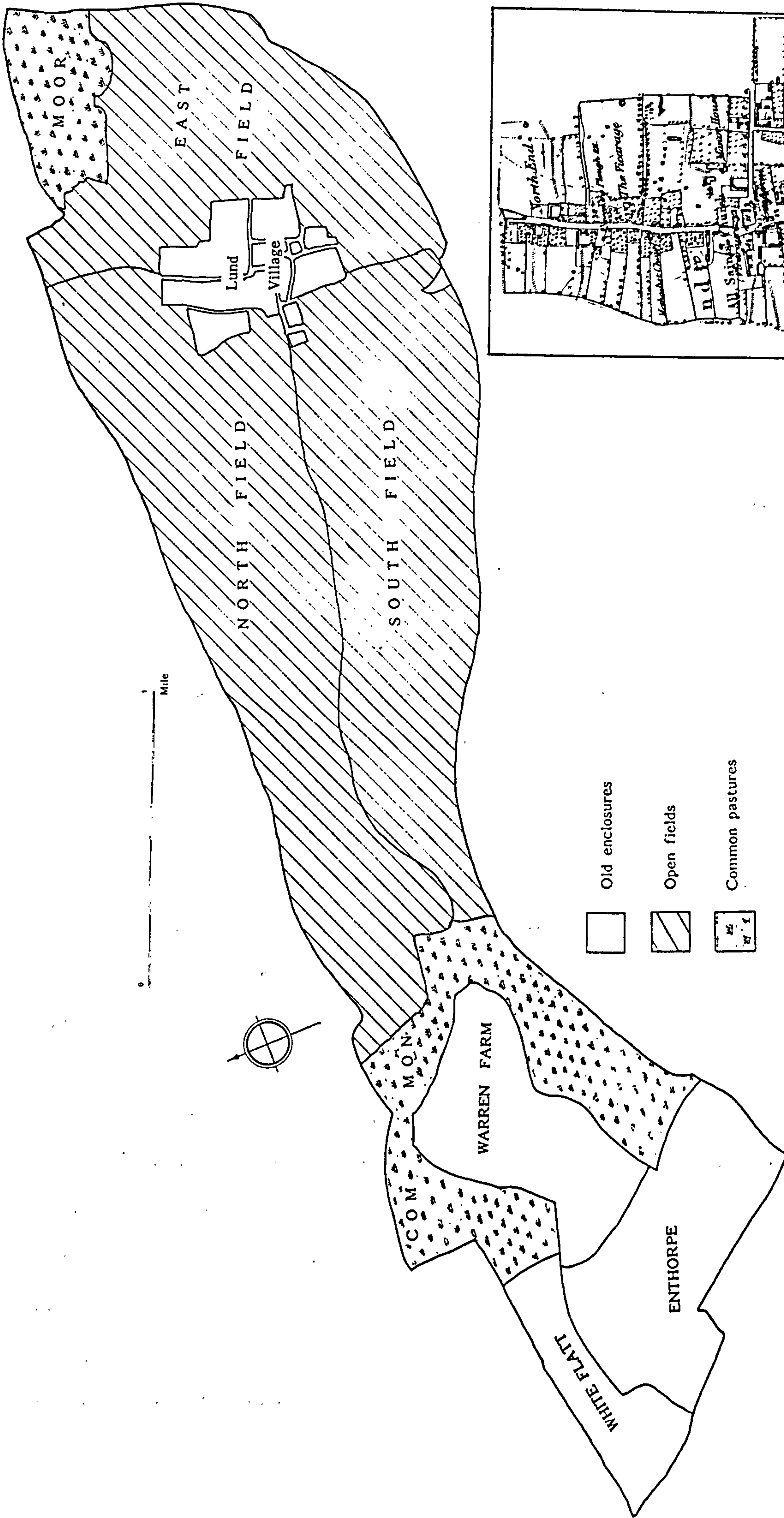
There were three major landowners at Lund in 1662, Sir Thomas Remington, Philip Dolman and Thomas Young, with smaller estates held by John Estoft and William Rokeby.[225] Although there was one only resident freeholder with land valued in excess of £10 per annum in 1729, a yeoman farmer, a total of 25 proprietors were listed when the land tax was collected in 1782, indicating that the township was of an open nature.[226]

Parliamentary enclosure of the open fields of Lund took place in 1794-6. Some enclosures had already been made by this date, principally at Enthorpe, where a rabbit warren was in existence by the mid 18th

century.[227]

Lund has retained a number of houses and cottages which date from the late 17th or early 18th centuries. The manor house of the Remingtons, which stood close to the church, was rebuilt as a farmhouse in the 18th century, but the original gateway survives.

Shrunken village earthworks have been located to the south-west of the village.[228]



Lund village 1850s
1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

Figure 38 LUND BEFORE ENCLOSURE IN 1796
Based on enclosure plan (HCRO DDX/202/49)

10. Middleton on the Wolds Parish

Township: MIDDLETON ON THE WOLDS (with Kiplingcotes)

Acreage: 3664 acres Grid ref: SE 945 495 (Middleton)

SE 897 476 (Kiplingcotes)

As its name suggests, Middleton is a Wolds settlement, which lies on the western side of the Bainton Beacon division. Some contraction in size appears to have taken place between 1670, when 52 households were recorded, and 1743, when only 39 families were said to reside there. In 1764 the number of families was estimated as only 36.[229]

The two major landowners in the township in 1662 were Matthias Crouch (the rector) and William Rokeby.[230] No reference is made to the Manby family at this date, although they are known to have held land in Middleton from at least the 1650s, and in 1670 the family was assessed for a nine-hearthed house there.[231] In 1718 John Manby's land and property at Middleton included two closes 'where two cottages formerly stood' at the west end of the town, which suggests that the family may have been responsible for some of the contraction which the settlement apparently experienced.[232]

In 1740 the Manby estate was sold to Mark Kirkby although the Manbys continued to farm at Middleton as tenants of Kirkby and his successors.[233] A document drawn up some time after the sale, but before 1750, shows that the earl of Burlington (who owned the neighbouring estate of Londesborough) also held a substantial estate at Middleton by this date. It is not clear when, or by what means, the Burlingtons had acquired their land. There were six other freeholders

who held between two and eight oxgangs each, a further one who had only half an oxgang, and an undisclosed number of cottagers who held smaller amounts of land.[234] By 1782 the major landowners were the duke of Devonshire (who had inherited by marriage the estates of the earl of Burlington), and the Sykes family (who had inherited by marriage the Kirkby estate) together with the Revd Christopher Brearey who held the wealthy living. There were 20 other proprietors, the majority with very small holdings.[235]

There was no early enclosure at Middleton, apart from the village tofts and crofts, and no outlying farmsteads.[236] Proposals were put forward by the earl of Burlington in the 1730s to enclose the township, but these plans were not carried out.[237] Middleton was ultimately enclosed by act of Parliament in 1803-5, the last enclosure of open field land within the Bainton Beacon division.[238]

Middleton on the Wolds experienced considerable growth in the 19th century when development took place both within and without the village centre. Seven farmsteads had been built outside the nucleus by 1818. [239] A modest expansion of the village has also occurred in more recent times. Few buildings from the pre-enclosure period survive.

Approximately three miles south-west of Middleton lies the site of the deserted settlement of Kiplingcotes. Little is known of the early history of Kiplingcotes, which does not appear to have been large enough, even in the early middle ages, to merit separate taxation. The settlement had clearly been depopulated by the mid 17th century, but is worth a brief mention since in 1689 it was at the centre of an interesting tithe dispute.[240] The case of the plaintiff rested on

proving that no village of Kiplingcotes had ever existed, but witnesses for the defence were positive that this was not the case. The evidence of a yeoman from Middleton, William Wilkinson, was reported as follows:

