

Abstract

Demographic, Economic and Social change in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: some conclusions from a study of four small towns in Yorkshire from circa 1750 to circa 1830.

PhD thesis submitted by Roger A. Bellingham.

Leicester University.

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During the period from c1750 to c1830 Easingwold, Market Weighton, Pocklington and Selby were small market towns, but all had wider functions and their economic fortunes were closely linked to changes in the regional transport systems. The way each town developed was in part due to their location but was also influenced by the actions of those who lived there. Thus those in charge at Selby used the transit traffic generated by the Selby canal as a foundation upon which to build the town's prosperity, in particular by constructing a bridge over the Ouse in 1792, despite strong opposition.

The survival of the 1788 Window and Assessed Taxes return for Selby, which included the short lived Shop Tax, permits an unusual insight into the life of the town at that date. Besides throwing considerable light on the commercial activities in the town, the data has wider implications regarding the general provision of shops at that time.

Between 1777 and 1812 the parish registers of many Yorkshire parishes, among them Easingwold, Pocklington and Selby, were in the extended 'Dade' format. Those for Selby are of an unusually high quality. These useful registers can provide demographic data that is in many ways superior to the data used by E.A. Wrigley and others in *English Population History from family reconstitution 1580-1837* (1997). The view of those authors is that the demographic behaviour of migrants did not differ from those who did not migrate. The Selby data raises serious doubts as to whether this is a valid assumption. The research so far undertaken suggests that further research using Yorkshire Dade registers may show that the overall demographic experience of Yorkshire between 1777 and 1812 was different to that of England as a whole, as portrayed in *English Population History*.

**Demographic, Economic and Social change
in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries:
some conclusions from a study of four small towns in Yorkshire
from circa 1750 to circa 1830**

**Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester**

by

**Roger Alan Bellingham LL B (London), BA (Hull)
Department of Economic and Social History
University of Leicester**

January 2000

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CHAPTER I Literature, Sources, Methodology and Aims

1.1 Literature

In his introduction to *The Eighteenth century town - a reader in English urban history 1688-1820*, Borsay stresses the need to look at towns as a whole rather than as solitary entities and commented that:-

'A town's place within this [urban] hierarchy depended on the depth and range of influence it exerted over its hinterland, and the sophistication of its economic, social, political and cultural organisation. Few attempts have yet been made to evaluate precisely the type of interaction that existed between towns within the hierarchy, or to apply the idea of an urban system to a local context'.¹

Borsay cites Noble's work on Eastern Yorkshire as an example of a regional study of a hierarchy of small towns - she has written extensively on the small towns of Eastern Yorkshire, the subject of her thesis in 1983.² Unwin's thesis in 1971 studied trade and transport in the Humber, Ouse and Trent basins 1660-1770 and his subsequent article on the Market Towns of the Vale of York is also referred to

¹ P. Borsay (ed.), *The Eighteenth century town - a reader in English urban History 1688-1820* (1990), 3.

² M. Noble, 'Growth and development in a regional urban system: the country towns of eastern Yorkshire, 1700-1850' in D.A. Reeder (ed.), *Urban History Year Book* (Leicester, 1987), 1-21; M. Noble, 'Growth and Development of country towns: the case of Eastern Yorkshire 1700-1850' (unpublished Hull University Ph.D. thesis, 1983).

by Borsay.³ However neither Noble or Unwin made full use of the research that has been undertaken on the larger towns in the region, notably York, Hull, Leeds, Wakefield and Doncaster, indeed much of it was not available when they were researching their respective theses. Furthermore, more data is now available generally on small towns.⁴ It is the good fortune of anyone undertaking research in the Vale of York to have available the Borthwick papers published by the Borthwick Institute, part of the University of York, and the publications of the East Yorkshire Local History Society.

Unwin and Noble both categorised the four study towns as market towns. With the advantage of computer aided research it is possible to look far more closely at them and see if, as Corfield has suggested, they can be categorised by their economic and social functions, which may vary in the rapidly changing spectrum of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁵

³ R.W. Unwin, 'Trade and Transport in the Humber, Ouse and Trent basins 1660-1770' (unpublished Hull University Ph.D. thesis, 1971); R. W. Unwin, 'Tradition and Transition: Market Towns of the Vale of York 1660-1830', *Northern History*, 17 (1981), 72-116; Borsay, *Eighteenth century town*, 2-3.

⁴ Cf. P. Clark and J. Hosking, *Population Estimates of English Small Towns 1550-1851*, Centre for Urban History, University of Leicester Working Paper No 5 (Second edition, 1993); J.D. Purdy, *Yorkshire Hearth Tax Returns* (Hull, 1991); P. Clark (ed.), *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1995).

⁵ P.J. Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns 1700-1800* (1982); P.J. Corfield, 'Small towns, large implications: social and cultural roles of small towns in

Focusing on the four study towns, Selby has two nineteenth century histories, Mountain in 1800 and Morrell in 1867 and a brief modern history edited by Dobson.⁶ Rees's 1978 thesis on social and economic change in Selby between 1752 and 1851 is of interest, though unfortunately flawed by reason of the limited data that she had available and the limitations of the statistical methods she applied.⁷ For Easingwold, the slender value of Gill's *Vallis Eborancencis* of 1852 is sympathetically referred to by Cowling in his *History of Easingwold* written in 1967.⁸ No histories for Pocklington and Market Weighton have been located before the twentieth century. Neave is an essential guide to the available sources for Pocklington.⁹ For Market Weighton, Cox and Stather is somewhat basic, but it

eighteenth century England and Wales', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 10, 2 (1987), 133-4.

⁶ J. Mountain, *History of Selby* (York, 1800); W.W. Morrell, *The History of Selby* (1867); R.B. Dobson, *Selby Abbey and Town* (York 1993); See also P. Scott, *History of Selby* (1986 and 1989).

⁷ R.A. Rees, 'Aspects of social and economic change in the parish of Selby, North Yorkshire between 1752 and 1851' (unpublished Leeds University M.Phil. thesis, 1978). See Appendix Seven.

⁸ T. Gill, *Vallis Eborancencis* (1852); G.C. Cowling, *The History of Easingwold and the Forest of Galtres* (1967), 129-30.

⁹ D. Neave, *Pocklington 1660-1914* (First edition, 1971), (Second edition, with additional material, 1984), (Third edition, with additional notes, but excluding

appears to have been written whilst both authors were students at Pocklington School in the 1980s, and must be judged accordingly.¹⁰

1.2 Sources and Methodology

None of the four study towns had been chartered boroughs and there are therefore no municipal records. But a book described in the North Yorkshire County Record Office records as the "Selby Vestry Minute Book" with entries from 1790 has survived and at Pocklington a similar book entitled "Pocklington General Vestry Resolution Book" was started in 1819.¹¹ It seems likely that there was never such a book at Market Weighton but the position at Easingwold is uncertain. The Selby Book is in fact is untitled. It passed to the District Council in the latter part of the nineteenth century, as did that for Pocklington. One would have anticipated that this would have happened at Easingwold but no such book has been traced. Market Weighton did not become an urban district council so there was no reason for such a record to pass to a district council. The extent of

additional material included in the Second edition, 1993). A footnoted copy of the first edition is deposited at ERYA - DDX 268.

¹⁰ A.G. Cox and D.A. Stather, *History of the Parish of Market Weighton and District* (Pocklington, 1987).

¹¹ North Yorkshire County Record Office (NYCRO) DC/SBU MIC - Selby Vestry Book; Pocklington Town Council - General Vestry Resolution Book. As to the contents of these records and Vestry Books generally see Chapter VI, Section 6.2 below.

the Market Weighton parish records that have been deposited at the Borthwick Institute suggests that had such a book existed at Market Weighton it would have survived and been deposited there.

Selby, Easingwold, and Pocklington all had parish registers in the extended Dade format from circa 1777. At Selby, and perhaps Easingwold, they were maintained until 1813. Details of these three Dade Registers and general background information are given in Appendix One. Easingwold was one of the communities analysed by Holderness in 1971 when he used published Dade registers to study personal and social mobility.¹² Selby's Dade register is of outstanding quality and, by the technique of record linkage, can be linked to the series of Window Tax records surviving for the years between 1755 and 1789. The ones for 1788 and 1789 cover the assessed taxes and give unusually full data as to the majority of the heads of households. The 1788 return details assessments under the short lived shop tax, the national records of which were used by Mitchell. Land tax returns are available for all the study towns. The 1781 and 1832 returns for Selby were used by Rees, and Noble used those for Pocklington and Market Weighton. However Noble's research indicates their limitations as a source for urban

¹² B.A. Holderness, 'Personal mobility in some rural parishes of Yorkshire 1777-1812', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 42 (1971), 444-454. (The title of the article incorrectly states 1777-1822). As to the Window and Assessed taxes see Appendix Two.

history.¹³

As to wills and inventories, both Selby and Pocklington were peculiars and perhaps for that reason probate inventories are found somewhat more frequently than one might expect in the last half of the eighteenth century. Riley used the Selby inventories in his study of four communities on the Yorkshire Ouse between 1660 and 1760.¹⁴ Rees in her thesis on Selby, made some use of Wills and of the inventories of testators. However, as mentioned in Schedule Seven, she made no attempt to use inventories linked to letters of administration.¹⁵

The available directories are considered in Appendix Five. Selby's entry in the *Universal British Directory* (1793-1798) reflects the well known weaknesses of that source, but fortunately the directory in Mountain's *History of Selby* more than compensates for this. All references in this thesis are to the 1993 facsimile version

¹³ Rees, 'Selby, 1752-1851', 77-82; M. Noble, 'The Land Tax Assessments in the study of the physical development of country towns' in M. Turner and D. Mills (eds.), *Land and Property: The English Land Tax 1692-1832* (Gloucester, 1986), 93-117; cf. D.E. Ginter, *A Measure of Wealth: The English Land Tax in Historical Analysis* (1992).

¹⁴ M.D. Riley, 'Family and their property in early modern England: Study of four communities on the Yorkshire Ouse 1660 to 1760' (unpublished York University D.Phil. thesis, 1990). As to inventories generally see H. Swinburne, *A Brief Treatise of Testaments and Last Wills* (Seventh edition, 1803), 769.

¹⁵ Rees, 'Selby, 1752-1851', 64-76.

of the *Universal British Directory*, which was made from a copy of the second edition.¹⁶ Baines' Yorkshire directories of 1822/3 provide some coverage beyond urban centres and Pigot's directories of 1830 and 1834 are also available.¹⁷ Parson's directory for Selby is in his *Tourist's Companion* of 1835 - published after the completion of the Leeds to Selby railway in 1834.¹⁸ For Pocklington there is Easton's Directory of 1844, linked to a map by Watson, who also produced the unusually detailed plan for Pocklington in 1855 and a similar one

¹⁶ *Universal British Directory*, P. Barfoot and J. Wilkes (Second edition, 1793-1798) Facsimile Text edition with Foreword and Index by C. Wilkins-Jones (Kings Lynn, 1993); Mountain, *Selby*; C.W. Chilton, 'The Universal British Directory - a warning' *Local Population Studies*, 15, (1982), 144-6; G. Shaw, *British Directories as sources in Historical Geography*, Historical Geography Research Series 8 (1982); J.R. Walton, 'Trades and professions in late 18th century England: assessing the evidence of directories', *The Local Historian*, 17, 6 (1987), 343-349.

¹⁷ Baines' *Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York*, E. Baines, 1, West Riding (Leeds, 1822), 2, East and North Ridings (Leeds, 1823); *Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory (Yorkshire)*, Pigot and Co (1830); *Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory (Durham, Northumberland and Yorkshire)*, Pigot and Co (1834)

¹⁸ E. Parsons, *The Tourist's Companion: or The History of the Scenes and Places on the route by the railroad and steam packet from Leeds and Selby to Hull*, (1835).

for Market Weighton in 1848.¹⁹

Daniel Defoe's *A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain 1724-6*, published anonymously, is a source of major importance, but in many ways the fourth edition of 1748 is equally enlightening, since that edition records the many changes that took place between the 1720s and the 1740s.²⁰ Looney says that the third edition of 1742 was revised and expanded by Samuel Richardson, but makes no mention of later editions.²¹ In the introduction to the Everyman edition of the first edition published in 1928, and republished in 1962, the editors suggest that Defoe's first edition is superior to later editions in the light it throws upon

¹⁹ *Easton's Directory of Pocklington* Easton's Printing Office, (Pocklington, 1845); East Riding of Yorkshire Archives (ERYA) DDPY/19/3 W. Watson *Map of Pocklington* (1844), DDPY/19/4 W. Watson *Map of Pocklington* (1855); Powell & Young W. Watson *Map of Market Weighton* 1848. As to William Watson see A. Harris, 'An East Yorkshire Land Surveyor: William Watson of Seaton Ross', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 45 (1973), 149 - 157.

²⁰ D. Defoe, (G.D.H. Cole and D.C. Browning eds.) *A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain 1724-6*, Two volumes (1962); D. Defoe, (Probably edited by Samuel Richardson), *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain*, 3 (Fourth edition 1748).

²¹ J. Looney, 'Cultural Life in the provinces : Leeds and York, 1720-1820', in A.L. Beier, D. Cannadine and J.M. Rosenheim (eds.), *The First Modern Society - Essays in honour of Lawrence Stone* (1989), 483-510, 488, note 16.

economic and social conditions of the day.²² This may be so, but for Yorkshire at least the coverage of the fourth edition appears to be much superior to that of the first.

Newspapers have been a fruitful source for many who have undertaken research relating to urban history, Looney's interesting article on York and Leeds being an excellent example. Unfortunately they proved to of only limited value for the four study towns.²³

As to Methodology, it should be stressed that the research for this thesis is computer assisted rather than computer based, in contrast for example to the work of Hudson and King.²⁴ But many sources have been loaded into computer databases and some have been coded and linked by record linkage. It must however be stressed that all data has been loaded 'as is' and not precoded. It is this availability of personal computer facilities, often using relatively simple techniques, that has enabled data to be examined and analysed in ways that were not available to Rees, Unwin and Noble, thus giving fresh insights into the

²² Defoe, 1962, 1, viii.

²³ Looney, Leeds and York, 1720-1820'; see Chapter VII, Section 7.2 below.

²⁴ P. Hudson and S. King, 'Rural Industrialising Townships and Urban Links in Eighteenth Century Yorkshire', in P. Clark and P. Corfield (eds.), *Industry and Urbanisation in Eighteenth Century England*, (Leicester, 1994). 41-79.

available data.²⁵

1.3 Aims and Questions to be answered

The primary aim was to study the demographic, economic and social change within the four towns, to place the four study towns in a local and regional context and to evaluate the results of that research. All four towns benefited from the improvements in transport during the period but they developed in very different ways. It was important to find why this was so.

When considering a town's prosperity or decline, and the social and demographic changes within a town, one must assume that location and external forces will have played a part, but it is also important to establish how much the actions of individuals living in that town have affected its fortunes.²⁶ Further it was anticipated that the history, civic identity and general ethos of a town could be a significant factor that should be explored.

²⁵See R.I. Morris, 'Occupational Coding: Principles and Examples', *Historical Social Research*, 15 (1990), 5; R.A. Bellingham, 'The use of marriage horizons to study migration', *Local Population Studies*, 44, (1990), 52-5; R.A. Bellingham, 'Mr Powell's Enclosure Award and the Computer', *The Local Historian*, 25, 2, (1995), 77-87; R.A. Bellingham, 'Age at marriage in the late eighteenth century' *Local Population Studies* 61 (1998), 54-6.

²⁶ Cf. Clark and Corfield, *Industry and Urbanisation in Eighteenth Century England*, ix

There were, in the later part of the eighteenth century, a variety of attempts to improve the quality and scope of parish registers. One of the more successful was the Dade registers introduced by Archbishop Markham, then Archbishop of York, at his primary visitation around 1777, following the initiative of William Dade, a York clergyman.²⁷ Besides being more precise in the information within the entries, the baptism and burial entries gave information about the ancestry of the person baptised or buried. There are at least 160 parish registers in Dade format, most of which are in Yorkshire, of which 34 have been transcribed and printed. In addition around 40 known registers appear to have some Dade features. Further information as to these parish registers is given in Appendix One and an example of a Selby baptism entry is shown in Table A1:1.

All the four towns were thought to have parish registers in the Dade format, though in fact the Dade data in the parish register for Market Weighton proved to be very limited. It was not the intention to use the baptism registers to study migration, as had been done by Holderness and Long and Maltby, not least because this had already been the subject of previous research projects.²⁸ But it

²⁷ William Dade of Barmston, in the East Riding, introduced this form of parish register whilst he was a curate at St Helen's, York in 1770. The system was then adopted by Markham, the new Archbishop of York. For further information on William Dade see W.J. Sheils, 'Mobility and registration in the north in the eighteenth century' *Local Population Studies*, 23 (1979), 41-4.

²⁸ Holderness, 'Personal mobility'; M. Long and B. Maltby, 'Personal mobility in three West Riding parishes 1777-1812', *Local Population Studies*, 24 (1980), 13-

was hoped that these registers would also be of assistance in more general research. The aim was to load available data, especially from these parish registers and from the Selby Window and Assessed Taxes returns,²⁹ 'as is', that is to say not precoded, onto computer data bases, so that it could be easily analysed. It was anticipated that this would enable useful information to be teased out of the data and thus throw new light on the four towns, and by showing what can be achieved, encourage others to make similar studies of those communities where Dade Registers are available.

When *English Population History*³⁰ was published in 1997, it became obvious that the demographic information available for at least three of the four towns during the long eighteenth century was of considerable importance. After the

25; R A Bellingham, 'Migration to a late eighteenth century market town - a study of Pocklington, East Yorkshire' (unpublished final essay for Certificate in Regional and Local History Hull University, 1988); R.A. Bellingham, 'The study of Migration and Social Change in the late Eighteenth Century : Some conclusions from a study of Selby' (unpublished University of Hull B.A. dissertation, 1992).

²⁹ For further information on the Selby Window and Assessed taxes returns, see Appendix Two.

³⁰ E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen and R.S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837* (Cambridge, 1997).

publication of David Levine's review article in 1998,³¹ it was apparent that the demographic data for Selby, and to a lesser extent for Easingwold and Pocklington, was in many respects consistently better than that available to the authors of *English Population History* for the years from 1777 to 1812. This therefore added a new dimension to the research then being undertaken.

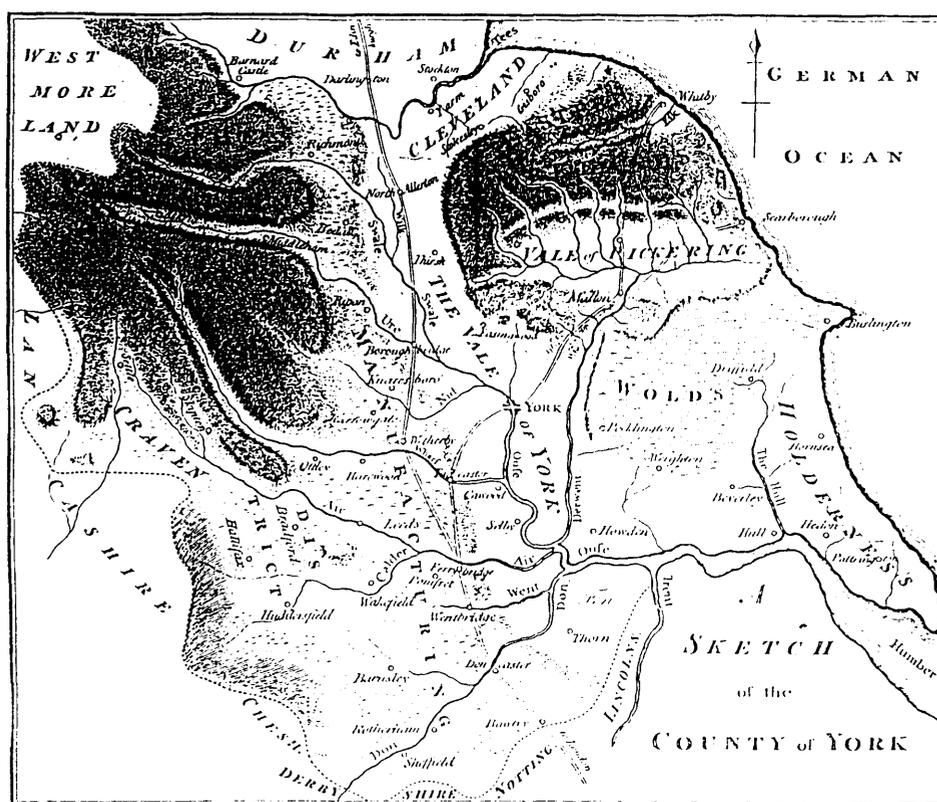
The way that these four small Yorkshire towns developed during the period is of considerable interest in itself, but it was anticipated that conclusions could be drawn which would be of wider interest, not least because all four were linked, to varying degrees, with the industrialising part of the West Riding, one of the growth areas of the period.

³¹ D. Levine, 'Sampling history: the English population', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 28, (1998) 605-32.

CHAPTER II The Towns in context

2.1 The Towns

MAP 2:1
LOCATION MAP



Yorkshire : from W. Marshall *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire* (1788)

The four study towns were chosen to illustrate different facets of urban development in Eastern Yorkshire during the period and because of the quality of data available, in particular the Dade Parish Registers.¹ Although all four towns were, and remained, small, all 'had large implications',² as will become apparent.

¹ As to Dade Registers see Appendix One.

² Corfield, 'Small towns, large implications', 135.

Pocklington is some thirteen miles east of York, just to the north of the road leading from York to Beverley, and thence to Hull (now the A1079); Market Weighton lies on that road some six miles to the east of Pocklington; Selby is on the River Ouse fourteen miles south of York; and Easingwold some fourteen miles to the north of York, is on the road from York to Thirsk and Newcastle (now the A19). The rise, and decline, of Selby, Easingwold and Market Weighton was in each case linked to their transport service function. Selby however also developed commercial and manufacturing functions and grew in importance as a market centre. Pocklington was a locally important market centre at the beginning of the period and retained that function for reasons that will be considered. Pocklington was described as having burgesses in Domesday; its minster church was the centre of a large parish of 26,360 acres until the division of that parish in 1252; its early charters for fairs and markets and a planned thirteenth century market place reflect its early importance as a marketing centre. By the seventeenth century it was no longer a centre for the wool trade but corn milling had been joined by malting and tanning as its principal industries. The fact that East Riding Quarter Sessions were held at Pocklington as well as Beverley up to the later part of the seventeenth century is a reminder that it had also been an administrative centre and Neave considered that it 'had the aura of a minor social centre in the 1730s and 40's'.³

³ Neave, *Pocklington*, 19 and passim; N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *The Buildings of England Yorkshire : York and the East Riding*, (Second edition, 1995); G.C.F. Forster, *The East Riding Justices of the Peace in the Seventeenth Century*, East Yorkshire Local History Series 30 (Beverley, 1973), 30.

Neave considers that Market Weighton 'was sited at a natural marketing centre at the junction of two early route ways and geographical areas, the Wolds and the Vale of York' and that trading preceded the grant of its first market charter in 1252. Travellers' descriptions of its modest size and activities up to the middle of the eighteenth century are borne out by its omission from Spelman's *Villare Anglicum* of 1678. But by the middle of the eighteenth century the increasing traffic between York and Hull had begun to influence the development of the town.⁴

Easingwold appears in *Villare Anglicum* but with no indication that it was a market town.⁵ There had been a grant of a fair in 1291, but it appears that at the beginning of the seventeenth century any weekly market had long since lapsed. The grant of a market and two fairs in 1639 suggests that it was only after the road from York to the north passed directly thorough it, following the disafforestation of the Forest of Galtres in 1640, that Easingwold began to function as a market centre of any significance. As late as 1770, the sixth edition of Owen's *Book of Fairs* lists Easingwold's fairs in July and September but no

⁴ E. Fisk and D. Neave, *Market Weighton Portrayed*, (Beverley, 1981), 1; Pevsner and Neave, *York and the East Riding*, 608-9; H. Spelman, *Villare Anglicum: or a view of all the cities Towns and villages in England* (1678).

⁵ Spelman, *Villare Anglicum*

market day. But it did benefit from traffic through the town even before the York to Northallerton road was turnpiked in 1753.⁶

Selby, the mouth of the small beck later known as Selby Dam, had long been a convenient anchorage for ships going up the Ouse to York, and it may be that the siting of Selby Abbey, when it was founded around 1069, was due to that fact. That location, and the rise of the great abbey of Selby, supported the prosperity of Selby in the later middle ages.⁷ After the dissolution of the abbey it continued to prosper since it was to Selby that the textiles of the West Riding were brought for shipment. But after the improvement of the Aire and Calder at the end of the seventeenth century some, perhaps most, of that trade was lost.⁸

The difficulties of using the Heath Tax assessments of the 1670s are well known and Marshall has illustrated very acutely the traps into which the unwary can fall, one cannot always equate a low percentage of hearths per household with relative poverty. Nevertheless they can throw light on the profiles of communities and the

⁶ Cowling, *Easingwold*, 15 and 73; Owen's *Book of Fairs* (Sixth edition, 1770), List of fairs in Yorkshire, in K.L. McCutcheon, 'Yorkshire Fairs and Markets to the end of the 18th Century', *The Thoresby Society* 39 (Leeds, 1940), 174; The fairs at Easingwold are described in Appendix Three.

⁷ Dobson, *Selby*.

⁸ B.F. Duckham, *The Yorkshire Ouse: The History of a River Navigation* (Newton Abbot, 1967), 70-2 But see below as to his conclusions.

likely population in the 1670s. However, so far as Selby is concerned it seems likely that the number of households exempted by certificate is understated, as was commonly the case in the West Riding, and it is possible that this may also be so at Market Weighton.⁹ Purdy noted that Selby had a distinctive hearth tax profile but a detailed analysis of the entries in the Selby assessments suggests that his conclusions were over simplified. All the indications are that at that date Selby was far more than a market town and that it had considerable port and trading functions. The average number of hearths per household was high with a much higher than average number of two and three hearthed households. This would tie in with a prosperous working community with few large merchants or gentry. But it is difficult to disagree with Purdy's view that Easingwold and Market Weighton were at that time large villages. Pocklington too, as Purdy rightly says, had a profile 'similar to that of the surrounding countryside rather than one more characteristically urban'¹⁰

⁹ K. Schurer and T. Arkell, *Surveying the People* (Oxford, 1992), 31-77; J.D. Marshall, 'The study of local and regional 'communities': some problems and possibilities', *Northern History*, 17 (1981), 225-6; M.F. Pickles 'Labour migration: Yorkshire c1670 to 1743', *Local Population Studies*, 57 (1996), 32.

¹⁰ *Hearth Tax List for North Riding of Yorkshire Michaelmas 1673 Part Three Birdforth and Bulmer Wapentakes*, Ripon Historical Society and Ripon, Harrogate and District Family History Group (Ripon, 1991), 25-6; *Hearth Tax List for Barston Ash and Osgoldcross Wapentakes West Riding of Yorkshire Lady Day 1672*, Ripon Historical Society and Ripon, Harrogate and District Family History Group (Ripon, 1994), 16-19; *Hearth Tax List for Howden, Ouze and*

At the Visitation of Archbishop Herring in 1743 the clergy were asked, *inter alia*, to report on the number of families in the parish. Holtby has rightly pointed out that these estimates must be suspect. However in saying that they are 'valueless for statistical purpose' he surely overstates his case. That view may be accurate for a parish such as Leeds, to which Beckwith, the author of that quotation, was referring, but it does not do justice to the quality of other returns. For example the return for Pocklington gives the number of families in the parish and the township and also gives a precise number of individuals.¹¹

Using the population figures adopted by Clark and Hosking, Table 2:1 shows the population of each of the four study towns over the period and provides a frame within which the post 1750 development of each town can be discussed.¹²

Darwant, Harthill Holme Beacon, Harthill Wilton and Buckrose Wapentakes East Riding of Yorkshire Lady Day 1672, Ripon Historical Society and Ripon, Harrogate and District Family History Group (Ripon, 1996), 25-6 and 36-7; Purdy, *Yorkshire Hearth Tax*, 125,135 and 140.

¹¹ R.T. Holtby, 'Thomas Herring as Archbishop of York 1743-1747', *Northern History*, 30 (1994), 111; S.L. Ollard and P.C. Walker (eds.), *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns 1743*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 71, (1929), 11.

¹² Clark and Hosking, *Population Estimates*. The figures in Table 2:1 that are based on the Hearth Tax returns and the Herring Visitation are calculated on a multiple of 4.25. *Ibid.*, v.

However it is important to put the figures into perspective. Circa 1670 York's population was around 9,000, Hull perhaps 7,000 and Leeds some 7,600. In 1743 the respective figures were about 11,500, 15,000 and 16,000, but by 1801 York had only grown to about 16,000 whilst Hull was some 30,000 and Leeds over 53,000.

TABLE 2:1
THE POPULATION OF THE FOUR TOWNS 1670-1841

	Easingwold		Market Weighton		Pocklington		Selby		England	
		% inc		% inc		% inc		% inc	% inc	% inc
c1670	750		600		710		1160			
c1743	1020	36.0	510	-15.0	943	32.8	1280	10.3	10.0	
1801	1467	43.8	1183	132.0	1502	59.3	2861	123.5	56.9	
1811	1576	7.4	1508	27.5	1539	2.5	3363	17.5	14.1	
1821	1912	21.3	1721	4.1	1962	27.5	4097	21.8	16.3	
1831	1922	0.5	1821	5.8	2048	4.4	4600	12.3	15.6	
1841	2171	13.0	1947	6.9	2323	13.4	5376	16.9	12.7	

Sources : Clark & Hosking, *Population Estimates*, Census and Wrigley & Schofield, *Population History*.

This was a period of rapid change and uneven growth, especially in the crucial years between 1750 and 1800. Thus although Pocklington grew in size from a population of 943 in 1743 to 1502 in 1801,¹³ that masked the fact that the real rise

¹³ The population of Pocklington in 1801 was taken to be 1052 by Noble in M. Noble, *Change in the small towns of the East Riding of Yorkshire c1750-1850*, Hedon Local History Series 5 (Beverley, 1979). The correct population of 1502 was shown by her in M. Noble, 'Market Towns of the Humber north bank, 1700-1850' in S. Ellis and D.R. Crowther (eds.), *Humber Perspectives* (Hull, 1990), 310, Table 22.1, though for Table 22.2, 1052 appears to have been used.

was over a very limited period, probably easing off after 1784 when the Market Weighton Canal was completed. There is a frustrating lack of data but the key points are that Pocklington had a relatively early enclosure award in 1757, although this does not appear to have resulted in an immediate rise in the population, that the Beverley to Kexby (and thence to York) road was turnpiked in 1764/5, that there was considerable in-migration of women to the town in the last quarter of the eighteenth century coupled with a lack of out migration of men from the town in the same period, but that the lack of a canal until 1819, coupled with the completion of the nearby Market Weighton canal in 1784 and improved water transport at Driffield, Malton and Beverley, stunted the growth of the town. Nevertheless during the early years of the nineteenth century it had a reasonable period of prosperity as a market centre and a minor social centre.

Unlike Pocklington, Market Weighton was on that road from York, through Beverley, to Hull. Before the road was turnpiked it may have benefited from the traffic on that road but it certainly benefited from the increased traffic after it had been turnpiked. However it was the Market Weighton canal completed in 1784 that was critical to its late eighteenth century prosperity. Strother in 1784 comments 'There is little trade here', but the *Universal British Directory* specifically dated the rise of the town over the previous eighteen or twenty years, placed the construction of the chief inn at between 1778 and 1783, recorded that it was 'a great corn market', and mentioned the keels bringing coal to the town,

which 'return laden with grain'.¹⁴ After 1793, the West Riding traffic over the Selby toll bridge and along the turnpiked road linking it to Hull must have benefited Market Weighton. But by the 1820s there was competition from the Pocklington canal, as well as from the Drifffield canal, and road traffic that would have gone through the town was being carried by the steam packets from Hull to Selby. By 1830 the prosperity of Market Weighton was in the past.¹⁵ Ahead lay a period of minor prosperity after the arrival of the railways, but never again was Market Weighton a serious challenge to the predominance of Pocklington.

In 1750 Easingwold may have been the most prosperous town of the four. Even before the road from York through Easingwold to Thirsk, Northallerton and the North was turnpiked in 1753, Easingwold benefited from the traffic along that road. One must always consider that the turnpiking of a road may have been in response to increased traffic along a road as well as being a cause of that traffic. In 1753 the first meeting of York to Northallerton Turnpike trustees was held at Easingwold. It continued to be an important town on the road to York until the York to Darlington railway was opened in 1841 and by-passed the town.¹⁶ But in

¹⁴ Extract from C. Caine (ed.) *Strother's Journal, written by a Tradesman of York and Hull, 1784-5* (London, 1912) in J. Crowther (ed.), *Descriptions of East Yorkshire: De la Pryme to Head (1700 to 1835)*, East Yorkshire Local History Series 45 (Beverley, 1992), 27; *Universal British Directory*, 3, 891-2.

¹⁵ *Pigot*, (1830), 1031.

¹⁶ Cowling, *Easingwold*, 83-7; cf. W. Albert, 'The Turnpike Trusts', in D.

the 1790s, the *Universal British Directory* pointed out that: -

'From the circumstances of its inland situation, without any navigable communication whatever, its trade is not very considerable, except the articles of bacon and butter, considerable quantities of which are sent from this town to York, and from thence to London by water'.¹⁷

Once the market for that butter and bacon was the West Riding rather than York and London, Easingwold suffered from the competition of Thirsk, a larger town with a flourishing market, ten miles to the north.¹⁸

The development of Selby during the period is much the most complex, as will become apparent when the various facets of that development are examined.

Throughout the period the growth of the town reflected the growth in the trade and industry of the West Riding in general, and Leeds in particular, yet like the other three towns it continued to have links with York. After the improvement of the lower Aire in 1699 it is generally said that 'for two generations Selby languished', but the authority for that alleged decline can usually be traced to the

Aldcroft and M. Freeman, (eds.), *Transport in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1983), 58. 'In 1807 'A sub committee was set up at Easingwold to be responsible for passing Milton's voters [at the 1807 elections] through to York' E.A. Smith, 'The Yorkshire Elections of 1806 and 1807: a study in electoral management', *Northern History*, 2 (1967), 74.

¹⁷ *Universal British Directory*, 3, 30.

¹⁸ *Baines*, 2, 557.

passing comments of one, Dr Pococke, in 1751.¹⁹ It has been suggested that the Leeds - Selby Turnpike of 1741 was merely a ploy by the Leeds merchants to encourage the Aire and Calder undertakers to improve that navigation. In reality, for the reasons discussed in Chapter III (3.2.1) there must have been a steady growth in the road traffic to Selby in the eighteenth century. The canal between Hattersley and Selby, which was completed in 1778 and by-passed the lower Aire, was again built in response to demand, though it was not until after the end of the American War in 1783 that the rising prosperity of Selby is recorded in the traffic down the navigation and in the rising figures in the Selby Parish Register. Mountain describes the building of the bridge across the Ouse in 1791/2 and the consolidation of that prosperity.²⁰ The creation of a new turnpiked road to Market Weighton and Hull in 1793 meant that much of the traffic from the East Riding to the West Riding was now flowing across that bridge rather than through York. Then followed the steady growth of ancillary industries such as ship building. It is again said that after the canal was cut to Goole, by-passing a larger stretch of the lower Aire, Selby again declined. In reality, as will be seen from the discussion in Chapter III (3.2.8) the position is again far more complex. In particular, the steamers that had come up the Humber from Hull since 1815, connected with

¹⁹ D. Hey, *Yorkshire from AD 1000* (1986), 215; Duckham, *The Yorkshire Ouse*, 71-2; J.J. Cartwright (ed.), 'The travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke', 1, *Camden Society* ns 42 (1888), 171-2.

²⁰ Mountain, *Selby*, 145-161.

coaches from York and Leeds and, after 1834, with the Leeds to Selby railway, thus protecting the town's prosperity until after 1841.

2.2 Regions, Networks and Context

To understand the social, economic and demographic changes that affected the four study towns one must first place them in context. The hierarchical model put forward by Christaller, often described as his central place theory, has found favour with some who have sought to establish a satisfactory region in which to do this.

'Christaller based his work on town development in southern Germany. The theoretical aspects of that study provide a number of working hypotheses concerning the spacing of urban settlements, the nature of their surrounding hinterlands and the evolution of the idea of a 'league table' (or ranking) of towns based on the range of functions carried out for the surrounding communities.'²¹

This certainly has its attractions, particularly if one can establish a region with clear geographical or social boundaries and an obvious central place, and then apply Christaller's theories to define smaller sub regions, each with their own central place. On the face of it Yorkshire before the Civil War does seem to be a region which could be looked at through a Christallerian frame. Pythian-Adams

²¹ W.T.R. Pryce, 'Migration in pre-industrial and industrial societies', in *Patterns and processes of internal migration, Units 9 and 10 for the Course D301, Historical Sources and the Social Scientist* (Milton Keynes, 1982), 9.

has suggested that the historic counties such as Yorkshire can constitute a defined pays and he calls in aid the study by Holderness of Easingwold and eight other Vale of York townships during the period from 1777 to 1812.²² As to Yorkshire itself, Hey in the introduction to his Yorkshire from AD 1000 is confident of the identity of the County of Yorkshire and of the natural sub regions or 'pays' within it.²³

York, like Norwich, was very close to being a regional capital in the late seventeenth century. At the time of the hearth tax, contemporaries may have accepted that the county of York did indeed focus on the city of York. It was an ecclesiastical centre, the centre for legal administration and, until its abolition at the time of the Civil War, the Council of the North met there. Beverley in the East Riding and Wakefield in the West Riding, the administrative centres of their respective Ridings, were probably still their central places, though whether this applied to Northallerton in the North Riding is less clear cut.²⁴ Pocklington and

²² C. Phythian-Adams *Rethinking English Local History*, Dept of English Local History Occasional papers, 4th Series, 1, (Leicester, 1987), 27-42; Holderness, 'Personal mobility'.

²³ Hey, *Yorkshire*, 9.

²⁴ P M Tillott (ed.), *The Victoria County History, York, City of York* (1961); K.J. Allison (ed.), *The Victoria County History, York, East Riding, 6, The Borough and Liberties of Beverley*, (1989); W.G. Rimmer, 'The evolution of Leeds to 1700', *The Thoresby Society*, 50 (1968), 126-9.

Easingwold, respectively twelve and thirteen miles from York, would have fallen within York's ambit. Market Weighton's position might have been slightly more ambiguous. Nineteen miles from York, and thirteen miles from Beverley, then, as now, it probably looked more to Beverley than to York, though whether it also looked to Pocklington as a minor market centre is less clear. Selby's position must have been more complicated. Although only fourteen miles south of York, with good water communication along the river Ouse, it was in the seventeenth century seen as the port of Leeds and the West Riding. However when the Aire and Calder navigation was established in 1699, it could be that Selby moved, to some extent, more into York's orbit.

Then 'during the eighteenth century the urban hierarchy of England was turned upside down'.²⁵ That comment was made by Wrigley in relation to the industrial and port cities of the North and the Midlands but is particularly apposite to the changed relationship between York on the one hand and Leeds and Hull on the other. In 1700, York with a population of perhaps 12,000, ranked fifth nationally behind London, Norwich, Bristol, Newcastle and Exeter. However, 'At the beginning of the nineteenth century [York] was undergoing a period of stagnation ...' though it was still a regional market centre.²⁶ By 1801, with a population of

²⁵ E.A. Wrigley, 'Urban growth and agricultural change: England and the Continent in the early modern period', in Borsay, *Eighteenth century town*, 78.

²⁶ W. Boneham Taylor, 'The Workshops and Manufactories of York in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century', *York Historian*, 10 (1992), 28;

16,000 it was lying twenty fourth. Amongst the towns ahead of it were Leeds with 53,000 inhabitants, Sheffield 46,000, Hull 30,000 and over the Pennines were Manchester 89,000 and Liverpool 83,000. The theories of Christaller have therefore to be viewed with great caution when one is considering the implications of the fundamental changes in the urban hierarchy that occurred in Yorkshire in this period.

By the mid eighteenth century York's situation had in many ways improved after its difficulties at the end of the previous century. It was then the social centre for Yorkshire and beyond, though its prosperity was closely linked to that function. Thus in 1720 Defoe reported 'Here is no trade indeed, except such as depends upon the confluence of the gentry' and in 1736 Drake gave as his opinion 'What has been, and is, the chief support of the city ... is the resort to and residence of several country gentleman with their families in it'. In 1744 the fourth edition of Defoe said 'The present support of the City is chiefly owing to the Gentry, who make it their winter residence ...'.²⁷

W. Boneham Taylor, 'All Roads leading to York - a comparative study of turnpike development 1745-1881' (unpublished York University M.Phil. thesis, 1992), 182-90

²⁷ Defoe, 1962, 2, 234; Extract from F. Drake, *Eboracum* (1736) in D. Palliser and M. Palliser, *York as they saw it - from Alcuin to Lord Esher*, (York, 1979), 37; Defoe, 1748, 3, 163.

In contrast, whilst Wakefield remained the county town of the West Riding, and a commercial centre of some importance, Leeds became the leading town in the West Riding, if not in Yorkshire.²⁸ Hull also prospered. Even in 1720 Defoe could say of it: -

'... all the trade at Leeds, Wakefield and Halifax ... is transacted [at Hull] and the goods are ship'd here by the merchants of Hull; all the lead trade of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, from Bautry Warf, the butter of the East and North Riding, brought down the Ouse to York: The cheese brought down the Trent from Stafford, Warwick, and Cheshire, and the corn from all the counties adjacent, are brought down and shipp'd off here'.²⁹

In their introduction to the Everyman edition of Defoe, Cole and Browning rightly point to Defoe's view of the exceptional nature of the Yorkshire textile industry.³⁰

In the account of Halifax, 'the most populous parish ... in England', both the first and fourth editions of Defoe stress that the population of Halifax and the surrounding manufacturing towns 'must necessarily have their provisions from other more distant parts'.³¹

²⁸ Rimmer, Leeds.

²⁹ Defoe, 1962, 2, 242-3.

³⁰ Ibid., 1, xiii.

³¹ Ibid., 2, 198-9, Defoe, 1748, 3, 140-1.

The effect of this on Selby was to bring it more closely within the commercial ambit of Leeds and the West Riding. Significantly the first turnpike from Selby was that to Leeds in 1741, and the road from Selby to York was never turnpiked. Easingwold remained within the ambit of York, and this may well have been true of Pocklington, but after the completion of the Market Weighton canal in 1784, Market Weighton became a major outlet for the agricultural produce of a wide area of the East Riding and, until that trade slackened, it had very close links with Wakefield and the West Riding.³²

Thus, though the four study towns must be considered in a regional context, it becomes apparent that the extent of 'the region' and the hierarchy of 'the region' varied over time. This dilemma is well illustrated by the work of Unwin and Noble.

Unwin considered the fortunes of nineteen market towns in the Vale of York, between 1660 and 1830 and sought 'to identify patterns of social structure, religious allegiance and education'. Implicit in his paper was the assumption that all were 'market towns' and, though he considers 'transport networks and town hierarchies', his paper makes only passing references to the relationship between these towns and York, Leeds, the West Riding industrial districts, and to Hull the major port for the region. He was, in effect, considering nineteen towns in a

³² H.E. Strickland, *A General view of the Agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire* (1812), 238.

geographical area, the Vale of York, but it was not within his brief to place them within the catchment areas of Christallerian central places of a higher order or in networks such as those considered by Lord in her study of nineteen parishes in Surrey, Kent and Sussex.³³

The work of Margaret Noble illustrates very clearly the difficulties of deciding the boundaries of a region in which to place one's research. In 1979 she looked at six small towns in the East Riding. Her 1983 thesis, *Growth and Development of country towns: the case of Eastern Yorkshire 1700-1850*, covered thirteen small towns, Beverley, Bridlington, Easingwold, Driffield, Howden, Malton, Market Weighton, Pickering, Pocklington, Selby, Scarborough, South Cave and Thirsk. In 1987 she considered *Growth and development in a regional urban system: the country towns of eastern Yorkshire 1700-1850*. By now her region ran from Thirsk and Scarborough in the north, to Thorne and Patrington in the south and covered twenty three small towns. However, in 1990, driven perhaps by the boundaries of post 1974 Humberside, her region in *Market towns of the Humber North Bank 1700-1850*, was an area ranging from Malton and Hunmanby in the

³³ Unwin, 'Market Towns 1660-1830', 77-86; E. Lord, 'The Boundaries of Local History: a discussion paper', *The Journal of Local and Regional Studies*, 11, 1 and 2 (1991), 75 - 87. Unwin's selected towns were:- Aberford, Bedale, Boroughbridge, Cawood, Doncaster, Easingwold, Howden, Market Weighton, Northallerton, Pocklington, Pontefract, Ripon, Selby, Tadcaster, Thirsk, Thorne, Sherburn, Snaith and Wetherby.

north, to Selby and Patrington in the south and covering fifteen small towns.³⁴

Christaller's book does not appear in the notes to Noble's article in 1987, but she cites the work of Lewis on Welsh towns and Christaller is cited in her 1983 thesis.³⁵ She endeavours to establish the rank of her study towns over time, though she gives less consideration to their links with each other. However a fundamental difficulty that she does not address is the justification of the boundaries of her 'regional urban system' and the relationship of those places within that system to the towns outside it. Defoe in the extract cited above shows that Hull's hinterland went far beyond that area. The initial map in Noble's 1987 article shows market centres circa 1700 - and does not therefore show the Selby - Huddesley canal. Nor does that map, or the subsequent maps in that article, show Leeds, Wakefield or Northallerton. This dilemma is shown even more clearly in

³⁴ Noble, *Change in Small Towns c1750-1850* (1979); Noble, 'Country Towns: Eastern Yorkshire 1700-1850' (1983); Noble, 'Regional urban system : Eastern Yorkshire 1700-1850' (1987); Noble, 'Market Towns of the Humber north bank, 1700-1850' (1990).

³⁵ Noble, 'Regional urban system : Eastern Yorkshire 1700-1850' (1987), 1; C.R. Lewis, 'The analysis of changes in urban status: a case study in Mid Wales and the Middle Welsh Borderland', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 64 (1975), 49-66. C.R. Lewis, 'The central place pattern of Mid-Wales and the Middle Welsh borderland', in H. Carter and W.K.D. Davies (eds.), *Urban Essays: Studies in the Geography of Wales* (1970), 228-268; Noble, 'Country Towns: Eastern Yorkshire 1700-1850' (1983), 249, note 9.

Noble's article *Inland Navigations and Country Towns: the case of East Yorkshire c 1750-1850*.³⁶ Figure 1, the map showing 'The transportation system of East Yorkshire c1800' does not mark the Selby canal, though it does show the Pocklington canal, which was completed in 1819.³⁷ To look at Pocklington, Market Weighton, Easingwold and, above all, Selby, in such a narrow context is to deprive oneself of the true perspective in which these towns should be considered. With the possible exception of Pocklington all four are fundamentally affected by the rise of Leeds and the West Riding and the decline of York. Selby illustrates this quite simply. After 1778 the West Riding traffic down the Aire and Calder came through Selby. When the Leeds and Liverpool canal was completed in 1816 Selby was on the crucial east - west link between Hull and Liverpool. To look at it as a market centre, with the benefit of navigational links, fails to appreciate the true nature of the commercial activities at Selby. And one must always bear in mind that: -

'... the effective market area for a settlement on navigable water was much larger than for a land-locked village. ... Liverpool in the eighteenth [century]

³⁶ M. Noble, 'Inland navigations and Country Towns: the case of East Yorkshire c1750-1850' in E.M. Sigsworth (ed.), *Ports and Resorts in the Regions* (Hull, 1981), 79-100.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 80.

was as close to Boston as to Buxton'³⁸

One must recognise that then, as now, small towns had multiple functions and that to rank them by a hierarchical points system linked to 'the key service sectors of retailing and professional functions' can overlook their importance in a wider context, a point recognised, but not fully developed, by Noble in her article in 1990.³⁹ One must look at the study towns in depth, consider the way they were run, place them in context, and only then can one assess the overall picture.