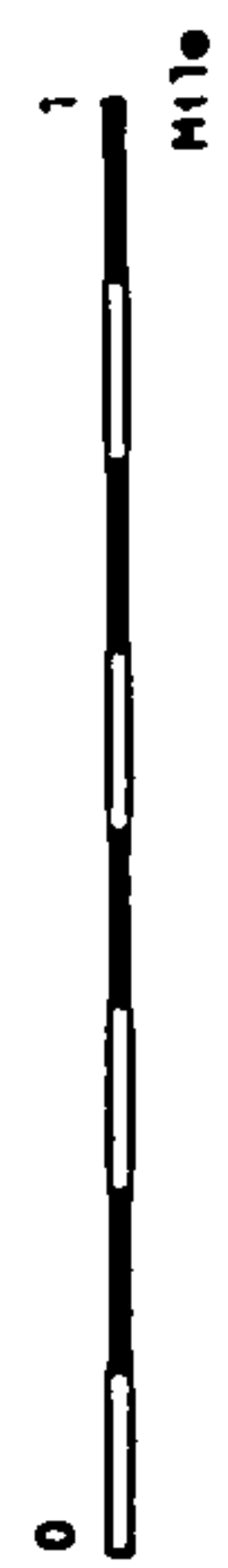
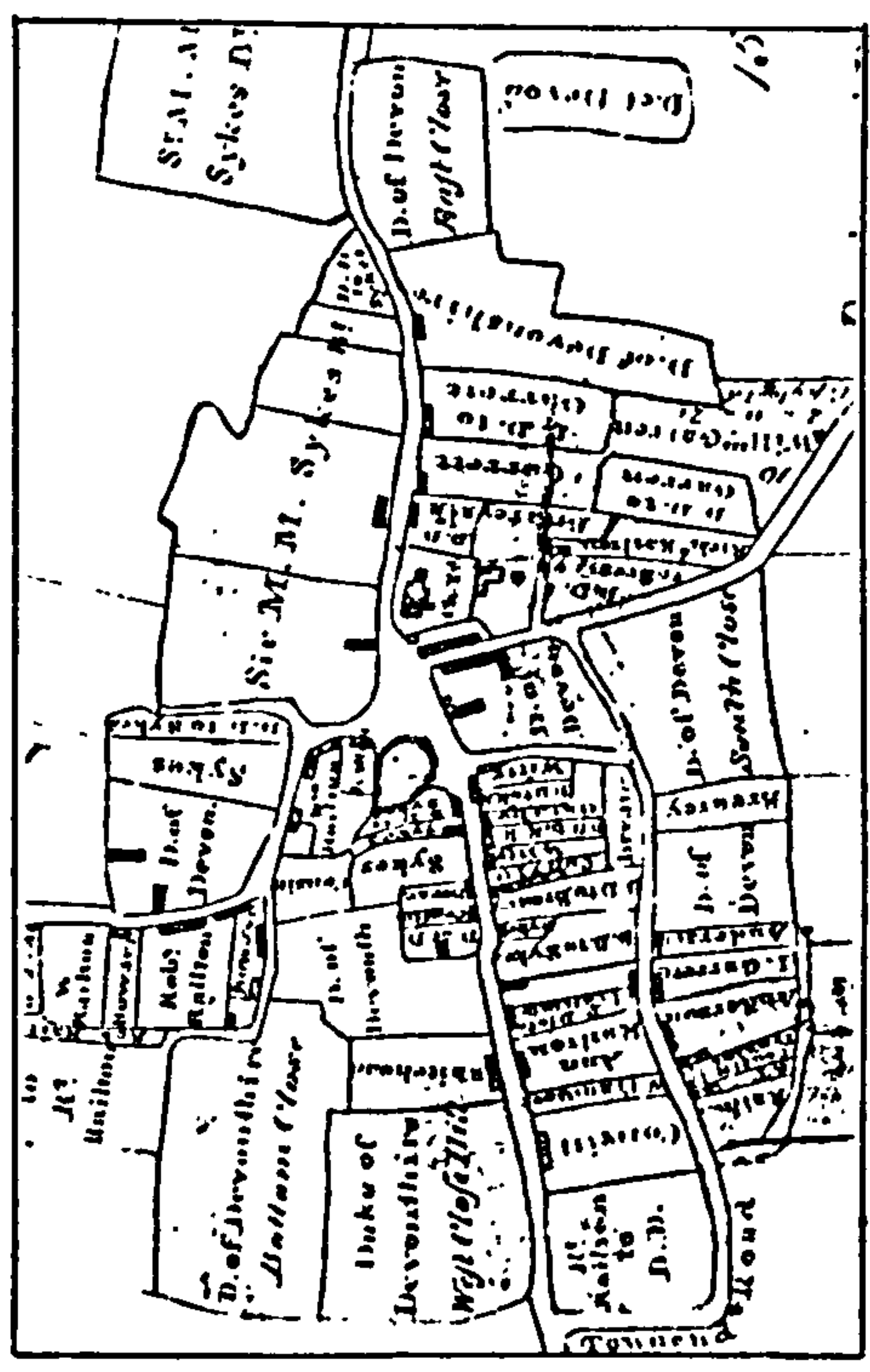
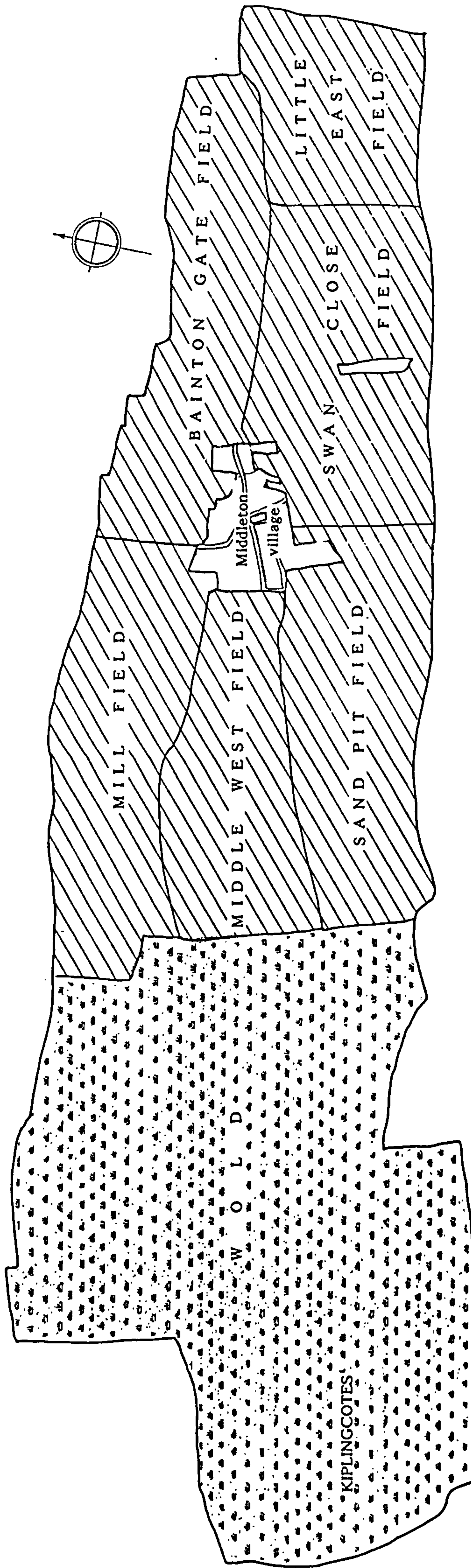
He had heard divers ancient people say and affirm that in old time there was a town within the parish of Middleton called Kiplingcotes. That he hath often seen the plain marks and indication of divers frontsteads and the foundations of divers houses, and also a large hole where there was a well for the use of the inhabitants of Kiplingcotes. There was a chapel, and the lesser of the two bells in Middleton church was brought thither when the town was demolished. [241]

According to Wilkinson, the area where the foundations could be seen was known as Kiplingcotes Garths.[242]

A map of 1744 marks 'some remains of a decayed village' in the vicinity of the present Kipling House farm.[243] In 1856 it was reported that human remains had been located in a field near Kipling House, believed to be the site of the chapel, and that traces of foundations of buildings had been found in the area. Most of the earthworks have subsequently been ploughed out.[244] There is no record of the 'Kiplingcotes' bell at Middleton, but there are four early tombstones in the church yard (three apparently with crosses carved on them although now very overgrown, the other with a crude figure) which are traditionally said to have been brought from the deserted township.

Although there is little trace of the former settlement of

Kiplingcotes, the name lives on in the ancient horse race to which it gave its name. This race, the Kiplingcotes Derby, which was certainly in existence by 1555, is still run annually on the third Thursday of March. [245]






-  Old enclosures
-  Open fields
-  Common pastures

Figure 39 MIDDLETON ON THE WOLDS BEFORE ENCLOSURE IN 1805
Based on enclosure plan (HCRO DDX/131/8)

Middleton village 1805 from enclosure
plan (HCRO DDX/131/8)

11. Scorborough Parish

Township: SCORBOROUGH

Grid ref: TA 015 455

Acreage: 1386 acres

The parish of Scorborough comprises only the township of that name. The small settlement of Scorborough lies approximately four and a half miles north of Beverley, in the valley of the river Hull.

In 1670 there were 19 households in the township. There were also three empty cottages at this date, suggesting that contraction of the settlement may have been under way.[246] By 1743 only nine families were said to reside there. Ten families were mentioned in 1764.[247]

The major landholder at Scorborough in the mid 17th century was Sir John Hotham. The Hotham family had lived in the township from at least the 13th century and remained there until their manor house was destroyed by fire c.1705. The house at Scorborough was not rebuilt, and the family sought temporary accommodation until a town house was completed for them in Beverley in 1723; ultimately a new country house was built, this time at South Dalton.[248]

The Hothams were not the sole landowners in the township, for the Percy family (earls of Northumberland), who held a major estate in the adjoining settlement of Leconfield, held some land in the township. The earls of Northumberland were renting out their land and cottages in Scorborough to a number of tenants in the 1640s, but a rental of 1679 suggests that by this date all their land in Scorborough was leased to Sir John Hotham, who then put in his own tenants, effectively giving him

control of the whole settlement.[249] The amount of freehold in the township held by other parties appears to have been extremely small.[250]

The open fields of Scarborough were enclosed by agreement early in the 17th century. There are no formal records relating to the enclosure, but some idea of its progress can be gained from estate records and other sources. The names of five arable fields (East Field, Stony Land Field, North Field, Great West Field, and Little West Field) are recorded at Scarborough in 1595.[251] By 1609 enclosure of these fields was clearly under way, as the following extract from a letter preserved amongst the Northumberland estate papers demonstrates: '... after many conferences and meetings together at Scarborough we agreed a division and exchanges to be made between your Lordship [the earl of Northumberland] and Mr Hotham of all such land as lay intermingled together in open fields ...'.[252] A map of 1616 showing part of the township suggests that enclosure had taken place by this date.[253]

Although no estate maps covering the whole of Scarborough have been located, the plan of 1616 mentioned above shows the main nucleus of the village. Using this map together with estate rentals and other papers some attempt at charting the gradual contraction of the settlement can be attempted.

Dealing first with that portion of the township owned by the earls of Northumberland, an (undated) Elizabethan survey shows there were seven cottages on the earl's land in Scarborough. In addition a barn described as a decayed cottage is mentioned.[254] By 1615 the number of houses in the earl's ownership had been reduced to six, and

in 1696 only three were mentioned.[255] By 1723 only one cottage remained.[256] In 1767 it was reported that on the land of the duke of Somerset (descendant of the earl of Northumberland) at Scarborough there 'were formerly four cottages and a messuage but at present [there is] only one cottage house standing which is in pretty good repair the other[s] have been down many years.'[257]

In respect of the Hothams' own land, the early 17th-century map depicts eight houses or cottages, in addition to the hall, although there may have been houses or outlying farms elsewhere in the township.[258] A rental of 1711 suggests eight houses or cottages owned by the Hothams were rented out at this date, together with a corn mill which probably had a house attached.[259] One of these cottages was new, having been built in recent years on a piece of disputed land.[260]. By 1715 only four cottages and the mill appear in the rental, although a further cottage was standing empty due to the death of a tenant and was apparently relet soon after.[261]

By 1723, the number of cottages in the rental had been reduced to a total of three, only two of which were in Hotham ownership, the third being the last surviving cottage on the land in lease from the duke of Somerset. There were two mills at Scarborough by this date.[262] Although this rental cannot represent the total number of households in the Scarborough, it does suggest that the number of cottages had gradually been reduced to the minimum number required to work the Hotham estate.

The Hotham family continues to own a considerable part of Scarborough and the settlement retains the characteristics of a small

closed community. The site of the medieval manor house of the Hothams is marked by a large moat lying south of the church. It is possible that the house was rebuilt on a new site in the late 16th or early 17th century, since the map of 1616 places the manor house north-west of the church at this date.[263] The present hall, which stands close to the medieval moated site, was built in the 19th century.

The handful of houses which form the present village include one cottage of the late 17th century, which appears to have been an encroachment upon waste land, and another which probably dates from the rebuilding which took place on the Hotham estates in the 1730s to 1750s.[264] Two of the outlying farms may also date from this phase of rebuilding. Shrunken village earthworks have been recorded around the present settlement.[265]

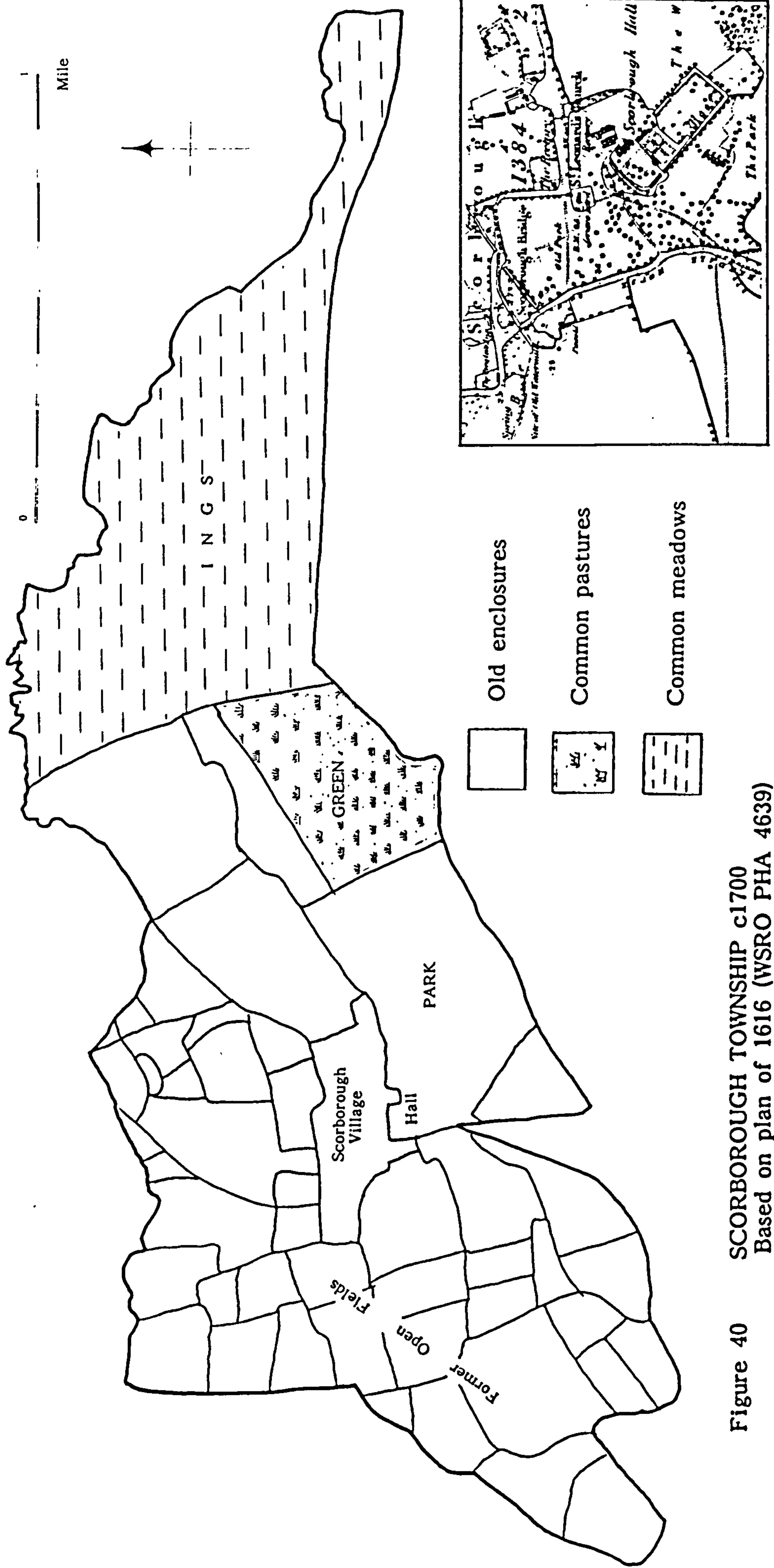


Figure 40 SCORBROUGH TOWNSHIP c1700
 Based on plan of 1616 (WSRO PHA 4639)
 and 1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

Scorbrough village 1850s
 1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

12. Skerne Parish

Township: SKERNE

Grid ref: TA 045 553

Acreage: 2762 acres

Skerne, the only township within the parish of the same name, lies to the south-east of Great Driffield, and is bounded on the north by the river Hull, with Skerne beck marking the southern boundary.