The crucial role of the transportation system during this period is considered in detail in the next section, but a brief reference should be made to transport functions at this point. Noble, writing in 1987, and in common with other writers, considered transport functions to 'establish the degree of nodality' of the towns that she was considering, adopting the view that: -

'The most widely and uniformly available data for measuring nodality is the information on transport flows, viz., carrier services, contained in trade directories from the last quarter of the eighteenth century'.⁴⁰

³⁸ E.A. Wrigley, 'Parasite or Stimulus: The Town in pre- industrial Economy', in P. Abrams and E.A. Wrigley (eds.), *Towns in Society* (Cambridge, 1978), 299. In the context, the reference is to Boston, Massachusetts

³⁹ Noble, 'Regional urban system : Eastern Yorkshire 1700-1850' (1987), 8; Noble, 'Market Towns of the Humber north bank, 1700-1850' (1990), 313-8

⁴⁰ Noble, 'Regional urban system : Eastern Yorkshire 1700-1850' (1987), 8.

The directories she used for this purpose were the *Universal British Directory* (1793-8), Baines (1822-3) and Slater (1849).⁴¹ The last named directory relates to a period not covered by this thesis and Baines is a not unsatisfactory source, but in the *Universal British Directory*, the very limited entry for Selby, and the lack of adequate data for nine of the twenty three small towns that she considered, does make it questionable whether the available evidence in the *Universal British Directory* can bear the weight of interpretation placed upon it. For example, Noble records that in 1791 Selby had one carrier serving one place once a week.⁴² The relevant part of the Selby entry in the *Universal British Directory* states: -

'By the canal from hence, communicating with the Aire and Calder navigations, Selby becomes the unloading port into the West Riding of Yorkshire, the commerce to and from which is principally conducted by two sets of capital stout contract vessels, from Selby to Stanton's and Gun and Shot wharfs, in London. - A weekly market boat to York is kept by George Mountain; and T Barton is the common carrier to Leeds every Monday.'⁴³

The problems of using carrier services to measure nodality are considered in Section 4.4 of Chapter IV but this entry for Selby illustrates two weaknesses very clearly. At this level one must include transport by water as well as by land but it

⁴¹ *Universal British Directory*, Baines.

⁴² Noble, 'Regional urban system : Eastern Yorkshire 1700-1850' (1987), 14, Table 3.

⁴³ *Universal British Directory*, 4, 532.

is also essential to consider the broader picture and look at overall contact with other communities rather than focussing on a single facet.

One must accept that in the rapidly changing scene in late eighteenth century Yorkshire, it is extremely difficult to establish regions, and one can readily accept the view of Shaw that the central place theory 'has proved somewhat inflexible in the field of historical analysis'.⁴⁴ Indeed, Lewis in his Christaller based case study of urban centres in Mid-Wales and the Middle Welsh Borderland, puts the point very succinctly when discussing sudden changes in importance between his study towns: -

'These sudden shifts in importance cannot be explained by statements about their performance as central places. It is necessary to look at special activities ...'.⁴⁵

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to propose any revision of the central place theory or to reject it in its entirety but when considering changes in late eighteenth century Yorkshire one must seek alternatives. It seems clear that one must look at the available data on more than one level. All communities had day to day needs. For the urban communities these could be met within their communities, drawing where necessary upon the agricultural resources of their immediate hinterland. These urban communities could also meet many of the non-agricultural needs of

⁴⁴ Shaw, *British Directories*, 51.

⁴⁵ Lewis, *Urban status*, 64.

the surrounding rural communities. At a somewhat higher level there would be needs that could only be met by the resources of a larger urban community. But in parallel with these local commercial links there were social, trading and commercial links with other urban centres often outside the immediate region of the town. These networks can hardly be described as sub regions or kinship networks, pace Phythian-Adams, but, as Lord, and Rogers, have suggested, it is vital that one identifies these networks if one is to have any real understanding of the community that one is studying.⁴⁶

2.3 The Provision of Legal Services

One such network, which has been taken as a primary building block for this purpose, is the provision of legal services. Corfield has noted 'The diffusion of legal services provides one interesting indication of the role of small towns' and made use of Browne's general Law List for 1780.⁴⁷ Extensive data is available for Yorkshire attorneys after 1780. Initially it was analysed because it seemed likely that it might be helpful in establishing the area of influence of York, and in charting its relative decline against other towns, notably Leeds and Hull. However it became apparent that it could also identify the centres throughout Yorkshire which should be considered when looking at the potential links with the study

⁴⁶ Lord, *Boundaries*; A. Rogers, 'Review of C. Phythian Adams (ed.), *Societies, Culture and Kinship* (Leicester, 1993) *The Local Historian*, 24, 2 (1994), 116-8.

⁴⁷ Corfield, 'Small towns, large implications', 134.

towns and competing towns in their vicinity.

The membership list of the Yorkshire Law Society, founded in 1786, can be linked to the provincial Law Lists that are available, and reasonable reliable, from circa 1780.⁴⁸ Yorkshire was only the second provincial law society - and the minutes of the only preceding Society, the Bristol Law Society, suggested that it became moribund after about 1780 and was not resuscitated until well into the nineteenth century. It will come as no surprise to find that the trigger for the formation of the Yorkshire Law Society in 1786 was 'a bill to be presented to parliament for regulating persons practising as conveyancers' - little changes over the centuries. York was then the assize town for Yorkshire, and thus a natural focus for a provincial law society. The minute book of the Society between the years 1786 and 1834 was available to Robson and is used by him in *The Attorney in Eighteenth Century England*. Its rules and aims make it clear that its principal objects were professional rather than social and Robson confirms that this was indeed so.⁴⁹ Those attending the initial meeting at Mr Ringrose's house in York

⁴⁸ *Catalogue of the contents of the library of the Yorkshire Law Society, with a record of the acquisition thereof, rules and regulations, lists of the Officers and Members of the Yorkshire Law Society and of the Yorkshire Law Library respectively, from their formation to the present time.* (York, 1886); Browne's *General Law List for the year 1780* (1780); *Clarke's New Law List for the years 1790-1840* (1790-1840).

⁴⁹ R. Robson, *The Attorney in eighteenth century England* (Cambridge, 1959), 36-43. It is understood that this minute book is still in the possession of the

included six who were from outside the county of York and did not join the Society. Seventy-one attorneys from within Yorkshire joined the Society during the years 1786 to 1789 inclusive.⁵⁰

TABLE 2:2
NEW MEMBERS OF THE YORKSHIRE LAW SOCIETY 1786-1830

	1786 to 1800	1801 to 1815	1816 to 1830	Total
Beverley	5	2	3	10
Doncaster	3	7	3	13
Easingwold	2	0	2	4
Gt Driffield	0	1	1	2
Howden	6	0	1	7
Hull	8	9	0	17
Leeds	3	5	0	8
Malton (New)	5	5	1	11
Market Weighton	0	0	0	0
Northallerton	3	3	3	9
Pocklington	2	0	0	2
Pontefract	3	3	0	6
Scarborough	5	2	1	8
Selby	2	1	0	3
Tadcaster	2	0	2	4
Thirsk	2	2	2	6
Wakefield	7	2	3	12
Whitby	0	2	3	5
York	18	9	21	48
Other	53	56	25	134
Total	129	109	71	309

Source : List of Members 1886⁵¹

The geographical spread of the early membership makes it clear that the Society's members were drawn from a very wide area. Table 2:2 lists some of the places

Yorkshire Law Society

⁵⁰ *Yorkshire Law Society Membership List (1886)*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

from which they came - sixty-four were listed in total, stretching right across the county. Leeds Law Society dates from 1805 and Hull's from 1818, but no further local law societies appear to have been founded within the county until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Lawyers from Hull and Leeds continued to join the Yorkshire Law Society but in relatively smaller numbers. It seems unlikely that either Leeds or Hull law societies attracted members from outside their respective towns - in 1830 the membership of the Leeds law society was thirty, and sixty-four lawyers were listed under Leeds in the law list of that year.⁵²

It is important that one should not attempt to read too much into the data in Table 2:2 but conclusions can be drawn from it. The number of new members falls after the first decade of the nineteenth century but the number from York increases absolutely and as a percentage of all new members. York was a place of importance to lawyers throughout the county, though less so as the nineteenth century progressed. Its attraction was not necessarily degraded by distance and it was of far more importance to lawyers in some towns than it was to those in others. In the eighteenth century significant numbers came from what were then the major Yorkshire towns; Beverley, Doncaster, Halifax, Hull, Leeds, Pontefract, Ripon, Scarborough, Sheffield and Wakefield. In the early years of the nineteenth century it is Bradford, Doncaster, Halifax, Huddersfield, Hull, Leeds and

⁵² The dates of the formation of the Hull and Leeds Law Societies were provided by the respective societies and the membership of Leeds Law Society in 1830 from information supplied by that society.

Northallerton that stand out, though Wakefield is reasonably high throughout both periods. After 1820 only four towns stand out, Beverley, Selby, Wakefield and Whitby. Focusing on the towns that seem relevant to the study towns one can see the rise in the number of lawyers, in relative as well as absolute terms, at Leeds, Hull and Wakefield throughout the period and the relative decline at York. At both Northallerton and Malton there is little change, whilst it is only in the last decade that the number of lawyers at Howden fell.

By way of comparison Table 2:3 shows the lawyers whose names appear in the Law Lists for selected Yorkshire towns.⁵³ This data on lawyers appears to support the evidence that is widely available elsewhere to demonstrate the rise of Hull and Leeds, and there is no doubt that the lawyers in other larger towns became less inclined to look to York. But it also suggests that the influence of York was greater in the early nineteenth century than is often assumed. Its importance as a regional market centre in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century has recently been charted by Taylor,⁵⁴ and on this evidence smaller towns in the county, even those at a considerable distance, could well have links with York. The data marks the continuing importance of Wakefield, despite its limited increase in population, and, to a lesser extent, Beverley, Doncaster and Pontefract.

⁵³ *Browne's Law List* (1780), *Clarke's Law Lists* (1790-1840). The sharp increase in numbers for York between 1790 and 1800 was in part due to the inclusion of 'proctors' - lawyers practising in the ecclesiastical courts.

⁵⁴ Boneham Taylor, 'All Roads leading to York - 1745-1881', especially 182-90.

TABLE 2:3
LAWYERS IN SELECTED YORKSHIRE TOWNS 1780-1840

	1780	1790	1800	1811	1820	1830	1840
Beverley	6	10	8	7	12	12	13
Doncaster	9	6	7	11	15	17	18
Easingwold	1	2	2	2	2	2	3
Gt Driffield	2	2	2	1	4	4	7
Howden	4	5	7	5	8	10	6
Hull	8	16	20	31	38	51	54
Leeds	18	26	23	27	33	64	73
Malton (New)	9	7	7	9	9	9	9
Market Weighton	0	0	0	0	1	2	2
Northallerton	5	9	3	4	6	6	9
Pocklington	0	3	2	3	2	3	5
Pontefract	7	8	6	9	12	11	14
Scarborough	6	9	5	5	8	7	10
Selby	2	4	2	4	6	6	8
Tadcaster	0	1	2	2	3	4	3
Thirsk	2	2	3	4	4	6	6
Wakefield	6	13	12	15	23	24	32
Whitby	5	7	2	4	7	11	10
York	16	20	37	43	49	62	67
All selected towns	106	150	150	186	242	311	349

Source : Law lists⁵⁵

It raises doubt about the influence of Northallerton and makes it more likely that Easingwold was firmly under the influence of York. And finally it throws considerable light on the potential influence of Malton, Driffield and Howden on the four study towns.

What therefore is very clear is that the Christaller model has serious limitations when applied to Yorkshire in the long eighteenth century. When other networks and areas of influence, such as Methodist circuits and Poor Law Unions, are

⁵⁵ Ibid.

considered in due course, it will be seen that superficially it has considerable attractions in the East Riding, although Hull does not fit comfortably into a Christallerian mould. However the pattern of the provision of legal services in the county illustrates the limitations of that model. The reality was far more complex, as will be seen when the most significant commercial network, transportation, is considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III Roads, Rivers & Canals - and Railroads

3.0 Introduction

The development of each of the study towns was closely linked to their position in the relevant transport network. It is therefore important to establish what those networks were, how the respective towns fitted into them and what part, if any, each town played in the creation and development of those networks.

The close links between communications and economic development has long been accepted. Thus Edwards, writing in 1965, considering the long term decline of Norwich, contrasted the communication problems of that city, 'home of a thriving worsted manufactory in the middle of the eighteenth century' with those of the West Riding, noting the advantages to the latter of its 'admirable system of highways and waterways'.¹ More recently Szostak has suggested that the Industrial Revolution occurred in England only because of the improvements in its transport system. Crucially that system was responsive to local needs and under local control, in contrast to the centralised French system of the day, which Szostak suggests was bureaucratic and focused on political and military considerations.² Opinions differed as what those local needs were. The respective

¹ J.K. Edwards, 'Communications and the Economic Development of Norwich', *The Journal of Transport History*, 7, 2 (1965), 96 and 98-9.

² R. Szostak, *The Role of Transportation in the Industrial Revolution - a comparison of England and France* (Montreal, 1991), especially 87-9. Szostak's views do not enjoy universal acceptance. Cf. S. Ville, 'Transport and the industrial revolution', *Journal of Transport History*, 13, 2 (1992), 183 and D. Cardwell,

corporations of the larger towns, York, Hull, Leeds, Beverley had perceived needs which might well conflict and differ from those of the country landowners, or from those of merchants and traders.

Canals and river improvements were in the past seen as the crucial element in the improvement of the transport structure but Chartres and others have redressed the balance by pointing out the importance of road transport. It is fair to say that current opinion supports the view that road and water were part of an integrated transport network by the early nineteenth century.³

3.1 Transport systems

As has already been stressed, one must maintain a broad perspective. All four of the study towns are within the area that drains into the Ouse, and thence to the Humber. Unwin has shown how water carriage had dominated the transport systems within the Humber and Trent basins, for which Hull was the outlet and the Selby Parish Registers confirm how significant the rivers were as transport

Fontana History of Technology (1994), 182 and 225.

³ J. Chartres, 'Road Transport and Economic Growth in the Eighteenth Century' *ReFresh*, 8 (1989), 5-8; M.J. Freeman, 'Road Transport in the English industrial revolution: an interim reassessment', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 6 (1980), 17-28; G.L. Turnbull, 'Scotch linen, storms, wars and privateers: John Wilson and Son, Leeds linen merchants 1754-1800' *Journal of Transport History*, 3rd Series, 3, 1 (1982).

routes.⁴ York had been the largest urban centre in the region and early axes for transport networks were the Ouse (and the Humber) - in particular that part that runs between York and Hull, and the Great North Road, one branch of which swung north east at Ferrybridge and went through Tadcaster to York.

This indirect route to York from the south was due to the lack of roads across the low lying and ill drained lands surrounding the marshes of the Humberhead Levels. As the period progressed the Levels were progressively drained, though some areas had to await the use of steam engines in the nineteenth century. This must be borne in mind in considering the way that communications developed. For example Pocklington and Market Weighton lay on the north east side of this area and it was no coincidence that both are close to the Roman road from Lincoln to the North that ran along that north east side.⁵

Despite the importance of York, Duckham places the Selby ferry 'as one of the major links between the East and West area and it was no coincidence that both

⁴ Unwin, 'Trade and Transport 1660-1770'; R. W. Unwin, 'The transport systems of the Vale of York, 1660- 1775' *Journal of Transport History* 3rd Series, 2, 2 (1981), 17-37; G. Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century: A study in Economic and Social History* (Oxford, 1972), 10.

⁵ Hey, *Yorkshire*, 145 and 216; J.A. Sheppard, *The draining of the Marshlands of South Holderness and the Vale of York* East Yorkshire Local History Series 20 (1966).

are close to the Roman road from Ridings, even before the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century,⁶ and it was West Riding interests that initiated the major changes that would eventually sideline York. In 1699 the improvements to Aire and Calder confirmed a new axis from the Ouse along those river systems and in 1735 the earliest Yorkshire turnpike was the Rochdale Halifax route over Blackstone edge. Defoe's dramatic account of the perils of the road from Rochdale to Halifax over Blackstone Edge around 1724-6 is relatively muted in the 1748 edition.⁷ In 1741 the Leeds to Selby road was turnpiked, one of the first of the network of turnpikes connecting the West Riding textile towns and linking them to London and their potential markets. Thus by 1750 the Hull - Leeds - Lancashire line was clearly delineated, though it would be many years before it was fully developed.⁸

It may have been inevitable that traffic up the Ouse to York would decline because of the shift of industry to the West Riding and the increasing size of vessels attempting to come up the river, but when one reads the account of the improvements to the Ouse between 1700 and 1830 in Duckham's *The Yorkshire Ouse*, the contrast between the actions of communities such as Selby, and the

⁶ Duckham, *Yorkshire Ouse*, 159.

⁷ Defoe, 1962, 2, 191-2; Defoe, 1748, 3, 136.

⁸ R.G. Wilson, *Gentleman Merchants: The merchant community in Leeds, 1700-1830* (Manchester, 1971), 145-9.

bumbling incompetence of York soon becomes apparent. Thus for example, in an effort to improve the water level upstream of Naburn, just south of York, a lock was constructed in 1757. It made conditions below the lock worse. It is hardly surprising that York was soon only a minor river port, outside the major networks.⁹

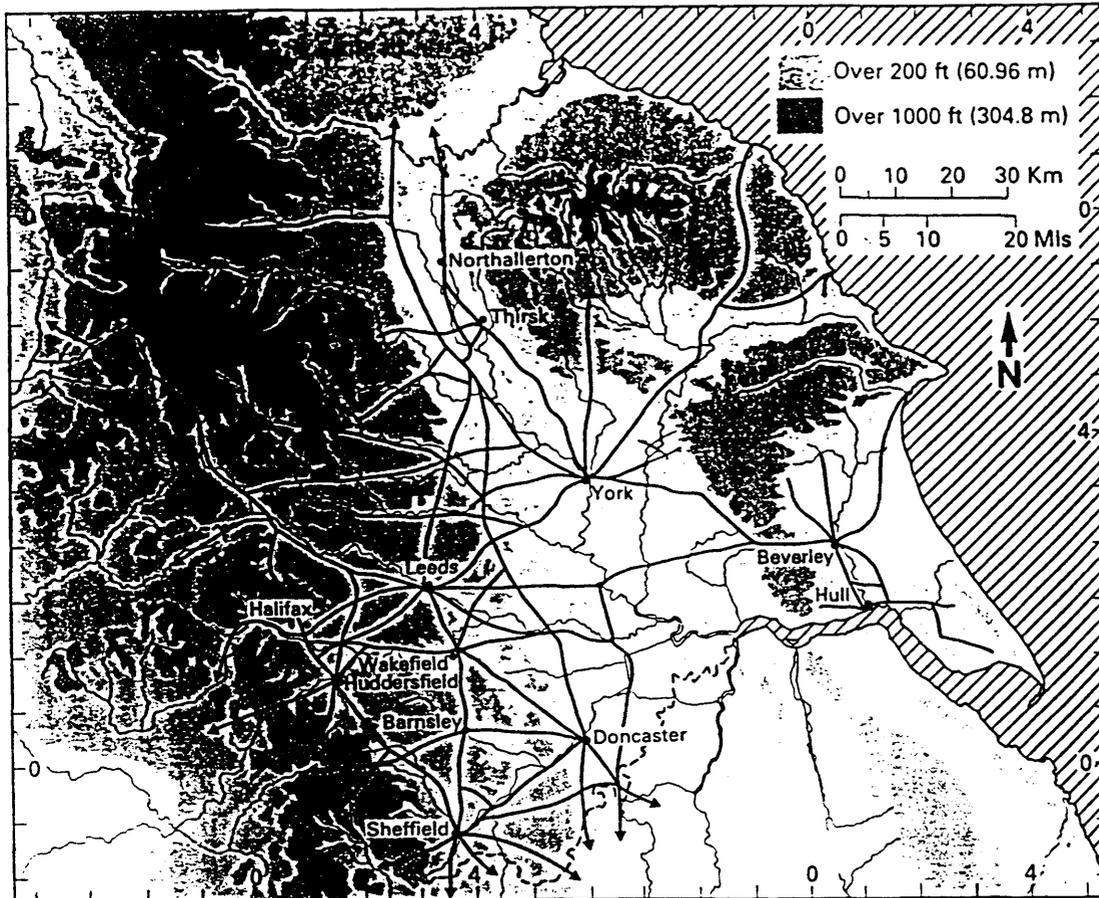
York Corporation was more positive in the need to maintain access to it by road, perhaps because the City Corporation perceived the City's primary function to be a social centre for the gentry and could grasp the need to bring provisions to the city markets. Thus turnpiked roads radiated out of York in an arc from the Leeds road to the south-west to the Beverley road to the south-east.¹⁰ Nevertheless it is difficult to disagree with the conclusions of Boneham Taylor, when commenting on the failure of York Corporation to act in respect of a turnpike trust, that 'the opportunity was lost by a Corporation which was apathetic over a long period of time to both its river and road systems'. Thus neither the Northallerton - York turnpike in 1753 nor the York - Beverley turnpikes in 1764 and 1765 appear to owe much, if anything, to any initiative by the City of York. York Corporation

⁹ Duckham, *Yorkshire Ouse*, 59-85, especially 65-6.

¹⁰ Tillott, *Victoria County History, York, City of York*, 245 and 475-6; Unwin, 'Transport systems 1660-1775', 32; Roads from York were turnpiked to Tadcaster in 1745, to Wetherby in 1771, to Boroughbridge in 1750, to Northallerton in 1753, to Oswaldkirk (near Helmsley) in 1768, to Scarborough in 1752 and to Beverley in 1765

seems merely to have responded to the initiatives of others.¹¹

MAP 3:1 TURNPIKE ROADS



Source : Hey, *Yorkshire*, 216

Thus so far as roads were concerned, Selby had been linked by turnpike to Leeds since 1741, Easingwold was on the road from York to Northallerton (and onwards to Newcastle and Edinburgh), turnpiked in 1753, and, after 1765, Pocklington and Market Weighton had the benefit of the York - Beverley turnpikes and were

¹¹ Boneham Taylor, 'All Roads leading to York - 1745-1881', 182. K.A. MacMahon, *Roads and Turnpike Trusts in Eastern Yorkshire*, East Yorkshire Local History Series 18 (Beverley, 1964), 22.

linked to Hull to the east, and York, and onwards to Leeds, Manchester and Liverpool, to the west. Map 3:1 shows these turnpikes, together with those authorised thereafter, in particular the Selby to Market Weighton turnpike.¹²

When Henry Best of Elmswell, some two miles east of Driffield, recorded his arrangements for marketing his grain in 1642, he said that in November and December he 'oftentimes' sold wheat at Bridlington, about 13 miles to the east, from whence it was shipped to Newcastle and Sunderland. His oats went to Beverley, about the same distance to the south; wheat and maslin went to Malton on the river Derwent and 15 miles to the north west; barley in the winter to Beverley, and to Pocklington, 14 miles to the south west, but in the summer the barley was sent to Malton.¹³ Best thus reveals the pattern of another series of transport networks by which the agricultural produce of the Wolds went to the urban areas. In 1642 it is likely that much of the grain sold at Malton and Pocklington went to York, though it may have gone further down the River Derwent; that sold at Beverley may have also gone down the River Hull to Hull, and perhaps grain from all three might have gone to the West Riding or to London.

¹² Maps 3:1 and 3:2 are reproduced from Hey, *Yorkshire*, with the kind permission of Professor David Hey.

¹³ D. Woodward (ed.), *The Farming and Memorandum books of Henry Best of Elmswell 1642* (1984), 105.

It seems likely that the improvement of the Derwent during the eighteenth century was in response to a need to upgrade the river to carry increasing traffic. Much of the area near the river at Malton had been enclosed in the seventeenth century, presumably because access to the Derwent allowed easier shipment to markets for the produce that was grown there.¹⁴ The initial pressure was from 'Gentlemen, Freeholders, Mercers, Drapers, Grocers and other Traders within the Borough of Malton' in 1701, but this came to nothing. An act was obtained in 1702 and by 1722 the navigation was the exclusive property of Thomas Wentworth, the new Lord of the Manor of Malton and it so remained until it was sold to the North Eastern Railway in 1854. As York declined in importance so the traffic to the West Riding along the Aire and Calder must have increased. Unfortunately it is not until 1793 that any analysis is available but there is no reason to doubt that it reflects a well-established pattern. For some fifty years the navigational rights had been leased to the Fenton family a firm of coal and corn merchants, and they had fifteen of the thirty five vessels that carried coal from 'Leeds etc.' and took back corn from Malton.¹⁵

¹⁴ A. Harris, *The Rural Landscape of the East Riding of Yorkshire 1700-1850* (Hull, 1961), 56.

¹⁵ Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments Fitzwilliam II, F74b, quoted by Duckham in B.F. Duckham, 'The Fitzwilliams and the navigation of the Yorkshire Derwent', *Northern History*, 2 (1967), 50, and in B.F. Duckham, *The Inland Waterways of East Yorkshire 1700-1900*, East Yorkshire Local History Series 29 (1973), 49. Duckham describes the Fenton family as 'of Malton' but Wilson (Wilson, *Gentleman Merchants*, 137) says they were Leeds based with very wide

The next link in this water borne network is the Driffield navigation, started in 1767 and completed in 1770. Howarth considers that the impetus for this canal came principally from those who wished to break free from the Derwent Navigation. Others have portrayed it as the personal achievement of Willy Porter, corn factor and landlord of the principal inn at Driffield.¹⁶ By the 1790's the *Universal British Directory* could report: -

'Upwards of 20,000 quarters of corn are annually transported in large keels or vessels, by a navigation, by the town of Hull, into the river Humber, and so into the West of Yorkshire, from whence they return with coals.'¹⁷

Pocklington had no canal until 1819 but the Act of 1772 for the draining of Wallingfen also made provision for a canal to Market Weighton and that canal was fully operation in 1784. The *Universal British Directory* was less fulsome, saying only: -

'Coals and other articles are brought to this place for the supply of the town [Market Weighton] and neighbourhood; and the keels or barges which bring them return laden with grain.'¹⁸

commercial interests.

¹⁶ P. Howarth, *Driffield A country town in its setting 1700-1860* (Hull, nd), 44-6.

¹⁷ *Universal British Directory*, 2, 827.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3, 892.

needed to support agricultural production came back along those waterways.¹⁹

Before 1792 there was no bridge over the Ouse (or the Humber) south of York.

There were ferries, notably the one at Selby, and Duckham considers that none of the other ferries approached the importance of that ferry.²⁰ Be that as it may, the

building of a bridge at Selby had an immediate effect on the road system, though it must be said that without the progress in the drainage of low lying land around the Humberhead Levels it would have been difficult to construct these new roads.

In 1793 the act for the Bawtry to Selby turnpike was passed, thus giving Selby a direct link southward to the Great North Road at Bawtry. In the same year the road from Selby to Market Weighton was turnpiked, thus providing an alternative route from Leeds to Market Weighton other than via York. Market Weighton was now at the junction of the existing turnpike from Hull to the west via York and the alternative route via Selby Bridge, with the added advantage of the Market Weighton canal and prospered accordingly. But the fragile nature of that prosperity was exposed twenty years later when much of the traffic that had passed though Market Weighton was carried by the new steam packets on the Ouse and the Humber.

Mention should be made of the Pocklington canal, completed in 1819. However,

¹⁹ Rimmer, 'Leeds', 128.

²⁰ Duckham, *Yorkshire Ouse*, 159.

important though this link to the Derwent was for that town, it was, as will become apparent from the discussion below, (3.2.7) of little significance to the regional transport system. Over the next forty years that system was dominated by the rapid advance in the prosperity of the West Riding, albeit with periodic setbacks. Traffic through Easingwold, the Northallerton to York turnpike, declined as less went via York.²¹ Stagecoaches from the north via York still passed along it, but that traffic ceased abruptly when the York to Darlington railway opened in 1841.

In 1812 the Leeds and Liverpool canal was completed. It had been started in 1770 and as it advanced westwards one effect was help to increase the traffic down the Aire and Calder to Selby.²² The gradual introduction of canal flyboats, and later steamboats, was to swing the balance in favour of water where that was possible. One example of the influence of steam packets was the decline of traffic along the turnpike through Market Weighton, because of the increasing number of steam packets on the Humber after 1815. Although the road from York to Selby was never turnpiked, in a curious reversal of roles it was the route by which travellers from York came by coach to join the steam boats from Selby to Hull,

²¹ Baines, 2, 557. 'A great quantity of poultry, butter, and eggs are bought up by dealers [at Thirsk], and conveyed into the populous towns of the West Riding.'

²² Duckham, *Yorkshire Ouse*, 60 and 74.

The opening of the canal from Knottingly to Goole in 1826 ensured that the Aire and Calder system would survive the subsequent arrival of the railways and in the long term it had a very detrimental effect on the transshipment trade of Selby. In the short term Selby was still benefiting from traffic generated by the Humber steam packets, especially after the completion of Leeds to Selby railway in 1834. But that railway was extended to Hull in 1840, thus ending Selby's role as a port for the West Riding.

3.2 Case Studies

These developments were therefore of crucial importance to the study towns. But in assessing their significance in relation to those towns, one must consider to what extent the towns initiated these changes. Or were they simply accidental beneficiaries of matters beyond their control?

3.2.1 The Leeds - Selby Turnpike 1741

The traffic to the Ouse at Selby to and from Leeds and the West Riding was long standing. In 1658 the West Riding Quarter Sessions were hearing petitions relating to the repair of the road between Leeds and Selby. In 1698 Selby was the 'place upon ye Ouse to which most goods either imported from abroad or to be exported thither are now brought'. The received opinion is that after the improvement of the lower Aire at the end of the seventeenth century, Selby

languished until the construction of the Selby canal in 1778.²³ But close examination of the available facts suggests that this was not entirely accurate and that those concerned at Selby took steps to get the road improved and thus increase Selby's prosperity. A crucial point is that here, as elsewhere, water and land transport were complementary, rather than alternative, methods of transport in the eighteenth century. 'In periods of drought or frost [in the 1730s] land carriage was regularly used from Leeds and Wakefield to Selby, Knottingly and Rawcliffe'.²⁴ This would change in the nineteenth century, first when steam power gave the steam packets an advantage over land transport and later when railways lead to the decline of canals.

By 1741 the Leeds merchants were all too aware that those who had financed the Aire & Calder improvements (or their heirs) were more concerned with their dividends than with the prosperity of Leeds or the other towns of the West Riding. The traffic along the Navigation continued to increase but little had been done to improve the Navigation. Delays were frequent and the cost to the users remained high. Later, more drastic measures would be needed but the network of turnpikes around Leeds around 1740 was a professed response by the trading community to

²³ R.W. Unwin, 'Leeds becomes a transport centre' in D. Fraser (ed.), *History of Modern Leeds* (Manchester, 1980), 116; Duckham, *Yorkshire Ouse*, 71. Cf. Dobson, *Selby*, 15.

²⁴ R.W. Unwin, 'The Aire and Calder Navigation : The Navigation in the pre canal age', *The Bradford Antiquary*, New Series 43 (1967), 151-186, 175.

the inactivity of the proprietors of the Navigation.²⁵ But it is equally clear that the Navigation continued to be a well used method of transport. The act authorising the Leeds - Selby turnpike was passed in 1741 but the power of the trustees to raise adequate revenue was restricted and, if a petition to parliament in support of the act for the renewal of the turnpike in 1751 is accepted, the road remained in poor repair at that date. It is in fact said to have remained in a parlous state until the 1780's.²⁶

There seems little doubt that the initial impetus for the act of 1741 came from a group of Leeds merchants. Indeed Freeman suggests: -

'In fact we learn from Wilson's detailed study of Leeds mercantile interests that the turnpike scheme appears to have been the brain-child of a small group of prosperous and influential merchants'²⁷

This is borne out by the brief notes in the House of Commons Journal. In

²⁵ Wilson, *Gentleman Merchants*, 145. There appears to have been little overlap between the Navigation Proprietors and those promoting the turnpikes around Leeds. Ibid. 138-147.

²⁶ 14 George II c 32, renewed 24 George II c 22; R.G. Wilson, 'Transport dues as indices of Economic Growth 1775-1820' *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, 19 (1966), 111-2; Wilson, *Gentleman Merchants*, 145-9.

²⁷ M.J. Freeman, 'Popular attitudes to turnpikes in early eighteenth century England', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 19 (1993), 41, referring to Wilson, *Gentleman Merchants*.

December 1740 the petition for an act to turnpike the road from Selby to Leeds 'and thence to the towns of Bradford and Halifax' was from 'the Gentleman, Merchants, principal Traders and Inhabitants of the town of Leeds' and stated that:-

'... by reason of the many heavy carriages passing through the same, it being the greatest and most frequent road for the carriage of the woolen manufactures, wool, dying wares, corn, and other commodities, made and consumed in that populous and trading part of the country, is become very deep, and, in the winter season, dangerous to passengers ...'²⁸

A subsequent petition in January 1740/1 from 'the Gentleman, Merchants, principal Traders and Inhabitants of the town of Selby ... and of other towns and villages in that neighbourhood' accompanied petitions from Bradford and Halifax and all were reportedly couched in the same terms as that from Leeds the previous month. Further petitions for and against the proposed act followed and are fully discussed by Freeman who reaches the conclusion that small time merchants and traders saw the turnpike as injurious to their profits whereas those involved in a large scale of dealing and trading saw it as a means of enhancing their margins.²⁹

²⁸ *House of Commons Journal* (1740), 23, 15 Dec 1740.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 13 Jan, 16 Jan, 9 Feb, 10 Feb, 12 Feb, 13 Feb, 16 Feb, 17 Feb, 26 Feb 1740/1; *House of Lords Journal* (1740), 23, 12 Mar 1740/1; M.J. Freeman, 'Popular attitudes to turnpikes in early eighteenth century England', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 19 (1993), 38-43.

It is probably fair to say that, like the 'freeholders, farmers and inhabitants' of Tadcaster, Grimston and other nearby villages' who petitioned against the Leeds to Selby turnpike in February 1740/1, many of the smaller traders in Selby used horses rather than carts or wagons, so that the tolls could well outweigh the benefits of turnpiking. Even as late as 1788 only twenty one wagons and twenty seven carts were taxed at Selby as against 102 taxed horses - which were riding horses and would probably have excluded most, if not all, those horses required to draw those carts and wagons as well as the trade horses, i.e. pack horses not also used for riding.³⁰ And as Albert points out when discussing, inter alia, the well recorded burning of the Selby toll gate in 1752: -

'The turnpikes were, by the lower classes, universally regarded as an obnoxious regulation - more adapted for the convenience of the wealthy portion of the community whose carriages could hardly pass on the old roads ...'³¹

³⁰ Borthwick PR SEL 307 - Selby Window and Assessed Taxes 1788. The number of taxed wagons and carts represent twenty-one owners of wagons and twenty-three owners of carts in that the second and subsequent wagons and carts were not liable to tax if employed in agriculture. As to the Assessed Taxes see Appendix Two.

³¹ J. James, *The History and Topography of Bradford* (1841), 155, quoted in W. Albert, 'Popular opposition to turnpike trusts in early eighteenth century England' *Journal of Transport History* 5, 1, (1979), 1. For further details about the burning of the toll gate see *Gentleman's Magazine*, 22 (1752), 237.

But there is evidence of a Selby input. The petition already quoted may be a formality but John Bacon and Bethel Stagg of Selby were listed among the trustees in the 1740/1 Act. More significantly Wilson notes that the Leeds - Selby turnpike did not fit into the general pattern of the seven Leeds centred turnpike trusts. He states that 'a similar nucleus of merchants - Ibbetson, Lee, John Noguier and Jeremiah Dixon - carried out the improvements but this time the loans were not provided by the merchant circle in Leeds'. Unhappily it is not currently possible to establish what part Selby played in the administration of the Trust or whether those loans were provided from Selby.³²

At the renewal, Unwin's view is that 'efforts to renew the Leeds - Selby Act in 1751 came partly from trading interests in Selby' but this may be putting more weight on a limited amount of correspondence that can be justified.³³ One is left

³² Wilson, *Gentleman Merchants*, 147 and 159. It appears that Wilson's comments were based on an examination of the 'Leeds - Selby Turnpike Securities ledger (1751-1872)' then deposited at County Record Office, Wakefield. No reference to a minute book appears in his footnotes, nor has one been found by the writer. Nor, in 1995, could any ledger resembling that referred to by Wilson be found by the writer in West Yorkshire Archives at Wakefield, despite specific enquiry. Unhappily it appears that records known to have been held in the West Riding archives before 1974 have been lost or misplaced during local government reorganisation.

³³ Unwin, 'Transport systems 1660-1775', 31 referring to correspondence between Lord Downe and Lord Irwin February 1751 (Temple Newsam MS TN/LA4/2).

with the impression that although some at Selby may have offered support, the Leeds to Selby turnpike was very much Leeds based.

3.2.2 York - Easingwold - Northallerton Turnpike 1753

In 1749 a petition was presented to the House of Commons asking for a bill to improve the road from York to Northallerton, that is to say the York - Easingwold - Northallerton road. A further petition was then lodged from 'Several Gentlemen and others travelling the road from the City of York through Boroughbridge' asking that if a bill for a York - Easingwold - Northallerton turnpike was allowed then provision should also be made for the repair of the York - Boroughbridge - Northallerton road. Leave was given to bring in a Bill for repairing both roads but in the event the final bill covered only the Boroughbridge road.³⁴ From the record in the House of Commons Journal it is clear that the case for the Easingwold road was ill prepared and that those who presented it were unprepared to face the questions put forward by those in favour of the Boroughbridge road.³⁵

When the York - Easingwold - Northallerton scheme was revised in 1752 the promoters had clearly taken greater care. They made sure that they had the support of the City of York and that they were able to demonstrate that there was

³⁴ 23 Geo II c28.

³⁵ *House of Commons Journal* (1749), 25, 966-7

a broad base of support, which they had failed to in 1749.³⁶

One witness was Mr John Matthews of Stokesley who said that he knew the road, thought it in general very bad, and added: -

'That if the said road were repaired, it would increase the trade between the City of York and the Towns of Yarm, Stockton, Stokesley and Gisburne, [Guisborough?] and the country thereabouts, and would be, in particular a great advantage to York, on account of the conveniency of bringing the linen manufactured in Cleveland to York, where most of it is sold; but that he can't say what quantities of linen come that way; and in the road were repaired he thinks the inhabitants of Easing [Easingwold?] would get their coals carried a nearer way: That he believes they carry coals from Thirsk to Northallerton: That this road is much frequented by carriages in the summer, especially at the latter end of the year, loaden with butter to the City of York'.³⁷

Mr Richard Lancaster of Easingwold said: -

'That if the road were repaired, it would be much frequented by Butter Carriages, as well as Carriages loaden with linen manufactures; and that the butter trade is carried on all the year except between Christmas and

³⁶ Tillott, *Victoria County History, York, City of York*, 476.

³⁷ *House of Commons Journal* (1753), 26, 640, 5 Mar 1753.

Candlemas'.³⁸

He then went into detail about the state of the road, mentioning that he had been surveyor of the highways for the parish of Easingwold in 1749, and the report continues: -

'Being asked, whether they had not coals brought to Easingwold from the Ouze [Ouse] he said, they had; but that they were both dearer and worse than the coals at Riley Fen; and if the roads were repaired, they might be supplied thence: that there was a carrier between Darlington and York who used to go by Thirsk; but is obliged now, from the badness of the roads, to go by Burrowbridge [Boroughbridge]; which is six miles about, and has increased the price of carriage of goods to Easingwold three half pence a stone; and that he has often heard people complaining about it: that the poor at Thirsk and Easingwold are starved for lack of coals, which is occasioned by the badness of the road; '.³⁹

Petitions in support were received from the Cleveland area of the North Riding

³⁸ Ibid. For details of the butter and flax trade see W. Boneham Taylor, 'The Rise and Decline of the Wholesale Butter Trade of York in the Eighteenth Century', *York Historian*, 9 (1990), 27-35 and N. Raven, 'De-industrialisation and the Urban response : the Small Towns of the North Riding of Yorkshire c1790-1850', in R. Weedon and A. Milne (eds.), *Aspects of English Small Towns in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Leicester, 1993), 56-61.

³⁹ *House of Commons Journal* (1753), 26, 641, 5 Mar 1753.

and from Stockton in County Durham. But there was also a petition which referred to the ruinous condition of the road, some three miles in extent, from Thirsk to Topcliffe, where it joined the Great North Road and evidence was given of the benefits that would follow from linking these two great Northern Roads. When the Act was passed the Thirsk - Topcliffe link was included in the Turnpike.⁴⁰ In the long run, when it was the West Riding and the South that was a more important destination than York, traffic would flow along this link rather than through Easingwold to York, thus illustrating how much Easingwold was dependent on the fortunes of York.

The fact that this link appears to have been an afterthought implies that the initial impetus to turnpike the Easingwold road came from Easingwold and this is supported Lancaster's evidence. Cowling comments that the first meeting of the Trustees was at an Easingwold inn known as the Duke of Marlborough's Head, which he deduces may well have been the town's principal inn. Lancaster himself was an alehouse keeper at Easingwold in 1750, so perhaps this was his inn.⁴¹ Thus the indications are that some, perhaps most, of the initial pressure for this turnpike did come from Easingwold though by 1790 the meetings of the Trustees

⁴⁰ Ibid., 1753, 714, 24 Mar 1753 and 727, 29 Mar 1753.

⁴¹ Cowling, *Easingwold*, 83-4; York City Archives - York Apprentices Register D13, 108; personal communication from Mrs Valerie Taylor.

were held at a Thirsk Inn and the clerk was George Shepperd of Newburgh.⁴²

3.2.3 York - Beverley Turnpike 1764 and 1765

The relationship of Pocklington and Market Weighton to the York - Beverley Turnpikes appears rather more complex than that of Easingwold to the turnpike running from Northallerton to York. But in part this may reflect the slightly better survival of the relevant records.

The Roman road from Brough to Easingwold and the North lies to the west of Market Weighton and to the south west of Pocklington. At Barmby Moor a branch of that road went westward to York. However the bridge over the river Derwent at Sutton on Derwent carrying the road from York is mentioned as early as 1396 whilst the bridge at Kexby, some two miles to the north, near the Roman ford, apparently dates from the late 1420s. It may be that fourteenth century travellers from York to Beverley crossed the Derwent at Sutton on Derwent, came through Barmby Moor, crossed Pockington beck in Pocklington and then went along the roads to the north west of the Roman road, perhaps through Goodmanham and Arras rather than through Market Weighton. Unwin, referring to the end of the seventeenth century mentions that Market Weighton and Pocklington 'were a considerable distance from the Derwent shipping points of East Cottingwith and Sutton'.⁴³

⁴² *York Courant*, 9 Mar 1790.

⁴³ K.J. Allison (ed.), *The Victoria County History, York, East Riding*, 3, (1976),

Circa 1540, John Leland, travelling from York to Beverley and Hull, crossed the 'bridge of three fair arches of stone' at Kexby, went through Wilberford [Wilberfoss], Barneby [Barmby Moor] and Hayton, passing over Pocklington Beck, 'leaving Pocklington about a mile on the left hand'. He then went to Market Weighton, 'a great uplandish village' to Sancton, a village on the Brough road to the south of Market Weighton, and then to Leconfield, before turning south to Beverley.⁴⁴ It is thus clear that by that date the main road from York crossed the Derwent at Kexby and more or less followed the line of the Roman road to Market Weighton. His diversion through Sancton and Leconfield may have been just that, though the pre-turnpike road for Beverley out of Market Weighton did avoid the present line up Arras hill.

Once the road from York to Beverley began to carry regular traffic, Market Weighton must have become a natural stopping place. It is nineteen miles from York and at the foot of the Wolds. To the east there is a steep climb onto the Wolds before the road runs gently down to Beverley, some nine miles away.

159,163 and 174; Unwin, 'Transport systems 1660-1775', 19. Richard Judson, a Pocklington joiner, was getting timber through Sutton in the early nineteenth century - personal communication from Mr Iain Samuels.

⁴⁴ Extract from L.T. Smith (ed.), *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543* (1907-1910) in D. Woodward (ed.), *Descriptions of East Yorkshire: Leland to Defoe*, East Yorkshire Local History Series 39 (Beverley, 1985), 7-8.

Thoresby apparently took refreshment there in 1678 when the coach from York stopped there on the way to Hull.⁴⁵ Thus its location would mean that it would benefit from increased traffic. By contrast, in 1755 Pocklington was still oriented to routes that ignored the Roman road, though it may well have been that travellers did still cross Pocklington Beck in the town during the winter, rejoining the main road at Market Weighton.

MacMahon considers that the initial pressure to turnpike the road from Beverley to York came from Beverley Corporation. A 'high post' along the Beverley to York road had begun in 1734 and the road from Hull to Beverley had been turnpiked since 1744. MacMahon also suggests that that the Beverley to York road was deteriorating in substantial sections, particularly in the Pocklington area after the Pocklington Enclosure Award of 1757, but it is quite likely that part of the problem was in fact increased traffic along the road.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Boneham Taylor, 'All Roads leading to York - 1745-1881', 111.

⁴⁶ MacMahon, *Roads and Turnpike Trusts*, 19 and 21-2; University of Hull, Brynmor Jones Library, Archives and Special Collections, DDEV/56/30 ff 147/8, Constable to Potts 27 Feb 1739, referred by Roebuck in P. Roebuck (ed.), 'Constable of Everingham Correspondence 1726-43', *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series*, 136 (1976), 109. For the non agricultural implications of enclosure awards, such as improved roads, see D. McCloskey, '1780-1860 : a survey', in R. Floud and D. McCloskey (eds.), *The Economic History of England since 1700, 1: 1700-1860* (Second edition, 1994), 260.

Fortunately the Pocklington Enclosure Award, made under the Act of 1757,⁴⁷ throws some light on the outlook within the town about the importance of the York to Beverley road. The initiative for this relatively early parliamentary enclosure would no doubt have come from the leading landowners, notably the Dolmans, who were then in some financial difficulty. However the award to a local brewer, Timothy Overend, of a compact block of forty acres at the junction of a new road from the south east of Pocklington with the high road from York to Beverley, suggests that he at least was well aware of the advantages that could accrue from the enclosure.⁴⁸ Besides the agricultural needs of the community the commissioners seem also to have had the commercial needs of the town in mind. A further new road to the east of the town, and improvements to existing roads, provided a better route to Kilwick, probably the main route into the town from the Wolds.⁴⁹ The drainage of the common to the south of the town was of considerable agricultural significance but it also allowed the new road to be laid

⁴⁷ 30 Geo II c38. Powell & Young, Pocklington, *Pocklington Enclosure Award* 18 April 1759, indexed copy made for James Powell (n.d.) ; As to the Award see Bellingham, 'Mr Powell's Enclosure Award', 77-87 and Neave, *Pocklington*, 20-1

⁴⁸ It was the site of the New Inn and Pocklington's racecourse. See below Chapter IV (4.6) and Chapter VII (7.2).

⁴⁹ The improvements to the Kilwick road could also have been influenced by the fact that Kilwick Percy Hall was the principal residence of Sir Edmund Anderson, an influential East Riding Justice of the Peace, cf. Neave, *Pocklington*, 23-4.

out across the common thus providing much better access to the east and south east. Both MacMahon and Neave suggest the narrowing of the York to Beverley High Road to forty feet resulted in 'a marked deterioration' of the road. This may be so, but the problem may also have been increased traffic prior to turnpiking. In the long term the improved drainage of the former common must have made it easier to maintain that part of the High Road.⁵⁰ The Jeffreys map of 1775 suggests a town at the hub of local communications.⁵¹ The evidence of the Award is that the position before 1759 was somewhat different, and supports Defoe's comment in 1748 upon the unimportance of Pocklington.⁵²

On the face of it the turnpiking of the York to Beverley road by the Acts of 1764 and 1765⁵³ was principally the work of Beverley Corporation, York Corporation's part being essentially obstructive and resulting in there being two Trusts, one for the road from Beverley to Kexby Bridge and a second for the section from Kexby

⁵⁰ MacMahon 1964 pp. 21-2 and Neave, *Pocklington*, 24. In the short term the road could well have been detrimentally affected by the drainage work. The delicate nature of the drainage was clear to the writer when the road was upgraded in the 1960s

⁵¹ T. Jeffreys *A Survey of the County of Yorkshire* published by Robert Sayer and John Bennett (1775).

⁵² Defoe, 1748, 3, 186.

⁵³ Beverley to Kexby, 1764 (4 Geo III c76), York to Kexby, 1765 (5 George III c 99).

Bridge to York. The details are well described by MacMahon.⁵⁴ Neither the House of Commons Journal nor the surviving papers lodged at the Humberside County Archive Office give any indication of any positive involvement on the part of Pocklington or Market Weighton. The trust was run from Beverley - the return under the Act of 1 Geo IV c95 was by H.J. Shepherd, a Beverley lawyer and Mayor of the town in 1825/6.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, amongst the usual massive list of the trustees in the 1764 Act, which includes the Corporations of both Beverley and York, were some leading Pocklington townspeople.⁵⁶ A further indication of the interest of Pocklington in the turnpike is the list of those who initially invested in the York to Kexby turnpike, although one must accept that by this time some lenders had no direct interest in improved roads and lent money simply for the return - doubtless the £100 invested by the Overseers of Gate Fulford, near York, comes into this category. But there is some Pocklington involvement, and this in the York - Kexby Bridge turnpike, not the Beverley - Kexby Bridge turnpike, for which unfortunately, no similar record appears to have survived. Francis Barlow, said by MacMahon to be of Pocklington, subscribed £500 out of the initial

⁵⁴ MacMahon, *Roads and Turnpike Trusts*, 19-23.

⁵⁵ *House of Commons Journal* (1764), 29, 768-9 & 884, ERYA QDU 4/1, turnpike records; Allison, *Victoria County History, York, East Riding*, 6, Beverley, 121 and 205.

⁵⁶ Neave, *Pocklington*, 24.

£3,000, as much as was subscribed by the Mayor & Commonalty of the City of York. In contrast, no Driffield subscribers appear in the list given by MacMahon for the trust formed in 1767 which served Driffield.⁵⁷

Writing in 1971, Neave suggested, 'the new turnpiked road had a detrimental effect on Pocklington as, by passing the town and by the provision of coaching inns (the New Inn and the Barmby Moor Inn) on the road itself, it took trade away from the town'.⁵⁸ Dr Neave's views may now be different to those he put forward in 1971, and it will be suggested, when the commercial activities of the town are considered, that this was not in fact the case. Such indications as are available suggest that the leading townsmen of Pocklington were well aware of the need to make full use of the turnpike and did so.

In contrast to the actions of those at Easingwold, who actively promoted the York – Easingwold - Northallerton turnpike, the townsmen of Pocklington appear to

⁵⁷ ERYA TTYK 6/33 turnpike records, York-Kexby accounts; Albert, 'Turnpike Trusts', 54; MacMahon, *Roads and Turnpike Trusts*, 45. Barlow is a local Pocklington name but Francis Barlow has not yet been traced.

⁵⁸ Neave, *Pocklington*, 24. On his map of the turnpiked roads of East Yorkshire, MacMahon shows the turnpike passing through Pocklington. (MacMahon, *Roads and Turnpike Trusts*, 38 and 39.) That this error has been accepted by later authors is a tribute to the reputation rightly enjoyed by this outstanding local historian. Cf. Noble, 'Market Towns of the Humber north bank, 1700-1850' (1990), 316.

have had little involvement in the turnpiking of the road between York and Beverley. But they were active participants in the development of the traffic generated by that turnpike.

3.2.4 Selby canal - 1778

The creation of the Aire & Calder Navigation at the close of the end of the seventeenth century and its effect on the trade of Selby have already been referred to. (3.2.1 above) As one might expect Selby had joined York in objecting to those improvements. The thinking at that time, and for many years thereafter, was that the amount of potential trade was finite so that the gain of Rawcliffe and Airmyn on the lower Aire must necessarily be detrimental to Selby. In 1699 it was the merchant community of Leeds that initiated the Aire and Calder Navigation, and then ran it. But by the 1740s the proprietors and their descendants and successors had ceased to be part of the trading community of Leeds and the Leeds to Selby turnpike of 1741, whose early fortunes are described above (3.2.1), was part of the early skirmishes between the Undertakers and the contemporary merchant community of Leeds.⁵⁹

By 1770 the tension between the two groups was even more pronounced and came to a head when the promoters of the Leeds to Liverpool canal proposed that

⁵⁹ B.F. Duckham, 'Selby and the Aire and Calder Navigation 1774-1826' *The Journal of Transport History*, 7,2 (1965), 88, note 10; Wilson, *Gentleman Merchants*, 139.

it should be extended to Selby, which would have resulted in a second route to the Ouse from Leeds in direct competition with the existing Aire & Calder Navigation. Ward suggests that most of the support for the Leeds and Liverpool canal came from the Aire Valley and the Colne area, and mentions also the Quaker merchants & wool staplers of Bradford, though subscription books were later available at, inter alia, Leeds, York & Hull. Unwin and Duckham both note that there was support from many Yorkshire towns.⁶⁰ The project was strongly opposed by the proprietors of the Aire and Calder Navigation and was abandoned, as was a proposal by the proprietors to make a cut from Haddesley to Gowdale Lodge Clough so as to by pass the worst portion of the tideway on the Lower Aire.⁶¹

But the proprietors of the Navigation appreciated that they had to make improvements to the Lower Aire or face further detrimental projects, and accordingly in 1774 they proposed extensive improvements including a new canal from Haddesley to Selby, a distance of some five miles. This also encountered opposition, principally it would seem, from landed proprietors and 'corn and fulling mill interests' affected by it. But the necessary Act of Parliament was

⁶⁰ Wilson, *Gentleman Merchants*, 119; J.R. Ward, *The Finance of Canal Building in eighteenth century England* (1974), 34; Unwin, 'Leeds becomes a transport centre', 126; Duckham, 'Selby and the Aire and Calder 1774-1826', 88.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 87.

obtained in June 1774.⁶²

It is extremely difficult to judge the level of support from Selby for the Leeds to Selby or the Haddesley to Selby canals. One can hardly imagine that these projects were treated with indifference by the inhabitants and there must have been those who followed developments with a keen interest. Ann Hawdon, the owner of the principal inn of the town, Thomas Procter, a flax merchant, and the curriers, tanners, mercers, drapers, grocers and other leading tradesmen must have known the benefits either canal would bring to the town. It is highly unlikely that there was any opposition in the town to either canal scheme, but the reality was that such actions, if any, that they took in support of the proposals were largely irrelevant. Overall Duckham summarises the position very neatly: -

'The proprietors of the Aire & Calder ... only invested in major improvements ... when forced by traders' complaints and the threat of rival canals being promoted'.⁶³

Those traders were the merchants from Leeds, Bradford and the commercial centres of the West Riding. The Proprietors of the Navigation could safely ignore Selby other than to ensure that Lady Stourton, the local landowner, and William

⁶² 14 Geo III c 96.

⁶³ B.F. Duckham, 'Canals and River Traffic' in D. Aldcroft and M. Freeman, *Transport in the Industrial Revolution* (1983), 114.

Bullock, her resident steward, were favourably disposed to their plans.⁶⁴

There is no doubt that the canal was important for the future of Selby. As Jackson points out: -

'The rising town of Selby was, after the opening of the Selby canal in 1778, the key to the whole Aire and Calder system, and, at the end of the century, the gateway to the Huddersfield and Rochdale canals which linked Hull with Lancashire'.⁶⁵

But the coming of the canal to Selby was due to the geographical location of the town, plus pressure from those who needed it to transport goods to and from Leeds, Bradford and the other West Riding towns, not from Selby itself. Whilst the townsmen of Selby may well have been involved in the 1741 turnpiking of the road to Leeds, where a major project such as this was concerned, the matter was in the hands of the Proprietors of the Navigation. But it is a measure of how quickly things changed that the situation would be very different when Selby Bridge was constructed in the early 1790s.

⁶⁴ Cf. Duckham, 'Selby and the Aire and Calder 1774-1826', 90, as to acquisition of operational land from Lady Stourton.

⁶⁵ Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, 12.

3.2.5 Market Weighton canal 1772-1784 ⁶⁶

On 25th February 1772 the Journal of the House of Commons records that: -

'A petition of several persons, whose names are thereunto subscribed, being owners or proprietors of lands in the several townships of Market Weighton and Holme upon Spalding Moor, and other adjacent townships or parishes, in the East Riding of the County of York, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that there are, within the said townships or parishes, several commons, carrs, lands and grounds, containing 20,000 acres, or thereabouts, which are subject to be overflowed with water, for want of proper outfalls into the River Humber; and by that means are rendered, in a considerable degree, unprofitable to the said proprietors; and that it would be very advantageous to the parties interested, if the same were properly embanked and drained; and would be a still further improvement, if that part of the said drainage, lying between the town of Market Weighton aforesaid, and the said River Humber, was made navigable'.⁶⁷

The bill appears to have been non-controversial. The evidence given to the relevant committee was formal in nature, and it was reported on 7th April 1772

⁶⁶ The writer's senior partner, the late Mr L.C. Sands, was Clerk to the Market Weighton Drainage Board for many years and this section draws on information provided by him and by the present Clerk, whose kind assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

⁶⁷ *House of Commons Journal* (1772), 33, 506, 25 Feb 1772.

that all but one of the owners had agreed to the bill and that the owner in question could not be located. The Act received the Royal Assent in that year.⁶⁸ The canal was completed in 1784, but it had been earning tolls from 1776. From an early stage an important part of its traffic was the products of the brick and tile works that grew up round Newport, three miles from the Humber. This very successful enterprise became a major contributor to the canal's income, and when measuring the volume and nature of the traffic on the canal it is important to appreciate how much passed only through the first lock and did not therefore go beyond Newport.⁶⁹

The Market Weighton canal is now the responsibility of the Market Weighton Drainage Board and the National Rivers Authority. Of the 50,000 acres or thereabouts that is under the jurisdiction of the Board, all but a small area near Brough is drained through Weighton lock at the point where the canal meets the Humber. The southern part of the canal, down stream from Sod House lock, just to the north of the point where the river Foulness joins the canal, was first and foremost a drainage channel. In 1999 it was only just adequate to carry the water that it now receives.

⁶⁸ Ibid. (1772), 33, 704-5; 12 Geo III c 39.

⁶⁹ Duckham, *Inland Waterways*, 60; Sheppard, *Draining of the Marshlands*, 24; ERYA, DDMW 7/439 Lock keepers records.

All those writing about the canal point out that it was a dual-purpose canal. For example Harris says: -

'The Wallingfen drainage was less effective than that of Bishopsoil because the Market Weighton Canal which provided a new outlet for the water was designed as a combined drainage and navigation channel; an unhappy combination as it turned out, for the navigation interests favoured a high water level in the canal whereas effective drainage was possible only by keeping the water table as low as possible'.⁷⁰

But it is misleading to say that the canal benefited from the drainage improvements that 'accompanied' it.⁷¹ The canal was 'a still further improvement', not the *raison d'être*.⁷² This becomes significant when one considers the input of the townsmen of Market Weighton to the building of a canal of nine and a quarter miles that stopped two miles short of the town. An analysis of the initial list of shareholders suggests that the townsmen of Market Weighton were not really involved to any significant degree.⁷³ The supporters were principally the local landowners and their interest was primarily in drainage, though clearly the ability

⁷⁰ Harris, *Rural Landscape*, 83. This was a very real problem until navigation on the canal ceased in the second half of the twentieth century. The problem may well have been aggravated in that the land shrunk as it dried out.

⁷¹ Noble, 'Inland navigations' (1981), 85.

⁷² *House of Commons Journal* (1772), 33, 506, 25 Feb 1772. (Quoted above)

⁷³ ERYA, DDMW 7/304, List of shareholders.

to have water access for their agricultural property was attractive.⁷⁴ Some smaller investors in the navigation side may have been attracted by the anticipated returns, and some of those may well have come from Market Weighton. But in 1772 the town hardly justified a canal. It was the arrival of the canal that attracted trade, albeit for a limited period. In as much as investors were not local residents, it is likely that the reason for their investment was their ownership of land in the drainage area. Thus the prime attraction for most investors was neither the potential profits of the canal nor its utility for the town of Market Weighton.⁷⁵

So, as in the case of the turnpike, Market Weighton appears to have been an accidental beneficiary of this improvement in communications. Noble's careful analysis of the finance of, and the traffic along, the canal may impute motives to those who supported the Market Weighton canal that are more complex and sophisticated than was in fact the case.⁷⁶

Whilst Selby was also an accidental beneficiary of its canal, the situation at Selby was very different in that the Selby canal was designed to generate traffic, and did so. Yet a more important difference was the extent that the townsmen of Selby exploited their good fortune, as indeed Pocklington did when the turnpike passed

⁷⁴ *York Courant*, 7th June 1778.

⁷⁵ ERYA, DDMW 7/304, List of shareholders.

⁷⁶ Noble, 'Inland navigations' (1981), *passim*.

close by the town.

3.2.6 Selby Bridge 1791-2

In 1788 there was no bridge over either the Ouse or the Humber downstream from York. Despite opposition, notably from the Corporation of York, the construction of a bridge at Selby was authorised by Act of Parliament in 1791 and the bridge was completed in 1792. Mountain gave an invaluable contemporary account in 1800 and MacMahon and Duckham have provided useful summaries. From the records that have survived it is possible to establish who were the dramatis personae in this dispute and to draw some interesting conclusions from it.⁷⁷ About 1787 there appears to have been a proposal to construct a bridge at Long Drax, some five miles downstream from Selby. Understandably there was opposition, not least from Selby, to this proposal and nothing came of it. It could well be it was this abortive scheme that decided the leading townsmen of Selby that a bridge would be to the advantage of Selby if it was built in the town, and, critically, upstream of the entrance to the canal.⁷⁸

The petition that was lodged with the House of Commons in February 1789 was

⁷⁷ Mountain, *Selby*, 145-69; MacMahon, *Roads and Turnpike Trusts*, 32-3; Duckham, *Yorkshire Ouse*, 165-9; NYCRO BP/SB, Selby Toll Bridge Accounts - list of subscribers.

⁷⁸ *House of Commons Journal* (1790), 45, 198, 2 Mar 1790. Petition of York Corporation against Selby Bridge.

from 'Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders, Merchants, Tradesmen, Manufacturers and others ... residing in the East and West Ridings of the County of York and the town of Kingston upon Hull.' Formal evidence in support of the petition was presented by Mr Thomas Eadon, a Selby attorney. In contrast, the petition presented against the project by York Corporation, 'Merchants, Traders, Owners and Masters of Ships and Vessels resident in or near the City of York' and the Ouse Navigation Trustees forcefully pointed out the potential damage to the City and its trade, and covers two and a half columns of the *Journal of the House of Commons*. Perhaps rashly, the Ouse Trustees said that 'about 1,900 vessells pass through [Naburn Lock south of York] to York annually and return through the same'. York took the point that the initial meeting at Selby in August 1788 was of 'about fourteen gentlemen only' and suggested a lack of general support. Understandably the bill was not proceeded with in that session.⁷⁹

When the next petition was lodged on 12th February, the promoters were clearly better prepared. This time the petition was from Gentlemen etc. 'residing in the towns of Selby, Snaith and Thorne', though there was as before stress on the potential service to the Yorkshire Ridings and 'the counties of Lincoln, Lancaster and Westmorland and the town of Kingston upon Hull'. The mention of Snaith is significant. The promoters had enlisted the support of Viscount Downe of Cowick Park as well as Lord Petre, the Lord of the Manor of Selby and Humphrey

⁷⁹ Ibid., (1788), 44, 73-4, 302-3 and 343-4.

Osbaldeston Esq, the other local landowner.⁸⁰ The evidence in support of the bridge does not appear in the *Journal* but it must have included the detailed survey done by William Jessop, a respected engineer from Newark, details of which were given in the *York Courant* on 16th February 1790 in an advertisement inserted by the Bridge Committee, an advertisement which mentioned that: -

'The number of [seagoing vessels] navigating on the Ouse above Selby is very inconsiderable. Not above three in a week to York and all other places (Selby excepted). This number includes the Hull Sloops and the small vessels from Gainsbrough and Rotherham'.⁸¹

The opposition from York was intense, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that most, if not all, of the other petitions ranged against the bill were York inspired.⁸² Although York's own petitions were couched in terms that expressed concern with the navigation on the Ouse, the reality may well be better expressed in the somewhat sarcastic contribution to the *York Courant* of 16th February 1790, a page earlier than the advertisement just mentioned: -

'... Having obtained this essential advantage [a first appearance of trade

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, (1790), 45,73-4 and 94-5.

⁸¹ *York Courant*, 16 Feb 1790

⁸² ERYA DDFA 3/810, Thomas Wilson, Mayor of York, to Bielby Thompson Esq, 7 Mar 1791, the navigation of the Ouse was threatened by the proposed bridge at Selby.

following the construction of the Selby canal] they grasp after more and by attempting to erect a bridge endeavour to monopolize nearly the whole coasting trade of the county. It is said they are forming the plan of a commodious street from the intended bridge to the canal with warehouses along the bank of the river which shews that a bridge to accommodate the public is a very small part of their scheme. The people of Hull and York will surely do well to be upon their guard'.⁸³

What happened next is an insight into the way that such matters were resolved and forms an interesting contrast to the way that decisions were made in contemporary France. Mountain records that 'a Right Honourable Peer, of the first abilities, and strictest integrity, a friend and well-wisher to all parties' suggested that the bill be again withdrawn and that three persons 'who are neither engineers nor mariners' should be nominated by named peers and should enquire as to the merits of the bridge. If they ruled against it no further application would be made. If in favour of it, no further objections in principal would be raised. An agreement to this effect was signed by the Town Clerk of York and Thomas Wilson, an Alderman of the City, by Lucas Nicholson, the attorney for Bielby Thompson and his fellow objectors, who had been concerned by potential flooding, and by Petre, Downe and Thomas Stapleton, apparently acting on behalf of the Bridge Committee. Thus what was in effect a twentieth century Public Enquiry was held, the report of those 'three persons' being presented to

⁸³ *York Courant*, 16 Feb 1790

Parliament. The decision was in favour of the bridge and although York still offered formal opposition, the act was passed in 1791.⁸⁴

Two turnpike Acts quickly followed in 1793, Selby - Market Weighton, Selby - Bawtry, and the Act for the bridge at Bubwith over the river Derwent.⁸⁵ The Selby - Market Weighton bill appears to have been run from Selby. Richard Swallow a Selby attorney, and a bridge shareholder, gave evidence in support of the petition, and it seems likely that the trust was run from Selby.⁸⁶ In contrast the Selby - Bawtry bill had no Selby evidence in support, the clerk was an attorney in Thorne, the early meetings were in Thorne and Bawtry, and Lord Downe subscribed no less than £1,000 of the £6,750 lent to the turnpike trustees, although many Selby names also appear in that list.⁸⁷

It is the list of proprietors in the Act of 1791 and the subsequent, but undated, list

⁸⁴ Mountain, *Selby*, 150-9; *House of Commons Journal* (1790-1), 46, 180-392 passim. Three others signed the agreement. Edward Benson was from Thorne, and Thomas Smith was probably a supporter of the Bridge. Thomas Hartley has not yet been identified.)

⁸⁵ 33 Geo III 159, 166 and 106.

⁸⁶ ERYA QDU 4/1, turnpike returns. Edward Parker, a Selby Attorney, was clerk in 1822.

⁸⁷ WYAS (Wakefield) RT9, Turnpike records; M. Noble (ed.), *Life in the past around Snaith* (Snaith, 1988), 54.

of proprietors now at the North Yorkshire County Record Office, that are together the most informative source about the people behind the Selby Bridge. One is reminded very forcefully of Wilson's observation that merchants and traders allowed turnpike acts to give the impression that they were the creation of the major landowners. What seems to have happened is that the major landowners were 'fronting' for the Selby merchants and professionals, notably Charles Weddall and Thomas Brown. It is particularly interesting that Thomas Stapleton Esq of Carlton signed the agreement in London, appeared in the Act as a proprietor, but had transferred his shares before the list now deposited at the North Yorkshire County Record Office had been prepared. No doubt the Snaith landowners had their reasons. Certainly the turnpike must have been of advantage to their estates and that turnpike would have been of little value without the bridge. No doubt further research will reveal other links.⁸⁸

The townspeople of Selby could not operate without reference to their regional economic context, but it is quite clear is that on this occasion, local action did matter.⁸⁹ They had found allies to join them upon their own terms. The list, even

⁸⁸ Duckham, *Yorkshire Ouse*, 168, note 48; NYCRO BP/SB, Selby Toll Bridge Accounts - list of subscribers; Wilson, *Gentleman Merchants*, 145-6. Cf. also the actions of the commercial and professional elite of Halifax when the Aire and Calder Navigation was extended to Halifax in the 1750s. J. Smail, *The origins of middle class culture; Halifax, Yorkshire 1660-1780* (Ithaca and London, 1994), 137-8.

⁸⁹ Cf. P. Clark and P. Corfield (eds.), *Industry and Urbanisation in Eighteenth*

more than the act, demonstrates how much the Bridge Company was under the control of Selby, and if confirmation were needed it is to be found in the reference by Morrell to Charles Weddall as 'one of the principal promoters of [the bridge's] erection'.⁹⁰ They had then taken on the City of York head on, and won. The writer in the *York Courant* in February 1790 was more accurate than he knew, both as to the issues involved, and as to the outcome. On this occasion the townsmen of Selby were the leading players with others joining in the supporting cast.

3.2.7 Pocklington Canal 1818

When the drainage of Wallingfen was being proposed, the possibility that the Market Weighton Canal should extend to Pocklington was considered but in the event nothing came of this, nor of a proposal in 1777 to apply for an act to authorise the construction of a canal from the River Derwent to Pocklington.⁹¹ A further attempt in 1801 is described in some detail by Duckham. A meeting on 5th October 1801 was attended by Vavasour, who had acquired Melbourne Hall in 1793, and Robert Denison of Kilwick Percy, who had become the Lord of the Manor and principal landowner of Pocklington at about the same date, but the list of those prepared to support the canal prepared in 1801 does not include the

Century England, (Leicester, 1994), ix.

⁹⁰ Morrell, *Selby*, 177.

⁹¹ University of Hull Archives, DDEV21/7 – notice of intention to apply for Act.

Muncasters who owned the Warter estate nor the Fitzwilliams.⁹² William Chapman, the engineer retained by those working for a canal, looked at the eventual route to East Cottingwith on the Derwent, at a route joining the Derwent further downstream at Bubwith and, the route Chapman himself preferred, at a direct route to the Ouse near Howdendyke. But again nothing came of this. Duckham's supposition that it was opposition from Earl Fitzwilliam that was responsible must surely be correct. He then owned the Derwent Navigation and presumably had no wish to see a competing canal built. Thus, significantly, Duckham notes that it was Fitzwilliam who, in 1812, revived the project, and was in contact with the engineer George Leather regarding a canal leading to the Derwent. By 1814 the usual meetings had been held, a petition was presented to Parliament. The Act was passed on 25th May 1815 and the canal completed in 1818. Like the Market Weighton canal, it stopped short of the town, but it did reach the turnpike and was less than a mile from the town.

It is clear that no canal from Pocklington could be built without Fitzwilliam blessing, but exactly who did support it is not quite so clear as would appear at first sight. Ward suggests it was supported by the localities which it served. Indeed it is one of the canals used by him to illustrate that proposition. Noble examined the Pocklington canal in some detail in relation to her view that the character and level of external support was relevant to the prosperity of the

⁹² Duckham, *Inland Waterways*, 58-9; Neave, *Pocklington*, 24-5; Pevsner and Neave, *York and the East Riding*, 614; PRO Rail 858/2-3.

canal.⁹³

From Table 3:1 it can be seen that there were four quite distinct groups of investors. From Malton, Earl Fitzwilliam himself subscribed thirty shares and Samuel Henry Copperthwaite Esq. eight shares, just under twelve per cent of the total capital.

TABLE 3:1
SHARES & SUBSCRIBERS - POCKLINGTON CANAL 1814/15

	Shares				Subscribers			
		%	%		%	%		
Malton								
Fitzwilliam	30.00							
Copperthwaite	8.00	38.00		11.9	2			2.4
Melbourne area		52.50		16.4	19			22.6
Pocklington								
Dennison	37.50			11.7	1			1.2
Town	108.25			33.8	39			46.4
Local area	12.75			4.0	9			10.7
Muncaster	10.00	168.50		3.1 52.7	1	50		1.2 59.5
Other		61.00		19.1	13			15.5
Total		320.00		100	84			100

Source: PRO Rail 858/4 and Baines.

The canal passed just to the north of the village of Melbourne. Vavasour, the principal landowner in this open township, subscribed for fourteen and a quarter shares, Constable, of nearby Everingham, for sixteen shares. Most of the remaining shareholders in the Melbourne area were tradesmen and farmers.

⁹³ Ward, *Finance of canal building*, 79 and 85; Noble, 'Inland navigations', 83-91 and 95-7.

At Pocklington the principal subscriber was Denison with thirty-seven and a half shares. As the Lord of the Manor and principal landowner he must be treated as 'Pocklington' although his seat at Kilnwick Percy was just to the north east of the town. Lord Muncaster's ten shares are less clear cut. They were clearly subscribed because of the family's estates at Warter, just to the east of Pocklington, but the family's base was in Cumberland.⁹⁴ Within Pocklington itself, one widow, Hannah Tate, subscribed for twenty shares and another, Mary Dewsbury for ten. They were mother and daughter and were linked to Thomas Johnson, who was a trustee of Hannah Tate's will when she died around 1817. These three together accounted for thirty-seven shares, nearly twelve per cent of the total. In all, excluding Denison and Muncaster, thirty nine people within the town subscribed for one hundred and eight and a quarter shares, nearly thirty four per cent of the total.

The remaining group of thirteen investors subscribing for sixty-one shares included Leather, the company's engineer and Clough, its banker. Some at least of them probably had local connections. But one wonders why Ralph Creyke Esq. of Rawcliffe House, near Snaith not only subscribed for ten shares but also chaired the meeting held on 22nd September 1814. Perhaps he, like Copperthwaite, was looking after the Fitzwilliam interests, but he may have viewed this purely as an

⁹⁴ J.T. Ward, *East Yorkshire Landed Estates in the Nineteenth Century*, East Yorkshire Local History Series 23 (Beverley, 1967), 53.

investment.⁹⁵

It is clear that the pressure for the canal predates the acquisition of Melbourne Hall by the Vavasours in 1793, and probably the arrival of the Denisons in 1786. What one cannot say is whether the revival of the project in 1801 was inspired by Pocklington townsmen, who hoped, by bringing in Denison and Vavasour, to bring the project to a successful conclusion or whether it was Denison and Vavasour who had revived the project. But it seems likely that by 1814 there was substantial support within the town for the project, even if it was seen to be a poor alternative to Chapman's preferred route going directly to the Ouse.

This strong support from the town is obscured by the form of analysis adopted by Ward and Noble and when one looks in detail at the shareholders and at the management of the canal, the position is clearly more complicated than Noble appreciated. Both Ward and Noble appear to have had some difficulty when considering the character of the subscribers. A careful analysis of the subscription list that they both appear to have used,⁹⁶ shows that their problems centred on what can loosely be described as the urban gentry. Noble appears to have taken them at face value and classed them as Landed Gentlemen. She

⁹⁵ ERYA DDPY 29/107 and 124, wills of John Dewsbury and Hannah Tate. As to Ralph Creyke see Ward, *East Yorkshire Landed Estates*, 7 and 33.

⁹⁶ PRO Rail 858/4.

concluded that almost two-thirds of the capital for the canal had been raised from Peers and Landed Gentlemen. Looking more closely at the occupations and residence of the subscribers and the management committee it seems fairly certain that in fact only forty six per cent of the capital came from that source. Of the two assessments it does appear that Ward's approach is the less inaccurate, and that the surprisingly high percentage of Landed Gentlemen described by Ward as resident in Pocklington is probably inflated by local tradesmen who were described as 'Gentleman' in the subscription list.

The Chairman of the management committee was Vavasour from Melbourne, and amongst the other members was Copperthwaite, whose role was no doubt to care for the Fitzwilliam interest, and Clough, the Company's banker. It may be that another member of the Committee, Thomas Johnson, gentleman, of Pocklington, who provided the public wharf and warehouse at Canal Head, was playing a significant part in the operation of the canal, but overall the impression is that, in contrast to the management of Selby Bridge, Pocklington's input was limited.⁹⁷

What Pocklington Canal does illustrate very clearly are the problems faced by a small town if it wished to undertake a major project such as this. If the Aire and Calder Proprietors had difficulties with major landowners one can appreciate that there was little hope of Pocklington getting results without landed support. This is clearly shown by the fact that this canal did, in effect, go in the wrong direction

⁹⁷ Denison was not, at least initially, a member of the committee. Possibly Johnson was looking after his interests.

and joined a canalised river, whose proprietor, Fitzwilliam, demanded favourable financial terms as a condition of his support and himself expected support in return. The retribution by Fitzwilliam upon Malton, when it failed to support his candidate in the parliamentary election of 1807, will not have been lost on Pocklington.⁹⁸

Nevertheless, with all its failings, and constructed far later than Pocklington must have hoped for, the canal was vital to the survival of the town and the measure of the support for it in the town recognises this. In the event it bridged the gap during the 30 years before the arrival of the railway, and the town did not decline, as for example Kilham did in the face of competition from Driffield and its canal. That it was constructed may have been the result of the town's initiative, but, in contrast to Selby's fight to built a bridge over the Ouse, it seems likely that in this case it was the local gentry, Vavasour, and later Denison, who got the project of the ground.

3.2.8 Selby 1820 to 1835

The last in this group of case studies considers the transport changes that affected Selby between 1820 and 1835 and the extent of Selby's involvement in those changes.

The Selby canal, opened in 1778 and the catalyst for Selby's prosperity, was

⁹⁸ Duckham, 'The Fitzwilliams and the Yorkshire Derwent', 51 and 65.

flawed from the outset in that it was dug to give a mean draught of only 3ft 6in. Unhappily it was technically well nigh impossible to deepen it and this alone made it certain that eventually it would be superseded.⁹⁹ As in 1774 the Aire & Calder Navigation eventually responded by building a new canal, this time avoiding the lower reaches of the Aire from below Knottingley and joining the Ouse at Goole, over ten miles downstream from Selby. Once the new canal was opened in 1826 it was only a matter of time before most of Selby's West Riding transit trade would evaporate, though in the event it was a gradual process, not least because Selby continued for over fourteen years to enjoy the advantages of the transport links that have already been described. As the writer of *The Tourist's Companion from Leeds thro' Selby to Hull by Railroad & Steam Packet* pointed out in 1835: -

'Another circumstance which materially contributed to the prosperity of Selby, was the introduction of Steam-Packets into the Humber, August 1815. Thus Selby, became the route to Hull for the mighty population of the West Riding and of course its advantage was materially increased by the transit of passengers and goods'.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Duckham, *Yorkshire Ouse*, 73.

¹⁰⁰ Parsons, *The Tourist's Companion*, 134. Cf. Morrell, *Selby*, 177.

That 'railroad', opened in 1834, increased the transit traffic through Selby¹⁰¹ until much of that traffic became through traffic after the opening of the Hull to Selby railway in 1841.

The early steam packets came up the Ouse to York but by 1822 no York to Hull passenger steam packet is listed in the Baines Directory. Instead, two coaches (one on Sunday) left daily to meet the steam packets at Selby.¹⁰² But four daily steam packets are listed from Hull to Selby, linking to two coaches to Leeds, one to Wakefield, two to York and one to Harrogate. All four are mentioned at Selby plus an additional one not listed at Hull.¹⁰³ It is hardly surprising that in 1823 a group travelling from Hull to Liverpool were told, 'The steam boat from Hull to Selby is undoubtedly the cheapest conveyance the fare being only 2/6 best cabin - 1/- front cabin'. In contrast the fare for an outside place on the coach to Leeds

¹⁰¹ 'In 1835 the Leeds - Selby railway was carrying 3,500 passengers a week during the summer months, compared with 400 who had previously travelled by coach.'. (Unwin, 'Leeds becomes a transport centre', 136)

¹⁰² *Baines*, 2, 108-9. Boneham Taylor considers this was due to the Ouse between Selby and York silting up. (Boneham Taylor, 'All Roads leading to York - 1745-1881', 133.)

¹⁰³ *Baines*, 1, 277; *Baines*, 2, 352-3; T. Bradley, *Old Coaching Days in Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1889), 84, 167, 209, 211, 218, 226, 231 and 234.

was said to be 5/-.¹⁰⁴

It would appear that the initial impact of Goole, and the Goole to Knottingley canal, could have been greater at Hull than at Selby. Bellamy notes that between 1827 and 1828 the number of coasting vessels entering the Hull docks declined from 3,596 to 1,641. She also mentions that in 1828 a Hull based group set up a Hull to Selby packet and tug scheme.¹⁰⁵ Morrell, writing in 1866, remarks that at Selby: -

'A spirited attempt was made by James Audus Esq. to revive the shipping - trade of the port, which had suffered by competition with the steam boats, by the formation of a fleet of schooners trading between Selby, Goole, Hull and London, which was for many years of considerable benefit to the town,

...¹⁰⁶

In 1830 the fleet had 18 schooners and in James Audus also built two iron steamers to carry passengers between Hull and Selby 'at the request of the

¹⁰⁴ ERYA, Typescript deposited by E.M. Cookman, 'Hints to an emigrant presented by George Grimston Cookman to his uncle Francis Cookman May 5th 1823 Hull'. The location of the original document is unknown.

¹⁰⁵ J.M. Bellamy, *The Trade and Shipping of Nineteenth Century Hull* East Yorkshire Local History Series 27, (Beverley, 1971), 22; F.H. Pearson, *The Early History of Hull Steam Shipping* (1896) reprinted with introduction by A.G. Credland (Howden, 1984), 2.

¹⁰⁶ Morrell, *Selby*, 177.

directors of the Leeds and Selby Railway'. It could well be one of those steamers that carried Sir George Head from Selby to Hull in 1835.¹⁰⁷

By the 1830s the scope for a town of Selby's size to influence decisions taken in Hull or Leeds had become very limited, but nevertheless, it is worth mentioning the involvement of Selby in the Leeds to Selby railway, opened in 1834, and the Hull to Selby line, which was opened in 1840. Just as the Leeds to Selby turnpike in the 1740s had been part of a transport network initiated by Leeds merchants, so the Leeds to Selby railway was a response to the wish of Leeds merchants to improve their transport facilities, and of Hull interests who felt a need to respond to competition from Goole.¹⁰⁸ Because this was a continuation of the development of a long established route - the pre 1700 pack horses from Leeds to Selby, the Leeds to Selby turnpike, the Selby canal, the Hull to Selby steam

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 257. Cf. A. MacMahon, revised by B.F. Duckham, *The Beginnings of the East Yorkshire Railways*, East Yorkshire Local History Series 3 (Beverley, 1953, revised 1974), 8; G.A. Head, *A Home tour through the Manufacturing Districts of England in the summer of 1835* (1836), 209-10. Per contra Bellamy who implies the steamers were Hull based (Bellamy, *Trade and Shipping*, 22), as does Credland (A.G. Credland, 'Steam on the Humber: Pearson and Brownlow and their successors', *East Yorkshire Local History Society Bulletin*, 53 1995/6, 11-16) though see 15 note 8. For the reasons why the Humber and the Ouse were suitable for steam packets see Cardwell, *Technology*, 235-7.

¹⁰⁸ Unwin, 'Leeds becomes a transport centre', 131-2; D. Brooke, 'The promotion of four Yorkshire railways and the share capital market', *Transport History*, 4 (1972), 243-273.

packets - it is hardly surprising that those involved in the 1830s wished to compliment the Hull to Selby steam packets with the Leeds to Selby railway. It was the merchants and bankers of Hull and Leeds who headed the subscription list for the shares, but as Brooke points out the contribution from Selby is impressive, £11,300 as against £84,000 raised in Leeds and £47,300 in Hull, out of a total of £177,600. This represented 6.4 per cent of the total as against 47.3 per cent from Leeds, but the population of Leeds was some twenty seven times larger than that of Selby. Petre, the Lord of the Manor and the major landowner in Selby, and James Audus were two of the original directors. Petre may well have been included only because of the need to ensure his co-operation, but Audus is credited by Morell as having paid a major part in obtaining the necessary Act of Parliament. Clearly there were still those at Selby who were capable of taking advantage of whatever opportunities arose to further the interests of the town, and their own prosperity.¹⁰⁹

3.3 Conclusions

Good communications are a vital ingredient for the prosperity of any community

¹⁰⁹ Brooke, *Yorkshire railways*, 244-5; ; House of Lords Record Office, HL 1830 Leeds & Selby Railway, deposited subscription list; Morrell, *Selby*, 257; Petre appears to have been very dilatory in meeting the calls on his shares Brooke, *Yorkshire railways*, 247 note 14. The later history of the Leeds to Selby line, and the Hull to Selby railway, are described by Morrell, (Morell, *Selby*, 179) and in more detail by MacMahon. (Macmahon, *Railways*, passim).

and the economic and social implications of this with regard to the four study towns are considered in subsequent chapters. 'Good' means good in the context of the time. What was adequate in 1700 might well be suspect in 1750 and useless in 1800. It may be that the initial turnpiking of the road through Easingwold was locally inspired, but it is symptomatic of the town's failure to take full advantage of the turnpike that it was 50 years after the arrival of the railway in 1841 before a branch line was built to Alne, a distance of some four miles.¹¹⁰

Market Weighton's site gave it a natural advantage¹¹¹ and the turnpiking of the road through it, followed by the building of the Market Weighton canal, enhanced that advantage. Perhaps the development of the town might have been different had the canal not terminated two miles from the town, and from the turnpike, but the very fact that this was the case is significant. But after the steam packets on the Humber had reduced the traffic on the turnpike, and the town's temporary advantages as against Pocklington were lost by reason of the Pocklington canal, Market Weighton gradually reverted to its former status in the hierarchy and became merely a small market town, despite a modest revival after the railway came.

¹¹⁰ W. Brian Taylor, 'Easingwold - A static society from 1821-1881?' (unpublished Essay for Certificate in Local History York University, 1991), 29.

¹¹¹ Fisk and Neave, *Market Weighton Portrayed*, 1.

In contrast, Pocklington took advantage of its proximity to the Beverley to York road and eventually got a canal in 1819, earlier efforts having been frustrated by circumstances beyond its control. Pocklington's inhabitants made use of the turnpike but, unlike Easingwold and Market Weighton, they were not dependent on the trade generated by traffic upon it.

Like Market Weighton, Selby's site gave it a natural advantage and, like Pocklington, it was an established town in the seventeenth century. Its rising prosperity during the course of the eighteenth century may, initially, have been due to its location, but the locally driven construction of the bridge at Selby and the associated turnpikes, points to the gathering strength of the local community. Unlike Easingwold, Selby reacted positively to change, in Selby's case the challenge of Goole.

These case studies throw some light upon the relationships between the four study towns and other communities, which are further considered in Section 5.4 of Chapter V, but they show interesting contrasts with regard to the role of larger towns and of local landowners. This is particularly so if one compares the Pocklington canal and the bridge at Selby. The townsmen of Pocklington needed to enlist the support of the local gentry and even then, because of Fitzwilliam's ownership of the Derwent Navigation, they had to defer to his wishes and allow him to hold nearly ten per cent of the shares in the canal. In contrast those promoting the Selby bridge were, and remained, local townsmen. They found

allies amongst the local gentry but the project remained under Selby control.

The case studies also set the scene for much of the discussion in later chapters of this thesis. As Clark and Corfield have rightly said: -

‘Towns could not simply “opt” for growth or the reverse ... Success was not merely the result of urban virtue. It was reliant not only upon local decisions but also upon their operation within favourable conditions for growth’.¹¹²

Nevertheless, as these case studies show, ‘Local actions and non-actions did matter’.¹¹³ Further, the proactive stance of Selby and Pocklington may in part be due to the background of these two towns and their long established civic identity, which could therefore be one of the ‘favourable conditions for growth’.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Clark and Corfield, *Industry and Urbanisation in Eighteenth Century England*,

ix

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ The influence of long established ‘civicness’ is explored by R.D. Putman et al in *Making Democracy Work – Civic traditions in modern Italy* (Princeton, 1993) and in ‘Pro Bono Publico’, a review of that book, in *The Economist* (UK edition) (6 February 1993), 110.

CHAPTER IV Economic Growth and Development

4.0 Introduction & Sources

The economic fortunes of the four study towns differed between 1750 and 1830 and illustrate the differing effect of the economic changes that affected the region. All had weekly markets serving their respective local communities and long established chartered fairs serving a wider area, as detailed in Appendix Four, but there were significant differences between them.

Easingwold's market charter dated from 1639 - a relatively recent creation, and the market day was not listed by Owen in 1770, although there is a charter for a fair in 1291. Selby was a leading West Riding town in the Middle Ages thanks in part to the wealthy and important Selby Abbey. It remained so in the Seventeenth Century and its market continued to be important after the dissolution of the Abbey. The extent and number of the seven fairs at Pocklington listed by Owen, probably the most in the East Riding, and its status as a Saturday market, reflects the historic economic importance of the town.¹ The growth or decline of the four markets reflects in part the prosperity of the respective surrounding agricultural area, and, especially in the case of Selby, the needs of their urban population. When these local markets attracted wider custom, for example as corn markets, there would always be some economic advantage to the town, but this would be limited if those involved merely attended the market and conducted their principal

¹ Cf. Neave, *Pocklington*, 5.

business activities elsewhere. Whilst all benefited from the transport improvements mentioned in Chapter III, the growth of Selby as the port for Leeds and the West Riding, especially after the completion of the Selby canal in 1778, reflected the growing prosperity of the West Riding. Selby's merchants continued to prosper and the service trades developed in a way that those at Market Weighton and Easingwold did not. Thus Selby's prosperity, though checked by the diversion of West Riding traffic along the Knottingley to Goole canal after 1826, held up for at least another 20 years, thanks in part to the vigorous efforts of the town's leading citizens.² In contrast, once the road traffic through Market Weighton, and later Easingwold, declined, both these towns soon reverted to being small market towns, dependent on local trade - in 1859 Easingwold was said to have the appearance of a very large rural village.³ Pocklington made use of the improved transport, and eventually had its own canal,⁴ but its economic growth was facilitated by those improvements rather than dependent on them. Selby developed significant industrial functions by the end of the period arising from its role as a transport centre, but for differing reasons that was hardly so in the other three towns.

² See Chapter III, Section 3.2.8.

³ *History and Topography of the City of York and the North Riding of Yorkshire* T. Whellan and Co. (Beverley, 1859), 2, 605.

⁴ Chapter III, Section 3.2.7.

It is hardly surprising, given the size and importance of these towns, that there are relatively few contemporary accounts from visitors and others. Even in 1748 the fourth edition of Defoe devotes only a few, albeit revealing, lines to Selby, makes only a passing mention of Pocklington and Market Weighton and contains no reference to Easingwold.⁵ Dr Pococke visited Selby in 1751⁶ and Eden's *State of the Poor* throws light on Market Weighton and Pocklington in 1795.⁷ At a local level William Hicklington's poems⁸ written in the 1760s help us to better understand Pocklington at that time and the diary of William Lockwood, a young Easingwold lawyer, covering 1796 and 1797 is a useful contemporary source for that town.⁹ Selby's growing importance in the nineteenth century is reflected in Mountain's *History of Selby* in 1800 and later in Parson's *The Tourist's Companion ... [for] ... the route by the railroad and steam packet from Leeds and*

⁵ Defoe, 1748, 3, 186.

⁶ Cartwright, 'Travels of Pococke', 171-2.

⁷ F.M. Eden, *State of the Poor* (1795), 863-5 and 880-2.

⁸ Neave, *Pocklington*, (Second Edition, 1984), Appendix.

⁹ H. Kirk (ed.), *Ye dear Object of my Affections : The Diary of William Lockwood of Easingwold (1778-1836) from 1st Jan 1796 to 30th Sep 1797* (Easingwold, 1996); V. Taylor, 'William Lockwood - an unknown surveyor 1778-1836' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 71 (1999), 207-223.

Selby to Hull in 1835.¹⁰ It was in that year too that Head, when making *A Home Tour through the Manufacturing Districts of England in the Summer of 1835*, stayed at Selby on his way from Leeds to Hull.¹¹ The first trade directory available is the *Universal British Directory* of 1793/8, then the Baines directories in 1822/3 and Pigot in 1830 and in 1834. Selby, Easingwold and Pocklington have the extended Dade parish registers from around 1777 and for Selby there are also available a selection of Window Tax returns from 1755, in particular the very useful return for 1788 which includes the Assessed Taxes, notably the short lived shop tax.¹² The *Index of fire policies* for the years 1775 – 1787, being an index of fire insurance records deposited at the City of London Guildhall Library, lists several very useful entries for Selby, Pocklington and Easingwold.¹³

The available data for small towns in the eighteenth century is both limited and sporadic. For his study of the Cumbrian market town Marshall could draw on

¹⁰ Mountain, *Selby*; Parsons, *The Tourist's Companion*.

¹¹ Head, *Home tour*, 211.

¹² As to Dade registers, the Window and Assessed taxes returns and Directories see Appendices One, Two and Five.

¹³ D.T. Jenkins, *Indexes of fire policies of the Sun Fire Office and Royal Exchange Assurance 1775-87* (York, 1986).

Willan's 'scholarly exposition of the activities of Abraham Dent of Kirby Stephen' in the mid eighteenth century,¹⁴ but for most small towns one must rely on probate inventories and parish registers. The first trade directory covering a small town will usually be the *Universal British Directory* at the end of the eighteenth century, a source of variable quality. Inventories become less informative after the mid eighteenth century - if they exist at all.¹⁵ They do exist for the peculiars of Selby and Pocklington in the second half of the century but must be treated as anecdotal evidence, incapable of quantification. The practical problems involved are well shown by the difficulties Riley encountered in his analysis of the limited numbers of inventories available for tradesmen in his study of Selby and three other communities on the Yorkshire Ouse, between 1660 and 1760.¹⁶ Thus in practice the most useful source in the second half of the eighteenth century, and in the early years of the nineteenth century, is usually the respective parish register, provided occupations are given for a substantial number of the entries. In the past burial registers have been preferred, since they avoid the problems of double

¹⁴ T.S. Willan, *An Eighteenth Century Shopkeeper : Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen* (Manchester, 1970) referred to in J.D. Marshall, 'The rise and transformation of the Cumbrian market town : 1660-1900', *Northern History*, 19 (1983), 142

¹⁵ As to the reasons for this, see Swinburne, *Wills* (Seventh edition, 1803), 769.

¹⁶ Riley, 'Four Communities : 1660-1760', especially 86-94. Rees encountered similar difficulties see Rees, 'Selby, 1752-1851', 64-76 and Appendix Seven.

counting inherent in using the occupations of the fathers of the baptised children in a baptism register, but computer analysis can now mitigate, if not eliminate, that problem.