There were 39 households listed in the township in 1673. By 1743 only 29 families were said to reside in Skerne. The number of families was given as 30 in 1764.[266]

In 1662 the majority of the land in the township was held under the joint ownership of Sir Edmund Poley and John Lange, although three other local landowners, John Heron, Thomas Crompton and Gregory Creyke also held small estates there.[267] By 1695 the main estate was held by the Duncombes of Bedfordshire, and that family still retained their landholding at Skerne in the mid 18th century.[268] There were several small freeholders in the township. In 1729 there were two resident freeholders with estates valued in excess of £10 per annum (both yeomen farmers); a manorial call roll dated 1733 shows there were also seven non-resident freeholders.[269] By 1782 the total number of proprietors in the township had been reduced to seven, of whom a 'Revd Mr Browne', who had seemingly acquired the Duncombe estate, was assessed for over 90% of the land tax due.[270]

The open fields of Skerne were enclosed by agreement in 1596.[271] It was presumably this enclosure to which Archbishop Sharp was

referring when, a century later, he described how it had resulted in a considerable reduction in the value of the tithes of the parish.[272] Jury verdicts from the manor court records, which survive for the period 1730-66, refer only to offences relating to the common as would be expected in an enclosed township.[273]

A water mill known as Bell Mill(s) on the Driffield/Skerne boundary was mentioned in 1725, and this may be the paper mill to which reference was made in the parish registers in the late 1740s; paper-making is known to have been carried out at Bell Mills by 1754. A modern mill occupies the site.[274]

Many of the cottages and farmhouses at Skerne were rebuilt during the first half of the 19th century, following the purchase of the estate by Richard Arkwright. Arkwright was the son of Sir Richard Arkwright, patentee of the water-powered spinning frame which revolutionised the cotton industry. The estate was subsequently sold to Lord Londesborough.[275] There are several outlying farms in the township, including Skerne Grange which may mark the site of a former grange of Meaux abbey.[276] Shrunken village earthworks have been recorded around the present village.[277]

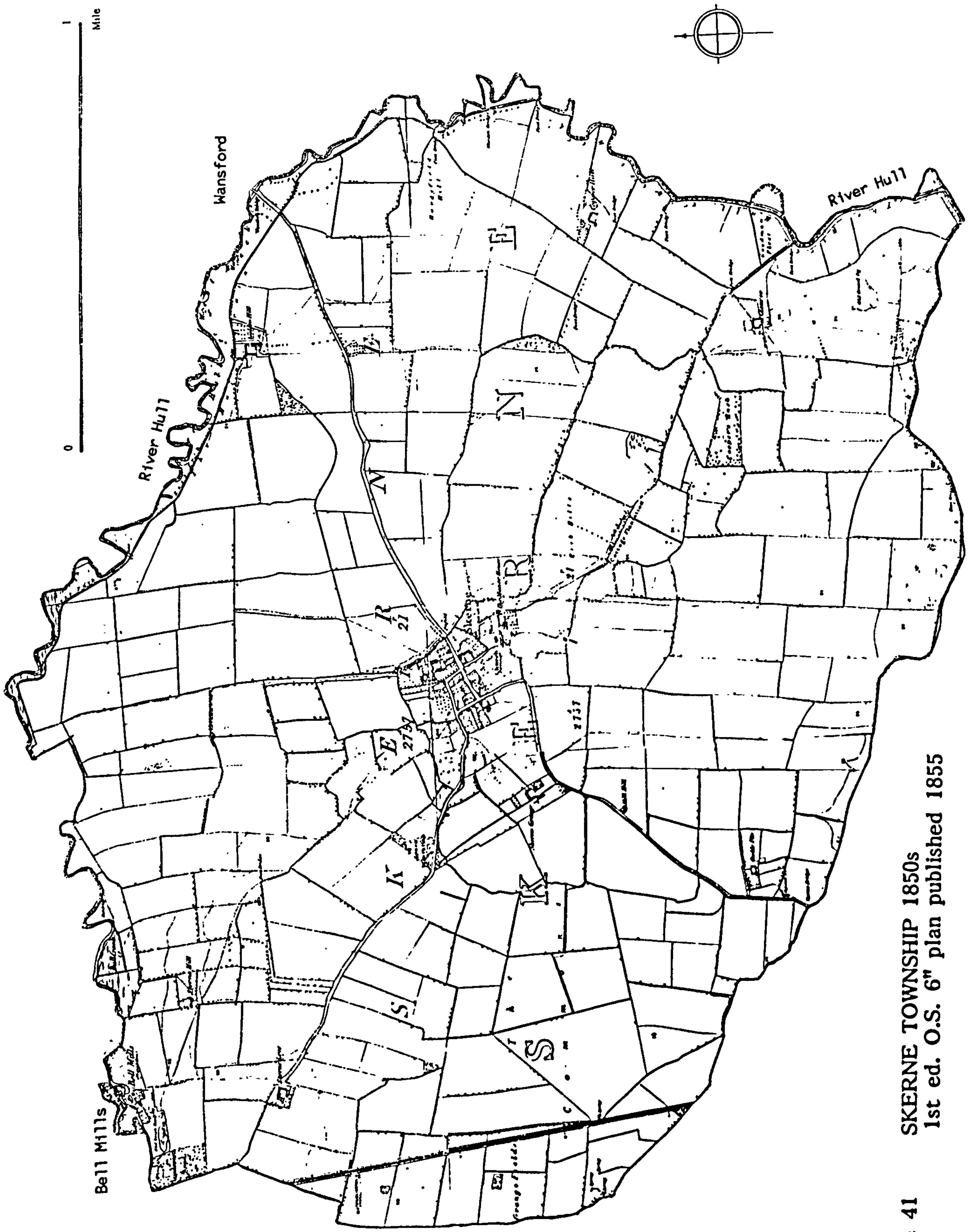


Figure 41 SKERNE TOWNSHIP 1850s
1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

13. Warter Parish

Township: WARTER

Grid ref: SE 870 504

Acreage: 7880 acres

The Wolds settlement of Warter is situated four miles east of the market town of Pocklington, at the north-west corner of the Bainton Beacon division. The township, which is coterminous with the parish of Warter, has the largest acreage in the division.

The township experienced a marked contraction in size between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries. Eighty-five households were recorded there in 1673.[278] A note in the parish registers bearing the date 1695 records that at this date there 'was numbered men, women and children living in the parish of Warter ... three hundred three score and two souls', that is a population of 362, perhaps indicating about 80 households.[279] By 1743, however, there were only 58 families residing at Warter. The number was given as 50 in 1764.[280] Estate records suggest that contraction took place gradually throughout the first half of the 18th century.[281]

An Augustinian priory was established at Warter in 1132. It was dissolved in 1536 and the site and lands granted to the earl of Rutland.[282] The priory site, marked by prominent earthworks, lies behind the parish church. From c.1630 the Warter estate was owned by the Stapletons, and subsequently it passed by marriage to Sir William Pennington of Muncaster Castle in Cumberland.[283] There were several freeholders in Warter in the first half of the 18th century, but the land tax assessment for 1787 indicates that by this date the whole

township was in the hands of one proprietor, Sir Joseph Pennington.[284]

In the early 18th century the township was largely unenclosed. A survey of open field land in Warter in 1721 gives details of the tenancy of every strip within each of the numerous named flats spread throughout the township.[285] Some of the higher ground was used as a sheep walk. Although a number of enclosures were made throughout the 18th century, it was not until 1791 that a plan was put forward for 'dividing tenants' tillage land, which now lies dispersed in the open fields' and parcelling this land, together with the land already enclosed, into compact farms.[286] This was followed in 1794 by a formal act of Parliament which dealt with allotting roads and improving lands in the township.[287]

No early maps of Warter survive, but from the estate records and surviving earthworks it has been possible to draw up a reconstruction of the village as it may have appeared in the early 18th century, when it was in the process of contraction. [See Figure 11, p 240] Numerous house platforms are visible in the eastern half of the village, especially in the areas known as Rickman where houses still stood in the early 18th century.[288] Apart from two 18th-century farmhouses, the majority of the houses which survive in the village centre date from the later 19th century when Warter was rebuilt as an estate village. With the exception of Blanch, which marks the site of a former monastic grange belonging to the Cistercian abbey of Meaux, all the farms outside the village centre are later than the enclosure of the 1790s.[289]

Warter Hall stood approximately one mile south-west of the village, in the area known as Baggerby Bottom. The late 17th- or early-18th century house depicted by Buck c.1720 was extended and altered beyond recognition in the 19th century, both by the Lords Muncaster (the title acquired by the Penningtons) and by the shipping magnate Charles Wilson to whom the estate was sold in 1878. In the 19th century it was renamed Warter Priory. The house was demolished in 1972.[290]