Superficially there is a wealth of information for Selby in this period. In particular there are the Window Tax records after 1755 and the Dade register from 1777. In reality there are practical difficulties, not least because after 1700 occupations are rarely shown in the parish register until the introduction of Dade registers in 1777. In the long term one must clearly adopt the approach of Hudson and King and reconstitute the population employing a powerful relational data base, and using all available sources, including the parish registers of Brayton and other adjoining parishes.¹⁷ In the meantime one is left with the Window Tax records, probates and inventories, and anecdotal evidence.

4.1 Population

The changes in the population of the four study towns have been referred to in Chapter II, Section 2.1 and the respective changes between 1670 and 1841 are shown in Table 2:1. The nature of those population changes are considered in Chapter V, Section 5.1 and particularly in Table 5:1. When looking at changes in

¹⁷ Cf. Hudson and King, 'Rural Industrialising Townships'; S. King, 'Historical Demography, Life-cycle Reconstruction and Family Reconstruction: New Perspectives', *History and Computing*, 8, 2 (1996), 62-77.

population as a facet of economic growth one must bear in mind that an increased population is not in itself evidence of economic growth, though a falling population is often a very clear indicator of decline. Nevertheless population change can give a clear guide to the nature of economic developments. Hence the importance of the findings of May Pickles about population changes in Yorkshire between c1670 and 1743. It has confirmed the drift between c1670 and 1743 from the North and East Ridings, and the north western part of the West Riding, to the manufacturing parishes in the south western part of the West Riding. But her research has also shown that this general trend was not universal. The 'flax' parishes in the North Riding such as Helmsley, Kirby Moorside - and Easingwold - had a growth in population between c1670 and 1743 as did a few, mostly urban parishes, in the East Riding - in particular Pocklington, though not Market Weighton. Assessing population change at Selby is made difficult by the problems relating to the hearth tax that have already been considered in Chapter II, Section 2.1 but it seems likely that its population had declined slightly.¹⁸

As to the position between 1750 and 1831, the variation of percentage growth shown in Tables 2.1 and 5.1 is indicative of the varying fortunes of each town. The rise in population between c1670 and 1743 at Easingwold may be overstated,

¹⁸ Pickles, 'Labour migration: Yorkshire c1670 to 1743'.

but the indications are that the turnpiking of the road through the town¹⁹ was a response to the needs of existing traffic in 1750. In contrast, it seems likely from these population figures that Market Weighton's prosperity after 1743 was a direct result of the turnpiking of the York to Beverley road in 1765 and the subsequent construction of the Market Weighton canal, and that this prosperity was lost when that traffic declined, not least because of the rise of the Humber steam packets after around 1820.²⁰ The implications of the population changes at Pocklington are less clear cut. The pattern seems to be of steady, but unspectacular, growth. At Selby the surviving window tax assessments for the town suggest that the substantial rise in the population of Selby from 1743 to 1801 conceals an even sharper growth from about 1783 onwards and this is confirmed by the increase in the number of marriages at Selby.²¹ Whilst Tables 2.1 and 5.1 show that the population of all the towns increased at less than the national average between 1821 and 1831, it was only after 1841 that the check to Selby's population suggests a serious check to its economic growth.

4.2 An overall view of economic activity in the four towns c1750 to c1830

There was a strong agricultural segment in the economic activity of each of the

¹⁹ Chapter III, Section 3.2.2.

²⁰ Chapter III, Sections 3.2.3, 3.2.5 and 3.2.8.

²¹ As to Window tax see Appendix Two.

four towns throughout the period. Many of the farmsteads were within the built up area of the towns at the beginning of the period and this was still so in the 1820's though by then there were an increasing number of new farmsteads outside the towns.²² However, at Pocklington, where it was possible to study this in detail, throughout the period the agricultural and non-agricultural activities appear to have been carried on in discrete areas of the town and this may well have been so in all four towns.

There were significant differences between the towns as to the scale of agricultural activity. At Selby and Pocklington it probably provided around thirty per cent of the employment at the beginning of the period but the percentage fell to about twenty or twenty five per cent by 1831. At Easingwold and Market Weighton the percentage was around thirty-five or forty per cent throughout the period. This is only partly explained by the respective areas, Easingwold 5,520 acres, Market Weighton - including Shiptonthorpe and Arras - 6,000 acres, Pocklington 2,520 acres, Selby 3,180 acres. Whilst at the beginning of the period it is likely that most of those who worked the land in the study towns, and in the nearby parishes, lived within the respective parish or township, by 1831 the position was far less clear cut. At Selby in 1831 the ratio of agricultural workers

²² *York Courant*, 22 Feb 1820. Advertisement for auction of 'new built farmhouse in centre of 259 acres' at Easingwold.

to the area of the parish indicates that many who lived there 'commuted' to work on farms outside the parish and it seems likely that this was also so at Pocklington.²³ Specific matters are considered in more detail below - dealing and retail trade, market areas and local carriers, long distance carriers, the service trades and the professions, and manufacturing within the towns, but a brief summary of the important dealing and retail trade sector is a useful indicator of the strength over time of the respective town's economies over the period.

In the early years of the period the percentage of the working population engaged in the dealing and retail trade sector at Easingwold, Pocklington and Selby is very much the same, but by the 1780s Pocklington and Selby have a larger percentage than the other two towns. By the end of the century the position is clear-cut. In absolute terms the 66 people within the group at Selby are significantly higher than the 45 and 44 at Pocklington and Market Weighton respectively but at 26 per cent the percentage at Market Weighton is much less than both these towns. At

²³ J.A. Sheppard, 'East Yorkshire's Agricultural Labour Force in the Mid Nineteenth Century', *Agricultural History Review*, 9 (1961), 46 and 51. Cf. R. Brown et al, *A General view of the Agriculture of the West Riding* (1799), 41. Eden says that at Pocklington '176 of the inhabitants are employed in various handicraft trades; 520 in agriculture; and 30 in commerce' (Eden, *State of the Poor*, 881.) These figures, 24, 72 and 4 per cent of the inhabitants, are, however, at variance with the parish register and the *Universal British Directory*. As to the 1831 Census, see Appendix Six.

Easingwold the lower number (26) and the lower percentage (15 per cent) points to a town without great economic strength. The Selby figures confirm the very favourable economic picture indicated by other sources and those for Market Weighton echo the fulsome terms of the directory entry for the town in the *Universal British Directory*. In contrast Pocklington's entry in the *Universal British Directory* gives little information but these figures show that despite the completion of Market Weighton's canal some ten years earlier, Pocklington was still able to maintain a relatively strong and distinctive dealing and retail trade sector, as it continued to do beyond 1830. In the nineteenth century the changes reflect Easingwold's prosperity in the 1820s, the decline at Market Weighton during those years, and the continued growth of Selby.²⁴

Within all the towns there were tradesmen whose occupations would also have been carried on in the larger villages of the surrounding areas - a blacksmith, a joiner, shoemaking, textiles - and it is misleading to consider such trades as necessarily a measure of urban economic activity. Certainly there were larger numbers of such trades within each of the four towns but it is the element of specialisation that is particularly significant. This is very marked with regard to those involved in the working of wood. Throughout the period each town had several joiners and carpenters, sometimes they were also described as cabinet makers, or even claimed that to be their sole occupation. That a spinning wheel

²⁴ For Directories see Appendix Five.

maker was listed at Selby in 1800 suggests a local demand for his services that is not revealed by any other data.²⁵ There seems to be no logical reason for the presence or absence of millwrights in the towns. Perhaps they operated over a wide area so that their actual place of residence was due to family connections rather than local demand for his services. Each town had one or more coopers. Easingwold had three in 1793 but only one in 1823 and 1830, perhaps because of the decline in the butter trade. A turner was listed at Easingwold in 1793 and by 1822/3 turners were also listed at Pocklington and Selby - the one at Pocklington was also a fancy chair maker and the two at Selby were classified as turners in wood, ivory and bone. No turners were found at Market Weighton. Easingwold, Pocklington and Selby had wheelwrights throughout the period, but they were only listed at Market Weighton in 1793, and the two men in question were both listed as carpenters in the baptism register in 1787 and 1788 respectively. At Pocklington in 1830 one wheelwright also claimed to be a gig maker. The lack of demand for the services of wheelwrights at Market Weighton, in contrast in particular to that at Pocklington, suggests that the mere presence of a turnpike does not of itself generate such demand. On the other hand, the fact that craftsmen at Pocklington claimed in both 1823 and 1830 to have the specialised skills that have been mentioned, suggests a level of manufacturing by craftsmen that was absent in Easingwold and Market Weighton and this is reflected in the high

²⁵ Mountain, *Selby*, Directory – John Ellis.

proportion listed in the retail trade and handicraft classifications in the 1831 Census.²⁶ This was however in no way comparable to the increasing numbers involved at Selby throughout the period in shipbuilding and allied trades.

When considering the scale and scope of economic activity in towns as opposed to the percentage of the working population involved in any particular facet of that activity, a standard method is to devise a points system based on the presence or absence of a particular occupation. There are however practical problems in using this system, especially for small towns in the eighteenth century, not least because an occupational description can be just that and give no indication of the scale of an individual's activities. At Selby a carpenter could mean anything between a wealthy ship builder and a poor carpenter, elsewhere described as a 'wood fellar'. Wills and inventories can be of assistance, and it was on the basis of inventories that Neave could comment on wealth and influence of the mercers and grocers of Pocklington in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.²⁷ Those sources suggest that at Selby in 1750 there were also men of substance, some of whom were trading over a relatively wide area - John Jackson a cabinet maker whose will was proved in 1757 had an inventory of £199, including 56 coffin bottoms and an unfinished organ; Robert Wharrey, a mercer, had an

²⁶ Appendix Six, Table A6: 1.

²⁷ Neave, *Pocklington*, 17 and 19.

inventory in 1753 of £343 and a wide collection of items indicative of a wholesale rather than a retail trade. The Selby window tax records show that he probably occupied a house with nineteen taxable windows and that in 1755, besides numerous substantial inns, there were two tanners who paid window tax on 14 and 17 windows respectively, a carrier with 12 windows, a bricklayer (who doubtless made bricks and also paid tax on 12 windows) and a grocer with 23 windows. In 1755 there were 18 houses whose occupiers paid window tax on 15 windows or more - five per cent of the total, and more than would be the case in absolute and percentage terms until at least 1790.²⁸

For Selby in 1788 there is a better alternative to a points system such as has been mentioned in the last paragraph in that the assessment for the Window Tax and Assessed Taxes at Selby for 1788 gives an unusually comprehensive picture of the town. This return is considered in more detail in Appendix Two but Table 4:1, using data from that assessment, shows economic activity in Selby at that date (excluding agriculture, transport, labourers and the professions). The table also shows how the assessment can go some way to indicating that most elusive element, the scale of operations, using the assessment for inhabited houses tax and other data from the assessments as a surrogate, though it must be borne in mind

²⁸ Borthwick, Selby Peculiar, wills and inventories; PR SEL 343-6, Selby Window Tax returns 1756, 1760, 1773, 1782 and 1785. PR SEL 307-8, Selby Window and Assessed Taxes returns 1788 and 1789. WYAS (Yorkshire Archaeological Society), MD 186, Selby Window Tax Return 1755.

TABLE 4:1

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AT SELBY IN 1788
 Occupation codes 3 to 11
 (excluding agriculture, transport, labourers and the professions)

Occ Code	Occupation Group	Primary Manufactures	Secondary Manufactures	Retail	Wholesale
3	Textiles	Twine maker Roper##* Flax dresser##! Wool dresser Wool stapler	Weaver		
4	Leather	Tanner*! Currier##*	Saddler##* Collar maker		
5	Metal working		Blacksmith		
6	Wood working	Shipbuilder* Blockmaker*	Cooper Carpenter Joiner##* Wheelwright		
7	Building		Bricklayer* Plumber/Glazier*		
8	Food & drink	Common Brewer*!		Baker	
9	Clothing & footwear		Breeches maker Tailor / staymaker* shoemaker* Milliner Patten maker	Hatter##*	
10	Other crafts & trades		Basket maker Potter	Clockmaker	
11	Dealing & retail trade	Fellmonger/ skinner*		Draper##! Butcher##* Grocer##! Brazier##* Hardware man Shopkeeper##* Innkeeper##*	Merchant*! Dealer
One or more in occupation:-					
	Assessed for shop tax		#		
	Assessed for Inhabited houses tax		*		
	Described as Mr or Mrs.		!		

Source : Selby Window & Assessed taxes return 1788

that the description of an individual as 'Mr' relates to the social standing of the individual, as well as his apparent wealth. The importance of the dealing and retail trade sector at Selby in the 1780s has already been noted. But whilst the people in that group comprised about 30 per cent of those covered by Table 4:1, measured by wealth and status the percentage was 57 per cent. Conversely, whilst those in the clothing and footwear group comprised 22 per cent of those so covered, the wealth and status percentage was seven per cent, putting that group on a par with the leather and textiles group.

The implications of the 1788 Shop Tax and Inhabited Houses returns as regards the dealing and retail trade sector are considered in more detail below (Section 4.3), but it is clear that in 1788 Selby was prospering, and on a scale far ahead of the other three towns. Twelve years later Mountain, after dwelling on the construction of the bridge across the Ouse, touching on the roads coming to the town, and its market day and fairs, said of Selby: -

'Here is a common brewery, and upwards of twenty public Inns, the principal of which are the George and the King's Head, which latter is the Excise Office; some dealers in wines and spirits; together with linen-drapers, grocers-shops, &c. in abundance.

'The quantity of shipping which occupies the Ouse up to, and down from Selby, per annum is computed to be 369,780 tons, navigated by 28,772 men.

'The manufacturing of leather and sailcloth is not inconsiderable.

'Here is also a cast iron foundery, and a good ship yard, where are built a

great number of vessel upon the best and most approved construction, from fifty to seven or eight hundred tons burthen'.²⁹

Whilst a principal factor in that prosperity was Selby's geographical location, it is very noticeable that there were throughout the period men of substance who appear to have formed a cohesive group, prepared to work together to further the prosperity of the town - and thus improve their own fortunes, which they tended to reinvest in ways that benefited the town. They were noticeably less likely to describe themselves as 'gentleman' whilst they were still in trade nor did they put their wealth into rural land at the first opportunity. Five of the eight men that Mountain describes as gentleman can be identified in the *Universal British Directory* with an occupational description. Audus, a mast and block maker in the *Universal British Directory*, had wider interests by 1800 which are discussed below. Like Martin, a wine merchant, he was likely to have remained economically active - in 1800 they were aged 48 and 39 respectively. They could probably be best described as entrepreneurs though their contemporaries, and they themselves, found great difficulty in classifying them.³⁰ The men who built, and largely financed, the bridge in 1791 were part of that group and the size and scope of their operations is reflected in the entries in Mountain in 1800 and in the trade

²⁹ Mountain, *Selby*, 161.

³⁰ Cf. Morrell, *Selby*, 255 and F. Crouzet, *The First Industrialists* (1985), 1-8.

directories of 1822 and 1830. It is symptomatic of their wealth and status that several of them were officers in the militia during the Napoleonic wars - none have been identified in the other towns.³¹

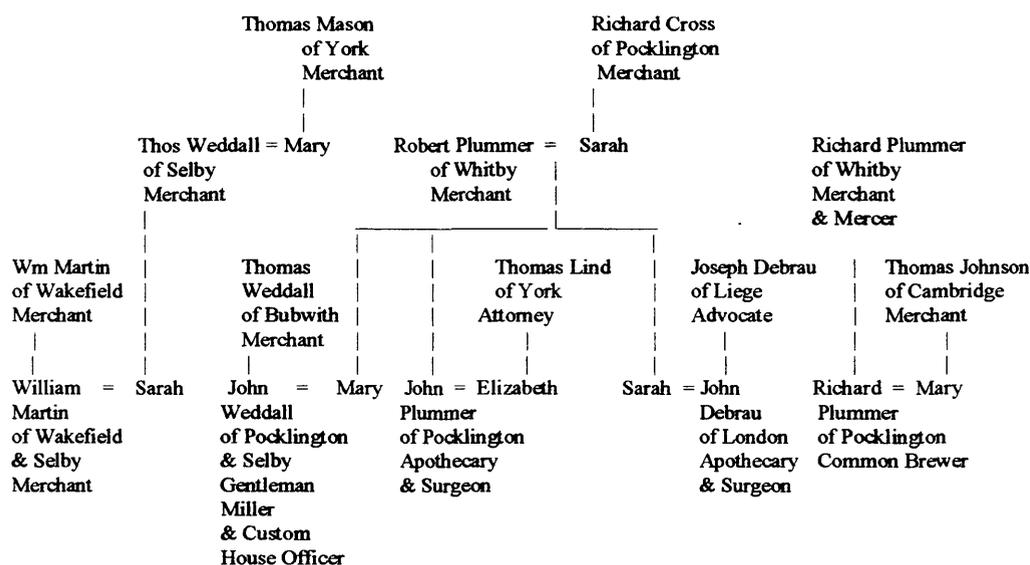
It is likely there was a similar, though less wealthy, group at Pocklington in the eighteenth century. Table 4:2, showing family links at Pocklington c1750 to c1790, gives an indication of this. The subscription lists for the Pocklington Canal in 1801 and 1815, and the Vestry records from 1819, show that such a group existed at Pocklington in the early years of the nineteenth century. But there is no trace of such an urban group at Market Weighton, and at Easingwold the indications are that the first priority of a successful man in that town was to distance himself from trade and attempt to join the ranks of the rural gentry.

Pocklington had the long-term strength that Easingwold and Market Weighton lacked, but this was by no means apparent in 1798. In complete contrast to the enthusiasm for Market Weighton or the despondency of the entry for Easingwold, the entry for Pocklington in the *Universal British Directory* is purely factual - located one mile east of the turnpike; market day; fairs; the carriers. Although not

³¹ On the significance of the militia see R.G. Wilson, 'Review of John Smail's *The origins of middle class culture; Halifax, Yorkshire 1660-1780* (Ithaca and London, 1994)' *Economic History Review* 58, 4 (1995), 822-3. See also Smail, *The origins of middle class culture; Halifax, Yorkshire 1660-1780*, 200.

mentioned in the *Universal British Directory*, its 'navigable communication' was seven miles away at Sutton upon Derwent.

TABLE 4:2
WEDDALL FAMILY LINKS - c1750 to c1790



Source: Pocklington & Selby Parish Registers

Access to a navigation was of great importance to the prosperity of a town, despite all that has been said by Chartres and others with regard to road transport.³² Thus the *Universal British Directory* entry for Easingwold is quite clear about the difficulties that town faced: -

'From the circumstances of its being an inland situation, without any

³² For example, Chartres, 'Road Transport and Economic Growth in the Eighteenth Century', and T. C. Barker and D. Gerhold, *Rise and Rise of Road transport* (1993).

navigable communication whatever, its trade is not very considerable, except in the articles of bacon and butter considerable quantities of which are sent from this town to York, and thence forwarded to London by water'.³³

This butter trade through York has been well documented by Boneham Taylor, who charted the trade in the eighteenth century.³⁴ By 1793 it was in serious decline. No Easingwold trader in the *Universal British Directory* claimed that his principal occupation was that of a butter factor, though three gave it as a subsidiary one. It is questionable how much the trade benefited the town by 1792, even though three coopers were listed in the *Universal British Directory*.

The numerous cases of multiple occupations and the generally weak dealing and retail group gives the impression that in 1800 Easingwold had, overall, relatively poor marketing and commercial functions. The limited increase in population between 1743 and 1801 shown in Table 2:1 would support the possibility of a lack of economic growth. In contrast, Market Weighton, with a smaller population, gives the appearance of a prosperous small town benefiting from the

³³ *Universal British Directory*, 3, 29-30.

³⁴ Boneham Taylor, 'Rise and Decline of the Wholesale Butter Trade of York in the Eighteenth Century'.

turnpike and the canal with a strong dealing and retail sector including a milliner, three mantua makers and three peruke makers. The *Universal British Directory* says it is 'a great corn market', speaks of the new buildings, of the coal coming up the canal and the grain going down it, and lists two malsters in the town would have benefited from that grain. But the entry for the town and the list of principal inhabitants also show the actual and potential weaknesses of the town. That it had no resident lawyer (nor would it have one until the middle of the nineteenth century) suggests the lack of those active in commerce who would have had need of legal services. South Cave had a lawyer in 1790 - and he was dealing with a Market Weighton property.³⁵ There was one coal merchant but no corn merchants - Driffield had four, all of whom were corn and coal merchants.³⁶ The late eighteenth century prosperity of Market Weighton was largely due to the turnpike and the canal, neither of which were the result of pressure from within the town. The failure to change the time of the weekly market is a clear indication of the absence of the 'cohesive entrepreneurial group' that could be found at Selby and at nearby Pocklington. That the weekly market '... never begins before four o'clock in the afternoon, so that, in the winter season, the main part of the business is transacted after dark' was, the *Universal British Directory* said 'the case with some other small towns in the neighbourhood'. But no action was taken to change

³⁵ *York Courant*, 9 Mar 1790.

³⁶ *Universal British Directory*, 2, 828.

the time. In contrast, the market at South Cave, some seven miles to the south of Market Weighton, was moved to 10 am in 1782, and Neave notes that South Cave had become a thriving corn market by the later eighteenth century. The late start at Market Weighton could be due to the timing of the delivery of local produce to the market, but the failure to change the time indicates either that this was still the primary function of the market, or, more likely, a lack of will to adapt to changing circumstances.³⁷ Unfortunately the reasons for the lack of change are unknown but the contrast with at South Cave does highlight the ability of individual entrepreneurs to change the commercial path of a community.

As has already been mentioned above³⁸ the Selby Canal, opened in 1778, was the final link in the network by which corn and agricultural produce came from the Wolds to the West Riding and by which coal came back. As McCutcheon firmly says 'It was the new waterways that stimulated the flow of corn into the populous West Riding from markets in the corn growing East and North Ridings ... '. The key point is that it was cheaper to move this grain by water rather than by land, so

³⁷ Market Weighton market still commenced 'late in the afternoon' in 1892, Bulmer, 678. As to South Cave market see D. Neave (ed.), *South Cave - A Market Village Community in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (South Cave, 1974), 22 and University of Hull Archives DDBA/4/46 – South Cave market agreement 1782, which lists names but not addresses or occupations.

³⁸ Chapter III, Section 3.1.

that the grain would tend to go to those towns from which it could be carried by water.³⁹ Coal certainly aided the economy of the towns concerned but, as the *Universal British Directory* entry for Market Weighton notes, the coal supplied both the town and the neighbourhood. Coal is not always thought of as an agricultural input in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries but coal was in effect a food substitute and it could therefore influence agricultural productivity.⁴⁰

It is no coincidence that merchants were often coal and corn merchants rather than one or the other. The wagons that brought the corn from the farm, be they those of the farmers or of the merchants, could carry back coal. Even though coal was expensive to carry by road, and it has been suggested that the cost of coal doubled 10 miles from navigable water, if it was being carried in what would otherwise be an empty wagon it could cost little or nothing to transport. Behind both Market Weighton and Pocklington the land rises sharply to the east. In contrast, the slope from both Beverley and Driffield is far more gentle. Thus the carriage of coal from the canal head at Market Weighton would have involved more horses than would be needed were that coal being brought from Driffield or Beverley. A very

³⁹ Rimmer, 'Leeds', 128; Harris, *Rural Landscape*, 102-6; A. Harris, 'A rage of plowing : The reclamation of the Yorkshire Wolds' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 68 (1996), 209; McCutcheon, 'Yorkshire Fairs', 155.

⁴⁰ G. Clark et al, 'A British Food Puzzle 1770-1850' *Economic History Review*, 58, 2 (1995), 233.

clear pointer to the problems of Market Weighton is that in 1823 Baines lists four coal merchants there whilst none are listed by Pigot in 1830. The Market Weighton marriage register gives few occupations but an explanation for the unusually high marriage horizon for the town could be that traders were visiting the town rather than settling in it.⁴¹ Perhaps some of those visiting traders were among the 54 corn dealers at Beverley in 1791/2.⁴²

In the first three decades of the nineteenth century Selby continued to prosper. It was the 'port for the West Riding';⁴³ it continued to benefit from improvements in transport; its service trades prospered; there was an increasing industrial sector. The position at Easingwold and Market Weighton was very different. Superficially Easingwold also continued to be modestly prosperous but the modest increase in the town's population may well reflect the narrow commercial base of the town. As the century progressed it seems likely that much of the goods traffic from the north was going to the West Riding rather than to York via

⁴¹ As to marriage horizons see 4.4 below and Bellingham, 'Use of marriage horizons'.

⁴² D. Neave, 'Beverley 1700 - 1835' in Allison, *Victoria County History, York, East Riding, 6, Beverley*, 113.

⁴³ Baines, 1, 273.

Easingwold.⁴⁴ This left Easingwold heavily reliant on the coaching trade and correspondingly at risk after the railway by-passed the town in the 1840s. At Market Weighton these same problems had surfaced much earlier. It lost out to more convenient markets, because of the switch to the Humber steam packets, and because it lacked the professional service sector that would help to check the decline of Easingwold.

Economic activity at Pocklington is less easy to assess. Like Easingwold and Market Weighton its 'rural' industries declined - in particular shoemaking for sale elsewhere, but not to the same extent as in those towns. As has been noted in the consideration of the 1788 Shop Tax data for Selby considered in Table 4:1, such trades were in any event of less importance in wealth and status than other more skilled trades which appear to have prospered at Pocklington. The data on the dealing and retail group in Table 4:5 Part II suggests that, unlike Market Weighton, Pocklington was not yet in decline by 1830, nor was it living on borrowed time, as was Easingwold.

Some of these issues can only be addressed by looking at the specific areas of activity in more detail and the remaining sections of this chapter therefore consider five such areas - dealing and retail trade, market areas and local carriers,

⁴⁴ See destinations of carriers from Northallerton and Thirsk in 1823 and 1834. Baines, 2, 498; Pigot 1834, 374.

long distance carriers, the service trades and the professions, and industries within the towns.

4.3 Markets, Fairs, Shops & Merchants

Each of the four study towns functioned as a market town. Each provided goods and services for the surrounding area, and for the inhabitants of the town itself. This is the area described by Marshall, in his study of the Cumbrian market town, as the agricultural area, 'from which shop customers were also drawn and from which farm products and their buyers came'.⁴⁵ The extent of these local market areas are considered in more detail below (4.4) but of the four only Pocklington was a Saturday market, able to compete with the Saturday markets at York, Beverley and Howden. Selby's Monday market was one of a series of local markets held on successive days and its function as a local market centre was very much secondary to Selby's trading role for a wider area. In 1750 the markets of Easingwold and Market Weighton were of only local significance

However this analysis by Marshall does not consider the wholesale marketing of produce to a wider market. Traditionally this was through annual fairs but increasingly it was also through local markets, especially those with access to navigable water.⁴⁶ In the 1790s, after the completion of the Market Weighton

⁴⁵ Marshall, 'The Cumbrian market town', 142.

⁴⁶ M. Noble, 'Markets and Fairs : 1500-1928' in S. Neave and S. Ellis, *An*

canal, it was said of Market Weighton :-

'It is a great corn market, although one sees but little of that commodity exposed for sale; for some thousands of bushels are weekly disposed of by sample'.⁴⁷

But by 1830 there is no mention of the corn market, the trade had moved to more convenient locations - Drifffield, Beverley and South Cave, and it is possible that even in the 1790s some of the corn sold by sample at Market Weighton was actually shipped out of Beverley or Drifffield.

The distinction between wholesale and retail sales was not clear-cut. In 1823 Easingwold sent butter and bacon 'in considerable quantities' to York whence it was sent by water to London, but no dealer in those commodities appears to have been resident in the town so that is possible that they were bought in the market by dealers from elsewhere. At Thirsk in 1823 'a great quantity of poultry, butter and eggs' were bought up by dealers and 'conveyed into the populous towns of the West Riding'.⁴⁸ This could well have been so at Market Weighton where again no resident dealers are recorded. However at Pocklington, as at Selby, there were resident dealers in bacon and butter who may or may not have bought goods in

Historical Atlas of East Yorkshire (Hull, 1996), 76.

⁴⁷ *Universal British Directory*, 3, 892.

⁴⁸ Baines, 2, 434 and 557.

the market for sale elsewhere.

As to the local market functions in the four towns, it is not easy to say what was sold. The entry in the *Universal British Directory* for Thirsk, a market town with a flourishing retail sector ten miles to the north of Easingwold, gives a indication of what might have been on sale at the end of the eighteenth century:-

'Here is a tolerable good market on Mondays, which is plentifully supplied with all kinds of meat, fish, poultry, butter, corn, and vegetables, which are generally sold at reasonable prices'.⁴⁹

That the total of the assessments for Shop Tax in 1788 for Thirsk was £5.18.8 (£5.88) suggests that a 'tolerable good market' could go hand in hand with a substantial number of premises from which the occupiers were engaged in retail trade.⁵⁰

One indication of the prosperity of these markets is the physical improvement of the market area during the period. Since the area laid out at Easingwold for the market in the seventeenth century was extensive there was little need to extend that area. The row of substantial late eighteenth century houses on the western

⁴⁹ *Universal British Directory*, 4, 596.

⁵⁰ As to Shop Tax see Appendix Two.

side of the market place suggests that it was largely undeveloped before that time, thus allowing the construction of these relatively large houses whose occupants were unlikely to have been engaged in retail trade. At Market Weighton there was also little extension of the market area. There the market place was a relatively narrow street carrying the traffic from York to Hull, and it so remained until the 1990s. The limited amount of change to the streetscape at Market Weighton after 1800 allows one to see that many of the buildings along the market place date from the period of the town's prosperity in the late eighteenth century. In contrast, at both Selby and at Pocklington the market area was improved and expanded. At Selby this was the result of the reorientation of the town after the bridge was built in 1791, when the opportunity was taken to make radical changes enlarging the market area including the building of new houses and shops. At Pocklington the extension of the market area was achieved by covering or rerouting the beck that ran through the town. Much of the town was rebuilt in the latter part of the eighteenth century but, as at Selby, and to a lesser extent in the other two towns, one can see a gradual but near continuous change as houses were adapted or rebuilt during the nineteenth century.⁵¹

⁵¹ Neave, *Pocklington*, 33; Morrell, *Selby*, 280; National Heritage Lists of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest - extracts held by Hambleton, Selby and East Riding of Yorkshire District Councils; N.B.E. Ayling, *The Civic Amenities Act 1967: Easingwold - Conservation Area* (Northallerton, 1971); D. Smith, *Market Weighton District Plan - Report of Survey* (Bridlington, nd but c1979).

Each town also had several fairs in the course of the year and the detailed information on them that is listed in the sixth edition of Owen's *Book of Fairs* in 1770⁵² is set out in Appendix Four. In 1770 Market Weighton's two fairs, held in May and September, were principally agricultural fairs - Owen mentions horses and sheep. For Easingwold's two fairs in July and September both linen and woollen cloth are listed as well as horned cattle, horses and sheep. The former must be some of the products of the area described by Best in 1642 as 'Cleaveland and Blakeamoore', broadly modern Cleveland and the area between Thirsk and Malton. Best records that this locally made linen was bought by pedlars, probably at fairs such as Easingwold, and then sold on by them to satisfy local demand elsewhere.⁵³ Owen records three fairs at Selby in 1770, Easter Tuesday, June and October - cattle, wool, flax, tin and copper ware. As to the wool and flax Dr Pococke said, after he visited Selby in 1751, '... and they send out some flax, and ... they also manufacture wool and linen for their own use'.⁵⁴ The reference to tin and copper ware suggests that these items might have been made in the Selby

⁵² Owen's *Book of Fairs* (Sixth edition, 1770), List of fairs in Yorkshire, in McCutcheon, 'Yorkshire Fairs', 173-7.

⁵³ Woodward, *Best*, 111; cf. R.P. Hastings, *Essays in North Riding History 1780-1850*, North Yorkshire County Record Office Publications 28 (1981), 33-5.

⁵⁴ Cartwright, 'Travels of Pococke', 173.

area, using imported raw materials, and then sold at the fair for use elsewhere. However no evidence of this has been found in Selby Wills and Administrations between 1752 and 1764 nor in the Window tax assessment for 1788.⁵⁵ The scope of Pocklington's fairs, as listed by Owen, suggests an interesting blend of activities. Best said, in 1642, that most of the East Riding 'use to drape out the worst of their lambs and send to Pocklington faire' in July.⁵⁶ But by 1770 there was no mention of lambs or sheep. On 17th February and twice in December there were fairs for the 'shew of horses'. On 24th February and in April, July and October there were fairs for cattle, cheese, cloth and leathern ware. The cloth would still be the product of the local weavers - linen cloth was also mentioned at Bridlington on the other side of the wolds; leathern ware is not mentioned for other East Riding Fairs, although the entry for Little Driffield mentions leather. Pocklington therefore had an unusually large number of fairs with a clear measure of specialisation and selling goods that were being manufactured in the area. These fairs were clearly thought to be important at the time of the Pocklington Enclosure Award in 1759. Some of the provisions of that Award can only be explained by the need to accommodate them. The Pocklington street names - Chapmangate and London Street - suggest that in the past substantial merchants had attended those fairs. But this had effectively ceased at Beverley by 1730 and

⁵⁵ See Appendix Two, Table A2:3.

⁵⁶ Woodward, *Best*, 119.

the same was no doubt true at Pocklington.⁵⁷ The absence of advertisements relating to Pocklington in the *York Courant*, of the type found by Mitchell for Cheshire, is an indication of the absence of such merchants.⁵⁸ In 1800 Mountain mentions the three fairs at Selby, without referring to goods sold, but also lists a Shew of horses from 20th to 26th September, a statute fair for servants, and six weekly fairs for flax 'from Michaelmas to Saint Peter's day (old style)'.⁵⁹ The data in the Window and Assessed Taxes return for Selby for 1788 gives little indication as to how the general fairs were integrated into the commercial life of Selby. It could well be that, with the exception of the six weekly flax fairs, there was, in fact, little such integration, in that many of those involved with the fairs were not Selby residents.

There is no doubt that these fairs were significant social events and the demand for accommodation would impact on the inns and on others who offered accommodation, food, drink and entertainment. But this is not to say that they

⁵⁷ As to Pocklington: Bellingham, 'Mr Powell's Enclosure Award', 85-6; Noble, 'Markets and Fairs : 1500-1928' in Neave and Ellis, 76-7. But compare The Owen entry in Appendix Four. As to Beverley: Neave, 'Beverley 1700 - 1835', 113.

⁵⁸ Mitchell, 'The development of urban retailing 1700-1815', 267.

⁵⁹ Mountain, *Selby*, 160.

were commercially significant to the life of the town. In 1812 Strickland commented as to Market Weighton September fair: -

'At the end of September these sheep ... are sent to Weighton fair. This is probably the greatest fair for fat sheep in the Kingdom and here about the shearing whethers and drafted ewes of the Riding which are forward in condition are sold, there being usually 70,000 and 80,000 on the ground. Of these the principal part are bought by jobbers and turnep-growers from the West Riding who keep them until the succeeding spring and then sell them at Wakefield'.⁶⁰

Clearly this was, and remained for many years, a very important sheep fair,⁶¹ but it is far from clear whether a large annual fair such as this was of significant benefit to the economy of the town. That it was 'Jobbers and turnep-growers' from the West Riding who purchased the fat sheep, rather than local dealers, simply reinforces these reservations. It was the day to day retailing and the weekly markets that were the focal part of this part of the economy of the town.

As was the case elsewhere, the pattern of retail activity in these four market towns

⁶⁰ Strickland, *General view of the Agriculture of the East Riding*, 238.

⁶¹ History and Topography of the City of York; the Ainsty Wapentake; and the East Riding of Yorkshire, J.J. Sheahan and T. Whellan (Beverley, 1856), 590.

circa 1750 appears to have been focused on markets and on tradesmen producing goods to order rather than on fixed shops selling goods by retail. Whilst there was at least one grocer in Market Weighton by the 1760s, and several in Easingwold from 1739 onwards, no mercers or drapers were noted in either town in the first half of the eighteenth century. In contrast Charles Cross at Pocklington was described as a Mercer and Grocer in 1759. Neave considered the Pocklington mercers and grocers wealthy and influential, but such comments must be relative. Selby was clearly in a different league and, significantly, rather than the combined description found at Pocklington, the occupations at Selby were severally described as grocer, draper or mercer.⁶²

In the third quarter of the eighteenth century there was a marked change in the provision in retail services at Selby, comparable to that noted by Mitchell in his study of retailing in Cheshire. However the data in Table 4:3 suggests that change in the other three towns may have been more pronounced in the last quarter of the century. Mitchell used the national returns, which give the global amount of Shop Tax paid within individual townships, to assess the likely number of shops within each township. He compared the £28 paid for Stockport with Nantwich, Knutsford and Altrincham which all 'paid less than £5'. It is however possible that

⁶² Neave, *Pocklington*, 14 and 17; Cowling, *Easingwold*, 97; Borthwick, *Selby Peculiar Wills and Inventories; Parish Registers; Selby Window Tax Return 1788*; Riley, 'Four Communities : 1660-1760', 194.

he did not consider that rental values might have been relatively lower in the smaller towns so that their totals were not directly comparable with the amount paid for Stockport.⁶³

Because of the survival of the 1788 Window and Assessed Taxes return for Selby, which included the short lived shop tax, one can obtain an unusually clear picture of the retail activities in Selby at that date and the wide range can be seen from Table 4:1. Thirty-one occupiers were assessed for Shop Tax and the total amount payable was £4.9.6 (£4.48). By comparing the assessed rental for the Inhabited Houses Tax with that for the Shop Tax, one can establish which individuals with an assessment of £5 and over for the former tax were thought by the assessors not to be carrying on a retail trade, and by looking at those not assessed for either tax, and their occupations, one can make an estimate of the number of those below the £5 threshold who were likely to be carrying on retail trade. The Selby return suggests that although only thirty-one individuals paid shop tax, there were at least as many again who were engaged in retail trade but were below the tax threshold.⁶⁴

⁶³ Mitchell, 'Pitt's Shop Tax'; Mitchell, 'The development of urban retailing 1700-1815', 270-1.

⁶⁴ Selby Window Tax Return 1788. See Appendix Two.

Using the shop tax assessments, Table 4:1 assesses the manufacturing, retailing and wholesale activities within Selby. Since a person's trade or profession would usually be carried on from his home, the size of the Inhabited House tax assessment gives a clear indication of the scale of his or her activities. For properties below the £5 threshold the number of windows for which he or she was assessed gives a similar, though less accurate, indicator. In 1788 virtually all those residents of Selby who were engaged in retail trade did so from their own premises. In pre industrial England the distinction between 'retail' and 'manufacturing' seems to have been largely irrelevant when applied to craftsmen and the commercial activities of any one individual did not always fit neatly into any one category. Thus although the ropers paid shop tax, they would have also have been making marine supplies. The tanners and fellmongers (elsewhere called skimmers) did not pay shop tax but the curriers did pay it.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ As to the Inhabited Houses Tax see Appendix Two.

Thomas Proctor, the heckler who paid shop tax may be an atypical case. His main occupation was no doubt that of a heckler - a flax dresser, though doubtless because of his contacts with local farmers, he told the Royal Exchange that he was also in business as a cheese monger when they insured his 'goods in trade' for £700. It might well be that others in the town would have felt that any retail activity being undertaken was minimal, but Thomas Proctor was a Quaker and would have followed the Quaker Advice against 'defrauding the king of any of his customs, duties, or excise ...'. See Guildhall Library, London, Royal Exchange and Sun Fire policy, Ref 68021 MS 7253/2, Thomas Proctor; *Rules of Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends* (1834), 34; J. Walvin, *The Quakers : Money and Morals* (1997), 76-8.

It is indicative of the status and wealth of the Selby merchants that all those so listed in the Selby return were described as 'Mr', and that almost all were paying Inhabited House tax, though none paid shop tax - their activities were clearly over a far wider area than the immediate vicinity of Selby. The size of the assessments of the eight drapers (three of them women) suggests that they too were operating over a wider area, but they all appear to have been engaged in retail trade. That all the five grocers were assessed at £5 or above, and that all were described as 'Mr', suggests that Margot Finn's comment that in the nineteenth century a grocer referred to a provisioner of higher status and wealth than a shopkeeper, applied equally to the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century. Mr Robert Wintringham, grocer, who had eighteen assessable windows and was assessed for shop tax on a rent of £12, had taken out insurance cover for 'utensils and trade' for £650 with the Royal Exchange, suggesting that he held a substantial stock. Cover for £150 for his household furniture indicates substantial person wealth.⁶⁶

Although none of the nine publicans paid shop tax, two of the seven innkeepers did - though not in respect of the largest inn operated by Thomas Hawdon. Inns were no doubt used by merchants, but probably not for retail sales. The occupiers

⁶⁶ M. Finn, 'Debt and credit in Bath's court of requests, 1829-39', *Urban History*, 21, 2 (1994), 224; Guildhall Library, London, Royal Exchange and Sun Fire policy Ref 98449 MS 7253/11 - Robert Wintringham.

of the two smallest licensed premises were described as publicans, but beyond that there appears to be no obvious distinction between the Innkeepers and publicans.⁶⁷

Charles Hopkins, hatter, was assessed for Shop Tax on a value of £5 and Miss Ann Teasdall, a milliner with eleven taxable windows, on £9. But there were clearly other shops in the clothing and footwear group below the £5 threshold. What is puzzling is that John Dickinson, a tailor with seven chargeable windows, was assessed on £6 for the Inhabited Houses Tax yet not for Shop Tax. It could therefore be that all those who made clothing and footwear were not, in Selby at least, considered to be in retail trade. The position of the cordwainers may be rather more complex. It is possible that Selby had one, or perhaps two shoemakers who were selling wholesale rather than retail.⁶⁸

Daniel Abone, a mariner who paid Shop Tax, may well be of more general significance. He was listed as an innkeeper by Mountain in 1800 and held an Ale House licence in 1803. In 1788 it may well be that it was his wife who was

⁶⁷ As to the distinctions between inn, tavern or public house, and retailing from inns, see P. Clark, *The English Ale House 1200-1830*, (1983), 5-15 and 231.

⁶⁸ Cf. D. Alexander, *Retailing in England during the Industrial Revolution* (1970), 96 and 142.

operating a shop.⁶⁹ Shops such as this only surface if they are assessed above £5. It could well be that there were a considerable number who were below the threshold. Alexander said that 'In the eighteenth century shopkeepers drew most of their custom from a small class of highly paid workers, tradesmen, farmers, gentry and aristocracy.' Whilst Selby in 1788 was certainly prosperous, the likely number of shops indicates a wider spectrum than Alexander suggested. Further, if Daniel Abone's case is an indication of the existence, in the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century, of the small scale part time shops familiar in the nineteenth century, then one is bound to suggest that in reality we have very little idea of the true extent of the retail services offered in the eighteenth century to the spectrum of society below that mentioned by Alexander.⁷⁰

TABLE 4:3
1788 WINDOW TAX AND SHOP TAX ASSESSMENTS

	Selby		Easingwold		Mkt Weighton		Pocklington	
	£Dec	No.	£Dec	No.	£Dec	No.	£Dec	No.
Window tax	115.12	381	58.81		39.53		52.43	
Additional tax	135.03		67.75		46.05		61.34	
Inhabited								
Houses tax	15.15	81	6.12		5.10		5.41	
Shop tax	4.48	31	1.27	12?	0.83	8?	1.02	10?

Source : PRO E182/1159 and Selby Window Tax Return 1788.

⁶⁹ Mountain, *Selby, Directory*; WYAS (Wakefield) QE32 21- Ale House licence.

⁷⁰ Alexander, *Retailing*, 24.

Whilst detailed schedules for the other study towns have not been found, and probably do not survive, the summary returns for Yorkshire listing the taxes paid in 1788 for each parish or township do survive⁷¹ and the data for the four towns is shown in Table 4.3. Based on the Selby figures, one can calculate a likely combination of assessable shops which would produce the equivalent of the total shop tax assessed, and those figures are shown in Table 4.3. The Selby analysis suggests that it is likely there were as many shops again below the £5 threshold.⁷²

The general background of these taxes is considered in Appendix Two. So far as the dealing and retail trades are concerned the relationship of the Inhabited Houses payment to the general Window Tax payment suggests that there was a higher percentage of larger houses at Selby but that there was not a great deal of difference between the percentage of larger properties in the other three towns. However there were sharp differences in the amount of Shop Tax paid as a percentage of the Inhabited Houses payment - Selby 30 per cent, Easingwold 21 per cent, Pocklington 19 per cent and Market Weighton 16 per cent. This is a useful indication of the percentage of occupiers of larger properties engaged in retail trade but in the absence of other data it is unwise to draw any further

⁷¹ PRO E182/1159

⁷² Whilst one can calculate the likely number of shops for these three towns, the way that the tax was assessed makes this less easy for larger towns.

conclusions.

A general indication of retail activity in Yorkshire can be seen from the respective amount of Shop Tax paid in 1788 and this data is summarised in Table 4:4. The only towns near Selby with a figure greater than its assessment of £4.48 were Howden (£7.40) nine miles to the east and York (£212.80) and Pontefract (£20.20), both some twelve miles away. As for Pocklington, both Howden and York were about thirteen miles away. Market Weighton had Pocklington to the west and Beverley (£20.98) ten miles to the east, but the rise of Driffield (£0.57), fourteen miles to the north east, was in the future. With a total Shop tax of £1.27, marginally higher than Pocklington, Easingwold was clearly enjoying some commercial success, despite Thirsk (£5.88) ten miles to the north and York twelve miles to the south. Part of that success can be attributed to the decline of Helmsley (£0.67), ten miles to the east.

TABLE 4:4
YORKSHIRE SHOP TAX ASSESSMENTS - 1788
(All townships)

	East Riding	North Riding	West Riding	York
Tax per Township				
Less than £1	15	15	51	0
£1 to £4.99	4	5	12	0
£5 to £9.99	1	3	3	0
£10 to £19.99	0	2	3	0
£20 to £49.99	1	1	4	0
Above £49.99	1	0	2	1
Total	22	26	75	1

Source : PRO E182/1159

Table 4.4 places the returns for the four study towns in context. Without considerable further research it would be unwise to attempt to analyse the Yorkshire data in the way that Mitchell has done for Cheshire. It is however interesting that he found that of the 61 Cheshire townships in respect of which shop tax was paid, 66 per cent had less than two assessable shops; the Yorkshire average was 36 per cent. Mitchell suggested that there was 'a basic provision of shopping facilities right across [Cheshire]' in 1788. Table 4:4 suggests that in Yorkshire fixed retail shops were to be found in towns and in the urban areas that were developing in the industrial West Riding, and around Hull and the larger towns, rather than in the rural townships. If this was so then it emphasises the continuing importance of the small Yorkshire market towns and of their markets and fairs in the late eighteenth century.⁷³

Further evidence of the economic activities carried on in the late eighteenth century are to be found in the policy books of the Royal Exchange and Sun Fire offices, which are now recognised to be a very valuable source for economic history. But to think of making a general search through the policy books for the relatively few policies relating to these four small towns was clearly unrealistic.