Plate 12

Warter Hall c.1720

Source: BL Lansdowne MS 914

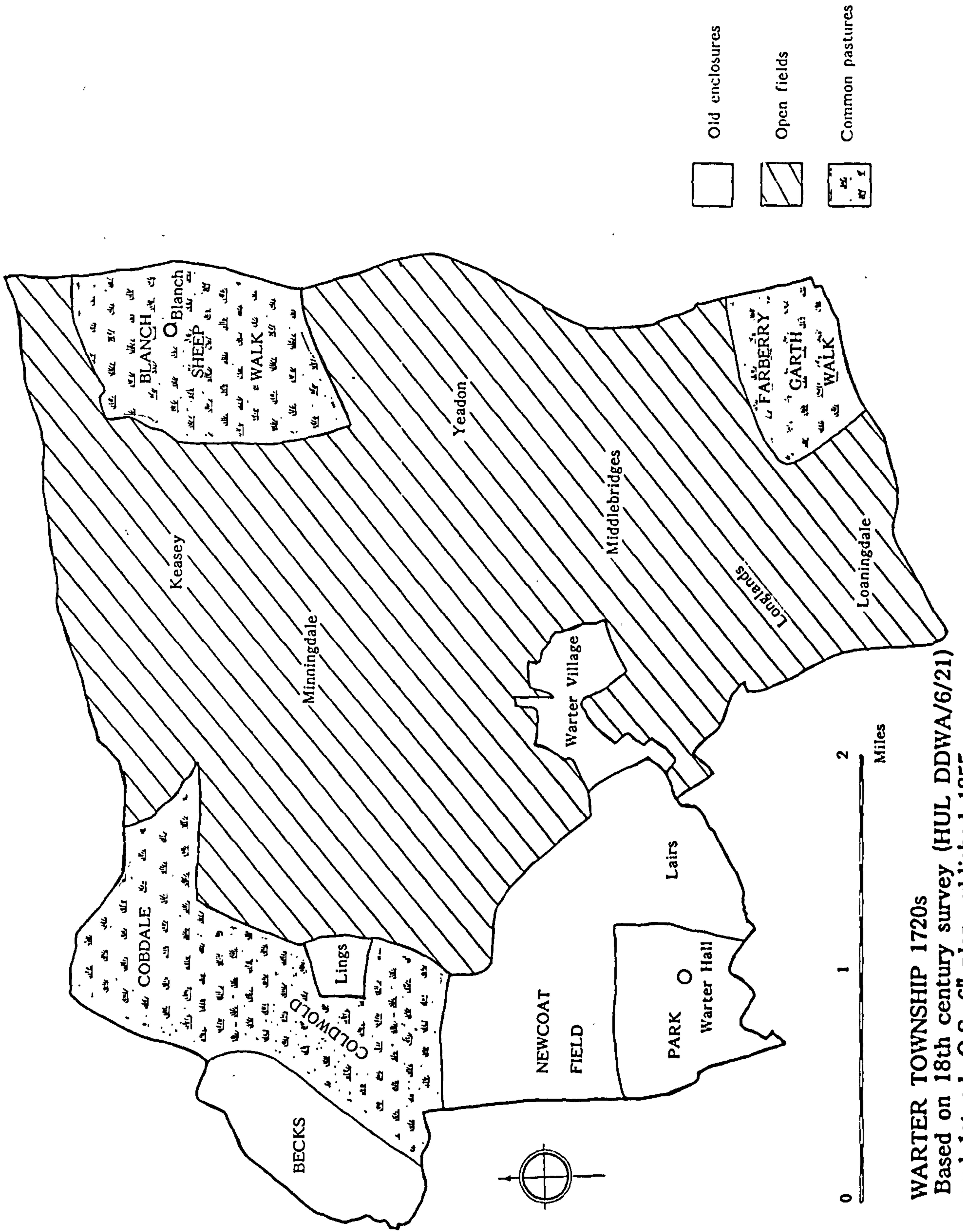


Figure 42
 WARTER TOWNSHIP 1720s
 Based on 18th century survey (HUL DDWA/6/21)
 and 1st ed. O.S. 6" plan published 1855

14. Watton Parish

Township: WATTON

Grid ref: TA 016 501

Acreage: 4738 acres

Watton parish comprises only a single township. The settlement of Watton lies eight miles north of Beverley, in the valley of the river Hull.

Until the Reformation, the manor of Watton belonged to the Gilbertine monastery known as Watton Priory. Three granges associated with the priory also lay within the township of Watton; Burnbutts, Cawkeld and Swinekeld. The priory was surrendered to the Crown in 1539.[291] Most of the buildings were demolished, but a portion of the priory was retained as a private residence. The three granges became secular farms after the Dissolution.[292]

Watton experienced one of the most marked contractions in size of all the townships within the Bainton Beacon division, and in the East Riding as a whole, between the late 17th and mid 18th centuries. In 1673; 71 households were recorded there.[293] The settlement had decreased considerably in size by 1743, when only 34 families were said to reside at Watton. The number was given as 36 in 1764.[294] There were 34 inhabited houses in 1801.[295]

By the mid 17th century the Watton estate was in the ownership of the earl of Winchilsea. Winchilsea was heavily in debt, and under a private act of 1660 his estate at Watton was placed in the hands of trustees to facilitate settlement of these debts.[296] Although

in practice he did not have control of the estate, this did not prevent the earl from formulating extensive plans for its improvement. In his capacity as representative of the Levant or Turkey Company in Constantinople, and effectively English Ambassador in residence there, he spent most of the decade following the passing of the private act abroad, from where he corresponded regularly with the commissioners of his estate, putting forward numerous suggestions for the improvement of his lands both in Yorkshire and Kent.

In 1664 he wrote to the commissioners of his estates with plans for the development of Watton, which included building new farms (of brick and stone, with tiled roofs), providing some 'scattering' cottages, applying for a licence to hold a market and fairs there, laying out a market place, providing an inn, and building shops and good houses in an attempt to attract 'tradesmen, handicrafts and other useful inhabitants' to the village.[297] These plans did not come to fruition, and Watton was ultimately to experience a marked contraction in contrast to the expansion which Winchilsea had visualised. Some improvements in the township, of an undisclosed but perhaps agrarian nature, were, however, under way at this time, since in August 1665 Winchilsea wrote that he was sorry to hear that the new works at Watton, which had cost so much money and pains 'are suffered by the neglect or malice of some to run to ruin'.[298]

In 1667 Winchilsea wrote of his plans to live at Watton at some future date, and he enquired whether the house at Burnbutts, one of the former granges, could be made suitable as a place of residence for himself and a family of 20 or 30 persons, presumably as an alternative to the remaining portion of the priory, which has

continued as the principal private residence in the township to the present day. At this time Burnbutts was inhabited by Francis Throgmorton, second son of Sir John Throgmorton of Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire. Throgmorton, together with a Mr Acklam, had seemingly been appointed to run the Watton estate. Winchilsea wished to have both men removed since he considered they were not serving his interests at Watton.[299]

The earl of Winchilsea was still in debt in 1672, when much of the Watton estate was sold. The manor of Watton, including 45 cottages, was purchased by William Dickinson of the Customs House, London, the earl's London agent and principal creditor, who four years later also acquired the former grange of Swinekeld. Dickinson's estate at Watton subsequently passed to the Bethells of Rise through the marriage of his daughter, Sarah, to Hugh Bethell.[300]

The former grange of Cawkeld, and associated land in the parish, together with the manor of Coatgarth in the adjacent township Kilnwick, were purchased by two citizens of London to be held in trust for Mary Dawson and her heirs. The estate ultimately passed to the earls of Banbury through the marriage of Mary Dawson's grand daughter to Charles, 4th earl of Banbury.[301] The remaining lands at Watton, including the former grange of Burnbutts (which lay partly in Hutton Cranswick parish), were seemingly retained by the earl of Winchilsea, who died in 1689. In 1724 they were still in the possession of the dowager countess of Winchilsea. She died in 1745, some 56 years after her husband.[302] By 1761 that part of the Watton estate formerly held by the dowager countess was in the hands of Sir Richard Lloyd. The Savage-Lloyd family of Hintlesham in Suffolk retained the estate into

the 19th century.[303]

The enclosure history of Watton is complex. A parliamentary survey of benefices made in 1650 suggests that Watton was enclosed by this date, but a map dating from the mid 17th century shows that there was still some open field land in the township.[304] (See Figure 43) To the east of the village centre this map depicts the land divided into small closes, the names of which suggest they were under pasture. Several scattered farms are shown, five of which (Standingholme, Angram, Cow House, Bridge House and Bowland House) are named in a document dated 1625, indicating that enclosure had taken place by this date.[305] Some ridge and furrow can be seen in this area of the township. To the west of the village centre, however, the map shows open field land, apparently associated with the former granges of Burnbutts, Cawkeld and Swinekeld.

Although unenclosed, these fields were not farmed on a communal basis. From at least the late 16th century two tenants farmed the Swinekeld land, and it seems probable that they held consolidated, although unenclosed, blocks of land within Swinekeld fields. Swinekeld was still described as 'open' in 1761.[306] Cawkeld was also farmed by two tenants who shared the land in Cawkeld fields. There is no record of how Burnbutts was farmed in the 17th century but from the early 18th century it was let to a single tenant.[307] Burnbutts may have been kept in hand as demesne land in the 17th century. In 1664 and 1665 the earl of Winchilsea wrote of his plans to enclose his arable lands at Watton, presumably a reference to the former grange lands. He proposed employing Hertfordshire hedgers (whom he considered more reliable than their northern counterparts) to be 'set at work to enclose Watton by

degrees' in the winter. Drainage of the lowlands on the eastern side of the township was to be carried out in the summer months.[308] Winchilsea was discouraged from carrying out these plans by the commissioners of his estate who considered that it was more prudent for him to pay off his debts than to embark upon an expensive programme of improvements. One of the few improvements which does appear to have materialised was the creation of a decoy, which he first proposed in 1667.[309]

Maps of Watton made in the 17th and 18th centuries, including the mid-17th century map mentioned above, confirm the marked contraction revealed by a comparison of the number of households or families reported in the township in the 1670s and 1740s-60s, and make it possible to determine the physical form which this contraction took. In the mid 17th century the main nucleus of the village comprised two streets forming an L-shape, with houses lining both sides of each street. By the mid 18th century the village centre had been reduced to a single street.[310] No subsequent rebuilding has taken place in this part of Watton, and house platforms can be seen in the pasture fields lining the abandoned street.[311] These changes at Watton have been discussed in more detail above. (See Chapter 12).

The shape of Watton village has changed little since the mid 18th century. Although most of the present houses date from the 19th or 20th centuries, several thatched mud and cruck cottages, probably dating from the 17th century, survived into the present century, the last of which was demolished in the early 1970s.[312] East of the village centre, close by the church, stands the house known as Watton Abbey, a fine brick building which was originally the prior's lodging. Earthworks mark the remainder of the priory site, which was excavated

in the late 19th century. A derelict eleven-bay barn, probably dating from the late 16th century, stands close to the site.

The former grange buildings attached to the priory were converted to farm houses after the Dissolution. Houses recorded in 1673 as having six hearths, nine hearths and five hearths respectively can be identified by the names of their tenants as the principal dwellings at Burnbutts, Cawkeld and Swinekeld.[313] No early buildings may be seen today, although at Swinekeld a single storey brick range survived until the 1970s. This contained a stone fireplace, almost certainly a remnant from the original monastic buildings.[314] A 19th-century farmhouse stands on the site of Cawkeld grange. At Burnbutts, the present farm similarly comprises a 19th-century farm house and associated complex of out buildings. The farm was tenanted by the Moore family from at least 1710 until the present century.[315] Account books relating to the farm exist which record the names of every farm servant hired each year from 1723 until 1914, a remarkable survival.[316]

Most of the dispersed farms in the eastern half of the township, which were in existence by the mid 17th century, were rebuilt in the 19th or 20th century, but at Angram Farm a small central stack farmhouse, perhaps dating from the late 17th century, still stands beside the Victorian house which replaced it.

There were two water mills at Watton by the early 18th century, both situated on Watton Beck. One of these operated as a fulling mill.[317] Neither mill has survived but a mill house, which may date from the late 18th century, stands to the south of Watton village.

Appendix - References

- [1] The principal sources used to describe the size of settlements (the hearth tax returns of the 1670s and the visitation returns of 1743 and 1764) are discussed more fully in Chapter 2. The information on landownership is drawn from three main sources: a list of the principal gentry of the East Riding dated 1662, a list of all resident freeholders with land valued in excess of £10 per annum, dated 1729, and the land tax returns of the 1780s. The land tax was used in the absence of an accurate source covering the whole division closer to 1760, but information of an earlier date was used if available. These sources relating to landownership have been discussed more fully in Chapter 4.
- [2] The 1801 acreages are from W Page (ed) VCH Yorks vol 3 (London, 1913) p 490.
- [3] Many different sources, in particular estate maps, enclosure plans, tithe plans and first edition Ordnance Survey maps (six inches to one mile) were used in compiling these township maps.
- [4] PRO E179/205/504; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol I p 97; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [5] YAS MD335/Box 57; HUL DDCV/5/1.
- [6] HCRO QSF Michaelmas 1729 (Bill of Freeholders).
- [7] Neave & Needham 'Neswick Hall' np.
- [8] HCRO DDWR/1/53-9; English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 11; HCRO PE/5/34.
- [9] HCRO QDE/1.
- [10] BIHR Maps 22(a) & (b).
- [11] See W Paley Baildon & J W Clay (eds) Yorkshire Inquisitions Henry IV-V YASRS vol 59 for 1918 (1918) p 88, where reference is made in 1410 to 'William Salvayn of Appulgarth near Baynton'. An entry in the Bainton parish registers in February 1663 refers to William Wilson of Applegarth, perhaps at this date a reference to the farm of that name. (HCRO PE/5/1.)
- [12] OS 6" edn 1855.
- [13] PRO E179/205/504; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [14] HUL DDCV/116/1.
- [15] OS 6" edn 1855.
- [16] Population Abstract of GB 1801 pt 1 p 404.
- [17] HCRO DDWR/1/52-3; DDWR/1/31.

- [18] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 73
(NGR SE 960 523, SE 964 519 - centres).
- [19] HUL DX/177/40 (transcripts of East Riding poll tax returns,
1377 - originals at PRO).
- [20] PRO E301 no.117.
- [21] CPR 1572-5 p 322.
- [22] Cox 'Parliamentary Survey of Benefices' p 31.
- [23] PRO 179/205/504; HUL DGN/2/4.
- [24] HCRO DDWR/12/2.
- [25] BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [26] HUL DDCV/116/1.
- [27] Neave & Needham 'Neswick Hall' np; HUL DGN/2/5.
- [28] HCRO DDWR/1/54.
- [29] HCRO RDB Q/312/792, R/38/88, R/135/320, R/142/335.
- [30] Neave & Needham 'Neswick Hall' np.
- [31] D Neave & E Waterson Lost Houses of East Yorkshire (Georgian
Society for East Yorkshire, 1988) p 48.
- [32] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 74
(NGR SE 974 528, SE 976 527, SE 975 530 - centres);
see above p 267 Plate 6.
- [33] PRO E179/205/504; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol I p 176;
BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [34] HUL DDCV/118/1.
- [35] See above pp 86-7; YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [36] HCRO QSF Michaelmas 1729 (Bill of Freeholders).
- [37] HUL DDCV/118/1.
- [38] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 105.
- [39] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 122
[NGR SE 933 523, SE 933 525, SE 934 524].
- [40] Howorth Driffield pp 48,68-73.
- [41] PRO E179/205/523; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [42] F Ross Contributions towards a History of Driffield (Driffield,
1898) p 80.

- [43] Population Abstract of GB pt 1 p 404.
- [44] YAS MD 335/Box 57; HCRO QSF Michaelmas 1729 (Bill of Freeholders).
- [45] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 41; M W Barley (ed) The History of Great and Little Driffield (Dept of Adult Education, University College, Hull, 1938) p 23.
- [46] HUL DDCV/42/1.
- [47] HCRO PE/10/2-3.
- [48] Allison ER Water-Mills p 19; see above pp 202-4.
- [49] G Lawton Collectio Rerum Ecclesiasticarum de Diocesi Eboracensi vol 2 (London, 1840) p 295.
- [50] PRO E179/205/514.
- [51] HUL DCV/42/1-4.
- [52] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 41.
- [53] Woodward Henry Best of Elmswell pp 117-9: OS 6" edn 1855.
- [54] T Bulmer History, Topography and Directory of East Yorkshire (Preston, 1892) p 168.
- [55] Woodward Henry Best of Elmswell. See esp p xvii.
- [56] HUL DX/177/40.
- [57] PRO E179/205/504; Woodward Henry Best of Elmswell p xxxvi.
- [58] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [59] HUL DDHO/74/7.
- [60] Woodward Henry Best of Elmswell p xxviii.
- [61] HUL DDHO/14/1a.
- [62] HCRO QSF Michaelmas 1729 (Bill of Freeholders).
- [63] HCRO QDE/1.
- [64] The inventory of William Lakyn of Elmswell, drawn up in 1563, refers to corn in Kelleythorpe field. A list of rents of land in 1635 suggests that the township was enclosed by this date. See Woodward Henry Best of Elmswell pp 194-5, 229-31.
- [65] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 47; Woodward Henry Best of Elmswell p 135, Map II [p 211]; OS 6" edn 1855.
- [66] Population Abstract of GB pt 1 p 404;
HCRO DDX/128/33.

- [67] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 98 (NGR SE 999 583). For illustrations of the manor house see Woodward Henry Best of Elmswell plates I-III.
- [68] Bulmer History of East Yorkshire p 404.
- [69] PRO E179/205/504; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol II p 79; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [70] YAS MD335/Box 57; HCRO QSF Michaelmas 1729 (Bill of Freeholders).
- [71] HCRO QDE/1.
- [72] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 71.
- [73] Bulmer History of East Yorkshire p 404.
- [74] Details of the ship money assessment for the Bainton Beacon division (30 March 1640) are given in Woodward Henry Best of Elmswell p 198.
- [75] PRO E179/205/514.
- [76] HCRO PE/72/2.
- [77] Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol III p 80; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [78] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [79] Approximately 120 land transactions relating to the township are recorded in the East Riding Registry of Deeds between 1708 and 1756.
- [80] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 76; HCRO QDE/1.
- [81] See above p 107.
- [82] Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol II p 80; Thistlethwaite Quaker Meeting Houses p 17.
- [83] Excavation report in East Riding Archaeologist vol 2 (1975) p 84.
- [84] Brown Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne vol II pp 441-4; HUL DX/177/40.
- [85] F E Crackles 'Stratiotes Aloides L. in the East Riding of Yorkshire' Naturalist no 107 (1982) p 99.
- [86] PRO E179/205/514.
- [87] Osborne's map of river Hull, 1668 (photographic copy in Map Collection, Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull).
- [88] Ibid.
- [89] HCRO PE/72/2.