⁷³ Cf. Mitchell, 'The development of urban retailing 1700-1815', 270-2. The format of Table 4:4 follows the format of Mitchell's Table 28 showing the Cheshire returns

However the index available for policies issued between 1775 and 1787 revealed twenty-three policies linked to Selby, eleven to Pocklington and six to Easingwold. No policies were noted for Market Weighton. John Bailey, mercer and draper of Easingwold, insured his new house for £200 and the stock therein for £400. Pocklington's Shop Tax in 1788 was marginally less than that paid at Easingwold, but in 1786 a mercer and draper in that town also insured his house for £200 and his stock for £400. In 1777 another had insured his stock for £900, equivalent to over £80,000 in 1999. It is less surprising to find that at Selby five men within the general description of mercer, draper, grocer and hardware man had cover for stock between 1776 and 1787 for amounts between £150 and £650. Several of these policies refer to new houses and shops. One cannot draw any firm conclusion from the lack of policies for Market Weighton but the policies for Selby confirm the data available from other sources and John Bailey's policy at Easingwold, coupled with the amount of Shop Tax, suggests a healthier commercial situation that one would expect from other available sources. But it is the two policies at Pocklington that are the most illuminating and, together with data from other policies considered elsewhere in this chapter, point to a town enjoying considerable success as a market centre in the 1780s.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Guildhall Library, London, Royal Exchange and Sun Fire policies - MS 7253/2, 3, 11, MS 11936/259, 337 MS 1196/285. Policy References 69141, 68028, 70659, 98449, 100949, 388097, 517915, and 429433.

The Parish baptism registers between 1777-1788 disclose another pointer to the health of Pocklington's retail economy in the 1780s, namely the range of clothing

TABLE 4:5
DEALING & RETAIL GROUP (Occupation Code 11)
(Excluding Innkeepers, Occupation Sub Code 11.4)

	Easingwold	Part I - All Entries		
		Market Weighton	Pocklington	Selby
UBD/Mountain	17	35	35	44
Baines 1822/3	37	45	61	74
Pigot 1830	37	27	49	87

	Easingwold	Part II - Identified Individuals only		
		Market Weighton	Pocklington	Selby
UBD/Mountain	17	35	35	44
Baines 1822/3	30	22	38	46
Pigot 1830	29	19	37	58

	Easingwold	Part III - Drapers & Grocers (Occupation Sub Codes 11.1 & 11.5)		
		Market Weighton	Pocklington	Selby
UBD/Mountain	7	5	10	14
Baines 1822/3	11	16	12	14
Pigot 1830	6	8	7	15

Source : Universal British Directory, Mountain, Baines, Pigot 1830.

Table 4:5 Part I, shows a substantial increase in the number of entries in the dealing & retail trade group in all the towns between 1790/1800 and 1823 and a fall at Market Weighton and Pocklington between 1823 and 1830. But this fall, in

and footwear occupations - breeches maker, glover, staymaker and patten maker as well as tailors and shoemakers. Perhaps the Pocklington shoemakers, in contrast to Easingwold, and indeed Selby, were producing for local sale, rather than making completed, or partly finished, shoes for sale elsewhere, maybe in York.

a period of only seven years, suggests that the 1830 figures are suspect. Part II of the Table, which is limited to identifiable individuals, indicates that the true numbers were more or less static from 1823 to 1830, other than at Selby where there was a significant increase. However a closer focus on drapers and grocers (Occupation Sub Groups 11.1 and 11.5) gives a slightly different picture. These sub groups appear to be the most prosperous part of the retail sector. At both Market Weighton and Pocklington some of those in these sub groups in 1823 were classified simply as 'Shopkeepers' in 1830, whilst others were not to be found at all. Table 2:1 suggests that between these years only Selby had a growth in population that approached the national average. These falls in this key retail sector imply that only at Selby was the top end of the retail sector at all prosperous.

There are other pointers to the prosperity of Selby. All the towns had bakers but in 1822 and 1830 a confectioner was also listed at Selby. The *Universal British Directory* had listed two watchmakers at Easingwold and one each at Pocklington and Market Weighton. But the relative importance of Selby at that time is emphasised by the apparent wealth of Joseph Champney, watchmaker of Selby, probably the Joseph Champney, listed as 'gentleman' in the 1788 Selby Window Tax return, two of whose sons were apprenticed in York, one to a mercer in 1773 the other to an apothecary in 1781, at premiums of £80 and £90 respectively.⁷⁵ All

⁷⁵ York City Archives, York Apprentices Register, D14, 144 and 217.

four towns continued to have watchmakers. In 1822/3 there were three at Selby and two in each of the other three towns. However, at Selby one was also a goldsmith, at Pocklington a silversmith, but at Easingwold Joseph Barker was a hardware dealer and a watchmaker.

Thus in the nineteenth century one can be confident that retail trade at Selby was steadily improving and that its tradesmen and merchants enjoyed increasing prosperity. One can also be sure that at Market Weighton both groups were encountering serious difficulties. Easingwold too had problems at the upper end of the market but the smaller traders still seemed reasonably prosperous. Only at Pocklington is the position ambiguous.

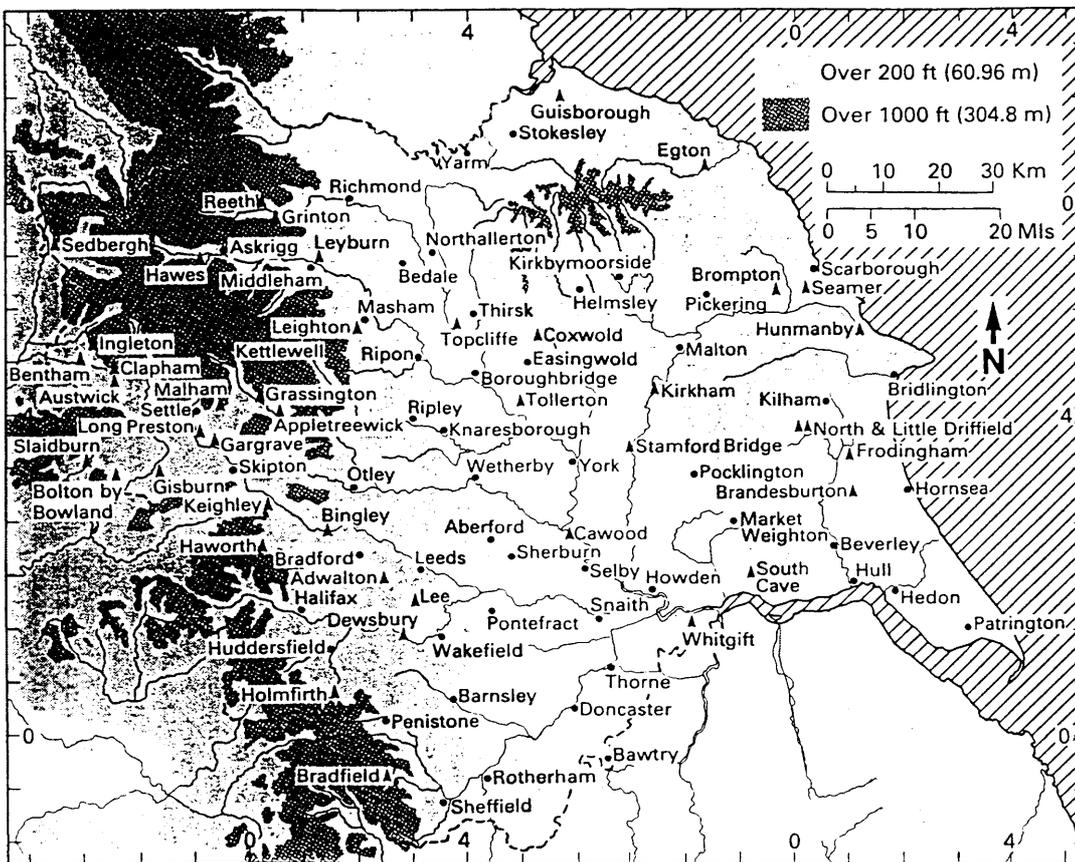
4.4 Market Areas and Local Carriers

Having considered Markets, Fairs and Shops in the four towns one should now place that discussion in context by considering their functions as local markets in relation to nearby market centres and consider too the pattern of local carriers to and from the four towns - a useful indication of the relevant market area.

Some of the markets in Yorkshire noted by Everitt as existing between 1500 and 1640 had all but disappeared by 1770 and a handful of new ones had been chartered. Hey provides a useful map in *Yorkshire from AD 1000* showing

Yorkshire's markets and fairs in 1770 and a copy of it forms Map 4:1.⁷⁶ Everitt drew attention to the vital role that small market towns played in the life of the surrounding area, a facet well brought out by Unwin in his study of the market

MAP 4:1
YORKSHIRE MARKETS AND FAIRS CIRCA 1770



Source : Hey, *Yorkshire*, 184

⁷⁶ Hey, *Yorkshire*, 184. The permission of Professor Hey to reproduce this map is gratefully acknowledged.

towns of the Vale of York.⁷⁷ But Marshall, in the opening pages of his study of the Cumbrian market town, is critical of :-

'... the passion for quantification which has been inherited by an entire generation of economic and social historians. Students of towns think of economic and demographic growth, and lurking within this very notion is a value judgement. Bigger in other words equals better.'⁷⁸

Instead he stresses the need to recognise the interrelation of towns, and to this end he draws attention to the need to consider the days upon which towns held their markets, reflecting the rhythm of the wider community. In contrast, in Noble's 1987 article 'Growth and development in a regional urban system: the country towns of Eastern Yorkshire 1700-1850', little or no reference is made to this aspect, nor in fact to the market days of the towns. Her emphasis is on 'economic and demographic growth'.⁷⁹ This section draws on the work of all these historians but the analysis is drawn on a broader canvas than that attempted by either Unwin or Noble. In part this is because more data is now available but it also reflects the

⁷⁷ A. Everitt, 'Country carriers in the nineteenth century', *Journal of Transport History*, New Series 3 (1975/6), 179-202; Unwin, 'Market Towns 1660-1830'.

⁷⁸ Marshall, 'The Cumbrian market town', 128.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 132; Noble, 'Regional urban system: Eastern Yorkshire 1700-1850' (1987).

TABLE 4:6

THE PATTERN OF MARKET DAYS IN 1822/3
Towns near York holding market on Saturdays

	Miles from York	Market day
York	0.0	Sat plus
Pocklington	13.2	Sat
Boroughbridge	15.5	Sat
Howden	17.4	Sat
New Malton	18.0	Sat
Helmsley	19.9	Sat
Pontefract	20.6	Sat
Leeds	21.2	Sat plus
Beverley	28.3	Sat
Doncaster	30.5	Sat

Pocklington - market towns
within 20 miles

	Miles	Market day
Pocklington	0.0	Sat
Mkt Weighton	6.2	Wed
Howden	12.8	Sat
South Cave	12.9	Mon
York	13.2	Sat plus
Gt Driffield	14.8	Thu
New Malton	14.9	Sat
Beverley	15.3	Sat
Selby	15.4	Mon
Cawood	15.8	Wed
Snaith	19.0	Thu

Market Weighton - market towns
within 20 miles

	Miles	Market day
Mkt Weighton	0.0	Wed
Pocklington	6.2	Sat
South Cave	7.5	Mon
Beverley	10.0	Sat
Howden	11.0	Sat
Gt Driffield	13.6	Thu
Selby	17.1	Mon
York	18.5	Sat plus
Snaith	18.5	Thu
Cawood	18.8	Wed
New Malton	19.9	Sat

Selby - market towns
within 20 miles

	Miles	Market day
Selby	0.0	Mon
Cawood	4.0	Wed
Snaith	6.5	Thu
Sherburn	7.5	Fri
Howden	9.0	Sat
Tadcaster	10.6	Wed
York	11.9	Sat plus
Pontefract	12.1	Sat
Thorne	12.8	Wed
Pocklington	15.4	Sat
Wetherby	16.4	Thu
Mkt Weighton	17.1	Wed
Doncaster	18.8	Sat
Wakefield	18.9	Fri
Leeds	19.3	Sat plus
South Cave	19.3	Mon

Easingwold - market towns
within 20 miles

	Miles	Market day
Easingwold	0.0	Fri
Boroughbridge	8.9	Sat
Helmsley	10.0	Sat
Thirsk	10.2	Mon
York	11.8	Sat plus
Knaresbrough	13.4	Wed
Ripon	13.7	Thu
Kirkby Moorside	14.5	Wed
Wetherby	15.3	Thu
New Malton	16.3	Sat
Tadcaster	16.5	Wed
Northallerton	18.4	Wed
Pickering	18.7	Mon

Source : Baines.

methods of computer assisted analysis that can now be undertaken. One can therefore adopt Marshall's suggestions but also consider the available data in ways that were not then open to him.

Although Table 4:6⁸⁰ records the position in 1822/3 it should be stressed that a Saturday market records the importance of the market in that town at a far earlier date. Whilst the amounts of Shop Tax paid in 1788 must be treated with caution, since the presence, or absence, of larger premises paying shop tax is not direct evidence of the health of a town's market functions generally, still less of the weekly market, it is worth noting that York's £212.16.1 (£212.80) is vastly more than any of the surrounding towns - the figure for Leeds was £145.14.6 (£145.72), Doncaster £35.15.4 (£35.77), Beverley £29.19.8 (£20.98) and Pontefract £20.4.0 (£20.20). That only 13/4 (£0.67) was paid at Helmsley suggests that it was already in decline whilst Driffield's 11/4 (£0.57), and South Cave's 5/1 (£0.25) suggests their respective growth was still in the future. On the other hand Howden's £7.8.0 (£7.40) is relatively high - it ranked third in the East Riding - and suggests that it's

⁸⁰ The data in Table 4:6 has been taken from Baines. Owen (McCutcheon, 'Yorkshire Fairs', 173-7.) records that in 1770 York's markets were held on Thursday and Saturday. By 1823 Tuesday was also listed. The markets at Leeds were held on Tuesday and Saturday in 1770 and 1822. Owen further says that Beverley's markets were held on Wednesday and Saturday in 1770, but only Saturday is mentioned in 1823. As to Beverley's markets see Allison, *Victoria County History, York, East Riding, 6, Beverley*. 218. As to markets and fairs in the four study towns see Appendix Four.

market was also in good heart.⁸¹

The market towns round Selby appear to illustrate very neatly the rhythm of the small market centres referred to by Marshall, a rhythm that had existed for centuries past.⁸² The markets of Selby, Cawood, Snaith and Sherburn followed on successive days. But in fact Snaith's market day was changed in 1782 from Friday to Thursday 'because other towns, particularly Wakefield, had Friday markets.'⁸³ By 1822 the bridge across the Ouse at Selby, and an improved road to Howden (albeit unturnpiked), may have made Howden an alternative Saturday market to York, but the bridge had also strengthened Selby's market area on the East Riding bank of the Ouse. The Selby canal improved communications to Pontefract, as well as to Leeds and Wakefield, though Pocklington, Wetherby and Market Weighton must have remained irrelevant. In the late eighteenth century, Selby's profile suggests a very local market area competing with nearby Snaith but the Shop Tax figures for 1788 show a very different picture. The total for Snaith was only 10/- (£0.50) as against £4.9.6 (£4.48) for Selby. Some of the businesses

⁸¹ PRO E182/1159 – Window and Assessed taxes 1788. The figures quoted represent the total Shop Tax paid by individuals in the respective town.

⁸² Marshall, 'The Cumbrian market town', 133.

⁸³ Noble, *Snaith*, 13.

paying Shop Tax at Selby may have had a minimal local retail function but the number of premises assessed for Shop Tax suggests a far wider market area for the town.

Although Easingwold's market profile may seem similar there are important differences from Selby. Easingwold's market charter dates from 1639 and there is evidence that the market was in operation in the first half of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless its minor role is evidenced by the fact that it is not mentioned by Owen in 1770. It competed with three nearby Saturday markets - Boroughbridge, Helmsley and York, and with a thriving Monday market at Thirsk. It could well be that it was the decline of Helmsley that provided a window for the improvement in the status of Easingwold's market, but in the long term it was vulnerable to the development of Thirsk's market with its better access to the West Riding - a point emphasised by Thirsk's Shop Tax figure of £5.18.8 (£5.88) and by Baines' reference to sales to dealers from the West Riding.⁸⁴

In contrast, Pocklington illustrates very neatly how the pattern of market days can show the strength of a market and the size of its market area. There are similarities with the Saturday markets round York. Communication problems

⁸⁴ As to Easingwold Market see Cowling, *Easingwold*, 73 and 82 - confirmed by personal communication from Mrs Valerie Taylor. As to Helmsley see Raven, 'Small Towns of the North Riding of Yorkshire c1790-1850', 57 and 64. As to Thirsk see Baines, 2, 557.

made Selby, Cawood and Snaith irrelevant in the eighteenth century and this probably remained so at least until rail links were established, and perhaps into the twentieth century. Neither Drifffield nor South Cave are listed as markets by Owen, so that in 1770 all the markets within this 15 mile radius, apart from Market Weighton, were Saturday markets, each with its own territory. However the Shop Tax figures (Table 4:3) suggest that in 1788 Pocklington's development as a retail centre may have been checked and that Market Weighton was then the rising centre.⁸⁵

In 1770, Market Weighton's was a secondary market with a relatively small market area. Although it was listed by Owen, it was only after the Market Weighton canal was completed in 1784 that the market thrived. Drifffield may have been too far away to affect Market Weighton's local market functions, but after the completion of the Pocklington canal in 1819 and the rise of Drifffield and of South Cave, Market Weighton seems to have reverted to its earlier market area. What is not clear from Table 4:6 is whether Market Weighton was in the orbit of York, Pocklington or Beverley. The Shop Tax figures suggest that in 1788 it looked principally to Beverley, but with occasional glances towards Pocklington and York.

⁸⁵ Cf. Marshall, 'The Cumbrian market town', 151, as to the relationship of Brampton with Carlisle, some nine miles away.

It is frustrating that the Shop Tax was only levied for a very short period so that no earlier, or later, comparisons can be made. Local marriage horizons based on marriages between 1754 and 1802 can give a longer perspective, though one must stress that marriage horizons need to be used with great caution. For example, although a low marriage horizon may indicate an isolated community with little outside contact, it can also indicate substantial in-migration so that potential brides and grooms can readily be found within the town in question.⁸⁶

Analysis of the bridegrooms resident within seven miles of Easingwold between 1754 and 1802 shows the reduction in the marriage horizon during this period, especially to the north west, and suggests the contraction of the local market area. A similar analysis for Market Weighton reveals a more complex situation. The horizon was again receding on the north west, perhaps because of competition from Beverley, and maybe Driffield, but was if anything improving to the south. Pocklington's horizon seems consistently firm at about six miles, but towards the end of the period recedes slightly on the south east. Selby gives every indication of a compact, but consistent, market area of about six miles, overlapping with

⁸⁶ Marriage Registers for Easingwold, Pocklington, Market Weighton and Selby. 1754-1802. For marriage horizons, and their weaknesses, see Bellingham, 'Use of marriage horizons'.

Snaith to the south.⁸⁷

The extent and frequency of carriers' services have been widely used as source for assessing the likely strength and catchment area of a local market. But again, this data must be handled with care. Barker and Gerhold divide the pre 1830 carriers into four groups - London carriers, provincial carriers, local carriers (travelling short distances of up to 30 miles), and private carriers, but then subdivide the local carriers between those linking towns and the village carriers who linked a rural hinterland to its market town. It is this sub group, the village carrier, which has been treated as a proxy for market area, whilst the extent of carriers services generally has been used as part of the assessment of the town's overall standing in relation to other towns. These divisions have not however always been clearly recognised. Furthermore, some studies have been confined to road transport, which can produce a very distorted picture.⁸⁸

All the Barker and Gerhold categories affect the four study towns. The *Universal British Directory* shows the sea-borne services from London and the south to Selby, and onwards to the West Riding and Manchester, and the long distance carriers from Northallerton and the north through Easingwold to York, then on to

⁸⁷ Ibid

⁸⁸ Barker and Gerhold, *Rise of Road transport*, 8-20. Cf. Everitt, 'Country carriers' and Chapter II, Section 2.2 above.

the south and west, or eastwards to Pocklington, Market Weighton, Beverley and Hull, but it gives no indication that there were any village carriers serving the four towns. Indeed the only carriers who appear to be linked to a market day are George Mountain who kept the weekly market boat to York from Selby and William Haggard, carrier to York from Pocklington, who set out every Thursday and Saturday to York. Even this last entry is equivocal since both Pocklington and York had a Saturday market.⁸⁹

The Baines' directory for 1822/3 is more helpful and the results of an analysis of the entries for the study towns, and other relevant communities, are shown in Table 4.7. It is important to note that this table, and Tables 4.8, 4.9 and 4.10, record the number of carriers, not the frequency of their service. By relating the days upon which the respective carriers operated it is relatively easy to establish whether one is dealing with:-

1. A long distance carrier whose activities bore no relation to local market days.
2. A local carrier whose trips were linked to the market day of a study town and whose activities can therefore be taken as being directly related to the trade of that town.
3. A local carrier who was operating from a study town whose trips were

⁸⁹ *Universal British Directory*, 3, 30 and 89; *Ibid.*, 4, 228 and 532.

linked to the market day of the town, usually, but not invariably, a larger town, to which he travelled from the study town.⁹⁰

TABLE 4:7
CARRIERS - BAINES 1822-3

		Easingwold	Market Weighton	Pocklington	Selby
Local carriers					
To Town -	Land	0	12	1	3
	Water	0	0	0	2
		0	12	1	5
From Town -	Land	4	2	4	4
	Water	0	0	0	2
		4	2	4	6
Long Distance Carriers					
	Land	2	4	2	9
	Water	0	0	1	8
		2	4	3	17
All Carriers		6	18	8	28

Source: Baines.

The implications of the data set out in Table 4:7 that relate to long distance carriers are considered later in this chapter, but the contrast between the data relating to the local carriers is of more immediate relevance. Looking first at the carriers going out from the towns, all but one were to Saturday markets listed in Table 4:6, the exception being one of those from Easingwold which was to the Monday market

⁹⁰ It should be stressed that an analysis based on market days would not be reliable by the second half of the nineteenth century. Cf. Everitt, 'Country carriers', 195.

at Thirsk. Ten were to York - four from Easingwold, three from Pocklington and three from Selby. Selby also had carriers to the Saturday markets at Howden and Pontefract. Market Weighton, as one might expect, had a carrier to the Saturday market at Beverley but there was also one to Pocklington's market on that day.

TABLE 4:8
LOCAL INCOMING CARRIERS - BAINES 1822/3

	Easingwold	Market Weighton	Pocklington	Selby
From 1 to < 6 miles	0	6	0	2
From 6 to 8 miles	0	5	1	3
From > 8 miles	0	1	0	0
All	0	12	1	5

Source: Baines

The carriers coming to the towns on their respective market days are further analysed in Table 4:8. Easingwold had none, Pocklington one from Huggate (a village some six miles to the north east), Selby five - two by water, a boat coming down the Derwent from Bubwith and a pair of packets coming up the river from Barmby on the Marsh on the East Riding side of the Ouse; three by land, one from Hemingbrough, about five miles away, and two from Snaith. In contrast, Market Weighton had twelve, six of which were from settlements less than six miles away, indeed one was from Goodmanham less than two miles from Market Weighton.

Some conclusions are easily drawn. One can see the continuing importance of York and appreciate that the standing of Howden, apparent from its entry in the *Universal British Directory*⁹¹ and the Shop Tax payable in 1788, still influenced its links with Selby. The total lack of local carriers to Easingwold and the single carrier to Pocklington contrasts with the twelve incoming carriers at Market Weighton, one of which came from Cottingham some twelve miles to the south east, and another from Pocklington. Market Weighton improved its market area as against Pocklington, Easingwold showed little sign of growth, but Selby had surprising few incoming carriers when one considers the steady growth of the town over the previous 40 years.

At the very least this imbalance between the four towns must make one question whether the number of local carriers coming to a market centre can be a totally reliable indication of the prosperity of that town. Like marriage horizons, they are a useful tool but they need interpretation in the light of other available data. It may well be that one reason for the very different pattern of carriers at Market Weighton was that the town had grown very rapidly, by some 46 per cent in the previous 20 years, compared with some 33 per cent for Pocklington and Easingwold, which was close to the national average and slightly more than Selby's 44 per cent. To put this in perspective, Leeds had grown by 58 per cent and Bradford by a staggering 104 per cent. But the crucial factor for Market

⁹¹ *Universal British Directory*, 3, 392.

Weighton is that this growth was almost certainly preceded by an equally rapid growth in the late eighteenth century, from a very modest base c1760. It is therefore suggested that a reason, perhaps the reason, for this disparity as to local carriers was that the populations of the market areas of Pocklington, Selby, and to a lesser extent Easingwold, had established methods of transport and that only because Market Weighton's market was a new development was this network of local carriers needed. The Snaith carriers to Selby no doubt represented the response to a demand from a substantial settlement to a nearby market, on a par with the carriers to York's Saturday markets. But both the two local carriers to Selby fit the hypothesis that has been suggested. The Barmby on the Marsh packets up the Ouse were a waterborne response to the difficulties of getting to Selby by land and the carrier from Hemingbrough could be a response to the building of the bridge in 1790.

The data available from the Window and Assessed Taxes return for Selby in 1788 helps to throw further light on this. All the indications are that in 1788 there were facilities for goods to be bought outside the town and brought back to Selby, and for the traders within the town to get goods from the town to their customers within the town's trading area. As to goods coming into the market from the farms outside the town, the petition to the House of Commons against the turnpiking of the Leeds to Selby road in 1740 clearly indicates that then, and probably later, such small farmers had personal transport, probably initially pack horses but also

carts or wagons, just as did those within the town.⁹²

Unfortunately the relevant Window and Assessed Taxes returns are not available for the other three study towns but the conclusion must be that, in the late eighteenth century, and in contrast to Market Weighton, a small established town such as Selby would normally have had an adequate informal transport network and had therefore no need of a network of listed local carriers as shown for Market Weighton in Baines 1823 directory. This hypothesis is supported by the substantial network of local carriers then serving the fast growing town of Driffield.⁹³ The lack of a network of local market day carriers may represent a weak market, as at Easingwold, but equally it may indicate a sound but old established market, as at Pocklington or Selby.

For Selby, Pocklington and Market Weighton the third decade of the nineteenth century was a time of change, and this is reflected in the differences in the carriers listed in the Baines Directory of 1822/3 (Tables 4:7 and 4:8) and the Pigot Directory of 1830 (Tables 4:9 and 4:10).

⁹² *House of Commons Journal* (1740), 23, 638, 9 Feb 1740, and see Chapter III, Section 3.2.1 above.

⁹³ Baines, 2, 198.

TABLE 4:9
CARRIERS - PIGOT 1830

		Easingwold	Market Weighton	Pocklington	Selby
Local carriers					
To Town -	Land	0	7	8	15
	Water	0	0	0	0
		0	7	8	15
From Town -	Land	6	5	5	5
	Water	0	0	0	1
		6	5	5	6
Long Distance Carriers					
	Land	1	7	1	2
	Water	0	0	1	6
		1	7	2	8
All Carriers		7	19	15	29

Source: Pigot 1830.

Again, the implications of the data as to long distance carriers are left for later consideration. As to local carriers going out from the towns, all the four towns had carriers going to the York markets. In addition to the carrier to Thirsk, Easingwold now had one going to Northallerton; Market Weighton had carriers to Holme and Howden, and to Pocklington; Pocklington had ceased to send a carrier on Market Weighton's market day but was sending one to Bridlington's Saturday market. The local carriers that came into the towns are analysed in Table 4:10. The lack of change at Easingwold suggests a town that continued to have only very local impact. Pocklington was now receiving a market day carrier from

Market Weighton and although Barmby Moor, just to the east of Pocklington, and Seaton Ross, roughly equidistant from Pocklington and Market Weighton, continued to send carriers to Market Weighton, they also each sent one to Pocklington. Bishop Wilton, some four miles to the north of Pocklington, likewise continued to send a carrier to York but it now also sent one to Pocklington's market. Whilst Market Weighton also continued to receive a market carrier from Cottingham there was a sharp fall in the number of nearby communities sending carriers to its market.

TABLE 4:10
 LOCAL INCOMING CARRIERS - PIGOT 1830
(The figures in italics are for 1822/3)

	Easingwold	Market Weighton	Pocklington	Selby
From 1 to < 6 miles	0 0	4 6	6 0	8 2
From 6 to 8 miles	0 0	2 5	2 1	6 3
From > 8 miles	0 0	1 1	0 0	1 0
All	0 0	7 12	8 1	15 5

Source: Pigot 1830 and Table 4:8

Perhaps the most interesting developments were at Selby As in the case of the Pocklington and Market Weighton carrier, the carrier from Selby to Howden's market had been replaced by one from Howden going to Selby's market. There was also a cluster of carriers from East Riding villages to the north - one can perceive the continuing influence of the bridge - and the decline of Snaith's market is reflected by carriers coming in from nearby Drax and Rawcliffe.

For the reasons stated above, one cannot simply accept the size of the 'star burst' showing the network of carriers serving a town as a yardstick of the strength of that town's market area, still less its economic prosperity. Nevertheless this consideration of the local carriers serving the four study towns can offer some tentative conclusions. Baines and Pigot indicate that Pocklington, Market Weighton and Selby all had market areas approaching eight miles. The Selby Window Tax and Assessed Taxes return for 1788 suggests that initially the established town of Selby did not need the explicit network of local carriers which the fast growing town of Market Weighton had required, and Pocklington was probably in the same position as Selby. By 1830 Selby's growth was reflected in the increase in its network, and the early stages of Market Weighton's decline in the decrease of the one serving that town. The total absence of local incoming carriers serving Easingwold must raise doubts as to the health of that town's market function throughout the period.

To some degree the changes in the market functions of the respective towns were paralleled by the activities of the dealing and retail trade group in that town, as considered in Table 4:5. But there were important differences. The growing town of Selby expanded on both fronts, and the stability of Pocklington and the growth and decline of Market Weighton can also be seen in both areas. As will become apparent from later sections in this chapter the decline of Market Weighton was linked to the changes in transport patterns discussed in Chapter III. But the sharp

increase in Market Weighton's market function in the later part of the eighteenth century is in sharp contrast to the situation at Easingwold where the growth was very limited.

However all the towns were affected by the transport changes discussed in Chapter III and this becomes apparent when one considers the activities of long distance carriers.

4.5 Long distance carriers & coaches

This section is concerned with those long distance carriers of goods and people whose movements had little, if any, relation to local market days, in contrast with the activities of the local carriers that have just been considered.

It is a truism to remark that good communications assist the commercial development of a town. They ease the supply of goods and raw materials to the town and facilitate the dispatch of goods produced there. It is equally clear that a town can benefit from the supply of goods and services to transport operators, and to those who make use of their ships, vehicles and horses. However full weight is not always given to the psychological benefits of good communications in the days when television and radio were in the future and when the written word was far less accessible than it is in the 1990's. All four towns benefited from good communications but the precise impact differed, and those differences have general implications. This has already been touched on and will be further

considered in the following sections. The background to the developments in the transport systems and the impact of those developments on the study towns has already been considered in Chapter III. The purpose of the present section is rather to consider who the carriers were, and how they interacted with the four towns.

A useful picture of the available transport systems in the late eighteenth century is to be found in the *Universal British Directory*. In the entries for each town carriers are mentioned but equally important are the London lists showing the network of coaches and carriers by land and sea operating from London.⁹⁴

Similarly Baines and Pigot give details of carriers and coaches though it should be stressed that Table 4:12 includes information gleaned from entries in all three directories for places other than the four study towns.

Table 4:11 covers carriers operating through or from the four study towns. It is however misleading in that it does not show the frequency of services. Thus in 1822/3 there were probably seven or eight services each week at Easingwold, twenty two at Market Weighton, only four at Pocklington but over seventy at Selby. But these figures too are deceptive. For example for Pocklington they do not include carriers going through the edge of the township on the York to Hull turnpike

⁹⁴ *Universal British Directory*, 1, 473 – 632.

TABLE 4:11
LONG DISTANCE CARRIERS

	Easingwold	Market Weighton	Pocklington	Selby
--	------------	--------------------	-------------	-------

UBD 1793-8				
Land	1	3	2	1
Water	0	0	0	2
All	1	3	2	3
Baines 1822/3				
Land	2	4	2	9
Water	0	0	1	8
All	2	4	3	17
Pigot 1830				
Land	1	7	1	2
Water	0	0	1	6
All	1	7	2	8

Source : *Universal British Directory*, Baines, Pigot 1830.

As to coaches passing through the towns one can be more precise; four daily at Easingwold and Market Weighton in 1793, eight at both in 1823 and six and eight respectively in 1830. There are none listed for Pocklington before the two shown in 1830, but again this excludes coaches on the High Road which did not go through the town. No coaches are listed for Selby in the *Universal British Directory* but by 1822 six daily coaches came to and from the town, all timed to link with the numerous steam packets to Hull and beyond. One should also mention that the posting system, involving the hire of horses and sometimes post chaises for the carriage of passengers, could have considerable impact on small towns on heavily used routes.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Barker and Gerhold, *Rise of Road transport*, 41.

In respect of both passengers and freight there was a substantial spectrum beyond the carriers shown in the directories. Thus the land carriers listed would be those prepared to hold themselves out as Common Carriers, though it seems unlikely that in the areas near the study towns goods were carried for long distances other than by them. A Thirsk farmer might use his wagon to take cheese some 20 miles to Yarm fair and at Selby in 1788 a brewer, a fell monger and a currier all paid tax on wagons, but such cases are hardly relevant to this discussion.⁹⁶ But water transport presents a very different picture. The *Universal British Directory* entry for Hull lists eight vessels 'sailing constantly between Hull and [Selby]' and a further twelve between Hull and Leeds, which probably passed through Selby.⁹⁷ The register at Hull compiled pursuant to an Act of 1795 lists seventeen vessels whose 'usual voyage' was between Hull and Selby.⁹⁸ In 1800 Mountain recorded

⁹⁶ A.W. Dyson (ed.), *An XVIIIth Century Diary : William Metcalfe - his Book : The Diary of a North Yorkshire Farmer and Banker 1786-99* (1931, Reprinted Easingwold, 1980), 11 and passim; Selby Window tax return 1788. As to Common Carriers and their obligations see e.g. A.G. Guest (ed.), *Chitty on Contracts* (Twenty fourth edition, 1977), 326.

⁹⁷ *Universal British Directory*, 3, 336-8.

⁹⁸ Kingston upon Hull City Record Office, MS M445 - Register of vessels under Act of Parliament of 1795. (Geo III c58). Cf. Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, 331.

'The quantity of shipping which occupies the Ouse up to, and down from Selby, per annum is computed to be 369,780 tons, navigated by 28,772 men' and in 1822 Baines said that 'upwards of 800 vessels, with cargoes clear coastwise from [Selby] every year.'⁹⁹

That a town could gain substantial benefit from good communications and from servicing the needs of those making use of them is not in doubt. But the sharp contrast between Easingwold and Market Weighton on the one hand, and Selby on the other, illustrates that the level of involvement in the actual operation of the coaches, wagons or ships can have a significant impact on the commercial development of a town. It has been suggested that some, perhaps most, of the early pressure for the turnpiking of the road through Easingwold came from the town, even though the later administration was conducted elsewhere.¹⁰⁰ One facet of this involvement are the activities of Thomas Crawford, an Easingwold carrier. He appears to have started the business himself, possibly helped by relatives involved in inn keeping, probably in the 1770s. He was offering carrier's services out of York to Newcastle, Darlington and Edinburgh by 1784 and the *Universal British Directory* shows that he was then also operating between Hull and York.

⁹⁹ Mountain, *Selby*, 161; Baines, 1, 273.

¹⁰⁰ See Chapter III, Section 3.2.2 and *York Courant*, 9 Mar 1790.

By that date he was operating a substantial business from the town as can be seen from the house and associated stabling and storage space that he built there. Yet by 1823 the business had passed into other hands and his son appears to have washed his hands of 'trade'. There is no evidence that there was at any time a long distance carrier with a business such as Crawford's operating from either Pocklington or Market Weighton. Nor is it surprising that his business was absorbed into a larger unit, since this was the national trend.¹⁰¹

Innkeepers had long been involved with the operation of coaches.¹⁰² Ann Overend of the New Inn, Pocklington was operating a coach from York to Hull jointly with men from York and Beverley in 1778¹⁰³ and one can assume that this was so in all four towns. But at Easingwold it would seem that during the early years of the nineteenth century the trend to larger operators in the carrying of goods also

¹⁰¹ D.W. Black, 'Easingwold', *York Georgian Society Annual Report* (York, 1983), 44-5; Cowling, *Easingwold*, 87 and 116; *Universal British Directory*, 3, 30 – Easingwold; *Ibid.*, 3, 376 – Hull; *Ibid.*, 4, 970-1 – York; Barker and Gerhold, *Rise of Road transport*, 27. The *Universal British Directory* entries for Thirsk and Darlington suggest that if Crawford had in the past operated north of Easingwold, he no longer did so by the time the *Universal British Directory* was produced.

¹⁰² Barker and Gerhold, *Rise of Road transport*, 40.

¹⁰³ *York Courant*, 3 Mar 1778.

affected coaches. In the 1820's one innkeeper was still 'horsing' a coach northwards but Northallerton and York innkeepers probably horsed the rest. There were however numerous horses kept for the posting business at the Rose and Crown at Easingwold.¹⁰⁴ At Market Weighton, William Ombler had advertised that fitted up post chaises were available in 1778¹⁰⁵ but in 1823, whilst two inns at Easingwold were designated as posting houses, only one was so designated at Market Weighton. Although the New Inn at Pocklington was not so listed, Barmby Moor Inn, one and a half miles west of Pocklington and also on the York to Beverley road, was described in Baines as 'a large and commodious inn, where travellers are accommodated with post chaises'.¹⁰⁶

The town of Market Weighton had little practical involvement in the Market Weighton canal. In contrast Pocklington was involved in its canal. Thomas Johnson of Pocklington, a shareholder in the canal company and a member of the management committee, provided the public wharf and warehouse at Canal Head, and a packet sailing regularly to Hull was purchased by a number of local men.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Bradley, *Old Coaching Days*, 87-8. Although published in 1889, Bradley appears to have drawn on contemporary evidence.

¹⁰⁵ *York Courant*, 20 Apr 1778.

¹⁰⁶ Baines, 2, 153.

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter III, Sections 3.2.5 and 3.2.7; PRO Rail 858/4 – list of

This involvement reflected the critical importance of the canal to the town in the years before the arrival of the railway in 1847.¹⁰⁸

But this involvement was minimal in comparison with the position at Selby.

Dobson considers Selby's greatest asset was its location. In medieval times it was an entrepôt where cargoes were transferred from seagoing ships to smaller craft going up river to York, and the importance of the ferry crossing has already been mentioned. Seventeenth century wills show merchant families from the town operating locally built ships and it is hardly surprising that the town survived reasonably well when, at the end of the seventeenth century, much of the traffic from Leeds began to go down the improved lower reaches of the Aire rather than coming overland to Selby.¹⁰⁹ After the opening of the Selby Canal in 1778 Selby, as the port of Leeds, saw a rapid increase in goods passing through the town. In 1835 Parsons, having said that 'the celebrated Aire and Calder navigation is of vast importance to this part of the country' commented that it had 'never been of material advantage to the town of Selby'.¹¹⁰ What he presumably meant was that

shareholders; Duckham, *Inland Waterways*, 64-5.

¹⁰⁸ The construction of the Pocklington canal, and its importance to the town, has been considered in Chapter III, Section 2.7 above.

¹⁰⁹ Dobson, *Selby*, 18 and 26; Duckham, *Yorkshire Ouse*, 159.

¹¹⁰ Parsons, *The Tourist's Companion*, 128 and 132.

although the canal and its ancillary works made a great contribution to the economic success of the town, none of the profits of the Navigation stayed in the town. This is no doubt correct, but it seems likely that from the outset much of that traffic generated by the Navigation was under the control of local people and that a significant number of the boats and ships involved were owned and operated by Selby residents. Thus of the seventeen vessels listed in the Hull register of c1795 as normally sailing between Hull and Selby, twelve can be identified as Selby based. Of the eight vessels listed in the *Universal British Directory* entry for Hull as 'sailing constantly between Hull and [Selby]' six appear to be Selby based and of those three bore the names of Selby merchants - Foster, Martin and Weddall.¹¹¹ Selby always considered itself as closely integrated with the carriers who operated from the town. A neat example of this is the minute of the Vestry in 1800 that 'a flagg staff with a vane at the top and ensign be erected on the top of the steeple, and that a committee of the Captains in the Trade from Selby to London have the management thereof'.¹¹²

The impact of the steam packets along the Humber, and the associated coaches to

¹¹¹ Kingston upon Hull City Record Office, MS M445 - Register of vessels under Act of Parliament of 1795. (Geo III c58); *Universal British Directory*, 3, 338 – Hull.

¹¹² NYCRO, DC/SBU - Selby Vestry Book, 7 Oct 1800.

and from Selby, has already been considered.¹¹³ In 1830 Pigot said that 'Previous to the establishment of [the steam packets], scarcely a stage coach was ever known to enter the town ...'. Hawdon, the leading innkeeper in Selby, appears to have been a part owner of a coach that ran to and from Leeds from 1815 to 1835 and in 1830 Pigot lists John Drake as a coach proprietor at Selby. Clearly therefore there was some local input in this area and certainly more than at Easingwold or Market Weighton.¹¹⁴

Although the Aire & Calder Navigation loomed large over the town, it did not directly control the use of the canal. The Proprietors offered services between Hull and the West Riding, and operated fly boats on the canal for several years after 1821, but always in competition with private carriers. It is extremely difficult to quantify the Selby involvement with this barge traffic. Many of the boats were no doubt owned by the families who operated them - and lived on them, so that they would not appear in the 1788 Window Tax assessment.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Chapter III, Section 3.2.8.

¹¹⁴ Bradley, *Old Coaching Days*, 209 and 211. Drake appears to have had no other occupation.

¹¹⁵ Duckham, 'Canals and River Traffic', 125. Only three of the 21 watermen whose children were baptised at Selby between 1777 and 1788 appear on the Selby Window Tax Return 1788.

Mountain's 1800 directory does not list ship owners as such but one can assume that the eighteen Masters and Mariners that he lists will not cover the lower end of the spectrum. Baines and Pigot list thirteen and ten men respectively as ship owners but again neither directory covers the working owners of small coastal ships or canal barges. Nor do they reflect another facet of ownership. De Ville comments that 'Tradesmen linked to the shipping industry such as sail makers, block makers, ships chandlers and joiners [invested] to extend business patronage'.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless these directories do make clear that the merchants of Selby controlled much of the long distance carriers operating out of Selby, and they were prepared to act to protect the town. This is graphically illustrated by the actions of James Audus in response to the opening of the Goole to Knottingley Canal in 1826.¹¹⁷ Here again there is evidence of a vigorous local community, able and willing to further the interests of the town.

4.6 Service Trades and Professions

Whilst these activities are to some degree facets of the general marketing and retail function of the four study towns, it is necessary to look at some specific areas in more depth.

¹¹⁶ S. De Ville, 'The Growth of specialisation in English ship owning 1750-1850' *Economic History Review*, 56, 4 (1993), 706.

¹¹⁷ Chapter III, Section 3.2.8.

Looking first at the activities of innkeepers, many, perhaps most, inns in the study towns were multifunctional. An innkeeper could be a part owner of a coach service or providing post chaises or post horses - as has already been discussed. He could be providing food and accommodation for travellers, or for the horses that a third party was using to 'horse' a coach service, or providing similar services for those visiting a town whether for business or pleasure. The direct involvement of some innkeepers in retail trade is a facet of the general trend to be involved in more than one occupation, but inns were also places where merchants could transact their business, especially if the goods in question were being bought and sold by sample. Finally, inns were places where social and business functions could take place and of course they had a general function as general social centres.

The sources for innkeepers available before the trade directories are not easy to quantify. One that should be mentioned, even though it is outside the period under consideration, is the War Office Return of Guest beds and Stabling. Unfortunately no records survive for Easingwold or Pocklington but Table 4:12 shows the figures for Market Weighton and Selby, and, for comparison, those for Beverley, Thirsk and York.

It seems clear that in 1686 there was little provision in the Market Weighton inns for travellers who wished to stay overnight. On the other hand the Thirsk return

suggests that there was significant traffic through the town, some of which would be going to York via Easingwold. That this traffic benefited the innkeepers of Easingwold is supported by the later data from the Easingwold baptism register between 1750 and 1759. Eight fathers of baptised children were recorded as innkeepers for the baptism of the first child in the period compared with only one at Market Weighton between 1762 and 1771.

TABLE 4:12
GUEST BEDS AND STABLING 1686
Selected Towns in Yorkshire

	Stabling	Beds	Beds as a percentage of Stabling
Beverley	460	182	39.6
Markt Weighton	48	20	41.7
Thirsk	234	110	47.0
York	800	483	60.4
Selby	89	58	65.2

Source : PRO/WO/3/48 - 1686 War Office return of Guest Beds & Stabling

In the absence of quantifiable data the best evidence available before the *Universal British Directory* relates to a selection of the principal inns of the study towns. At Selby the principal inn was in the Market Place, away from the river. Now the Londesborough Arms, it was in the eighteenth century known as the George and run by the Hawdon family. The inn had 19 taxable windows in 1760 and 1773. In 1782 it had risen to 23 and by 1788 to 26. Probate inventories in 1763 and 1776 show that between those dates the fluid cash position had improved, two of the reception rooms had been rebuilt and the value of the

contents had increased by 47 per cent. The cellars were better stocked, the chambers seem to have been altered and nearly all had tables and chairs in 1776. The outstanding feature was that nominally much the same furniture in the Best Chamber was valued £4.16.0 (£4.80) in 1763 and £13 in 1776. In neither inventory is there any mention of stabling nor of fodder for horses but when the property was insured in 1787 there is reference to stables and granaries and in 1788 Thomas Hawdon paid tax on a cart and at least one wagon as well as having available for hire the only four wheeled carriage in the town. Unlike two smaller innkeepers in the town he was not assessed for shop tax. The increase in the number of taxable windows suggests steady expansion after 1776 and a large function room appears to have been added around the turn of the century. Although coaches were operating from the inn by 1823 its main function was never that of a coaching inn.¹¹⁸

No such detailed data is available at Easingwold, but the two principal inns were not in the Market Place. They are both in Long Street, on the south west side of the town, along which the York to Thirsk traffic passed. Both survive and appear

¹¹⁸ Borthwick, PR SEL 343-6 - Selby Window Tax returns 1756, 1760, 1773, 1782 and 1785; Selby Window Tax Return 1788; Selby Peculiar Wills and Inventories - Thomas Hawdon, 1763, Ann Hawdon, 1776; Painting of Selby Market Place by Louise Rayner c1860; NYCRO PS/LB7 - plans of Londesborough Arms, Selby, 1934; Baines. As to retailing by innkeepers at Selby see 4.3 above.

to be late eighteenth century and built as coaching inns. The main inn on the market place, probably dating from before the eighteenth century, appears to have been renovated in the early nineteenth century.¹¹⁹ At Market Weighton, the Half Moon appears to have been built, or rebuilt, as a coaching inn in the early eighteenth century and c1780 the then Lord of the Manor commissioned John Carr to design the coaching inn now known as Londesborough Arms, which was enlarged between 1793 and 1798.¹²⁰ At Pocklington, as at Selby, the principal inn - The Feathers, built in the late eighteenth century - is in the Market Place, as is the Buck Inn, newly built in 1780. Neither was a true coaching inn though the three storey Buck Inn had stables and accommodation for stable men. However on the York to Beverley turnpike on the edge of the parish, the New Inn built by a Pocklington brewer between 1758 and 1778 was certainly a coaching inn, as was the Bunch of Grapes at Barmby Moor.¹²¹

The number of inns in the four towns that are listed in the respective trade

¹¹⁹ Ayling, *Easingwold*, passim.

¹²⁰ Smith, *Market Weighton* passim; Pevsner and Neave, *York and the East Riding*, 610.

¹²¹ Guildhall Library, London Royal Exchange and Sun Fire policies 1775-87, MS 11936/281 Policy Reference 424551 – Buck Inn; *York Courant*, 3 Mar 1778; Baines, 2, 1530.

TABLE 4:13
INNS 1793-1830

	Easingwold	Market Weighton	Pocklington	Selby
UBD & Mountain 1793-8 /1800	9	9	7	22
Baines 1822/3	18	13	15	28
Pigot 1830	19	15	14	30

Source : *Universal British Directory*, Mountain, Baines and Pigot 1830.

directories are shown in Table 4:13.¹²² In part the increase between the entries in the *Universal British Directory* and Mountain and those in Baines reflects the better coverage of the inns in the latter directory - the relatively small increase at Selby may be due to Mountain's more comprehensive coverage, but there are other factors. At Easingwold six of the nine additional inns were in Long street and reflect the increase in the long distance traffic through the town. At Pocklington the rate of increase was slightly higher but only two of the additional inns appear to be connected with long distance traffic. Market Weighton's much

¹²² Table 4:13 includes Inns, Taverns etc. so that some of those listed would not have been treated as 'inns' by contemporaries. The Mountain figure of 22 for Selby is not comparable with the *Universal British Directory* figures since Mountain included a wider range of establishments. That only two inns were listed for Selby in the *Universal British Directory* is however patently misleading in that seven innkeepers and nine publicans appear in the 1788 Window Tax assessment for the town. The Pocklington figures do not include the Bunch of Grapes, the coaching inn at Barmby Moor.

lower rate of increase could at least in part be due to the recent decline in through traffic.

All four towns benefited from the coaching trade, but the location and design of the principal inns at Easingwold and Market Weighton suggests that most of the inns in the former, and to a lesser extent the latter town, depended on that trade for their prosperity. In contrast the main functions of the inns at both Selby and Pocklington related to matters other than long distance transport. Whilst the decline of the traffic through Market Weighton is mirrored by the rapid expansion of traffic up and down the Humber, especially the passengers carried by the steam packets after 1815, the changing nature of that traffic meant that the benefit to the service trades at Selby was not as great as one might expect.

The importance of inns as places for merchants to transact their business is well documented. The vivid picture that Head has left of the way that the Holderness weekly corn market at the Hilyard Arms in Patrington operated in 1835 must also have been true of Market Weighton. In 1823 Baines recorded that 'This is also a great corn market, where some thousands of quarters are weekly disposed of by sample' but many of the merchants active in the town appear not to have lived there and so would have been based in a local inn. One can also assume that the non resident lawyers who practised at Market Weighton in the 1820s and 1830s

met their clients in a private room at one of the inns.¹²³

That the only auctioneer at Easingwold in 1823 was also an innkeeper, as was one of the two auctioneers at Market Weighton at that date, is a reminder that inns would be the places to hold auctions and public meetings as well as private meetings of turnpike trustees, enclosure award commissioners and the like. The first meeting of the York - Easingwold - Northallerton turnpike trustees appears to have been held at an Easingwold inn though by 1790 the meeting was at a Thirsk inn.¹²⁴

There is little direct evidence as to the use of the principal inns for social occasions but their size and internal arrangements indicate that, as one might expect, they were so used. The Amicable Society of Selby held their meetings in one of the two principal inns at Selby from at least 1757.¹²⁵ The races which

¹²³ Head, *Home tour*, 256; Baines, 2, 365. Until recently the brass plate of a Driffield corn merchant was still on the door of a room in the Londesborough Arms, Market Weighton. A Leeds based accountant operated from a Pocklington inn as late as late as the 1980s. Cf. J.E. Crowther and P.A. Crowther (eds.), *Diary of Robert Sharp of South Cave: Life in a Yorkshire Village 1812-37* (1997), 475, as to a Brough corn factor who regularly took a room at a South Cave inn.

¹²⁴ Chapter III, Section 3.2.2 above.

¹²⁵ WYAS, Leeds, Acc 1809 - Selby Charity School Account book and Register.

Baines notes were held at Pocklington each May would have been horse races, and would almost certainly have taken place on the racecourse beside the New Inn, which was beside the turnpike, but the three principal inns of the town as listed by Langdale, were all in the Market Place. In contrast, at Easingwold, the listed principal inns are in Long Street and linked to the coaching trade, although the George Inn in the Market Place appears to have been used for social gatherings. The brief diary of William Lockwood, written in 1796-7 when he was articled to his father, an Easingwold attorney, shows that there was social life in the town, but it also indicates the importance of York as a social centre for a wide area.¹²⁶

The activities of the innkeepers thus reflect the range of activities within the towns, for example the importance of the coaching and transport functions at Easingwold and Market Weighton. Inns were places where business could be transacted. They were a location for social functions, though their importance for that function would have reflected the range of social activities within the respective town.

The strength of medical provision in a town is one measure of a town's area of influence whilst the relative numbers, and the proportion of chemists / druggists

¹²⁶ Baines; *Topographical Dictionary of Yorkshire*, T. Langdale, (Second edition, Northallerton, 1822), 32 and 188; Kirk, *Lockwood*, 15 and passim.

TABLE 4:14
MEDICAL PROVISION 1750-1830

	Easingwold	Market Weighton	Pocklington	Selby
Parish Registers				
1750/9 & 1762/71				
Apothecaries	1	na	2	na
Surgeons	1	na	-	na
All	2	-	2	-
Medical Register 1779				
Surgeons & apothecaries	-	1	-	3
Parish Register 1777-1788				
Dealer in physic-	-	1	-	-
Chemists / druggists	1	-	-	1
Surgeons & apothecaries	-	-	2	2
Surgeons	2	1	-	-
All	3	1	3	3
Window tax 1788				
Druggists	na	na	na	2
Apothecary	na	na	na	3
All	-	-	-	5
UBD / Mountain 1795 / 1800				
Druggists	1	-	1	2
Surgeons	3	1	3	3
All	4	1	4	5
Baines 1822/3				
Druggist Grocer etc.	2	-	-	-
Chemists / druggists	-	1	3	3
Chemist / druggist / surgeon	-	-	1	-
Surgeons	3	2	6	4
All	5	3	10	7
Pigot 1830				
Druggist & Grocer	2	-	-	-
Chemists / druggists	-	3	2	4
Surgeon & druggist	-	-	2	-
Surgeon	4	3	4	3
All	6	6	8	7

Sources : Parish registers, Medical Register 1779, Selby Window Tax 1788, Universal British Directory, Mountain, Baines, Pigot 1830.

to surgeons / apothecaries, give an indication of the affluence of the community.

Table 4:14 shows the relative position in the four study towns over the period

At Selby the 1788 Window and Assessed Taxes return gives an unusually complete picture of the medical provision in the town at that time.¹²⁷ Three apothecaries and two druggists are listed, though two of the apothecaries were described as surgeon and apothecary when their respective child was baptised a few years earlier. The three apothecaries all paid shop tax and paid tax on one or more horses. One can assume that they were therefore selling drugs but were also practising active medicine, visiting and prescribing for the sick. Both the druggists paid shop tax but neither paid tax on a horse. This fits very neatly with the scenario described by Kett. Even though wealthier members of the community might have called for a physician from York, by the third quarter of the eighteenth century surgeons and apothecaries would have visited patients outside the town.¹²⁸

The position at Market Weighton throughout the period is indicative of the underlying problems of that community. Bearing in mind that in 1800 the

¹²⁷ Selby Window Tax Return 1788

¹²⁸ J. Kett, 'Provincial Medical Practice in England 1730-1815, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 19 (1964), especially 20 and 24. The three Selby apothecaries paid tax on 14, 13 and 7 windows respectively, as against 7 and 6 for the two druggists.

population of both Easingwold and Pocklington was around 1,500 whilst that of Selby was close to 3,000, it is interesting that at that date all three had three surgeons. That Selby had a second druggist may reflect that there was a segment of the population that could not afford a surgeon and would resort directly to a druggist. In 1822/3 and 1830 the directories of Baines and Pigot respectively show that at Easingwold the druggists were also grocers and tea dealers rather than specialists, pointing, perhaps, to lack of demand at that level. Yet there were three surgeons listed at Easingwold in 1823, and four in 1830, and one of them was a physician. The sharp rise in the number of surgeons at Pocklington compared with the relatively slight rise at Selby, despite the very rapid growth in the latter's population, points to an unexpected strength in the economy of Pocklington - in 1834 Pigot also listed a physician at Pocklington.

The general provision of legal services has already been considered in Chapter II. So far as the four study towns are concerned Easingwold probably had one attorney in 1780, increasing to two in about 1789 and remaining at that number until the end of the period. Pocklington's score was around three throughout the period, Selby's rose from two to six.¹²⁹ But Market Weighton is, in a sense, the most interesting town. The eighteenth century data and the nineteenth century trade directories reveal no trace of an attorney in Market Weighton before 1830. In 1790 a South Cave attorney was dealing with a Market Weighton property and

¹²⁹ Chapter II, Table 2:3.

the Clerk of the Market Weighton Canal Trustees was a Howden Attorney.

However the Law Lists record that a Hull attorney, with a practice in South Cave, was also practising in Market Weighton in 1820, and in 1830 there were two attorneys from this practice operating in Market Weighton.¹³⁰

It seems likely that the majority of the clients of attorneys in Pocklington and Easingwold were local people. Of the 87 probates and letters of administration dated between 1750 and 1830 that were held in the 1960's by Powell & Young, an old established firm of Pocklington Solicitors, 32 per cent of the testators and intestates had been living at Pocklington and a further 45 per cent within five miles of the town. Only one related to Market Weighton. This pattern of local lawyers predominately acting for a local clientele is in line with the picture that emerged from the analysis of contemporary Law Lists in Table 2:5 and ties in with the data in Table 4:6 as to market areas and with the conclusions drawn from marriage horizons.¹³¹

In 1811 the respective populations of Easingwold, Market Weighton and Pocklington were more or less the same but Table 4:16 indicates the variation in some of those who might require the services of a local lawyer. That 7.7 per cent

¹³⁰ Chapter II especially Table 2:5; *York Courant* 9 and 23 Mar 1790; *Universal British Directory*, 3, 293 – Howden.

¹³¹ ERYA DDPY/29 – Wills deposited by Powell & Young, Pocklington;

of the population at Easingwold were small freeholders, as against 2.9 per cent at Market Weighton, helps to explain the lack of an attorney at the latter town

TABLE 4:16
SOME POTENTIAL CLIENTS FOR LAWYERS' SERVICES

	Easingwold	Market Weighton	Pocklington	Selby
1807 Poll Book Voters	121	38	91	85
Baines 1822/3 Gentlemen	14	9	16	12

Sources : Poll Book 1807, Baines.

It is not suggested that the 'gentlemen' listed in Baines in the entries for these three towns were even urban gentry but the fact that they were so described suggests that they too would have need of an attorney's services. That by 1820 Selby had five or six attorneys as against two at both Easingwold and Pocklington was undoubtedly due to the much larger commercial and industrial sector at Selby.¹³²

From the writer's own experience it is only recently that the activities of a lawyer in a small town like Pocklington were restricted to work of a purely legal

¹³² *County of York: the Poll for Knights of the Shire begun on Wednesday, May 20th, and finally closed on Friday, June 5th, 1807.* (York, 1807); Baines.

nature.¹³³ Hence in the nineteenth century, and doubtless earlier, a client might refer to his lawyer as his 'man of business'. One facet of this was finance and Miles has charted the activities of West Riding attorneys in this area in the second half of the eighteenth century. Some attorneys, such as Richard Swallow of Selby, no doubt inherited or accumulated substantial financial resources of their own. He paid tax on 18 windows in 1788 but had only become a member of the Yorkshire Law Society in 1786. He became president of the Society in 1798.¹³⁴

At Easingwold it is therefore likely that it was the successive attorneys who were the major source of financial advice in the town, though William Metcalfe, a Thirsk farmer and agent of the York bank that later became known as Swann, Clough & Co., regularly attended the Easingwold fairs between 1786 and 1799.¹³⁵ At Pocklington there were other sources of venture finance available. Thus John Bell, an Apothecary and Surgeon and the son of a wealthy Pocklington cooper, was a Hull underwriter and built Devonshire Mill, a new water mill, close to the

¹³³ Cf. Taylor, 'Lockwood' - William Lockwood of Easingwold was an accomplished surveyor, but this may have been unusual.

¹³⁴ M. Miles, 'The Money market in the early industrial revolution: the evidence from West Riding Attorneys c1750-1800' *Business History*, 23, 2 (1981), 127-146; Selby Window Tax Return 1788; *Yorkshire Law Society Membership List* (1886).

¹³⁵ Dyson, *Metcalfe*.

turnpike, in 1808. Bell was on the 1801 list of those who hoped to promote the Pocklington canal, though he did not take up any shares when the canal was authorised by Parliament in 1815. Cook Taylor, a York wholesale druggist and manufacturer did take up shares. Apprenticed in York in 1796 he, like Bell, was the son of a prosperous Pocklington tradesman, in Taylor's case an innkeeper. Although nearly 34 per cent of the shares in the canal were taken up by those who lived within the town, the bankers for the canal company were a partnership based in York, Swann, Clough & Co.¹³⁶ At Selby Thomas Brown, a Selby apothecary was one of the larger subscribers to the Selby Bridge. The total subscribed was £4,500. Of that 42 per cent came from traders and professionals in Selby and a further 37 per cent from local gentry.¹³⁷ But John Foster, who subscribed £100, and had 'inherited an ample fortune' from his father, a successful Selby Merchant, and 'was successively a banker, merchant, farmer, ship builder and brewer' was more representative of those in Selby who could provide venture finance. It is likely that both he and Charles Weddall helped to fund the bridge and were

¹³⁶ Pocklington Baptism Register 7th Jan 1779; Neave, *Pocklington*, 28; Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, 150 and 415; K.J. Allison, *East Riding Water-Mills* East Yorkshire Local History Series 26, (Beverley, 1970), 29 and 47; PRO Rail 858/2-4; York City Archives, York Apprentices Register D15, 102, 6 Aug 1796; Baines, 2, 119 and 122- York; Table 3:1.

¹³⁷ NYCRO BP/SB - Selby Toll Bridge Accounts. Brown subscribed £300. There were two subscriptions of £500, two of £300, three of £200 and 23 of £100.

operating as bankers by the turn of the century; John Audus was largely responsible for the major redevelopment of the town centre after the bridge was built. That there continued to be considerable financial resources available within the town is illustrated by the fleet of schooners developed by James Audus in the late 1820s, the steamers he built to link up with the Leeds - Selby railway in the 1830s, and the £11,300 raised in Selby by shareholders in that railway - 6.4 per cent of the total capital. In 1822 Baines records a bank at Selby - one that appears to have been operating there since 1809, but it was not until 1834 that one is shown at Pocklington. In that year there was also a banker's agent listed at Easingwold. But as late as 1851, there was only a banker's agent in Market Weighton.¹³⁸

Looking at the service and professional sectors one appreciates that these towns had a variety of functions. Thus, though Easingwold may have had a relatively weak commercial sector, heavily dependent on the coaching trade, the medical and legal facilities available in the town suggest the presence of an 'up market' clientele for those services, in line with the relatively high percentage of adult

¹³⁸ See Chapter III, Section 3.2.8. W.C.E. Hartley, *Banking in Yorkshire* (Clapham, 1975); Baines; Pigot 1830; Pigot 1834. Hartley dates Foster's banking activities from c1811 to 1814 but see Selby Vestry Book, 18 Apr 1805 and 1807 Poll Book.

men who were professionals or of independent means in the 1831 census.¹³⁹

Pocklington's strong, but localised, commercial sector is mirrored in its legal, medical and financial sectors. Apart from a relatively short commercial window, Market Weighton, heavily dependent on the coaching trade, seems to have been in difficulties on all fronts. Selby is clearly in a different league to the other three towns. The legal and financial services available reflect the wide commercial interests of the town, though why the medical facilities are not on a par with those services must be a subject for further enquiry.

4.7 Industries

Selby had long established industrial activities - ships built at Selby are recorded in the fifteenth century, and Pocklington had a variety of industries processing agricultural products in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁴⁰ Easingwold and Market Weighton are less well documented but the former was involved in the flourishing linen industry from the seventeenth century.¹⁴¹ There is therefore every reason to suppose that in the 1750s all the towns had some industrial activities. Comments on the absence of 'manufactures' in the North and East Ridings at the end of the eighteenth century record the undoubted dominance of

¹³⁹ Appendix Six.

¹⁴⁰ Duckham, *Yorkshire Ouse*, 34; Dobson, *Selby*, 18; Neave, *Pocklington*, 5.

¹⁴¹ Hastings, *Essays* (1981), 33-4.

agriculture in those parts of the county but they also reflect the contemporary view as to what constituted manufacturing. Within all four towns products were manufactured for local use within their respective market areas but these were unlikely to further the prosperity of the town beyond a limited horizon, nor to increase the level of real income per head of population. What one is trying to isolate are the activities that gave added value to local products and were produced, by and large, for consumers who were living outside the immediate market area of the respective town.¹⁴²

In 1750 all the towns, other than Selby, were disadvantaged by a lack of fuel. There was coal of sorts between Easingwold and Thirsk, but the limited information referring to it reflects its marginal impact on Easingwold.¹⁴³ In the East Riding the shortage of fuel away from navigable water is illustrated by the hardships of the poor in the years after enclosure at Pocklington.¹⁴⁴ But one must not overstate the effects of lack of fuel, since:-

'... for the first four decades of the nineteenth century the water-wheel

¹⁴² Ibid., 26: Strickland, *General view of the Agriculture of the East Riding*, 282.

As to 'manufactures' in 1831 see Appendix Six.

¹⁴³ Cowling, *Easingwold*, 90.

¹⁴⁴ Neave, *Pocklington*, 22 - referring to ERYA QSF Easter 1793 B/4.

continued to provide the major share of industrial power.¹⁴⁵

In this respect Pocklington was particularly fortunate. Before 1800 there were at least three, and probably four, water mills in the parish, excluding those upstream at Ousethorpe and Millington and downstream at Bielby. In 1808 a further mill was built downstream of the town. There may also have been a windmill, though by 1823 it was remembered only by the name of a public house in Chapmangate.¹⁴⁶ At Easingwold there was a windmill in the eighteenth century and millers are recorded in the nineteenth century trade directories - any water mill would have been handicapped by the lack of a fast flowing stream, but a corn mill was advertised for sale in 1791.¹⁴⁷ At Market Weighton a windmill operated during the early nineteenth century alongside one, or perhaps two, water mills though no water mills existed by 1850. Nevertheless the impact of cheap waterborne coal was dramatic and is neatly illustrated by the appearance of a coal merchant at Market Weighton shortly after the canal was completed, rising to four by 1823.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Cardwell, *Technology*, 12.

¹⁴⁶ Allison, *East Riding Water-Mills*, 26-7 and 47; R. Gregory, 'Windmills and watermills' in Neave and Ellis, *Atlas of East Yorkshire*, 78-9; Baines.

¹⁴⁷ Cowling, *Easingwold*, 80; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 19 Apr 1791;

¹⁴⁸ Market Weighton Baptism Register, 20 Dec 1784, *Universal British Directory*;

In the eighteenth century, and indeed in the early years of the nineteenth century, much of the industrial production in Yorkshire was rural based. In the North Riding there was a long standing tradition of domestically produced textiles, and linen manufacturing was firmly established in the areas to the east of Easingwold by the mid seventeenth century. This continued until some years after 1830 - two 'Linen Manufacturers' are listed by Pigot in 1834. But these men would have been employing domestic outworkers rather than operating a mill.¹⁴⁹ Lack of water power must have inhibited the development of the industry in Easingwold. Hastings, whilst charting the general decline throughout the North Riding, mentions that it was where water power was available that the linen industry survived longest.¹⁵⁰ This decline also affected linen manufacturing in Selby. The evidence of any significant early manufacturing is tenuous but there were three linen manufactures listed in 1822. By 1830 only two were shown, and none in 1834. In contrast rope making continued in all the four towns - three rope and twine makers are listed at Easingwold in 1830, four at Market Weighton, seven at Selby but only one at Pocklington. The Neaves mention Hull as a potential market

Baines.

¹⁴⁹ Pigot, 1834. 'Mill' is used in the West Riding sense of a manufacturing complex, usually with a central power source - initially a water wheel.

¹⁵⁰ Hastings, *Essays* (1981), 33-8.

for East Riding ropes, though they suggest that 'the farming community probably remained the principal customer'. In general this may be so, but that there was only one at Driffield in 1830, and sixteen listed at Hull, suggests that the Market Weighton ropers had a market beyond the agricultural community and that the Easingwold ropers also had a wider market.¹⁵¹

Writing in 1812, Strickland said: -

'... some tanners and curriers are established in different parts of the [East] Riding but not more than are necessary to prepare the skins produced in their respective neighbourhood, as little bark is produced in the Riding ...'¹⁵²

This may indeed have been so at that date since it is likely that there was then only one tanner trading at Easingwold, Market Weighton and Pocklington respectively and only two at Selby. But three Pocklington tanners were awarded land in the enclosure award of 1759, Market Weighton probably had three in the 1780s, the *Universal British Directory* lists four at Easingwold, and it is likely there were at least five at Selby in 1788. The Neaves remark that hides and skins, oak bark and a plentiful supply of water were needed for tanning. However an

¹⁵¹ Parish Registers ; Selby Window Tax Return 1788; *Universal British Directory*; Baines; Pigot 1830; Pigot 1834; D. Neave and S. Neave, 'Brewing and malting, ropemaking, textiles and tanning' in Neave and Ellis, *Atlas of East Yorkshire*, 80-1.

¹⁵² Strickland, *General view of the Agriculture of the East Riding*, 283.

available market is also essential. If, as Strickland mentioned, the available market was only a local one, there was little scope for large production. But in the latter part of the eighteenth century the operations of the Pocklington butchers produced a plentiful supply of hides and many of the Selby hides could have been back carriage from Leeds or London.¹⁵³

At Easingwold the saddlers, bridle cutters and saddletree makers are a reminder that the Thirsk area was noted for leather and saddlery goods¹⁵⁴ and at both Easingwold and Market Weighton the number of shoemakers in the late eighteenth century suggests that some of the goods produced were for customers outside the immediate catchment area of the town. It seems possible that in 1788 Selby had one, or perhaps two manufacturing units selling wholesale rather than retail, and making, perhaps, pre-cut soles or tops rather than ready made shoes. Because of the range of occupations in the clothing and footwear group at Pocklington - breeches maker, glover, staymaker, patten maker and tailor as well as shoemaker - it seems likely that they were producing for local sale, thus pointing to the continued strength of Pocklington's local market function. The number of shoe makers appears to have fallen sharply between 1790 and 1831 at

¹⁵³ *Pocklington Enclosure Award*; ; *Universal British Directory*; Baines; Selby Window Tax Return 1788; Neave and Neave, 'Brewing and malting, ropemaking, textiles and tanning', 80;

¹⁵⁴ Whellan, *North Riding*, 152.

Easingwold and Market Weighton, more gently at Selby and to have risen at Pocklington. A likely explanation is that manufacture of shoes for sale elsewhere declined and that at Selby and Pocklington there were increased sales within the towns.¹⁵⁵

All the mills in the four towns appear to have been principally engaged in the grinding of grain. This is understandable at Selby, Easingwold, and perhaps Market Weighton, since in each of those towns there were only one or two mills and a limited water supply. That this was also so at Pocklington where, after 1808 there were five mills within the township, and several more close by, suggests that there was a considerable demand for mills to perform this function, and little or no demand for power for other purposes. Quite apart from the obligation to grind corn at the soke mill, an obligation that still survived at Selby into the nineteenth century,¹⁵⁶ the limited capacity of the mills, other than at Pocklington, must have meant that the products of the mills were for purely local use. But at Pocklington this was certainly not the case and the construction of Devonshire Mill in 1808,

¹⁵⁵ Selby Window Tax Return 1788; The *Universal British Directory* lists 20 shoemakers at Easingwold, 15 at Market Weighton but only 5 at Pocklington. Cf. Beverley in 1774 where 67 shoemakers 'supplied more than the immediate needs of the inhabitants'. Neave, 'Beverley 1700 - 1835', 116.

¹⁵⁶ Morrell, *Selby*, 281-2.

before the Pocklington canal was built, is indicative of an available market. The plaintive letter from William Weddall to the Dean of York's representative in 1813 must be read in context. Weddall was anxious to prevent an increase in rent and was therefore endeavouring to put forward as many negative factors as possible. Thus his suggestion that his two tenants 'depend upon Country Custom such as Grinding for farmers' indicates that these corn mills had a widespread clientele in nearby rural areas, but suggests that there was also a more profitable market that Weddall's tenants could not currently tap, perhaps York, but may be further afield.¹⁵⁷

In this context, the action taken by John Weddall, probably William's father, in 1792 is very interesting. He advertised a corn mill at Pocklington as 'well situated for the cotton or woollen manufactory. In the event he appears to have gone into partnership with others and in 1796 it was said to be a worsted mill at which wool was probably combed and spun by machinery. The venture appears to have been short-lived - there is no mention of Weddall's partners in the *Universal British Directory* though it is possible that Pocklington's entry predates the start of the venture, and William Weddall's letter in 1813 shows that by that date the mill was

¹⁵⁷ Borthwick, CCDY9 Doc 2 – Weddall to Mills 19 Jun 1813.

again a corn mill.¹⁵⁸ There was also a cotton mill at Easingwold in use by 1800 and gone by 1823, perhaps the corn mill advertised in 1791 as being one that could be 'easily converted into the spinning of cotton etc.', but as Hastings comments, it had little hope of success.¹⁵⁹

Beer had been brewed in these market towns long before 1750. By then the independent brewer was emerging, one who brewed beer for sale to inns rather than to the general public. More common still was the maltster who was providing the essential raw material for the brewer, whether for the common brewer, for an inn, or for a private house. Some larger breweries attained national coverage by the 1830s. None of the breweries in these towns achieved that status, Pocklington might be supplying beer to Everingham, some seven miles away, in 1735 but this was probably the limit of the normal area.¹⁶⁰ However within the towns the common brewer was tending to provide beer for the local inns. At Selby the

¹⁵⁸ *York Herald*, 30 Jun 1792, *Leeds Intelligencer*, 25 Jun 1792, 11 Jul 1796, 4 Sep 1796 and 19 Dec 1796. From the advertisements in 1792 and the letter of 1813 it is clear that both refer to Pocklington Low (later White) Mill - National Grid reference 799483. See Allison, *East Riding Water-Mills*, 47.

¹⁵⁹ Hastings, *Essays* (1981), 33; J. Tuke, *A General view of the Agriculture of the North Riding* (1794), 23; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 19 Apr 1791.

¹⁶⁰ University of Hull Archives DDEV/60/86 ff 69-70 Potts to Constable 5 Jul 1735, referred to in Roebuck, 'Constables of Everingham Correspondence', 83.

Hawdon inventories of 1763 and 1776, to which reference have already been made, suggest that although the cellars of that inn were better stocked at the latter date, the value of the equipment in the brew house had fallen by some 35 per cent.¹⁶¹ In 1788 only one brewer was listed at Selby, Masterman, who was paying tax on three buildings with a total of 27 windows and a £25 assessment for the Inhabited Houses tax. It could be that he was supplying beer to many of the Selby inns and taverns, and perhaps further afield - he paid tax on two carts and at least one wagon. In 1789 Masterman's properties were empty, it is likely that it was in that year that he went bankrupt. But in 1803, Coulman, who seems to have taken over Masterman's business - he was described as a brewer in 1800 by Mountain - acted as surety for 25 out of the 35 Selby licensees.¹⁶² This apparent trend away from brewing in the individual inns and public houses follows the pattern in larger provincial centres. It is not easy to confirm this trend, but in Pocklington in 1824 Collinson, the principal local brewer, owned three of the fifteen Pocklington inns listed by Baines a year earlier. By 1830 three of the four towns had only one brewer listed - the exception was Selby with perhaps three. This may however

¹⁶¹ Selby Peculiar Wills and Inventories - Thomas Hawdon, 1763, Ann Hawdon, 1776.

¹⁶² Selby Window Tax Return 1788, see Appendix Two as to the way in which wagons were taxed; *York Courant*, 16 Feb 1790 - dividend on bankrupt estate of George Masterman, brewer & Chapman; Mountain, *Selby*, Directory; WYAS, Wakefield QE 32 – Selby Ale House licences.

reflect the increase in their size. In 1823 the only brewer listed at Easingwold was John Rocliffe & Co, common brewers and the occupation of Christopher Cattle was listed as 'Clerk at the Brewery'.¹⁶³

Like brewing, brick making was a small scale industrial activity undertaken almost exclusively for the benefit of the immediate neighbourhood of the four towns. As Peter and Ann Los have pointed out in their note on brick and tile making in East Yorkshire, 'the early brickyards were very simple with little equipment, and the brick maker may well have had a second occupation, most likely that of farmer or builder'. That the operation of a brickyard was undertaken in an annual cycle made this almost inevitable. Only in Easingwold were brick makers per se regularly recorded between 1793 and 1830. At Pocklington, where the Loses consider there was a brickyard throughout the period, bricklayers are noted but not brick makers. Once water transport was readily available, those operating in the Newport complex, near the junction of the Market Weighton canal and the Humber, would have tended to undercut the costs of local brick makers - and probably produced a better product. That the Easingwold brickworks continued as a full scale operation may well be because high transport costs protected the market for its products until the railway arrived. Potters are mentioned at Easingwold, Pocklington and Selby in the eighteenth century but

¹⁶³ Clark, *The English Ale House*, 264; J. Ayer, *Survey of Pocklington*, (Pocklington, 1824); Baines; Pigot 1830.

none are listed in the trade directories. Again these must have been very local operations. Perhaps it is significant that it is at Easingwold that Cowling noted the existence of a local potter who sold his products in the Easingwold market from 1795 and was alive, aged 78, in 1839.¹⁶⁴

Cowling's cryptic comment as to 'A famous Easingwold business' which culminated in the exhibition of butcher's and house steels at the Great Exhibition of 1851, is frustrating in that it gives little indication as to how this business came to prominence. The father and father in law of William Barker, white smith, whose children were baptised at Easingwold after 1780, were a farmer and a carpenter respectively and came from villages on the North Yorkshire Moors. William Barker, white smith, appears in the *Universal British Directory*, but in 1823 the entry in Baines is for William Barker, steel maker. After 1851 the business was supplying butchers and household steels on a national basis. In 1859 Whellan says the town has long been noted for the manufacture of steels but the directories suggest that only a single firm was involved. Certainly the Barker family took advantage of Easingwold's good communications which were well suited for a light, high value, product, and their business appears to have prospered. But, despite Whellan's comments, the trade does not appear to have

¹⁶⁴ P.G. Los and W.A. Los, 'Brick and tile making' in Neave and Ellis, *Atlas of East Yorkshire*, 82-3; Parish Registers; *Universal British Directory*; Mountain, *Selby*, Directory; Baines; Pigot 1830; Cowling, *Easingwold*, 99.

developed beyond the one firm and remained, in effect, a curiosity.¹⁶⁵ Neither Pocklington nor Market Weighton had any specialised product akin to Easingwold's steels and Selby's specialisation was of a very different character.

In 1800 Mountain commented on the mass of shipping going to and from Selby, on the 'not inconsiderable' manufacture of sail cloth, the cast iron foundry and the ship yard. Mountain, who was probably himself the son of a mariner, had a very acute feel for the pulse of Selby. Rightly, he deduced that it was the maritime activities of Selby that were the key to the town's prosperity.¹⁶⁶ Those occupations are echoed in the Selby Window Tax Return of 1788, twelve years earlier. The one occupation that Mountain does not mention is that of John Audus, described as a block maker in 1788, and as a Mast and Block maker in Mountain's directory of 1800. In contrast Morrell in 1867 is effusive as to the benefits that John Audus has bestowed upon the town and from what he says one must deduce that the commercial activities of John Audus had been highly profitable - he died in 1809. Sadly there is no record of how he amassed the considerable fortune that he passed down to his son.¹⁶⁷ One clue may lie in the career of Marc Brunel, the

¹⁶⁵ Cowling, *Easingwold*, 117; Easingwold Baptism register – baptism of Mary Barker, 13 Dec 1780; *Universal British Directory*; Baines, 2, 436; Pigot 1834, 218; Whellan, *North Riding* 606.

¹⁶⁶ Mountain, *Selby*, 161. Cf. the conclusion of Chapter IV, Section 4.5 above.

¹⁶⁷ Morrell, *Selby*, 254.

father of the distinguished Victorian engineer, Isobard Kingdom Brunel, who was responsible for the mechanisation of the production of blocks at the Royal Naval dockyards.¹⁶⁸ It is possible that, like Marc Brunel, John Audus had been able to mechanise the production of this vital component.

By 1823 a ship rigger is listed, two anchor smiths and two sail makers. But only one ship builder was specifically mentioned - the emphasise was now on boat builders. After 1830 occupations diversified; there were two iron and brass foundries; a rope and twine manufacture is manufactured sack cloth; Proctors, the hecklers, were also manufacturing shoe thread, but the essentially maritime nature of Selby industry remained unchanged. However, in 1867 Morrell, still close to the scene, yet no longer personally involved, appreciated that when traffic began to pass through Goole after 1826, 'the traffic of the navigation, excepting such as was intended for Selby and places to the north, was diverted to the new route, to the serious loss of Selby'. By 1867 one of the graving docks was disused and the decline in the transit traffic had indirectly affected other maritime and non-maritime activities at Selby.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ L. Stephens, *Dictionary of National Biography*, 7 (1886), 144-7.

¹⁶⁹ Baines; Pigot 1830; Morrell, *Selby*, 175 and 281.

4.8 Conclusions

As one would expect all the towns functioned as local market towns with weekly markets. For Selby, the Window and Assessed Taxes Return of 1788 gives an interesting insight as to the number of shops in Selby at that date, and it is clear from the return that there were many smaller shops that were not assessed for shop tax. The data considered above, especially that set out in table 4.3 suggests that this was also true of the other three towns and it seems likely that both Mitchell and Alexander may have underestimated the extent of these smaller shops, at that time, especially in small towns.

In a sense it is simplistic to speak of the market areas of the four towns though each had a retail market serving the town and the local area. That area varied through time for various reasons. The extent of such areas has, in the past, been assessed by reference to the activities of carriers to and from the respective town, but it is clear that one has to exercise considerable caution when doing this.

All the towns were affected by the activities of long distance carriers. But the way each town interacted differed sharply. The economic health of Easingwold and Market Weighton depended on them, and both towns declined when traffic went elsewhere. Pocklington's economy was facilitated by improved transport but was not dependent on servicing the long distance carriers. Selby provided transport services and profited greatly from so doing.

When considering the provision of legal services in Chapter II, Section 2.2, it was suggested that this was a useful guide to the standing of a town. From the detailed consideration of the extent of profession services in the four towns it is clear that this was indeed so. The absence of a lawyer at Market Weighton throughout the period was a clear indication of the weakness of the town. But the relatively high provision of legal and medical services at Easingwold suggests that despite the weakness of the town's economy there was a significant demand for those services. Once again, the detailed information in the Selby Widow Tax Return of 1788 enables one to look more closely at the situation in Selby in the late eighteenth century. Whilst the strength of medical provision in a town is one measure of a town's area of influence, the relative numbers, and the proportion of chemists / druggists to surgeons / apothecaries, gives an indication of the affluence of the community.

The reasons for the development of industry within any given town are often complex. Site, communications, availability of raw materials, access to markets are all relevant. The presence or absence of an entrepreneurial group within the town determined to further their interests, and those of the town, is also very pertinent. With hindsight any industrial activity at Easingwold was fated to wither once the long distance traffic through the town ceased. The town would have to rely on its limited potential as a small market town. One might have anticipated a similar fate for Market Weighton, but in fact it became a minor railway junction and, perhaps as a result, had a substantial brewing and malting

function in the later nineteenth century. Pocklington is less straight forward. The local geology meant that the mills were well supplied with water and they were conveniently placed to use the York to Beverley turnpike. But without good access by water, industrial growth was always unlikely. Had a canal been built southwards to Howdendyke in the 1790s rather than westwards to the Derwent in 1818, John Weddall's venture might have been the precursor of further industrial development. In the event, the products of Pocklington's craftsmen were bound to suffer from the competition of true industrial products, though at Pocklington, as at Market Weighton, local breweries prospered, assisted in due course by adequate rail communications. And when Pocklington had to rely on its potential as a market town, its situation, and perhaps the drive of some of its inhabitants, meant that it retained its local ranking in a way that Easingwold and Market Weighton did not. Only Selby had real potential for industrial and commercial development. Quite why Selby later suffered relative decline after 1830 is beyond the scope of this thesis. Certainly its days as the port for Leeds were already numbered but it was soon to be on the Hull to Leeds railway line. Perhaps, by the 1850s, the fire had gone out of the entrepreneurial group that had contributed so much to Selby's prosperity.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Dobson, *Selby*, 29.

CHAPTER V Demographic Profile

5.0 Introduction

Since the publication of Wrigley and Schofield's *The Population History of England, 1541-1871* in 1981¹ the broad picture of the increase in the population of England since 1700 has not been in dispute. During the second half of the previous century the population had fallen slightly. From 1700 to about 1770 there was a modest annual increase, a little under 0.4 per cent per annum. In the 1770s the rate of growth rose sharply to around 0.9 per cent per annum and continued to increase until it peaked at around 1.6 per cent per annum in the 1830s. By that time the rapid increase in population and the broad nature of that growth was apparent to contemporary writers. 'Only Cobbett thereafter possessed the self confident obtuseness to deny the obvious, writing in 1822, after three censuses had been taken, that "I am quite convinced that the population, upon the whole, has not increased, in England, one single soul since I was born ..." (he was then 56 years old)'. That comment was quoted by Wrigley in an article written in 1983, in which he appeared confident that the immediate cause of that growth was the fall in the age at marriage and in the reduction in the proportion of women who never married.² The debate as to the reasons for that leap forward still

¹ E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871* (Paperback edition, Cambridge, 1989).

² E.A. Wrigley, 'The Growth of Population in Eighteenth Century England: A conundrum resolved', *Past and Present*, 98 (1983), 127 and 131. But see also D.R. Weir, 'Rather never than late: celibacy and age at marriage in English cohort fertility 1541-1871', *Journal of Family History*, 9 (1984), 340-54 and R.S.

continues, assisted by the publication of *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837* by Wrigley et al in 1997.³ In particular Levine's trenchant contribution in 1998⁴ has highlighted the limitations of the data available to the Cambridge Group and the methods employed by them. He has also raised serious questions regarding the quality of the data used in *English Population History* in the crucial period after 1770.

Whilst Wrigley's opinion is that mobile families displayed much the same characteristics as immobile families, for some demographers a potential flaw in the work of the Cambridge Group is that migrants are under represented in the reconstitutions upon which their work is founded, so that Wrigley's assertion is still unproven.⁵

Schofield, 'English marriage patterns revisited', *Journal of Family History*, 10 (1985), 2-20.

³ Wrigley et al, *English Population History*.

⁴ Levine, 'Sampling history: the English population'.

⁵ For the Cambridge Group view see, for example, E.A. Wrigley, 'How reliable is our knowledge of the demographic characteristics of the English population in the early modern period?', *Historical Journal*, 40, 3 (1997), 571-595. As to contrary views, see, for example, S. King, 'Mobility, integration and occupation in the West Riding 1650-1820', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 23,1 (1997), 284-303. and P. Razzell, 'The Conundrum of Eighteenth Century Population Growth', *Social History of Medicine*, 11, 3 (1998), 469-500.

Migration between communities is always important, but it could be, as Wrigley and others suggest, that it is not of significance when considering at the broad demographic picture before, say, 1750. However, in the crucial years between 1770 and 1830 it may well be of greater significance. This is especially the case when one considers areas that were expanding rapidly in this period, in particular Lancashire and the industrial West Riding. These were areas that were engines of growth for the country as a whole and thus the data that is discussed below, especially the data for Selby, has interesting implications.

5.1 The Demographic Character of the Towns

Clark has considered the regional trends in small town growth between c1670 and 1811 and points out that it was significantly higher in Yorkshire (0.96 per cent per annum) than elsewhere, though the West Midlands were not far behind (0.88 per cent per annum). After 1811 many small towns, in Yorkshire as elsewhere, had either become larger towns or had declined into obscurity. Including such towns, the growth rate between 1811 and 1851 was 1.61 per cent per annum in both Yorkshire and the West Midlands but excluding them, the remaining small towns in both areas had a much lower rate of growth.⁶

Table 2:1 in Chapter II considered the population of the study towns in relation to

⁶ Clark P., 'Small towns in England 1550-1850: national and regional population trends' in Clark, *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe*, 94-108.

that of England as a whole. Table 5:1 focuses on the natural increase in the populations of Selby, Easingwold and Pocklington. Unfortunately Easingwold's parish register is suspect after 1810, so that no reliable figures for natural growth or net migration are available after that date. Nor was it possible to produce comparable figures for natural increase at Market Weighton, not least because the parish covers a wide area outside the town and by 1831 over 40 per cent of the adult male inhabitants were said to be involved in agriculture.

TABLE 5:1
ACTUAL & NATURAL POPULATION CHANGE

	Easingwold			Net Immigr	Pocklington			Net Immigr	Selby			Eng Popn Incr
	Popn	Increase Actual	Natrl		Popn	Increase Actual	Natrl		Popn	Increase Actual	Natrl	
1743	1,020				943				1,280			
1801	1,467	447	479	-32	1,502	559	369	190	2,861	1581	724	857
1811	1,576	109	140	-31	1,539	37	220	-183	3,363	502	424	78
1821	1,912	336			1,962	423	205	218	4,097	734	527	207
1831	1,922	10			2,048	86	289	-203	4,600	503	601	-98
1801-31		455				546	714	-168		1739	1552	187

Percentage annual increase

	Easingwold			Net Immigr	Pocklington			Net Immigr	Selby			Eng
	Actual	Natrl	Immigr		Actual	Natrl	Immigr		Actual	Natrl	Immigr	
1743-1800	0.6	0.7	-0.1		0.8	0.6	0.4		1.4	0.8	1.4	0.8
1801-10	0.7	0.8	-0.2		0.2	1.3	-1.2		1.5	1.3	0.3	1.2
1811-21	1.8				2.2	1.1	1.4		1.8	1.3	0.6	1.4
1821-31	0.0				0.4	1.3	-1.0		1.1	1.3	0.3	1.3
1801-31	0.8				1.1	1.3	0.4		1.5	1.4	0.2	1.4

Source : Table 2:1 and Parish registers

Table 5:1 summarises the demographic history of the three towns from circa 1750 to 1831, using data from the Herring Visitation,⁷ the national censuses and the Anglican parish registers.

⁷ Ollard and Walker, *Herring*.

When considering growth in the 50 years before 1800, one must bear in mind the inherent weakness of the 1743 population figures, though the precise figure for Pocklington, given by a resident clergyman, appears unusually reliable.⁸ But one can be confident that up to 1801 both Easingwold and Pocklington had a natural growth slightly below the general growth rate for England as a whole, and that Selby's must have been close to the national figure. There was substantial net in migration to Selby, somewhat less to Pocklington, and little or none to Easingwold. Market Weighton must have had a rate of net in migration at least as high as Selby and probably higher. One should stress that this was net in migration. In the 1780s only 34 per cent of the paternal grandfathers of children baptised at Selby were, or had been, resident in Selby. At Easingwold the percentage was 37 per cent, at Pocklington 39 per cent. Yasumoto's figure for the West Riding village of Methley between 1780 and 1830 was 37.6 per cent, but this was skewed by immigrant coal miners entering the parish after the 1790s. Holderness's figure for a selection of Vale of York parishes (including Easingwold) between 1777 and 1812 was 42.8 per cent.⁹

⁸ *Ibid.*, 75, 11. Cf. Holtby, 'Herring', 11.

⁹ M. Yasumoto, 'Industrialisation and demographic change in a Yorkshire parish', *Local Population Studies*, 27 (1981), 19, Table 8; Holderness, 'Personal mobility', 444-54. The relative frequency of surnames in the late seventeenth century hearth tax returns for the four towns suggests substantial in-migration at that time at Selby and Pocklington and much less at Easingwold and Market Weighton.

Between 1800 and 1830 the situation is more complex. Table 5:1 suggests that Selby's sharp increase in population was, at least in the first decade, driven by an above average birth rate. This may have been due to in-migration of younger married, or soon to be married, couples, or to couples marrying earlier than was usual elsewhere. Net in-migration was not a significant factor. Pocklington's birth rate appears to have been somewhat below the national average. Overall there was little or no net migration into Pocklington but there was a net outflow in the first decade of the nineteenth century, with a somewhat larger in-migration in the next decade. At Easingwold, judging by entries in the parish register up to 1810, the birth rate was below that for Pocklington, and substantially below that for Selby. Although there was probably some in migration in the 1810s, there must have been significant net migration from the town in the 1820's. Despite the absence of figures for natural growth at Market Weighton there is no doubt that there was substantial in migration in the first decade of the nineteenth century followed by progressively higher out migration thereafter.

During the period from 1777 to 1788, for which a full analysis of the parish registers of the three towns has been undertaken, it is possible to go behind the net figures and get an impression of the true rate of in and out migration and the differences between occupational groups. At Selby and Easingwold, nearly 60 per cent of the couples married in the towns did not have children baptised there - at Pocklington it was 75 per cent, suggesting substantial out migration. But on the

other hand at Selby and Pocklington 64 per cent of the parents of baptised children had not been married in the respective town. In contrast, at Easingwold the figure was 50 per cent, suggesting a lower level of in migration of married couples. As to occupation groups, two stand out. At Selby and Easingwold nearly 80 per cent of the shoemakers appear to have married in the town and then stayed there whilst, in contrast, at Selby nearly all of the ship carpenters and shipbuilders who are recorded in the town between these dates had moved into the town after they had married. The shoemakers were clearly some of the core families identified by Hey.¹⁰

5.2 Marriage, Fertility and Mortality

It was once assumed that it was a fall in mortality that resulted in the rapid rise in the population of England during, and after, the second half of the eighteenth century. This was the view of Razzell as late as 1993. That simplistic view is no longer tenable and it has been realised that this rise was due to a complex interaction between a fall in the age of marriage, a rising birth rate, falling death rates and a general improvement in economic circumstances.¹¹ The precise details are still very much in dispute but the experience of England as a whole

¹⁰ D. Hey 'The Local History of Family Names', published as a supplement to *The Local Historian*, 27, 4 (1997).

¹¹ P. Razzell, 'The Growth of population in Eighteenth Century England: a critical reappraisal', *Journal of Economic History*, 53 (1993), 743-771; Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, 198.

between 1750 and 1830 was that the overall death rate was more or less stable, though starting to fall towards the end of the period. In contrast the birth rate rose steadily throughout the period.

Wrigley has commented on the artificiality of the traditional separation of the study of demography between fertility, mortality and nuptiality.¹² All three are in fact closely inter linked. The fall in the age at first marriage, especially after 1750, was a key feature of the increase in the English population. Indeed, in 1983 Wrigley was prepared to give it pride of place.¹³ From average ages of 26.9 for men and 25.5 for women in the decade 1730-9, the national figures had fallen to 25.6 and 24.1 respectively by 1775-99, slightly lower in the 'manufacturing' parishes. However these figures are based on no more than 26 parishes and of these only Birstall could be described as a Yorkshire manufacturing parish.¹⁴ For 1750-99 the average age in that parish is 25.1 for men and 23.2 for women - almost the lowest of the 26 parishes. Further, these figures are calculated from family reconstitutions and do not therefore cover migrants.¹⁵

¹² E.A. Wrigley, 'Explaining the rise in marital fertility in the 'long' eighteenth century' *Economic History Review*, 51, 3 (1998), 460.

¹³ Wrigley, 'Growth of Population in Eighteenth Century England'.

¹⁴ The data in *English Population History* excludes Birstall after 1800. *English Population History*, 133.

¹⁵ Cf. Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, 149 and 160-4.

Selby parish register is one of the limited number of Dade registers that shows age at marriage - from 1777 to 1812. Table 5:2 details marriages from the introduction of Dade registers in 1777 to the end of 1799.