- [90] YAS MD335/Box 57; HUL DDSY/34/79.
- [91] HUL DDHO/15/2; DDHO/14/18.
- [92] HCRO QDE/1.
- [93] HUL DDSY/34/37.
- [94] HUL DDHO/46/2.
- [95] OS 6" edn 1855.
- [96] HUL DDCV/87/5.
- [97] HUL DDHO/46/2.
- [98] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 106
(NGR TA 062 518, TA 072 514 - centres).
- [99] HUL DX/177/40.
- [100] F W Brooks (ed) 'East Riding Muster Roll, 1584' in Miscellanea
vol V YASRS vol 116 for 1949 (1951) p 82.
- [101] PRO E179/205/504.
- [102] YAS MD335/Box 57; PRO E179/205/504.
- [103] BIHR Will, Walter Crompton, Sunderlandwick, March 1714.
- [104] HCRO QSF Michaelmas 1729 (Bill of Freeholders).
- [105] HCRO RDB 2/18/41.
- [106] BIHR, Will, Walter Crompton, Sunderlandwick, March 1714.
- [107] HCRO PE/72/2.
- [108] Ibid; BIHR, Will, Matthew Frank, Sunderlandwick, Dec 1725.
- [109] HCRO QSF Easter 1731, Midsummer 1736, Midsummer 1740,
Easter 1743.
- [110] HCRO QSF Midsummer 1755.
- [111] Sheahan & Whellan History of York & ER vol 2 p 507;
Neave & Waterson Lost Houses of E Yorks p 54.
- [112] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 106
(NGR TA 011 551 - centre).
- [113] A different aerial photograph of the site from that shown in
Plate 9 appears in M W Beresford 'The Lost Villages of
Medieval England' Geographical Journal vol 117 pt 2
(June 1951) facing p 131.

- [114] PRO E179/205/523.
- [115] For further details see above pp 54 & 57.
- [116] HCRO PE/65/12.
- [117] YAS MD335/Box 57; Ingram Leaves from a Family Tree pp 11-14, 32-4.
- [118] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [119] HUL DGN/6/4.
- [120] HCRO DDGR/42/12.
- [121] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 81.
- [122] Map of Kilnwick, 1750 (copy in possession of E Ingram, Reighton Hall).
- [123] See HCRO DDGR/44/3 - letter from J Haggard to Charles Grimston, 22 Jan 1837: 'You may, I trust live to rebuild your village, and enjoy it in its renovated character'. The surviving estate houses appear to date from about 1840.
- [124] Neave & Waterson Lost Houses of E Yorks pp 36-7.
- [125] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 23. (No specific NGR given.)
- [126] NUL De I 3/7/1.
- [127] PRO E179/205/504.
- [128] BIHR, Probate inventory, Robert Wilson, Wilfholme par. Kilnwick, Sept 1723.
- [129] Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol I p 105; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [130] NUL De I 3/8/6/2.
- [131] NUL De I 3/11/3.
- [132] PRO E179/205/504.
- [133] HUL DDHO/23/1.
- [134] For evidence of Bethell residing at Beswick in the 1740s see G Sherburn (ed) Correspondence of Alexander Pope vol 4 (Oxford, 1956) p 511.
- [135] HUL DDHO/23/33-4; Wilson 'Ossington and the Denisons' p 164.
- [136] HCRO QDE/1.

- [137] NUL De I 5/2.
- [138] NUL De I 3/7/1; English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 158.
- [139] Sheahan & Whellan History of York and ER vol 2 p 508; local information.
- [140] Sheahan & Whellan History of York and ER vol 2 p 508.
- [141] CPR 1321-4 pp 107,176; HUL DX/177/40.
- [142] Brooks 'East Riding Muster Roll' p 81.
- [143] BIHR CPH 788,797.
- [144] HCRO PE/65/2.
- [145] HUL DDCV/94/1.
- [146] PRO E179/205/514.
- [147] HCRO DDKI/5/92.
- [148] G E C[okayne] The Complete Peerage vol 2 (London, 1912) p 210.
- [149] Population Abstract of GB pt I p 404.
- [150] G E C[okayne] Complete Peerage vol 2 p 313; vol 11 (London, 1949) p 551; HCRO DDGR/42/10.
- [151] OS 6" edn 1855; CPR 1572-5 p 40.
- [152] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 138 (NGR SE 984 502 - centre).
- [153] Smith Place-Names of the East Riding p 166.
- [154] PRO E179/205/504.
- [155] Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol II p 133.
- [156] Population Abstract of GB pt I p 404.
- [157] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [158] HUL DDSY/39/25-6; HCRO QDE/1.
- [159] HUL DDSY/39/27.
- [160] PRO E317 (Yorks) f.30; HUL DDSY/39/7,10,19.
- [161] BIHR TER I (Kirkburn).
- [162] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 82.

- [163] HUL DDSY/39/27.
- [164] HUL DDSY/39/25-6.
- [165] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 113
(NGR SE 977 550, SE 997 551 - centres).
- [166] J Parker (ed) Feet of Fines 1218-1231 YASRS vol 62 for 1921
(1921) p 121.
- [167] Brown Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne vol II pp 439-40.
- [168] HUL DDHO/22/1-4.
- [169] HUL DDHO/29/9.
- [170] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 113
(NGR SE 986 554 - centre).
- [171] HUL DX/177/40.
- [172] PRO E179/205/504. The evidence from the tithe case (quoted from
below) suggests that only two or three cottages remained by
1682. (BIHR CPH 5705.)
- [173] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [174] HUL DDHO/29/1.
- [175] HUL DDHO/29/2.
- [176] BIHR CPH 5705. Beresford and Harris have both drawn attention
to this tithe case. See Beresford The Lost Villages of England
pp 326-7; Harris 'Lost Village' pp 97-8.
- [177] BIHR CPH 5705 (emphasis added).
- [178] Ibid.
- [179] Ibid.
- [180] Harris 'Lost Village' p 98.
- [181] HCRO QSF Midsummer 1707.
- [182] HUL DDHO/29/9.
- [183] Harris 'Rabbit Warrens' pp 432-3.
- [184] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 113
(NGR SE 991 555 - centre).
- [185] PRO E301 no. 117.
- [186] PRO E179/205/523.
- [187] HCRO DDBV/43/1.

- [188] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [189] HCRO QSF Michaelmas 1729 (Bill of Freeholders); HCRO QDE/1.
- [190] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 131.
- [191] HCRO DDBV/43/1.
- [192] See M Harvey 'Planned Field Systems in Eastern Yorkshire: Some Thoughts on Their Origins' AHR vol 31 pt 2 (1983) pp 91-103.
- [193] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 113 (NGR 989 542).
- [194] PRO E301 no.117; OS 6" edn 1855.
- [195] PRO E179/205/523.
- [196] HCRO RDB AP/268/460.
- [197] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [198] HCRO QSF Michaelmas 1729 (Bill of Freeholders).
- [199] HCRO QDE/1.
- [200] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 146.
- [201] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 135 (NGR SE 958 553 - centre).
- [202] PRO E179/205/514.
- [203] Cox 'Parliamentary Survey of Benefices' p 28.
- [204] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [205] PRO E179/205/514.
- [206] HCRO Acc 1459 (Lockington Village Research Group notes); HCRO RDB M/10/11; HUL DDHO/42/8.
- [207] See above pp 247-8.
- [208] Smith Place-Names of the East Riding p 161. Meaux Abbey also had a grange at Barf Hill, at the eastern edge of Lockington parish, where a moated site survives. See Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 31.
- [209] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 90; HCRO RDB AQ/176/18.
- [210] BIHR TER I (Lockington).
- [211] BIHR TER I (Kilnwick).
- [212] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 30 (NGR SE 966 469 - centre).