TABLE 5:2
MARRIAGES AT SELBY
June 1777 to December 1799

Status	Number	%
Bachelor and spinster	306	75.0
Bachelor and widow	29	7.1
Widower and spinster	45	11.0
Widower and widow	28	6.9
All marriages where age & description given	408	100
Age and description of both parties not given	29	
All marriages	437	

Source: Selby Parish Register

Table 5:2 discloses a considerably lower percentage of first marriages than that found by the authors of *English Population History*, but that is to be expected in that the marriages they had available for analysis came from family reconstitutions.¹⁶ Table 5:3 gives the mean age at marriage for the four marriage rank combinations. The average ages for the 306 men and women who were both marrying for the first time were 25.0 and 23.2 respectively - very close to the

¹⁶ Ibid., 148-160, especially 149, Table 5.7.

Birstall figures.¹⁷ For widowers who married spinsters, the average ages were close to the national figures for that period. The mean ages for the other two combinations both show significant differences from the English figures but the relatively small numbers of events, both at Selby and in the results of the family reconstitutions, preclude any close analysis.

TABLE 5:3
MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE

	Selby 1777-1799		England 1775-1799	
	Man	Woman	Man	Woman
Bachelor and spinster	25.0	23.2	25.6	24.1
Bachelor and widow	30.1	32.8	31.3	34.5
Widower and spinster	38.7	29.3	39.5	28.8
Widower and widow	47.0	44.0	46.3	40.3

Source: Selby Parish Register and Wrigley et al, *English Population History*.¹⁸

The Selby figure for first marriages was skewed by the town's maritime population. Of the 306 marriages, 96 were of men who were sailors, watermen or pursuing similar maritime occupations. Their average age was 23.9 years and that of their brides 21.9 years. This is very close to the pattern found by Yasumoto at Methley with regard to the coal miners who moved into that parish after the

¹⁷ Ibid., 184-5, Table 5.18.

¹⁸ Wrigley et al, *English Population History*. 149, Table 5.7. But see Levine, 'Sampling history: the English population', 614-6.

1790s. They, and their brides, married, on average, at much the same age as the Selby mariners, in contrast to the rest of the largely agricultural community of that parish who married at ages more in line with the national pattern.¹⁹ If, as is likely, both groups enjoyed above average income in their early 20s, this suggests that age at marriage of both sexes was often related to the man's current income. Thus one can deduce that an important factor in the falling age at marriage was the increasing prosperity of the lower orders of society.²⁰

Further confirmation of this can be found by considering the marriages at Selby in 1783 and 1784 and the dates of birth of the first children of those marriages. The trade of the West Riding had suffered during the American War of Independence and it was only after it was ended by the Treaty of Versailles in January 1783 that traffic gradually began to come through Selby. There were only eight marriages in Selby in 1783, and none before 28th April 1783. In 1784 there were 24. Of these 32 marriages, 22 can be confidently linked to a first born child of the marriage. Between 1777 and 1788 between 25 and 30 per cent of all children of Selby marriages appear to have been conceived before marriage,²¹ but

¹⁹ Yasumoto, 'Industrialisation and demographic change', 13 and 20.

²⁰ This appears to be the conclusion of the authors of *English Population History*. *English Population History* 549. But see Levine, 'Sampling history: the English population', 607.

²¹ Levine suggests that nationally the figure was then 40 per cent. *Ibid.*, 624

this was the case in only two of the linked births in 1783 and 1784, giving a figure of perhaps 10 per cent. It would seem likely that the parties had only decided to marry when there was unexpected prosperity, hence the departure from the common pattern of a planned marriage preceded by the conception of the first child.

In this context it is interesting to consider the difference in the percentage of illegitimate births during the period 1777 to 1788 - 6.2 per cent of all births at Easingwold, 4.2 per cent at Market Weighton but 3.1 per cent at both Selby and Pocklington. This at a time when the national figure was around 6 per cent. Laslett noted that the rate of illegitimacy went up in the late eighteenth century, at a time when the age at marriage fell but it could be that this was, in fact, coincidental. One suspects that the willingness or otherwise of the putative father to marry the mother of the child in question was linked to economic circumstances. Thus the low rate of illegitimacy at Selby and Pocklington could reflect the general prosperity in those towns, though it must be said that it could also reflect a determination on the part of those responsible for administering poor law relief that pregnant unmarried mothers should be moved from the parish before their children were born.²²

The authors of *English Population History* comment that the English

²² Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, 219; P. Laslett, *The World we have lost - further explored* (Third edition, 1983), 158-161.

reconstitution material yields no direct information as to the changes in the proportion of men and women who never married, but consider that the proportion of women never marrying fell to less than ten per cent between the end of the seventeenth century and that there was thereafter little change until the middle of the nineteenth century. They draw attention to the weakness of the data that support the calculation of that proportion, commenting that 'they are inherently less dependable than a variable that can be observed directly.'²³ Thus it may well be of some importance that the Dade registers for Selby permit the percentage of women who died unmarried to be deduced with some confidence.

Table 5:4 analyses the status of women aged 40 and over who were buried at Selby from 1777 to 1788. Whilst this information does not show the proportion of women of a given age, who were unmarried at a particular point in time, it is suggested that it can be used to give a fair indication of that proportion. That the percentage of spinsters in the 60 to 79 age group is substantially higher than the percentage in 40 to 59 age group, could indicate that the percentage of women aged 40 who had never married was falling at Selby during the course of the second half of the eighteenth century.

²³ Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, 195-7. See also Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History*, 257-265; Weir, 'Rather never than late'; Schofield, 'English marriage patterns revisited'.

TABLE 5:4
AGE AT DEATH - SELBY 1777 TO 1788
Status of women aged 40 and over at date of death

Age at death	Married or widowed		Status uncertain		Spinsters		Total	
		%		%		%		%
40 to 59	28	87.5	1	3.1	3	9.4	32	100.0
60 to 79	57	83.8	2	2.9	9	13.2	68	100.0
40 to 79	85	85.0	3	3.0	12	12.0	100	100.0
80 to 100	24	92.3	2	7.7	0	0.0	26	100.0
All	109	86.5	5	4.0	12	9.5	126	100.0

Source : Selby parish registers

When the Selby Register has been transcribed to 1813 one should be able to see if this pattern was maintained for the next 25 years. The marriage register, which has been transcribed up to 1803, suggests that the percentage may well have continued to fall. Between 1777 and 1784 12.6 per cent of the women marrying for the first time stated they were over 30 years of age but between 1795 and 1803 the percentage had fallen to 6.25 per cent.

The Selby Dade register also sheds some light on the effect of migration on the age at marriage. As has been mentioned above, Wrigley's view is that there was no significant difference between migratory and non-migratory couples in this respect.²⁴ The average ages for men and women who were both marrying for the first time at Selby between 1777 and 1788 were 25.1 and 22.8 respectively. But

²⁴ Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, 149 and 160-4.

during that period, when men whose fathers were resident elsewhere, and who therefore appeared to have migrated to Selby, married women whose fathers were already living there, then the mean ages of both spouses were lower than average, namely 23.7 and 21.2 respectively. From the research so far undertaken this combination seems to have more effect on the mean male age at first marriage than the occupation of the groom.²⁵

It would be unwise to draw any general conclusions from this data, not least because the picture that emerges as and when the whole of the Selby Registers from 1777 to 1813 have been analysed could prove to be very different, but this data may prove to be very important. The authors of *English Population History* have concluded that the average age of a woman on her first marriage was 24.1 years between 1775 and 1799. At Selby between 1777 and 1799 the figure was 23.2 years. But between 1777 and 1788 the age of a Selby woman who married a migrant was 21.2.²⁶

It is frustrating that any conclusions that can be drawn must be provisional until a great deal more research has been undertaken at Selby and elsewhere. But what has so far been undertaken suggests that in the late eighteenth century, conclusions as to age at marriage drawn exclusively from statistics relating to

²⁵ Bellingham, 'Age at marriage'.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 56; Table 5.3 above.

non-migrants may well differ from those reached if statistics that include migrants are used. Levine concluded that the forces influencing changes in the age at marriage might be national rather than local and that the changes found by the authors of *English Population History* might be accounted for by random fluctuations in the communities studied.²⁷ But the Selby data also suggests that further investigation into similar communities in Yorkshire may show that changes in the age at marriage after 1770 were regional rather than national.

Whilst the number of burials, and the number of baptisms, in each year can be found from the relevant parish register, at a practical level it is very difficult to establish levels of mortality before the 19th century censuses become reasonably reliable. One should not underestimate the value of research based on family reconstitutions but nevertheless, until 1811 it is, in practical terms, impossible to be certain of the rate of mortality in a community - and many would feel that this is so until after 1837.²⁸

The ratio of baptisms to burials is shown in Table 5:5, with comparable ratios for

²⁷ Levine, 'Sampling history: the English population', 614-6.

²⁸ For a robust claim for the accuracy of rates of mortality based on family reconstitutions, see Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, 353.

births and deaths for England taken from Wrigley and Schofield's calculations.²⁹

TABLE 5:5
BAPTISM / BURIAL RATIOS

	Easingwold	Pocklington	Selby	England
1750/60s	1.313	1.141	1.203	1.241
1770/80s	1.481	1.310	1.242	1.343
1790/00s	1.365	1.454	1.474	1.498
1810/20s	1.469	1.662	1.672	1.639
All	1.412	1.413	1.452	1.459

Source : Parish Registers & Wrigley & Schofield, *Population History*.³⁰

On the face of it, the profile of all three towns is, taking the period as a whole, fairly close to the national experience, but Easingwold had a higher ratio of births to deaths up to 1789 and a slightly lower one over the next 20 years. The final 20 years for Easingwold is distorted because of the apparent under registration of baptisms and the true ratio for that period could well be a great deal higher making the overall ratio close to the 1.452 for Selby.

But these ratios, whilst reflecting the improvement in the rate of mortality, are liable to considerable distortion by reason of migration. A rise in the number of children born in the town would obviously increase the birth rate, but out migration of married couples with young children could reduce the death rate,

²⁹ Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History*, 177 table 6.8 and 495 Table A2.2.

³⁰ Wrigley & Schofield, *Population History*, 495, Table A2.2.

since many of those children would have died in childhood. This factor is also very relevant when considering the data in Table 5:1.³¹

One tends to forget that growth in population was often very uneven at local level. Despite their limitations, this is well illustrated by the Selby Window Tax returns listed in Table A2:2 in Appendix Two. The 1755 return listed 352 dwellings. By 1773 the figure was 367, but in 1782 it was down to 324, and then rose to 449 by 1788. From the returns it is clear that houses that had been subdivided in 1773 had become single dwellings by 1782 and that it was the number of houses for the less affluent that had declined. One deduces that the population of Selby fell between 1773 and 1782 and that this fall was focused on the poorer section of the population. The average number of adult male deaths in each year fell slightly, and then increased sharply soon after 1782. But the fall in population between 1773 and 1782 made little impact on the annual total of marriages and baptisms during those years though both increased rapidly in the years following 1782. Thus it would seem there had been a sharp decline in migration to the town between 1773 and 1782, and an increase in migration from the town. The position was then reversed after 1782.

The data for the three towns used to prepare tables 5:1 and 5:5 is not firm enough

³¹ The birth/death ratio was considered by Wrigley & Schofield when looking at basic demographic patterns. *Ibid.*, 174-85.

to support a table showing burial and baptism rates but some conclusions can be tentatively put forward. Burial rates at both Selby and Pocklington appear to have fallen steadily during the period and the rates were usually below the national rates. Sharp increases in the respective burial rates were usually associated with rises in baptism rates. At Easingwold the burial rate fluctuated but was consistently less than the national rate. As to baptisms, rates in excess of the national rates appear to be associated with periods of in migration. Overall the baptism rates at Selby and Pocklington appear to be below the national rates, other than during Selby's 30 years of rapid growth in population in the late 18th century and early 19th century. At Easingwold there was little or no growth in the baptism rate up to 1810. Thereafter the baptism register is suspect, as has already been mentioned.

During the hard winter and serious harvest failure in 1766/7 all three towns recorded crisis years in the burial registers, following the national pattern.³² There were two further periods of general dearth and distress between 1793 and 1802. All three towns had high rates of burials during this period but they do not appear to be related to food shortages in that the peak periods of mortality seem to be associated with the bad weather that preceded the harvests rather than the periods of dearth that followed those harvests. This suggests that high rates of mortality in these towns had by then become associated with disease rather than dearth, though it must be said that from 1788 to 1799 Pocklington seems to have a

³² *Ibid.*, 334.

consistently high rate of mortality.³³ Although smallpox pushed up the mortality to high levels at Selby in 1787 and to a slightly lesser extent at Pocklington in 1789, the three towns again appear to reflect the national trend, namely that smallpox had ceased to appear in the form of epidemics but was by then endemic, periodically hitting communities 'when there was a sufficient number of susceptible young children'.³⁴

Wrigley et al in *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837* have stressed the importance of the improvement in the rates of infant and child mortality in the late eighteenth century as a factor in the rapid growth in the population of England. The correlation between those improvements and the improvements in the standard of living has been a matter for discussion in recent years but Wrigley has recently considered it in a new light. The main thrust of his 1998 article in the *Economic History Review* related to the significance of a fall in the number of still births and the way that this could be related to improved standards of living, but his article also developed the discussion in *English Population History from Family Reconstitution* as to the importance of the rate of mortality in the first month of life. This in turn is a pointer to the rate of endogenous mortality, which is closely linked to the general health of the mother

³³ Cf. R.A.E. Wells, *Dearth and Distress in Yorkshire 1793-1802*, (Borthwick Papers no 52) (York, 1977).

³⁴ Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History*, 669

of the child during pregnancy.³⁵ Any data that can throw light on this important matter is considerable interest and where good quality Dade registers, such as the Selby Register, list age at death one can establish reliable rates of infant mortality.

It is commonly stated that any figure for infant mortality, and particularly death within one month of birth, must be suspect by the late 18th century because of the increasing delay in baptising children. The true extent of that delay must usually be an informed guess, but in Dade registers both the date of birth and date of baptism are normally shown. At Selby between 1777 and 1788 the mean gap between birth and baptism was three days - 86.5 per cent of all baptised children were baptised within ten days from date of birth. At Easingwold the mean gap was 48 days, but 7.7 per cent of all baptisms were on the date of birth - the percentage at Selby was 11.8 per cent. Thus the figures for infant and child mortality for Easingwold, and particularly for Selby, in Table 5:6 can be put forward with some confidence.³⁶

³⁵ Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, 553-4; Wrigley, 'Explaining the rise in marital fertility'. Cf. S. Szreter and G. Mooney, 'Urbanization, mortality, and the standard of living debate: new estimates of the expectation of life at birth in nineteenth century British cities, *Economic History Review*, 51, 1 (1998), 84-112.

³⁶ The comparative figures for England are offered with less confidence. Because of the way that the figures are calculated in *English Population History* it is possible that the figures for Easingwold and Selby are not directly comparable. See for example Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, 54-7.

TABLE 5:6
INFANT AND CHILD MORTALITY
Deaths per thousand baptisms

Age	Easingwold 1777-88	Selby 1777-88	England 1780-9
Less than 1 month	28	39	76
Less than one year	98	134	163
Less than 15 years	235	344	296

Source: Parish Registers and Wrigley et al, *English Population History*.³⁷

It would be interesting to compare these figures with the individual parishes used in the research for *English Population History*. Unfortunately this does not appear to be possible.³⁸ The nearest available figures are those used by the authors to compare infant and child mortality in the 26 reconstitution parishes between 1675 and 1749 with that in the comparable registration districts in the 1840s, but any comparison with those figures is of little relevance.³⁹ Whereas the figures in Table 5:6 for Easingwold and Selby are based on 110 and 274 deaths respectively of children under fifteen years of age, the figures available to the authors of *English Population History* are usually such that they have to be aggregated over longer periods, and often for all available parishes, before they are large enough

³⁷ Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, 239, Table 6.6 and 250, Table 6.10. See also Levine, 'Sampling history: the English population', 616-621.

³⁸ Cf. Levine, 'Sampling history: the English population', 613.

³⁹ Wrigley et al, *English Population History*., 270, Table 6.16.

to be analysed with confidence.⁴⁰

It is unfortunate that the period chosen for analysis was found to coincide with a serious outbreak of smallpox at Selby in 1787, following a less serious one in 1777/78 - in all smallpox was shown as the cause of death for 31 per cent of the under aged 15 years deaths, and for 12 per cent of the under aged one year deaths, between 1777 and 1788. Thus both these groups may prove to have a lower rate of mortality over a longer period.⁴¹ Be that as it may, even on the figures shown in Table 5:6, the under aged one year mortality and, especially, the under aged one month mortality, in both towns are much lower than the national figure. The implication, based on the views of Wrigley referred to above, is that the general health and nutrition of the local population was above the national average.

It is clear that if other Dade registers which show age at death and cause of death are analysed it will be possible to get a much clearer picture of infant mortality in the crucial period between the late 1770s and 1812.⁴² Levine has pointed to the weaknesses of the data used by the authors of *English Population History* for this period and has shown that the compositional mix of the data weakens the quality

⁴⁰ See for example *ibid.*, 213, as to data for 1729.

⁴¹ Rees considers that rate of infant mortality increased after 1788. Rees, 'Selby, 1752-1851', 38, but see Schedule Seven.

⁴² Virtually all Dade registers ceased in 1812.

of the infant mortality statistics.⁴³ Table 5:6 gives an indication of the potential of high quality Dade registers.

Endogamous infant mortality, represented by deaths within the first month of life, is a critical indication of the general health of the mother, and, by inference, of the local community. Exogenous infant mortality, represented by deaths after that first month but within one year of birth, must still be influenced by nutrition, both of mother and child, but external factors – fevers and disease, then take pride of place. During this period pure and unpolluted drinking water, or the lack of it, was a major factor in infant mortality – as it still is in the Third World today. Thus the differences between Easingwold and Selby in Table 5:6 could well be heavily influenced by the better supply of drinking water then available at Easingwold.

The burial registers for both Easingwold and Selby show the age at death for nearly all burials between 1777 and 1813 so that one can calculate the median age at death for those whose age is shown as greater than age 25. During the period 1777 to 1788, for Selby this was 63 years of age and for Easingwold 68. Whilst this cannot be directly compared with the life expectancy at age 25 of around 36 years put forward in *English Population History*,⁴⁴ it does suggest that life expectancy at that age might have been 38 years at Selby and 43 years at

⁴³ Levine, 'Sampling history: the English population', 616.

⁴⁴ Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, 281.

Easingwold. These figures represent real data calculated from the burials of 468 people, many of whom would not have been born in the respective town. Because the longer a person lived the more likely it was that he or she would die away from his parish of birth, the numbers available to the authors of *English Population History* for a similar period are somewhat less, limited to those who were born and died in the same parish, and likely to be skewed towards the younger age groups.⁴⁵

It is likely that it was only after 1830 that environmental conditions in the four towns seriously deteriorated. During the period c1750 to c1830 gradual improvements were made within the towns and these probably kept pace with the increasing populations. For Selby, the Window Tax records from 1755 to 1789 suggest that the percentage of larger house with 10 windows or more remained constant between those dates. The number of houses with 6 windows or less increased sharply in absolute terms, and also as a percentage of the whole, but probably not so as to cause serious overcrowding. A pointer towards this conclusion is the modest nature of the outbreak of putrid fever (now described as typhus) in 1787, as compared with two quite serious epidemics at Whitehaven. At Selby there were 10 deaths in about five weeks, representing 16 per cent of average annual deaths, as against 54 per cent for the 1757 Whitehaven outbreak and 42 per cent for the one in 1773. Of the Selby victims, William Hawksworth, aged 34, probably lived in a twelve windowed inn. All the other deaths were from

⁴⁵ Ibid., 55, Table 3.4, 326, Table 6:33 and 328.

smaller houses, five of the deceased were over 60 and three were described as poor - less able by reason of health or age to withstand the disease. As Vann and Eversley pointed out, 'all too often in early modern Europe, there was less life without wealth'. However, at Selby in 1787, wealth, albeit relative, was sufficient to encourage longer, and healthier life.⁴⁶

The 1831 census shows the occupancy per house as 5.1 at Easingwold, 4.9 at Market Weighton, 4.5 at Pocklington and 4.8 at Selby.⁴⁷ Both the Easingwold and the Market Weighton figures are probably skewed by resident farm servants living on larger farms and even the Selby figure is substantially below the national figure for England of 5.6 per house. The detailed maps available for Pocklington and Market Weighton in the 1840s and 1850s suggest that it was only after 1840 that infilling within the towns gave rise to serious problems of overcrowding and associated rises in mortality. A pointer to the slightly earlier problems at Selby are the serious outbreaks of cholera in 1832/3 and 1848/9. Morrell records 55 deaths from cholera in 1832/3, as against the 32 mentioned by

⁴⁶ J. Ward, 'Death in 18th century Whitehaven: the mortality records from Holy Trinity Church', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 98 (1998), 258-9; R.T. Vann and D. Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death: the British and Irish Quakers in the demographic transition 1650-1900* (Cambridge, 1992), 246. As to the Window Tax records see Appendix Two especially Tables A2:2 and A2.4.

⁴⁷ Appendix Six, Table A6:1.

Creighton. It could well be that as a percentage of the town's population the death rate in Selby was greater than in the larger towns such as York, Hull, Sheffield and Leeds. But it was not until after the 1848/9 outbreak that steps were taken to prevent a further epidemic. The remedial measures taken in the 1850s - an efficient drainage system, an improved water supply by boring artesian wells, proper cleansing of the streets, the closing of the parish burial ground beside the Abbey - high light the problems that must have been latent for many years and which had become serious by the 1830s.⁴⁸

It appears that the crucial mortality rates in the first months of life were lower in at least two of the four towns thus indicating an above average standard of living both in those towns and in the nearby rural and urban areas. The lower age at marriage at Selby, especially for migrants, appears to have been related to a rising level of prosperity. Taken together, this suggests that in the rising commercial centres of Yorkshire, and probably also in the nearby rural areas that enjoyed increasing prosperity by feeding those centres, there was an interaction between a lower age at marriage, a rising birth rate, a falling death rate and a general improvement in economic circumstances, which together fuelled the rise in

⁴⁸ W. Watson *Plan of Pocklington* 1844; W. Watson *Plan of Pocklington* 1855; . W. Watson *Plan of Market Weighton* 1848; Morrell, *Selby*, 287-8; C. Creighton, *History of Epidemics*, 2 (Second edition, 1965), 822; Neave, *Pocklington*, 33.

population.⁴⁹

5.3 The Demographic Composition of the towns

So far this chapter has focused on the vital events in the towns - birth, marriage and death. In the absence of the data available in the censuses from 1851 onwards, matters such as age structure and family and household size are incapable of crisp resolution, but nevertheless some information is available and some conclusions can be deduced, albeit with substantial caveats.

Some assumptions can be made as to the demographic make up of the towns. An analysis of the Dade Registers in the 1780s suggests that in Selby there was substantial in migration, that couples were marrying earlier and that there was a

⁴⁹ Rosemary Rees, in her 1978 thesis, (Rees, 'Selby, 1752-1851') came to somewhat different conclusions as to the environmental conditions within Selby after 1787 and identified high infant mortality levels. Since her conclusions as to the decline in the environmental conditions in the town relied heavily on a comparison of the 1788 and 1832 Land Tax returns, they are to that extent suspect. (Cf. Noble, 'Land Tax Assessments'; Ginter, *Measure of Wealth*, 276.). For the reasons mentioned in Schedule Seven it would be unwise to rely on the figures in her thesis until the baptism and burial registers have been transcribed and analysed. What her thesis does show most conclusively is the need to continue the transcription and analysis of the Selby parish registers whilst they were in Dade format, i.e. until 1813. When that has been done one will have a far clearer picture of the nature of the demographic changes in Selby between 1788 and 1812.

high birth rate. One can therefore assume that there was a higher than average number of children in the town. Initially this would have been true of the other towns but during periods of out migration the birth rate would fall and the age profile would get older. This probably occurred at Pocklington during the late 1780s and the early 1790s and at Easingwold during the nineteenth century. For all four towns one can make an intelligent guess as to the position in 1831 by considering the percentage of the male population listed in the census as being greater than 20 years of age. Nationally the figure was just over 50 per cent but an ageing population at Easingwold is suggested by a figure of 55 per cent. At Market Weighton it was 52 per cent, at Pocklington 49 per cent. That the proportion at Selby was 46 per cent suggests a very young profile, but mariners at sea, though based in the town, would not have been counted in the Census and the true figure could well have been much the same as the 49 per cent for Pocklington.⁵⁰

On the basis of the national figures one would expect the balance between male and female to be around 49:51. Figures are listed in the Censuses from 1801, though their reliability until 1841 must be open to question. Some variations are easily explained. A higher than average male percentage at Market Weighton in 1801 and 1811 could be due to resident unmarried farm servants and to unmarried young men involved with the coaching trade, which would tie in

⁵⁰ As to the 1831 Census, see Appendix Six, Table A6:1.

with the same pattern at Easingwold in 1811 and 1821. The coaching and carrying trade declined earlier at Market Weighton because of the steamboats on the Humber. The consistently lower male percentage at Selby is clearly due to absent mariners.

There is no indication of the higher female percentage commonly associated with the presence of numerous female servants in towns, and such evidence as is available suggests that the number of domestic servants in all the towns was relatively small throughout the period under consideration. The problems as to the 1788 Assessed Tax on female servants are considered in Appendix Two, but that this tax was paid only on 58 female domestic servants at Selby, and probably on 18, 9 and 7 at Pocklington, Easingwold and Market Weighton respectively, is indicative of the relatively small size of this part of the work force. Only at Selby was it a significant percentage, probably between 6 and 8 per cent of all females. In 1831 the classification of Female Servants covered all female servants of whatever age, and whether in trade or domestic service. Selby's 7.9 per cent of all females was close to the national average of 7.7 per cent. The figure for Pocklington was 7.1 per cent, much lower than the 8.4 per cent for Easingwold or the 9.8 per cent for Market Weighton, both no doubt swollen by female unmarried farm servants, including relatives living on the farm in question.

The figures for male domestic servants in both the late eighteenth century and in 1831 were much smaller, though swollen in 1831 by the inclusion of waiters and

attendants at inns.⁵¹ Seven individuals at Pocklington paid tax on male servants in 1780 - as against two at Selby and none at Easingwold and Market Weighton, there were however five at Selby in 1788.⁵² In 1831 the national percentage for taxable male servants was 1.6 per cent of the total male population. At Easingwold it was 1.3 per cent, at Pocklington 0.6 per cent and at Selby 1.3 per cent. It is curious that the Market Weighton percentage was 2.6 per cent. Generally, as in the eighteenth century, the figures in 1831 reflected more the status of the individual employers rather than any meaningful facet of the economic activity of the town.

Schwarz concluded that there was strong evidence that there were proportionately more domestic servants, male as well as female, in England and Wales during the eighteenth century than subsequently.⁵³ The figures quoted above suggest that this might well be true of Selby and possibly also of Pocklington, though perhaps not

⁵¹ Swartz says that waiters in taverns and public houses were added by an act of 1785 but no Selby innkeeper paid tax on them in 1788. L. Schwarz, 'English servants and their employers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Economic History Review*, 52, 2 (1999), 239, footnote 10. See Selby Window Tax Return 1788.

⁵² J.J. Cartwright, 'List of persons in Yorkshire who paid tax on male servants in 1780', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 14 (1896), 65-80; Selby Window Tax Return 1788.

⁵³ Schwarz, 'English servants', 253.

at Easingwold or Market Weighton.

5.4 Relationship to other Communities

'Raveloe ... lay in the rich central plain of ... Merry England. But it was nestled in a snug well-wooded hollow, quite an hour's journey on horseback from any turnpike'.⁵⁴

Thus George Eliot describes the self contained Midland village to which Silas Marner came in the late 1780s. Few of the inhabitants of such a village would have moved to it from more than a few miles away. Even in a village such as Moreton, in Essex, which is 17 miles north of London, and close to Chelmsford, some 90 per cent of the grandfathers of children baptised there between 1796 and 1812 resided within a ten mile radius of the village.⁵⁵ In considering the four study towns it is important to appreciate that their relationship to nearby communities, and the pattern of migration to and from them, may well have been very different from the contemporary experience of many other towns, particularly in the rural south of England.

Unfortunately many studies of migration patterns before the mid nineteenth century rely on slender or selective data, often suffering from both defects. This is not to decry the great value of such research, but merely to point to the difficulties

⁵⁴ G. Eliot, *Silas Marner* (Penguin Edition, 1967), 53.

⁵⁵ C. Davey, 'A note on Mobility in an Essex Parish in the early nineteenth century', *Local Population Studies*, 41 (1988), 64.

faced by those undertaking that research. It was the value of the data in the Dade baptism registers as an indication of personal mobility that attracted Holderness in his pioneering article in 1971.⁵⁶ They have also been used for that purpose by Long and Maltby.⁵⁷ It is an indication of the value of these registers that there is little late eighteenth century data on the mobility of the overall population of comparable communities against which one can compare the data in Table 5.7, other than those studies and the work on the somewhat similar Barrington registers in the Diocese of Durham, though one should perhaps also refer to the work that has been done on the Colyton parish register and on the list of the inhabitants of Cardington.⁵⁸

The rural parishes in the Vale of York researched by Holderness show a different pattern to that found by Davey. His research indicates a relatively high mobility in the rural areas in the Plain of York. In contrast to Davey's finding that at Moreton, 90 per cent of the grandfathers were resident within the respective 10-

⁵⁶ Holderness, 'Personal mobility'.

⁵⁷ Long and Maltby, 'Personal mobility'.

⁵⁸ For Dade and Barrington Registers generally see Appendix One. As to the Colyton data, which is apparently in the Barrington format but relates only to wives, see E.A. Wrigley 'A note on the life time mobility of married women in a parish population in the later eighteenth century', *Local Population Studies*, 18 (1977), 22-29. For the limited Cardington migration data see D. Baker, *The Inhabitants of Cardington in 1782* (Bedford, 1973), 53-4.

mile radius, the research by Holderness suggested that in the communities he studied (including Easingwold) under 80 per cent of the grandfathers were resident within the respective 10-mile radius. It is difficult to overestimate the impact of transport links on the four study towns.⁵⁹ But similar transport links do not seem to have generated the same level of demographic mobility throughout England and it therefore seems likely that the apparently higher level of mobility in this part of Yorkshire was in part a product of the economic change affecting the county.

A snapshot of the situation in Easingwold, Pocklington and Selby between 1777 and 1788 is shown in Table 5:7.⁶⁰ It shows the distance from the relevant town of the residence of the child's paternal and maternal grandfathers at the time of the baptism, or at the grandfather's death should he not then be alive. Thus Table 5:7 does not show the actual lifetime migration distance of the father and mother of the child but it does provide a reliable indication of that distance.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Considered above in Chapter III.

⁶⁰ The Dade entries in the Pocklington baptism register start in 1779 and are of little value for this purpose after 1784.

⁶¹ As to the reliability of such data see Wrigley's comment on comparable data for women at Colyton between 1765 and 1777. Wrigley 'Life time mobility', 23.

TABLE 5:7
RESIDENCE OF GRANDFATHERS OF BAPTISED CHILDREN
1777 to 1788
Distance from study town

Miles	Paternal grandfather			Maternal grandfather		
	Easingwold	Pocklington (1779-84)	Selby	Easingwold	Pocklington (1779-84)	Selby
	%	%	%	%	%	%
0	37.4	40.5	34.6	41.6	23.6	34.5
1 - <5	17.2	19.8	12.6	14.5	15.1	16.6
5 - <10	15.3	12.6	12.6	10.8	17.9	16.3
10 - < 50	27.0	20.7	33.3	30.1	36.8	26.6
> = 50	3.1	6.3	6.9	3.0	6.6	6.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No data	4.9	4.5	10.0	3.0	9.4	9.7
	104.9	104.5	110.0	103.0	109.4	109.7
Number	171	116	350	171	116	350

Source : Baptism registers

There are interesting variations between the three towns. In all cases the majority of the parents of the baptised children had grandparents who were not then resident in the respective town. At Pocklington some 40 per cent of the grandfathers appear to be from Pocklington, suggesting a town which had sufficient opportunities to encourage men to stay there but not enough to induce the high level of in-migration that was experienced by Selby. On the other hand many women born in the town appear to have moved elsewhere leaving space for in-migrants. Perhaps Pocklington had attractions for young female in-migrants, many of whom married in the town and then moved on elsewhere with their husbands. Some local men may have been apprenticed elsewhere and brought a

wife back to Pocklington - as no doubt did George Hudson, a local attorney who married the daughter of a linen draper from Beverley. In contrast, at Easingwold the relatively high percentage of local grandfathers, both paternal and maternal, suggests a lack of migrants into the town and substantial migration from the town.⁶²

That Selby should have the high percentage of men in-migrating from a distance indicated by the figures in Table 5:7 is understandable when one considers that it was a river port, with very good links by water. George Bastow, a mariner, moved to Selby with his wife and at least one child before 1781. His wife's father lived in Lyn in Norfolk, but his father was, or had been at his death, a carpenter in New England and his grandfather, a fisherman, had died there.⁶³ Those coming to Selby from within a 50 mile radius came predominately from the West Riding - 75 per cent of the men and 63 per cent of the women. The figures from the East Riding - 15 per cent and 22 per cent respectively, seem low until one remembers that until the Selby bridge had been built in 1792, and the road from Selby to Market Weighton was improved and turnpiked in 1793, communication with the East Riding, other than by water, would not have been easy. Even within a five-mile radius the percentage from the East Riding was not a great deal higher - 22 per cent and 26 per cent respectively.

⁶² As to migration see also the final paragraph in 5.1 above.

⁶³ Selby baptism register – baptism of Hannah Bastow, 2 Jan 1781.

It has already been noted that York was, in the 1780s, the natural 'Christallerian' centre for Easingwold, Pocklington and Selby.⁶⁴ The data in Table 5:7 shows only part of that picture in that it only provides evidence of movement from York to the study town. Thus, as one would expect from what has been said above, only two per cent of the Easingwold paternal and maternal grandfathers were listed as resident in York.

The situation at Pocklington was very different. No paternal grandfathers were listed but of the 41 maternal grandfathers residing in the 10 to 50 mile radial band, seven were in York. And of those seven cases, three of the parents of the baptised child had married in York and three in Pocklington. These close, two way, links with York are highlighted by the number of parents of baptised children whose marriages could be traced in York. Eleven out of the 175 Pocklington couples had been married in York as against two out of 172 at Easingwold.⁶⁵ That there were also maternal grandfathers in Whitby, Beverley, Malton, Driffield and Easingwold suggests a wide range of contacts with other towns.

At Selby the position was more complex. Only six of the 350 Selby couples had

⁶⁴ Chapter II, Section 2.2 above.

⁶⁵ *York Marriage Index 1751-1800* (York Family History Society, Microfiche, York, 1987)

been married in York. Seven paternal and eight maternal grandfathers in that city must be compared with those resident in Wakefield, Thorne, Leeds and Hull. Even as early as the 1780s Selby's links were with the commercial West Riding were as strong, if not stronger, than its links with York.

Demographers studying migration have stressed the importance of family and local links - the likelihood that a migrant might go to a place where a member of his or her family, or someone from the same community, was already settled. There are instances of family links in all the towns but they are relatively few. What can however be seen are commercial and family links between towns. Thus the wife of Benjamin Burnside, an Easingwold potter, was the sister in law of Alexander Stephenson, who was a potter at Pocklington.⁶⁶ John Weddall, miller, merchant and custom house officer, of Pocklington and Selby, was the brother in law of both a Pocklington surgeon and a London surgeon and had relations in Whitby, York and Cambridge.⁶⁷

The close knit community of those who worked on inland waterways is well documented.⁶⁸ Of the fathers of baptised children at Selby who were involved in

⁶⁶ Easingwold baptism register – baptisms of Elizabeth Burnside and Elizabeth Stephenson, 18 Jul 1784.

⁶⁷ See Table 4:2.

⁶⁸ Cf. M. Prior, *Fisher Row : fishermen, bargemen, and canal boatmen in Oxford, 1500-1900* (1982).

maritime and inland waterways occupations some 65 per cent had fathers who were, or had been, resident in the West Riding and the percentage for those described as watermen was 81 per cent. It is particularly noticeable that the majority of the residences of the paternal grandfathers were on, or close to navigable water. Many of the watermen appear to have come from Knottingley and the Leeds area, though some had come from Thorne or Gainsbrough in Lincolnshire, and others originated from further afield. The Owen family from Rothwell and Methley, near Leeds, appear to have retained their Welsh accent when they came to Selby after the opening of the canal. Their surname first appears in the baptism register as 'Hauin'.

However by the closing years of the eighteenth century the volume and extent of this traffic had expanded dramatically. Some idea of the traffic on the inland waterways can be gauged from the copy of the Hull return of ships registered under the Act of 1795. Jackson has used that return to illustrate the extent of the volume of goods going through Hull and the size of Hull's hinterland, but it also shows very clearly the extent of the traffic going through Selby and the broad spectrum of the places from which it came. The regular voyages of some 46 ships took them down the Trent and some 74 along the Don but over 160 were using the Aire and Calder and most of those would have gone through Selby. This does not include 17 working between Hull and Selby and others going up the Ouse past Selby. Nor did it include the smaller canal craft working up the canal from Selby. Small wonder that at that time over 35 per cent of the bridegrooms in the Selby

marriage register were seafarers or watermen and of those 80 per cent were sailors or mariners.⁶⁹

The activities of the ancillary maritime activities at Selby have already been considered.⁷⁰ Initially many of those involved would have moved to Selby from Snaith, Rawcliffe or Airmyn - places on that part of the Aire by-passed by the Selby canal. Others came from further afield, but the fact that, for example, Audus, the blockmaker, and Shepherd, the owner of the shipyard, originated from the Whitby area, did not of itself imply continued links between Selby and Whitby.

None of the other towns would have had connections of this degree to other communities through transport links. The limited use of the Market Weighton canal is clearly shown by the five ships shown as going from Hull to Market Weighton in the Hull return under the 1795 Act. Traffic to Pocklington up the Derwent, and after 1815, up the Pocklington canal was likewise insignificant compared with that going up the Selby canal. At Easingwold, as at Pocklington

⁶⁹ Kingston upon Hull City Record Office, MS M445 - Register of vessels under Act of Parliament of 1795; Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, 25 and 331-2. Jackson believed this list to date from circa 1805 and had not, in 1972, established its provenance. 11 of the 17 ships working between Hull and Selby can be identified as Selby based.

⁷⁰ Chapter IV, Section 4.7 above.

and Market Weighton, contact would in practice be by road. People certainly moved to and fro but in a very different pattern to that at Selby. The residence of bridegrooms in the marriage register indicates levels of contact with local communities, but those from beyond say 19 miles could be local men who had come back to marry women from their home town. The numbers are in any event small. Less than four per cent between 1754 and 1802, other than Pocklington where it was just over six per cent, many of them from Hull.

That there were a range of parallel networks between towns has already been discussed.⁷¹ One such is that of the professional group within each town - lawyers, surgeons, apothecaries and to a lesser extent, school masters.

Pooley and Turnbull noted that the distances moved by those in this group was much higher than average and this certainly applies in the four towns in the 1780s. In no case did both husband and wife come from the same study town. Sometimes both had clearly moved together from a considerable distance for example Joseph Jameson, a Selby chemist, who had apparently travelled with his wife from Westmorland. If the husband was a local man his wife usually came from a distance - the example of George Hudson, the Pocklington attorney, has already been mentioned.⁷²

⁷¹ Chapter II, Section 2.2 above.

⁷² C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the 18th Century* (Lancaster, 1998), 69; Selby baptism register – baptism of Peggy

Other networks included those of the Quakers and the Catholics. Since the Quaker Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, which dealt with church affairs, covered a wide area contacts were made for both commercial and matrimonial reasons. And since the cross linkage between Quaker families became increasingly close because of intermarriage during the eighteenth century virtually every Quaker would have cousins spread far and wide.⁷³ Thus when Thomas Proctor, the wealthy Selby flax merchant was looking for a partner he was joined by fellow Quaker, Jonathan Hutchinson from Lincolnshire. When he needed a school teacher for his children, a widowed cousin came to Selby from Durham.⁷⁴

The level of the relationships of small towns, such as the four study towns, with other communities was, first and foremost, dependent on the quality of communications between them. Defoe, leading his horse over Blackstone Edge

Jameson, 1 Jun 1786; Pocklington baptism register – baptism of Mary Ann Hudson, 23 Feb 1781.

⁷³ All the four study towns were within Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting. See (All the four study towns were within Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting. See W.P. Thislethwaite, *Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends 1665-1966* (Harrogate, 1979), 14. Cf. Vann and Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death*, 14.

⁷⁴ Hutchinson, *Jonathan Hutchinson*, 9 and 14; K. Davies, *Polam Hall* (Darlington, 1981), 11.

around the 1720s, is a world away from Sir George Head's tour in 1835, when he travelled by railroad from Leeds to Selby and thence to Hull by steam packet.

Turnpikes, general road improvements, canals, improvements to river navigations, canal fly boats, steam packets along the Humber, improved coaching and goods facilities generally - all these assisted closer relationships between communities.

There was throughout a clear divide between those who could afford stage coaches or personal transport and those who could not. John Audus, the Selby entrepreneur could visit Bath for his health in the 1790's - and then remodel central Selby. William Lockwood, the son of an Easingwold attorney, could visit Scarborough and the Lake District in 1797.⁷⁵ For those without the necessary finance things were rather different. Yet by the 1820's Robert Sharp, a schoolmaster in South Cave, near Hull, could assume that a letter posted to his son in London would arrive the following day. Sharp himself was well informed on national affairs and read national as well as local newspapers. On a Monday morning he could hear the comments of a corn factor as to prices in Wakefield market on the previous Friday. But he himself had no horse and would regularly walk to Beverley and back, a round trip of some 20 miles. He only once visited his son in London - travelling by sea from Hull.⁷⁶ It would not be until the arrival of the railways that travel facilities would become more widely available. In 1835

⁷⁵ Morrell, *Selby*, 254; Kirk, *Lockwood*, passim.

⁷⁶ Crowther, *Sharp*, xlvii, xxxviii, 14 and 397.

the Leeds - Selby railway was carrying 3,500 passengers a week during the summer months, compared with 400 who had previously travelled by coach - a portent of the change that was to come.

5.5 Conclusions

Potentially there is more demographic data available for Selby than for most comparable communities; the data for Easingwold is also well above average. Unfortunately the limited value of the Market Weighton parish register precludes serious consideration of the demographic profile of that community but it is possible that in the future more data could be teased out of the Pocklington parish register.

The low age at marriage at Selby, and the even lower age between 1777 and 1788 when the husband had migrated to Selby, must raise serious doubts as to the validity of the opinion of the Cambridge Group that migrants behaved no different to non migrants. Including migrants, as can be done with Dade Registers, may open a new window on the demographic changes that took place in the late eighteenth century.

It is clear is that the demographic experience of Selby, Pocklington and Easingwold during this period was not typical of England as a whole, as portrayed in *English Population History*. The high level of migration to these three towns means that some of the conclusions that have been reached regarding the three

towns are likely to apply to many of the areas from the migrants came, for example it would appear that the inhabitants of both the towns and the surrounding areas were well nourished, and better nourished than were the inhabitants of England as a whole.

Levine has pointed out that one of the weaknesses of *English Population History* is that 'it abstracts demographic experience from its social and historical context'.⁷⁷ For the period covered by this thesis the demographic experience of the three of the four towns has been explored and placed in its social and demographic context. The fuller consideration of demographic data for Selby and Easingwold, albeit for a limited period, has shown the potential for further enquiry and raised serious doubts as to the regional validity of certain of the conclusions in *English Population History*.

⁷⁷ Levine, 'Sampling history: the English population', 607

CHAPTER VI Local Society and Politics

6.1 Who ran the towns?

Writing of those who held civic office in Hull during the Eighteenth Century, Jackson commented:-

' Those who assumed the onerous task of government did it because they thought it their duty to do so. They may have represented the commercial community, but in Hull little else mattered. ... The important question is: What did they do? The answer is simple: they maintained an environment in which trade & industry could flourish; in which a reasonably healthy people could live & work with the minimum of discomfort'.¹

None of the four study towns were corporate towns, but these comments can certainly be applied to Selby, to a lesser extent to Pocklington and Easingwold, and perhaps even to Market Weighton. The Vestry records that survive for Selby and Pocklington from 1790 and from 1819 respectively,² show clearly that in both towns there was a well defined elite who appear to have considered it their duty to govern the respective town and duly did so. The absence of a corporate structure did not seem to inhibit the emergence of this elite. Wealth certainly played a part in that those in the town who had it took part in the government of the town, but predominately it was those who made their living in the town by trading activities

¹ Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, 309.

² Selby Vestry Book; Pocklington Vestry Book.

who ran it. The most notable absentees were those directly involved in agriculture. In contrast, for example, to the small East Riding town of South Cave, there were few farmers involved in the running of Pocklington or Easingwold, and not one was noted in the period at Selby. That Thomas Procter, a Quaker, was one of the three men who had 'the whole direction and ordering' of the fitting of a pump in the old well in the Market Place at Selby after a Vestry Meeting in 1765, is symptomatic of the ability of the town to absorb new talent. Thomas Procter, a flax dresser, then 41 years of age, was then in a modest way of business but he prospered and his son became 'the richest man in Selby'.³

Although the major local gentry must have had some influence in the towns, the indications are that in all four towns those running the towns had a very wide degree of independence. At Pocklington in 1759 the then Lord of the Manor may have owned over 30 per cent of the land in the parish. The percentage of the land area probably remained unchanged throughout the period but by 1824 it may only have represented 20 per cent of the total value. More significantly, throughout the period the Lord of the Manor appears to have had less than two per cent in value of the property within the town itself. The pattern seems to have been much the same at Easingwold and Market Weighton though the percentage owned by the Lord of the Manor in each case may have been less than 10 percent. Surprisingly

³ Borthwick PR SEL 56 - Vestry minute - 16 August 1765; Library of the Religious Society of Friends, London - Quaker Biographies; Hutchinson, *Jonathan Hutchinson*, 10. As to South Cave see Crowther, *Sharp*, xxxix.

the highest percentages were at Selby. In 1788 the Petres paid 60 per cent of the Land Tax, though they only paid 37 per cent of the Land Tax in the town itself. One must of course reiterate the well-known dangers of relying on the Land Tax Assessments. For example the actual amount paid on the town properties at Selby fell during the period, because of the increase in value of the property within the town.⁴ It may not be irrelevant that in Pocklington, Easingwold and Selby the Lord of the Manor was, at least in the early years, a Roman Catholic. This may explain why William Bullock, the Petre Steward at Selby, and himself a Catholic, seems to have played little overt part in the running of the town.⁵

This independence is well shown in the voting pattern at Parliamentary Elections. In the election of 1741 Easingwold, Pocklington and Selby followed the trend of their respective Ridings, but what is significant is that in each case a substantial minority voted for the other candidate, ranging from 36 per cent at Pocklington to 47 per cent at Selby. This trend is even more marked in the next county election in 1807, though the voting pattern in that election is complicated by the fact that each elector had two votes.⁶ Nevertheless one must not over emphasise this

⁴ *Pocklington Enclosure Award* - analysis of tithe annuities; ERYA DDPY/19/9 - Dolman Terrier; Ayer, *Survey of Pocklington*; WYCRO, ERYA, NYCRO - Land Tax Returns.

⁵ Neave, *Pocklington*, 18; Cowling, *Easingwold*, 79; Morrell, *Selby*, 271; E.S. Worrall, *Returns of Papists 1767*, 2 (Catholic Record Society, 1989), 43 and 53.