- [213] Bulmer History of East Yorkshire p 453; OS 6" edn 1855.
- [214] HUL DX/177/40. Only Kellythorpe and Sunderlandwick, both now deserted, had fewer tax payers.
- [215] PRO E179/205/504.
- [216] Population Abstract of GB pt I p 404.
- [217] HUL DDHO/21/25.
- [218] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [219] HCRO QSF Michaelmas 1729 (Bill of Freeholders).
- [220] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 90; HCRO RDB AQ/176/18.
- [221] Cox 'Parliamentary Survey of Benefices' p 29. The survey refers to several 'hamlets' in the East Riding which are known to have comprised only one or two farms at this date.
- [222] HUL DDSY/43/1.
- [223] PRO E179/205/514.
- [224] Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol II p 161; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [225] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [226] HCRO QSF Michaelmas 1729 (Bill of Freeholders); HCRO QDE/1.
- [227] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 93; HCRO RDB BT/244/31; Harris 'Rabbit Warrens' p 436.
- [228] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 31 (NGR SE 969 478 - centre).
- [229] PRO E179/205/514; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol II p 194; BpV.1764/Ret.
- [230] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [231] J W Clay (ed) Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills YASRS vol 9 for 1890 (1890) pp 206-7 (will of Richard Manby of Middleton, dated April 20 1648); PRO E179/205/514.
- [232] HUL DDSY/46/24.
- [233] HUL DDSY/46/33; DDSY/107/24.
- [234] HUL DDSY/46/51.
- [235] HCRO QDE/1.
- [236] M B Gleave 'Dispersed and Nucleated Settlement in the Yorkshire Wolds 1770-1850' in Mills English Rural Communities p 100.

- [237] CHA Bolton Abbey MS 302.
- [238] English Yorkshire Enclosure Awards p 98.
- [239] Gleave 'Dispersed and Nucleated Settlement' p 104.
- [240] BIHR CPH 4202-5. Extracts from the case appear in Beresford The Lost Villages of England pp 65-6.
- [241] BIHR CPH 4204.
- [242] Ibid.
- [243] 'An accurate survey of some stupendous remains of a Roman antiquity on the Wolds in Yorkshire' surveyed and drawn by John Haynes, 1744, reproduced in B Henrey No Ordinary Gardener: Thomas Knowlton 1691-1781 (London, 1986) p 204.
- [244] Sheahan & Whellan History of York and ER vol 2 p 521; Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 118.
- [245] J Fairfax-Blakeborough Northern Turf History vol 2 (London, 1949) pp 140-1.
- [246] PRO E179/205/514.
- [247] Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol II p 112; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [248] P Saltmarshe History and Chartulary of the Hothams of Scarborough (York, 1914) p 5; P Roebuck Yorkshire Baronets 1640-1760 (Oxford, 1980) pp 81, 88-9. In 1728 Thomas Knowlton, gardener to Lord Burlington at Londesborough and a keen botanist, reported how he found the plant campanula vid[e] [Canterbury Bell] growing at Scarborough 'all about [the] ruins [of] Sir Charles Hothams'. (Letter from Knowlton to Dr Patrick Blair 12 Jan 1728, quoted in Henrey No Ordinary Gardener p 86.)
- [249] Alnwick Castle XII6 Box 2L, Box 10V.
- [250] In the land tax returns for Scarborough for 1782 the two major landowners together with the incumbent of the parish were assessed for 99.2% of the tax due. (HCRO QDE/1.)
- [251] Alnwick Castle XII6 Box 13a.
- [252] Alnwick Castle XII6 Box 121.
- [253] WSRO PHA 4639. The map was drawn up for the earl of Northumberland, to show his estate at Leconfield and Scarborough.
- [254] Alnwick Castle XII6 Box 13a; WSRO PHA 1435.
- [255] HUL DDHO/15/3.

- [256] HUL DDHO/14/17.
- [257] WSRO PHA 1176.
- [258] WSRO PHA 4639. One of houses may have been the vicarage.
- [259] HUL DDHO/15/4.
- [260] The latter has been identified as the oldest house to survive at Scarborough. The plan of 1616 shows a widening of the village street at one point, suggesting a vestigial green. Behind this 'green' runs a close of land, so narrow that it has the appearance of having once been a road. There is no house shown at the point where the 'green' narrows into the 'road' on the 1616 plan, but a house which appears to date from about 1700 now stands there. In a survey of 1767 the following comment was made: 'There has been a road or piece of waste ground ... described on the old plan which has been inclosed per Sir Charles Hotham but many years ago and a cottage built thereon and I should think Sir Charles had no right to inclose it ...' (WSRO PHA 1176). This cottage is almost certainly the one of c.1700 which survives, and the comments in the survey confirm that the close which runs behind had once served as a road, perhaps in the medieval period when the village may have been more extensive.
- [261] HUL DDHO/15/4.
- [262] HUL DDHO/14/17. The windmill was a cornmill, whilst the water mill was used for producing rape-seed oil.
- [263] WSRO PHA 4639.
- [264] See above p 249, Plate 4.
- [265] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 30 (NGR TA 013 450 - centre). The location of the possible house platforms noted by Loughlin & Miller is south of the present village, but aerial photographs show house sites in a more central location, in the vicinity of TA 016 454.
- [266] PRO E179/205/523; Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol III p 117; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [267] YAS MD335/Box 57.
- [268] BIHR BpDio.3; HUL DDCV/149/2.
- [269] HCRO QSF Michaelmas 1729 (Bill of Freeholders); HUL DDCV/149/2.
- [270] HCRO QDE/1.
- [271] Harris Rural Landscape p 44.
- [272] BIHR BpDio.3.
- [273] HUL DDCV/149/2.

- [274] BIHR Will, Matthew Frank, Sunderlandwick, Dec 1725; Allison East Riding Water-Mills p 19.
- [275] Sheahan & Whellan History of York and E R vol 2 p 515; Bulmer History of East Yorkshire p 270.
- [276] Smith Place-Names of the East Riding p 155.
- [277] Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 129 (NGR TA 044 551, TA 046 551).
- [278] PRO E179/205/523.
- [279] BIHR PR WAR/2.
- [280] Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol III p 212; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [281] See above pp 238-41.
- [282] St John Hope 'Warter Priory' pp 40-1.
- [283] Chetwynd-Stapleton 'The Stapletons of Yorkshire' pp 444-5, 462.
- [284] HUL DDWA/14/4; HCRO QDE/1.
- [286] HUL DDWA/6/41.
- [287] HCRO RDB BT/32/5.
- [288] See above p 242, Plate 1; Loughlin & Miller Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 137 (NGR SE 873 505 - centre).
- [289] Smith Place-Names of the East Riding p 170.
- [290] Neave & Waterson Lost Houses of E Yorks pp 56-7.
- [291] St John Hope 'Watton Priory' p 71.
- [292] PRO E179/205/523.
- [293] Herring's Visitation Returns 1743 vol III p 213; BIHR BpV.1764/Ret.
- [294] Population Abstract of GB pt 1 p 405.
- [295] YAS MD335/Box 57; HCRO DDRI/33/1.
- [296] The original letter-books are in Leicestershire County Record Office (DG7 Box 4984). Extracts from the letters have been printed; see HMC Report on Finch Manuscripts vol 1.
- [297] HMC Report on Finch Manuscripts vol 1 p 320.
- [298] *ibid* p 392.

- [299] *ibid* pp 251, 469; Davies Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire p 84. The name is variously spelt Throckmorton/Throgmorton.
- [300] HCRO DDRI/33/7,16,20.
- [301] HUL DGN 6/4.
- [302] G E C[okayne] Complete Peerage vol 12 pt 2 (London, 1959) p 777; HCRO DDX/128/4.
- [303] Map of Watton 1761 (private collection - R A Bethell); HCRO DDX/128/21.
- [304] Cox 'Parliamentary Survey of Benefices' p 27; HCRO DDX/128/3.
- [305] HUL DGN/6/1.
- [306] HUL DDKG/118; Map of Watton 1761 (private collection - R A Bethell).
- [307] HCRO DDX/128/4.
- [308] LeCRO DG7 Box 4984 - 2nd letter book of Heneage Finch pp 137-8, 267. For printed extracts see HMC Report on Finch Manuscripts vol 1 p 320.
- [309] LeCRO DG7 Box 4984 - 2nd letter book of Heneage Finch pp 269, 383.
- [310] HCRO DDX/128/3; Maps of Watton 1707 & 1761 (private collection - R A Bethell).
- [311] Loughlin & Miller (Archaeological Sites in Humberside p 138) give NGR TA 108 501 for shrunken village traces, but the principal group of earthworks is centred on TA 019 503.
- [312] See above p 246, Plate 3.
- [313] PRO E179/205/523.
- [314] Information from David Neave.
- [315] HCRO PE/65/3 (entry in Kilnwick parish register relating to Ralph Moore of Burnbutts, 8 Jan 1710); information from Mrs E Brumfield.
- [316] There are two account books, the earlier of which is in private hands. The second, which commences in 1840, is deposited at HCRO (DDX/128/25).
- [317] The 1707 map depicts two water mills. In 1730 Thomas Knowlton, gardener and naturalist, recorded the sighting of a particular plant 'at a fulling mill near Watton Abbey'. (Henrey No Ordinary Gardener p 127.) Both a corn mill and a 'walk' or fulling mill are mentioned in 1739. (HCRO PE 66/9.) The 1761 map shows the 'walk mill' situated in the eastern half of the parish, with a second water mill lying just south of the village (where the

surviving mill house is located). The latter was presumably the corn mill although tenter banks associated with cloth making are shown close by.

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