⁶ *The Poll for a Representative in Parliament for the County of York in the room*

independence. If support was to be given to the Yorkshire Association by voters in Pocklington, no progress would be made without the support of the Andersons of nearby Kilnwick Percy. If the Pocklington Canal was to be built, the support of Denison at Kilnwick Percy and Vavasour at Melbourne was needed. When the bridge across the Ouse at Selby was mooted the local Selby promoters needed to enlist Viscount Downe of Cowick Park as well as Lord Petre, the Lord of the Manor of Selby and Humphrey Osbaldeston Esq, another local landowner.⁷ During and after the second decade of the nineteenth century both the Petre family at Selby and Denison at Pocklington appeared to flex their muscles. For example in 1813 and again in 1820, Petre attempted to retain the right to compel grain to be ground at his mill in Selby. In many ways their actions might be benevolent, but the overall effect was to stress their rights to be involved with the

of the Right Honourable Henry, Lord Visc. Morpeth deceased, Begun at the Castle of York on Wednesday 13th of January, 1741. (York, 1742); 1807 Poll Book; *West Riding Election : The Poll for a Knight of the Shire for the West Riding of Yorkshire on Monday May 11 and Tuesday may 12, 1835.* (Wakefield, 1835). The number of voters at Market Weighton were insufficient to draw any conclusions. As to elections generally see Smith, 'Yorkshire Smith Elections of 1806 and 1807' and J.F. Quin, 'Yorkshiremen Go to the Polls : County Contests in the early Eighteenth Century' *Northern History* 21 (1985), 137-174.

⁷ R. Christie, 'The Yorkshire Association 1780-4 : A study in Political organisation' *Historical Journal*, 3, 1 (1960), 156 and Chapter III, Sections 3.2.7 and 3.2.6 above.

affairs of the town.⁸ Nevertheless the relative independence of the study towns is well illustrated by comparison with New Malton, and the actions of Fitzwilliam in 1807 after the electors of New Malton displeased him by electing a Member of Parliament not to his liking.⁹ Some electors were evicted and Fitzwilliam could virtually strangle the trade of the town by raising the tolls on the River Derwent Navigation.¹⁰

In considering who ran the towns one must remember the influence of the Justices of the Peace and the Quarter Sessions for each Riding. The closing pages of Forster's comprehensive survey of the activities of the East Riding Justices of the Peace in the Seventeenth Century¹¹ gives a clear picture of the wide variety of administrative and judicial functions of the J.P.s, in and out of sessions, in the early years of the eighteenth century. Quarter Sessions did not only meet in the

⁸ As to Selby see Morell, *Selby*, 280-287. As to Pocklington see Neave, *Pocklington*, 23. As to market rights at Easingwold see Cowling, *Easingwold*, 122-4.

⁹ In 1841 the parishes of Old and New Malton together contained 3,833 acres and 1086 houses and other tenements, including shops. Fitzwilliam owned 69 per cent of the former and 67 per cent of the latter. D.J. Salmon (ed.), *Malton in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Northallerton, 1981), 18 - 19.

¹⁰ Duckham, 'The Fitzwilliams and the Yorkshire Derwent', 53-5.

¹¹ Forster, *East Riding Justices*.

county town. During the seventeenth century the East Riding Quarter Sessions met usually at Beverley and occasionally at Pocklington. The North Riding Sessions were held at Easingwold as late as 1801.¹² In many areas - poor relief, highways, alehouses, and of course law and order it was they who were responsible for making sure that the parish officials did their job properly, and the Chief Constables and parish constables were answerable to them.¹³ Cowling mentions the regulation of cattle movements by Quarter Sessions during the years 1748-53 and the attendance of one of the Chief Constables of the Bulmer Wapentake at Easingwold market in 1750.¹⁴

But the practical problems faced by the J.P.s are neatly shown in the account in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of the destruction of a turnpike gate at Selby in 1752, following a proclamation by the local bellman.¹⁵ Clearly no J.P. was in the vicinity at the time nor had they access to first hand evidence of the occurrence - the local justices were offering a reward of £50, and a pardon, for evidence leading to the conviction of the ringleaders. During the eighteenth century the J.P.s were thinly spread across the Ridings and the difficulties that they could face

¹² Cowling, *Easingwold*, 104.

¹³ Cf. Crowther, *Sharp*, xxxix-xli.

¹⁴ Cowling, *Easingwold*, 101.

¹⁵ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 22 (1752), 237.

were vividly described by Sir Edmund Anderson of Kilnwick Percy, near Pocklington, in his contemporary account of the local anti militia riot of 1757. A mob from the whole Wilton Beacon Wapentake, his Wapentake, 'led by their several constables ... forced the whole town of Pocklington (Parsons, Attorneys and all our friends) to go up to Kilnwick' to demand the return of the local Militia lists. Lady Anderson reasoned with them until Sir Edmund returned later in the day and it was only by the force of his personality that the rioters could be dispersed.¹⁶

Neave mentions numerous Quarter Sessions cases relating to residents of Pocklington in the first half of the eighteenth century but none thereafter.¹⁷

Cowling is similarly silent. It is possible that from then onwards the townspeople were usually able to resolve problems without involving Quarter Sessions. In the 1820s the Pocklington Vestry Resolution Book recounts the sorry tale of Mr George Clarkson who, whilst a Highway Surveyor, had charged two labourers against the township saying that they were working on the highways whilst, in reality, they had been employed on Mr Clarkson's farm. But no criminal prosecution for this fraud appears to have been brought. The matter was dealt with

¹⁶ Neave, *Pocklington*, 20; D. Neave, 'Anti-Militia Riots: 1757' in Neave and Ellis, *Atlas of East Yorkshire*, 124-5. The events at Kilnwick Percy are recounted by Sir Edmund Anderson in a letter dated 29 Mar 1758 held at Lincolnshire Archives Office - And/5/2/1.

¹⁷ Neave, *Pocklington*, 18-19.

within the town.¹⁸ This self-regulation is well illustrated by a note in the diary of Robert Sharp at South Cave. When a visitor to Cave Fair in 1827 declined to pay for his lodgings, Sharp, then the local constable, desired some of 'the Crowd' to turn him out of town. After the visitor 'landed safely in the beck, where he had a cool bath not very clean', he then found that he had the three shillings and sixpence that was needed.¹⁹

By the 1820s local magistrates such as Robert Denison of Kilnwick Percy appear to have been using their status as a Justice of the Peace to assert their authority over the towns - Denison was also the Lord of the Manor at Pocklington. In 1823 Denison was on the Committee dealing with the revaluation of Pocklington for rating purposes. Since he was the major landowner this was only to be expected. But he also led the Committee that sorted out George Clarkson's activities, and when an assistant overseer was to be appointed in 1824 he was in the chair and he and his father 'allowed' the decision to appoint James Stadders to that post in 1826. He was not however present in 1826 when the Vestry decided to reduce the rateable value of the Tolls of Pocklington, to which he was entitled, from £20 to £10.²⁰

¹⁸ Pocklington Vestry Book - 18 Dec 1823.

¹⁹ Crowther, *Sharp*, xl and 141.

²⁰ Pocklington Vestry Book, passim.

The level of clerical involvement in the affairs of the four towns also changed. At the time of the Herring Visitation in 1743 many of the Yorkshire Clergy lived outside their parishes - the vicar of Easingwold lived in Manchester and the vicar of Market Weighton at Etton, some six miles away, and he had no resident curate. At Pocklington the Vicar was resident and this was reflected in the detailed return he provided. Selby was cared for by the vicar of nearby Brayton. The position in the four towns was little improved by 1764. But by the early years of the nineteenth century even if the vicar was still non resident the resident curate was likely to be far more involved with local affairs than his counterpart in the mid eighteenth century, and of a higher social status. All the four towns then had a resident vicar, except perhaps Pocklington.²¹

One facet of this change was the increasing number of clerical magistrates in the East Riding, probably over 30 per cent in the 1820s.²² Another was the increasing assertiveness of the resident clergy in parish affairs. One notices that the name of the resident clergyman appears more frequently in the parochial records. In a town such as Market Weighton, where the education, social standing and wealth of most of the leading parishioners may well have been significantly less than that

²¹ Herring; Baines; Neave, *Pocklington*, 30; C Annesley and P Hoskin (eds.), *Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns 1764*, (York, 1997, 1998 and forthcoming). The provision by editors of a copy of the provisional entry for Market Weighton in the forthcoming volume is gratefully acknowledged.

²² Baines, 2, 596-599.

of the Vicar, it was almost inevitable that his influence would be felt. Thus when an organ was installed at Market Weighton in 1808, the agreement with William Hudson provided he was 'to play such tunes as shall be approved by the Minister' In contrast, the agreement with Thos Addy recorded in the Selby Vestry Book in 1810 simply provides that he should maintain a set of singers to sing in the church on Sundays and any other day when divine service takes place. He, and the local men listed as members of the choir in 1818, enjoyed far more independence than William Hudson. Indeed the introduction of an organ was often symptomatic of the vicar's desire to take full control of the church service and this in turn often reflected his status in the parish.²³ This illustrates very neatly the gap between Selby at one end of the spectrum and Market Weighton at the other. Selby was run by the town's well-defined elite and enjoyed considerable autonomy. Pocklington too was largely autonomous, although the influence of the major local landowner increased rather than decreased during the period. At Easingwold the position was less clear cut, but it may well be, as at Market Weighton, that there were only a limited number of townspeople capable of taking an active part in the affairs of the town

6.2 How were the towns run?

The essential differences between the way the towns were run lay in the wealth,

²³ Borthwick PR MW 17 - Market Weighton Churchwardens accounts – 21 Jan 1808; Selby Vestry Book - 16 Apr 1810. Cf. R.G. Woods, *Good Singing Still* (Telford, 1995), 132.

education and overall quality of the local elite, which in turn was reflected in the extent of the personal authority of the respective elite. That the officers of the town were, at least in theory, appointed by and answerable to Quarter Sessions, the Manorial Court or the Vestry was not a prime consideration.

Webb has commented that only a handful of the parishes whose records have been deposited at the Borthwick Institute in York have any vestry minutes prior to the nineteenth century and that the earliest vestry accounts date from 1838. He suggests the general pattern was for individual parish officers to render their own accounts for subsequent auditing at an annual vestry meeting. This appears to be what had happened in all the four towns in the eighteenth century, but in each of them one can detect the change noted by Webb in the early years of the nineteenth century at Malton, where the vestry for the parish of Old Malton acted, in effect, as the town council. Webb suggests that where vestry minutes do exist they effectively only record matters of particular importance, routine matters are not covered. In fact to describe such records as vestry minutes is somewhat of a misnomer. This can be seen very clearly at Selby and at Pocklington where vestry books were started in 1790 and 1819 respectively.²⁴

²⁴ C.C.W. Webb, *Guide to Parish Records in the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research* (York, 1987), xviii – xix; Selby Vestry Book; Pocklington Vestry Book. Malton was, and is, divided into three parishes. The Old Malton vestry minutes deposited at the Borthwick date from 1820.

The random nature of the early entries in the Selby vestry book - four entries for 1790, two for 1791, three for 1792 and then none until August 1795 - suggests that Selby was then governed without any formal system of administration other than the appointment of parish officers and the auditing of their accounts, but in fact the town appears to have been governed by an informal coterie, not all of whom were parish officers. This is particularly well illustrated by the activities of those responsible for the building of the Selby Bridge.²⁵ Although this event was of fundamental importance to the town there is no mention of it in the vestry minute book. Those responsible for the building and operation of the bridge were much the same people as those who appear in the vestry book and who held, or had held, the senior offices as recorded in the manor court records. They must have met together to discuss the affairs of the town but usually no formal minute of those discussions was made. Should a major development, like the bridge, be required, an ad hoc body would be formed but it would be run by the same coterie. This pattern of ad hoc bodies to run facets of the town's activities dated back to, at least, the trustees of Selby's workhouse in the 1740s,²⁶ and followed the national pattern.

A well documented example of the way the system must have operated is recorded in the entry in the manorial records when, on 16th April 1800, 'The

²⁵ The building of the bridge is described in Chapter III, Section 3.2.6 above.

²⁶ Borthwick PR SEL 73 - List of Trustees of the Selby Workhouse 1741-1758.

Great Court Leet Court Baron View of Frankpledge and Copyhold or Customary Court of the Right Honourable Robert Edward Lord Petre' met at Selby.²⁷ The Steward of the Court was John Harper, the Agent of Lord Petre. The record of the Court states 'We return and Continue the several persons mentioned ... to execute the Several Offices following ... ', and then follows a comprehensive list - Swineherd Masters / By Law Men, Ale Connors and Supervisors, Pindar, Searchers of Fish & Flesh, Leather Sealers, Constables, Assessors, Metter, Coal Porters, Porters for Merchants Goods. It is probable that either the Steward or the foreman of the jury, Thomas Hawdon, who ran the leading inn of the town, knew before the meeting who was to hold these various offices. Looking at the composition of the jury it is unlikely that they had a free hand in the matter. But apart from the Church Wardens and the Surveyors of Highways this is a comprehensive list of those who, nominally at least, ran the town and of those of lesser rank who occupied minor posts. Clearly there had been a discussion elsewhere before the meeting as to which names should go forward.

Well before 1800 a man such as John Foster, a prosperous Selby merchant, had retained a deputy, presumably at his own expense, to assist him in his office as constable, following the pattern already established in larger towns. But the appointment of Richard Wiley as perpetual overseer at a salary of £10 a year in 1797 and the establishment of a named committee to examine his accounts, marks

²⁷ University of Hull Archives DDLO2/10/13 - Manor Court Minutes Manor of Selby cum Membris, 16 Apr 1800.

a real change in the administration of Selby's affairs. In 1805 he was also appointed Town's Clerk, with specific listed duties, at a salary of £50 per annum.²⁸

At Pocklington these changes came some twenty years later and the rather fuller record in the Pocklington General Vestry Resolution Book throws some light on why the changes were made. In 1819 a Vestry Meeting, chaired by George Bagley, the High Constable for the Wapentake, was held specifically to consider the best mode for keeping the parish accounts which 'had been of late very irregularly and improperly kept'. Specific rules were then laid down as to how accounts should be prepared in the future. However in practice these must have been unenforceable and in 1823 George Clarkson's unsatisfactory tenure of the office Highway Surveyor during the previous year highlighted the problems. Thus in 1824 it was decided a proper person should be appointed 'as an assistant overseer of the poor and surveyor of the highways and collect all lays and assessments pay all bills and keep all accounts relating to the Parish'. James Stadders was appointed and it was agreed 'That a set of books be purchased published by Mr Ashdown of Middlesex for keeping all Parish Accounts with the

²⁸ Selby Vestry Book, 22 Sep 1791, 13 May 1797, 18 Apr 1805. Such improvements in administration had already been introduced in many larger towns. Cf. Smail, *The origins of middle class culture; Halifax, Yorkshire 1660-1780*, 104-6.

Books of Instructions'.²⁹

Despite the absence of the relevant vestry records for Easingwold it is clear from the manorial records that the town had little independent administrative existence in the early eighteenth century. The Court Book for the Manor of Easingwold cum Huby suggests that the manorial appointments were for the whole manor until after the 1780s and Raskelf had still been an integral part of the parish of Easingwold in the first half of the eighteenth century. By 1790 Easingwold may have been developing the framework found at Selby, and later at Pocklington. At Easingwold William Carter was said to have been parish clerk since 1734. In the *Universal British Directory* his name appears under 'Law' and he was described as 'Town-clerk'. In 1825 the Manor Court Book records the appointment of George Stephenson as Deputy Constable and the Churchwardens accounts show that he was Vestry Clerk.³⁰

In contrast the comprehensive parochial records that survive for Market Weighton make it clear that the administrative structure that was to be found at Selby and Pocklington after 1820 did not exist until long after 1830 at Market Weighton, if

²⁹ Pocklington Vestry Book - 7 Oct 1819, 18 Sep 1823, 11 Mar 1824, 6 Apr 1824. James Stadders was probably the son of a Pocklington shopkeeper.

³⁰ NYCRO ZDV MIC 164 - Easingwold cum Huby Manor Court Book 1719-1891; Borthwick PR EAS 30 - Churchwardens accounts 1804-1826; Easingwold Burial Register- William Carter died 5 Jan 1795, '61 years Parish Clerk', age 91.

indeed it ever existed. In part this is explained by the relative decline in the town's fortunes after c1815, but the difference between the occupations and standing of those who were concerned in the administration of that town and those in charge at Selby and Pocklington is very marked. At a public meeting held at Market Weighton in 1783 to consider whether certain properties were correctly assessed for the poor rate, one of the eight signatories made his mark and did not sign his name.³¹ The pool of available talent was very limited.

The gap between Selby and the other towns is also neatly illustrated by the formation of a Masonic Lodge in Selby in 1800. None of the other towns had a lodge for many years thereafter. Nor, other than at Selby, were there men of sufficient wealth and social standing to be officers in the militia. At Pocklington Robert Denison J.P., the Lord of the Manor, was active in raising militia in the crisis of 1803. No townsmen of Pocklington are mentioned. In contrast, at Selby, the Selby merchant John Foster was for a time the commandant of the local militia. Three Selby businessmen were captains and at least one was a lieutenant.³²

³¹ Borthwick PR MW 20 -Market Weighton Overseers accounts 1783-1826.

³² M. Y. Ashcroft, *To escape the monsters clutches - notes and documents illustrating the preparations to repel the invasion threatened by the French from 1793*, NYCRO Publications No 15 (Northallerton, 1977), 76 and 82-3; Morrell, *Selby*, 256. It is possible that John Bell, captain, in the muster roll of the Pocklington Volunteer Corps of Infantry in 1803 was John Bell, surgeon of Pocklington. See ERYA LT/7/20.

However all the towns enjoyed a very real element of autonomy. This is well illustrated in the assessment and collection of central government taxes. Ginter's view is that local communities essentially governed themselves and enjoyed relative autonomy in the collection of the land tax, but Swartz has argued that so far as assessed taxes are concerned, once the Excise became involved after 1780, central government were very much in charge of the assessment and collection of those taxes.³³ The reality as regards individual communities may be very difficult to assess. Perhaps a pointer to the true situation at Selby is that whilst Swartz mentions that after 1785 waiters in taverns and public houses were taxable, in 1788 no Selby innkeeper paid tax on male servants - and only one upon a female servant.³⁴ Looking at the Window and Assessed Taxes assessments for Selby, one has the feeling that little has changed in the last 200 years. Taxpayers, then as now, arranged their affairs so as to pay the minimum amount of tax. But perhaps equally important, one must remember that, as Thompson said of the operation of the post 1834 poor law in nineteenth century Lancashire: -

'... the reality was that the will of the Government represented an intention rather than an achievement, and the gap between the abstraction at the level of central government and the reality at the level of local administration was often

³³ Ginter, *Measure of Wealth*, 290; Schwarz, 'English servants', 239.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 239, footnote 10; Selby Window Tax Return 1788.

formidable'.³⁵

There was a very real difference between the leading citizens of Selby and those in the other three towns. Certainly there were in each town people of standing, but at Selby they were more numerous, commercially aware and wealthier. Further their aspirations appeared to be focused on the town rather than upon the need to acquire social standing in the county elite. In this respect their values seem to be akin to those of the commercial and professional elite of Halifax as described by Smail and the Hull merchants, as described by Jackson and Rosemary Sweet.³⁶ One is reminded of the comment of Arthur Young, who criticised Irish businessmen for withdrawing from trade and passing themselves as minor gentry but added that many Quakers were exceptions to this folly and in consequence were the only wealthy traders in the island. Thomas Procter, the wealthy Selby flax merchant was in fact a Quaker, but others such as the John Fosters, father and son, and John Audus and his son James, did not withdraw from trade but on the contrary continued to support the development of Selby. These men, and others like them, displayed the qualities remarked upon by Pollard that

³⁵ R.N. Thompson, 'The working of the Poor Law Amendment Act in Cumbria, 1836-1871', *Northern History*, 15 (1979), 137.

³⁶ Smail, *The origins of middle class culture; Halifax, Yorkshire 1660-1780*; R. Sweet, *The Writing of urban histories in eighteenth-century England* (Oxford, 1997), 251, referring to late eighteenth century histories of Hull and Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*.

caused West Yorkshire to be one of the dynamic regions of the British industrial revolution.³⁷

6.3 How was the income of the town spent?

Writing in 1856 Sheahan and Whellan said of Pocklington:-

'Considerable improvements have been made within the last quarter of a century; the Market Place has been cleared from obstructions, and rendered more commodious, by the removal of the ancient shambles; by arching over the rivulet, through the bed of which the high road from Malton and Driffild previously past, for more than fifty yards; and by the construction of spacious and well formed roads, which diverge from it in several directions'.³⁸

It is possible that some of these improvements had been made rather earlier than the authors suggest and it is likely that the arching over of the beck was completed by 1828. Since no mention of this is made in the Pocklington Vestry Book it could well be that a substantial part of the cost was met by adjoining owners since their property was thereby improved. Certainly the cost of the

³⁷ A. Young, *A Tour in Ireland*, 2 (London, 1780), 344, quoted by Vann and Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death*, 48; Morrell, *Selby*, 250-8; S. Pollard, 'Regional character : the economic margins of Europe', in E. Royle (ed.), *Issues of regional identity* (Manchester, 1998), 23. Smail, *The origins of middle class culture; Halifax, Yorkshire 1660-1780*, 220-1.

³⁸ Sheahan and Whellan, *East Riding*, 2, 564-5.

improvements to the beck below the town, due to the improvement of what is now known as Thirsk's Mill and the construction of Devonshire Mill in 1808, would not have been met by the town but they could well have been of considerable benefit in that they would have improved the flow of the beck.

The National School at Pocklington was built in 1819 by Dennison, the then Lord of the Manor. The high road to York and Beverley was a turnpike, the canal leading to the town had been built by the Pocklington Canal Company. Thus the money raised from the town's ratepayers for expenditure, other than on poor relief, was modest - £0.14 per head in 1802-3, much the same as at Selby and Easingwold.³⁹

The Pocklington Vestry Book records that a General Meeting was held on 13th August 1823 to consider the rebuilding the oven in the common bake house at a cost of £9.9.0 (£9.45) and this may well be indicative of the matters that were considered important in that year. Certainly work was undertaken in the town on the repair of roads and bridges but the chief focus of the town would have been the church and its maintenance. This was probably so at Easingwold and certainly so at Market Weighton. It may reflect the increasing prosperity of Market Weighton that in 1785 the spire of the parish church was removed and the top of

³⁹ Baines, 2, 377, *PP Abstract of Returns Relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor*, (1803-04). The county average was £0.21 in the East Riding, £0.16 in the North Riding and £0.14 in the West Riding.

the tower rebuilt in brick. In 1788 the Church Wardens accounts record expenditure of £6 on a new clock face and in 1790 a rate of 4d in the £ was raised to repair the church roof. This last decision may have proved far more expensive than was anticipated. In 1802-3 the amount that Market Weighton was spending on parish expenditure, other than poor relief, was £0.32 for each inhabitant - much higher than the East Riding average of £0.21 per head.⁴⁰

The way that the work on Market Weighton's church was financed marks the sharp difference between Market Weighton, and to a lesser extent, Easingwold and Pocklington, on the one hand, and Selby on the other. That the Selby canal came to the town in 1777 was not due to any activity on the part of the town, financial or otherwise, but thereafter developments were certainly initiated within the town though not usually paid for out of public funds. When in 1791 the bridge was built over the Ouse, it was by a Company formed by the leading men of Selby. The subsequent extensive alterations to the town centre appear to have been funded largely by John Audus and his son James, with the somewhat grudging support of the Petre family, the Lord of the Manor and local landowner. In 1823 there was a proposal to built a town hall with a prison below. It was intended that the Vestry should consider the matter but no resolution was taken. At a meeting in 1824 a committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions. Thomas Procter headed the list with a donation of £50, over 30 others subscribed £2 or

⁴⁰ Pevsner and Neave, *York and the East Riding*, 609; Borthwick PR MW 16 - Market Weighton Churchwardens' Accounts; *PP Abstract*, (1803-4).

more and in all over 130 local men and women made subscriptions. Of the total cost of £280 only £52.17.0 (£52.85) came from town funds.⁴¹ The development of Selby was thus financed by individuals rather than by public funds.

That Selby was a larger and more active town is clearly seen from the Selby Vestry Book. One must always guard against the danger of being influenced by the survival of relevant records, but the equivalent record at Pocklington from 1819 suggests, as must surely have been the case, that those in control at Selby were more pro-active than the other three towns. Some of their actions had no financial implications - in 1792 anyone who set fire to his chimney was to be prosecuted by the constable, but at the same meeting it was agreed that in the event of a serious fire the constable should pay five shillings to 'such person or persons who shall bring the first engine to such fire'. In 1803 a fire company of 50 to 60 men was formed. At a practical level the Vestry resolved in 1800 that 'a flagg staff with a vane at the top and ensign be erected on the top of the steeple, and that a committee of the Captains in the Trade from Selby to London have the management thereof'.⁴²

⁴¹ Morrell, *Selby*, 255-6, 280 and 285; Selby Vestry Book -17 April 1823, 14 May 1824; Borthwick PR SEL 31 - Subscription list for Selby Prison. The Duke of Devonshire, then the Lord of the Manor, built the principal inn at Market Weighton as a coaching inn, c1780, but this appears to have been an isolate action by an absentee landlord. Pevsner and Neave, *York and the East Riding*, 610.

⁴² Selby Vestry Book, 19 May 1792, 6 Mar 1803, 7 Oct 1800.

Nevertheless, whilst Selby was relatively early when it installed gas lighting in 1832, Pocklington followed shortly afterwards in 1834 - Beverley had been lit by gas since 1824. Market Weighton had no gas lighting until after 1847, Easingwold not until 1857. Both Selby and Pocklington used the enabling statutory powers to levy a rate and in both towns the gas was supplied by limited companies.⁴³

Poor relief must have been a matter that those running the towns had high on their agenda, if only because of the amount of money that had to be committed to this aspect of parish expenditure. Nevertheless, when considering the operation of poor relief in the four towns, one must first consider their available financial resources. All four towns expanded during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. So the land tax, which was a fixed assessment on each town, became less of a burden as the liability was spread amongst a larger number of tax payers.⁴⁴ The window and assessed taxes were inherently taxes on consumption. Thus if, as at Selby, the elite of the town were relatively modest in flaunting their wealth, the tax payable to central government would be that much less so that the burden of local rates and assessments would be less burdensome than in places

⁴³ Selby Vestry Book, 17 Aug 1831; Pocklington Vestry Book, 6 Aug 1834; Allison, *Victoria County History, York, East Riding*, 6, Beverley, 224; Bulmer, 679; Whellan, *North Riding*, 2, 609.

⁴⁴ This process can be seen very clearly by comparing the Selby Land Tax assessments for 1781 and 1788.

where these conditions did not apply.

In a fast growing town with good employment prospects the demand for poor relief would be less than elsewhere. A rapidly expanding town such as Selby would have a bias to younger age groups, the elderly would be less likely to migrate to the town. And because of the favourable employment situation in the surrounding countryside, migrants coming to the towns would be drawn to the towns by the attractions of well paid employment, rather than having been driven to leave their previous abode because of famine or privation. The favourable rural employment situation is one facet of the deep North / South divide that developed during the early years of the industrial revolution. Mark Blaug looked at weekly wages for agricultural workers between 1795 and 1850 and the data in Table 6:1 is taken from that which he listed in an appendix to his article published in 1963.⁴⁵

These wage rates were clearly influenced by the wages of industrial workers, but in the East Riding they also reflected the increased employment available as additional land was brought into cultivation as a result of enclosure.

⁴⁵ As to the North / South divide, see K.D.M. Snell, *Annals of the labouring poor: social change and agrarian England, 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), 1-2; M. Blaug 'The Myth of the Old Poor Law and the making of the New', *Journal of Economic History*, 23 (1963), 182-3.

TABLE 6:1
WEEKLY MONEY WAGES OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS
(£ Decimal)

National Average	1795 0.45	1824 0.48	1833 0.53	1837 0.51
South Midlands Average	0.40	0.42	0.52	0.46
Lancashire	0.68	0.62	0.61	0.63
East Riding of Yorkshire	0.55	0.62	0.57	0.60
North Riding of Yorkshire	0.56	0.58	0.55	0.60
West Riding of Yorkshire	0.50	0.51	0.57	0.60

Source : Blaug⁴⁶

Hastings, in his paper, *Poverty and the Poor Law in the North Riding of Yorkshire between c1780 and 1837*, commented that 'a more nourishing diet, higher wages than in the south and east, and the spread of allotment schemes in a paternalistic society made for general well-being.' He also commented that 'Since the North Riding suffered from neither endemic low wages nor high unemployment, except during dearth or depression, its poor consisted largely of the aged; the sick; and one parent families ...'.⁴⁷

The population of the country as a whole was living longer but it seems likely, for the reasons just mentioned, that in the early years of the nineteenth century, there

⁴⁶ Blaug, 'Myth of the Old Poor Law', Appendix D.

⁴⁷ R.P. Hastings, *Poverty and the Poor Law in the North Riding of Yorkshire, c1780-1837*, Borthwick Papers 61 (York, 1982), 1 and 3.

would have been an increasing number of the elderly and infirm to care for in all four towns, a situation that would have become an increasing problem as the towns ceased to enjoy above average growth in population. The maintenance of illegitimate children - the majority of Hastings' one parent families, was a national problem but at Easingwold it must have been of particular concern to the Overseers of the Poor. In the 1780s 6.2 per cent of children born at Easingwold were illegitimate. In 1837 'every sixth person receiving relief in the Easingwold [poor law] union was a bastard child'. But there was not the structural poverty, due to low wages - and the consequent high rates of poor relief per head of population - that was to be found in the southern rural counties.⁴⁸

Each of the four towns had a workhouse. It is likely that the elderly and infirm made up the larger part of the occupants, although in 1813 Thomas Jagger of Selby agreed to employ the paupers in the Selby workhouse and was paid £20, plus £6 per annum, when he moved his frames into the workhouse.⁴⁹ At Selby between 1777 and 1788 one third of the 25 men and women shown as poor, and

⁴⁸ Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, 326 - Table 6.33 and 328; Hastings, *Poverty and the Poor Law*, 3. At Market Weighton the percentage of illegitimate children in the 1780's was 4.2, at Selby and Pocklington 3.1. See Chapter V, Section 5.2 above and Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, 219; Cf. Blaug, 'Myth of the Old Poor Law', 178-183.

⁴⁹ Selby Vestry Book, 18 Mar 1813.

who were aged 50 years or over at the time of their death, were shown as coming from the work house. But to put this in perspective, there were in all 208 burials in this age group during that period. Selby's workhouse dates from at least the 1740's, there is reference to one at Easingwold in 1756, the one at Market Weighton was built around 1780 and Eden implies that Pocklington's dates from before 1775. Eden found 20 paupers in Pocklington workhouse in 1796 but very few in the one at Market Weighton 'as it was found, that the poor could be maintained at a cheaper rate out of the house, on weekly pensions'. In 1802 the percentage of those relieved who had been in the workhouse ranged from 11 per cent at Market Weighton to 15 per cent at Pocklington, but this was higher than the figure for Yorkshire as a whole, which ranged from 5 per cent to 8 per cent.⁵⁰

Eden's comment reminds us that this was not a cheap option. The paupers in three of the workhouses were farmed - the workhouse master was paid a fixed rate per head. At Pocklington in 1796 Eden notes a figure of two shillings a week and at Market Weighton two shillings and sixpence.⁵¹ At Selby the rate was increased in 1800 to three shillings a week 'during the present high cost of provisions'.

Easingwold was not farmed but from the details given in 1829 Hastings calculated in 1984 that the weekly fare at this workhouse then 'contained some 19,076

⁵⁰ Selby Burial Register; Borthwick PR SEL 73 - List of Trustees of the Workhouse 1741-1758; Cowling, *Easingwold*, 103; Eden, *State of the Poor*, 863-4 and 881; PP *Abstract*, (1803-4), 590, 592, 602, 608, 626, 632 and 654.

⁵¹ Eden, *State of the Poor*, 863 and 881.

calories which compared very favourably with the weekly 18,000 -21,000 calories needed by the modern manual worker'. The tone of the minute of a Vestry Meeting at Selby in 1830, when Mary Capes was appointed to manage the town's workhouse, implies that the primary concern of those present was not to cut costs. She was to be paid 2/9, to be increased to 3/- if her accounts showed this to be necessary, and if she sustained loss the overseers and churchwardens 'shall afford her proper remuneration'.⁵²

Writing of the Old Poor Law in East Yorkshire in 1953 Mitchelson comments:-

'The workhouse was hated by the poor. It was usually a fearful collection of idiots, children, sick and senile people, unmarried mothers and unemployed. Crabbe's savage criticism in his poem *The Village* (1783) probably gives as true a picture as any of the rural workhouse'.⁵³

Perhaps this was true of Crabbe's native Suffolk, but current research suggests that Mitchelson's comments were heavily influenced by the undoubted, and very understandable, antipathy against the workhouse under the regime that prevailed after 1834, particularly in the southern counties of England. A far more accurate

⁵² Selby Vestry Book, 13 Jan 1800, 1 Jul 1830; R.P. Hastings, *More Essays in North Riding History*, North Yorkshire County Record Office Publications 34 (1984), 28 and 32. But cf. Mitchelson's less favourable comments as to the workhouse in Hunmanby in the East Riding. N. Mitchelson, *The Old Poor Law in East Yorkshire*, East Yorkshire Local History Series 2 (Beverley, 1953), 14.

⁵³ Mitchelson, *The Old Poor Law*, 15.

picture is that given by Snell showing the more benign face of the old poor law - at least until the strains in the system emerged in the 1790s, strains that were at their worst in the low waged southern counties of England. It is indicative of the situation in Pocklington as late as 1823 that only 10, out of perhaps 200, ratepayers were assessed at more than two per cent of the total for the township. Together they comprised a little under 40 per cent of the total assessment. Influential they would have been, but pure self interest - and not least the need to avoid damage to their windows - would have caused them to care for the poor of the town in the way their fellow townsmen felt to be appropriate.⁵⁴

That vagrants were given a less sympathetic reception is therefore quite understandable. This does not seem to have been a particular problem at Pocklington - there is no reference to vagrants in the Pocklington Vestry Book between 1819 and 1830. Nor is it likely that Market Weighton would be seriously troubled by it. But Easingwold and Selby, on the routes used by northern migrants heading south to the West Riding and to London, had to make provision for them. At Easingwold in 1829 vagrants were admitted to a room in the workhouse yard for the night and given a very basic meal before their departure.⁵⁵ The first reference to vagrants that has been noted in the Selby Vestry Book was in 1822, when a vagrants' office was established. Those whom it was found necessary to

⁵⁴ Snell, *Annals of the labouring poor*, 104-111; Ayer, *Survey of Pocklington*.

⁵⁵ Hastings, *Essays* (1981), 156.

furnish with lodgings would be sent to the house of Ann Cheetam who had agreed to lodge them at 2 1/2 d per night. It was not a foregone conclusion that they would be given any thing for food and it was also:-

'Resolved that each vagrant found begging or committing any act of vagrancy be taken into custody and carried before a magistrate, the expenses attended on which be defrayed from the parish'.⁵⁶

Mention should be made of two factors that reduced the burden of poor relief - friendly societies and local charities. In Hastings's view, friendly society benefits did relieve pressure on the poor rate in the North Riding prior to 1834.⁵⁷ It is hardly surprising that in general they were viewed favourably both by those likely to need relief and by those who had to bear the cost of providing poor relief. All the four towns had at least one society by 1802.⁵⁸ The first of two at Easingwold in 1770, two at Pocklington in 1789 and 1794 respectively, one at Market Weighton in 1794. Overall, the membership of friendly societies in the East and West Ridings was then equivalent to about 10 per cent of the population - in the North Riding it was around 6 per cent. The Easingwold and Pocklington

⁵⁶ Selby Vestry Book, 16 Jul 1822. There is a further reference to the vagrants office on 17 Nov 1824.

⁵⁷ Hastings, *Essays* (1981), 110.

⁵⁸ *PP Abstract*, (1803-4), 590-1, 592-3, 602-3, 608-9, 626-7, 632-3, 654-5, the figure of 350 for the total Selby friendly society membership in 1802 seems a suspiciously rounded figure.

membership was equivalent to 28 and 26 per cent respectively but this is a measure of their central function rather than true membership. At Easingwold the two societies had a total membership of 418 in 1802 but in 1790 of the 169 members of the Easingwold New Union Society, only 60 per cent were resident in the town.⁵⁹ Unfortunately the New Union list does not show occupations but a comparison with the *Universal British Directory* entry for Easingwold suggests that the majority of the members were labourers or small tradesman, with a few innkeepers, an apothecary and the like who joined for professional reasons. One of the two stewards was a blacksmith and the clerk a shoemaker. Selby was said to have five societies in 1802 but with a stated average membership of only 70. One, founded in 1792, was originally known as the Mariners' Society.⁶⁰ A surviving record of another, the Amicable Society of Selby, illustrates the problems encountered by societies in times of stress in that in 1810 a general meeting agreed to restrict members' benefits 'on account of the reduction of the stock of the society'.⁶¹ It is interesting that the 35 signatures on the resolution

⁵⁹ NYCRO QDS(F) - Articles of New Union Society, 1799. Hastings quotes a figure of 34 per cent of non resident members based on 197 members, whereas only 169 are listed. (Hastings, *Essays* (1981), 112.)

⁶⁰ Morrell, *Selby*, 291.

⁶¹ Borthwick PR SEL 310 - Orders passed at meeting of Selby Amicable Society, 4 Dec 1810. This does not appear to be the society of the same name referred to in the Selby Charity School Account book and Register. (WYAS, Leeds, Acc 1809).

agreed at the meeting seem to be those of small tradesmen or of men who were not listed by Mountain or the *Universal British Directory*.⁶² The smattering of innkeepers or professionals found at Easingwold is absent, as is the attorney president of the Easingwold New Union and the vicar who was the patron of the Market Weighton Friendly Society.⁶³

Friendly Societies promoted thrift and self help, and most importantly self respect, amongst the lower orders of society. There seems little doubt that Hastings is correct in saying that they relieved some pressure on the poor rate.⁶⁴ But it was just at the time when there was severe pressure on parish funds that the friendly societies might fail, or have to cut their benefits. And those whom he identified as the core of those dependent on parish relief - the aged; the sick; the one parent families - were the very people likely to be outside their scope.

⁶² But as to the coverage of the entry in the *Universal British Directory*, see Appendix Five.

⁶³ D. Neave, *East Riding Friendly Societies* East Yorkshire Local History Society 41 (Beverley, 1988), 14. The Market Weighton Friendly Society was one of those broken up in the aftermath of the economic difficulties of 1828-30. See D. Neave, *Mutual Aid in the Victorian Countryside: Friendly Societies in the Rural East Riding 1830-1914* (Hull, 1991), 14.

⁶⁴ Hastings, *Essays* (1981), 117.

The other potential sources of poor relief usually benefited those who had been unable, or unwilling, to obtain benefits from a friendly society. Hastings suggests that:-

‘Until a growing population, mounting poor rates and the economic difficulties of the late 18th and early 19th centuries began to create increasing problems, private charity and voluntary effort were considered the normal means of relieving suffering. The Tudor legislation upon poverty was designed as a last resort to be invoked only if circumstances exceeded the capacities of private charity’.⁶⁵

One is bound to say that not all historians would accept this view point but the resources of the four towns illustrate the reasons for his statement.

Easingwold and Selby both had long established alms houses. All four towns had charitable endowments in varying degrees. In 1802 at Market Weighton they might well have produced an income as high as £60 per annum, a substantial amount in comparison with the expenditure of £303 from the poor rate.⁶⁶

Easingwold's endowments are not easy to quantify in cash terms but were probably substantially less. At Pocklington the Charity Commissioners appear to have found considerable confusion when they attempted to assess the Pocklington charities in 1822/3 and from Leadman's account the annual income may have been as little as £5. Since in 1819 a Vestry meeting recorded that the accounts of

⁶⁵ Ibid., 125.

⁶⁶ Bulmer, 679.

the parish had been of late irregularly and improperly kept, this might well have extended to the town's charities.⁶⁷ In complete contrast, Selby's affairs seem to have been very much in order.⁶⁸ As early as 1664 steps had been taken to place the town's charitable funds in the hands of trustees, the Feoffees, and most later donations or bequests for charitable purposes were generally made to them. In 1800 the annual charitable income for the relief of the poor must have been of the order of £100, and perhaps more. What further distinguishes Selby is the extent of charitable donations and bequests in the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. These endowments would be supplemented by public subscriptions and specific donations of the type mentioned by Cowling at Easingwold.⁶⁹ The general pattern suggests that these would be unusual at Market Weighton but relatively common in the far wealthier town of Selby. This would seem to be the crux of the matter. If both wealth and administrative ability were available then money could be available for the relief of the poor. This point is reinforced by the references to a clothing society operating at Selby by 1834 and a soup and coal committee in existence from at least 1838.⁷⁰ That the Vicars at

⁶⁷ A.D. Leadman, 'Pocklington Church and Pocklington School', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 14 (1896), 111; Pocklington Vestry Book, 7 Oct 1819;

⁶⁸ Morrell, *Selby*, 180-190 and 294.

⁶⁹ Cowling, *Easingwold*, 102-3.

⁷⁰ Parsons, *The Tourist's Companion*, 115-123.

Pocklington between 1750 and 1840 were non resident or inactive may have contributed to the neglect of Pocklington's charities, but the inability to check neglect by the headmaster of the affairs of Pocklington School - discussed in the next chapter - suggests that this may have been a symptom of a deeper malaise. On the other hand, the relatively satisfactory nature of Market Weighton's charities may not be unconnected with the presence of the pro-active stance of the Revd George Skelding, who died in 1818.⁷¹

It is not easy to form an accurate view of the rise in the cost of the relief poor during the period. The level of contribution from charitable endowments and donations, the rapid rise in population, the migration of younger men and women which left communities with an ageing population, the acute periods of dearth - which were far from uniform across the country, and not least, inflation during the Napoleonic Wars at a rate that would not be seen again until after 1914, all these make accurate analysis at local level very difficult. What is clear is that the true amount of expenditure on the poor rose sharply in the last decade of the eighteenth century, again rose sharply in the next decade, and then more or less stabilised. It is also clear that Yorkshire as a whole was one of the counties that avoided the worst excesses.⁷²

⁷¹ Neave, *East Riding Friendly Societies*, 14.

⁷² See Blaug, 'Myth of the Old Poor Law', 178-9. Blaug lists the North and East Ridings as Speenhamland counties but this was probably not so. See Hastings, *Poverty and the Poor Law*, 11. Expenditure at Market Weighton, probably paying

6.1 Conclusions

There was a very clear differentiation between Market Weighton and the other three towns. Market Weighton was essentially a rural parish, so that the small urban centre within the parish made little impact on the administrative affairs of the parish, quite apart from the limited pool of available talent. This is neatly demonstrated by the lack of involvement in the construction of the Market Weighton canal and the influence of the vicar when an organ was installed in 1808.⁷³ Similarly the rebuilding of the church was financed through the rates rather than by individual donations.

At the other end of the spectrum, Selby was run by a defined and wealthy elite, with little interference from the local clergy or the local gentry. Improvements to the town were financed by individuals, often through ad hoc bodies. In part this was a facet of the longstanding civic traditions at Selby, as was also the case at Pocklington.⁷⁴ But the elite at Pocklington was less well developed and certainly

more per head of population in poor relief than Pocklington and Selby, appears to have risen from £0.26 per head in 1802 to around £0.65 per head in 1819. (PP *Abstract*, (1803-4).).

⁷³ Contrast the position at Selby when a church choir was formed in 1810. Borthwick PR MW 17 - Market Weighton Churchwardens accounts – 21 Jan 1808; Selby Vestry Book - 16 Apr 1810.

⁷⁴ On the importance of such traditions, see 'Pro Bono Publico, Review of Putman R D et al *Making Democracy Work – Civic traditions in modern Italy* (Princeton, 1993)', *The Economist* (UK edition) (6 February 1993), 110.

less proactive. They were more dependent on the goodwill of local landowners, as shown by the contrast between the building of Selby Bridge and the construction of the Pocklington canal. Dennison, the Lord of the Manor at Pocklington, was more involved with the affairs of the town than Petre at Selby. Yet Pocklington had gas lighting in 1834, only two years after Selby.

Easingwold, unlike Selby and Pocklington, did not have this civic tradition and in the early years of the eighteenth century was part of the joint manor of Easingwold and Huby. Nevertheless, by 1790 it showed signs of developing the sort of administrative systems found at Selby and Pocklington. It may be that further research will clarify the position, but it could well be that it was the lack of drive on the part of the local elite that hampered the development of Easingwold, rather than pressures from the clergy or the local gentry.

In all four towns the amount of direct public expenditure was minimal by modern standards. Developments in the towns were generally dependent on finance from individuals, either directly or through money left to charitable trusts. This also extended to day to day expenditure, notably on the relief of the poor, although in this area public expenditure rose sharply during the period. But one must stress that the situation as to poor relief was very different from the pattern that developed in the rural south of England, something that is clearly shown by Table 6:1.

CHAPTER VII Cultural Changes

7.1 Civic pride and Identity

When James Mountain published his *History of Selby* in 1800 he said on the title page:-

'May'st thou, Old Time! no more behold
Such tragic scenes as are enroll'd
in chronicles long past:
But *Industry* and *Wealth* combine,
To make this Town with *Commerce* shine;
And may its glories last'.¹

Rosemary Sweet has shown the importance of such histories as an indication of civic identity, in assessing the character of the potential readership and thus the changing character of the town in question. No previous history of Selby has been traced, so one cannot compare Mountain's approach to any previous history, but the book reflected the prosperity of the town, an upsurge in confidence and the desire of the population to trumpet the achievements of Selby. It is quite clear from the list of the 121 subscribers that it was principally written for a local readership. 18 copies were ordered by two York booksellers, but over 75 per cent of the subscribers were listed as of Selby and most of the remainder were from the local area. It was not designed to appeal to the landed gentry, only one subscriber is described as 'Esq.' - John Coltman of Beverley, and that the production of the

¹ Mountain, *Selby*. The words in italics in the quotation are so printed in the book. As to Mountain see also Appendix 5.

book is in octavo rather than the larger quarto is confirmation of this.² The verse quoted above neatly summarises the book - a detailed history of the past splendours of the abbey of Selby, an account of the skirmishes near Selby in the Civil War, a thorough account of the events leading up to the building of the bridge at Selby a few years earlier and a succinct portrait of the town in 1800, stressing that '*Industry and Wealth* combine, to make this Town with *Commerce* shine'. It is interesting, but not unusual, that this sense of civic pride and identity did not stem from long association with the town. It is likely that Mountain, a clockmaker, was not born in the town, and that his parents may have moved to Selby in the 1780s. Many of his readers would have moved to the town even more recently.³

It is instructive to consider Mountain's *History of Selby* in the light of Rosemary Sweet's account of the histories of Hull. She comments as to the histories by Hadley and Tickell, published in 1788 and 1796 respectively, that it was 'taken for granted that it was commerce which had made the town [Hull] what it was and which had given the citizens all the blessings which they enjoyed'.⁴ This neatly

² Sweet, *Urban histories*. She referred to the significance of the format of a directory in a paper given at the Annual Meeting of the Pre-Modern Towns group in November 1993.

³ Mountain, *Selby, Directory*; Selby Parish Registers.

⁴ Sweet, *Urban histories*, 241-52, especially 250.

encapsulates the thinking behind Mountain's *History* and it could well be that these Hull histories were Mountain's inspiration, though undoubtedly the events leading up to the building of the bridge, and the bridge itself, provided a focal point for the civic identity displayed in his book.⁵

The publication of the poems of William Hickington in 1821 by John Easton, a Pocklington printer, is evidence of a similar sense of identity at Pocklington. Hickington (1730-1772) lived in Pocklington for the last ten years of his life. During his lifetime some of his poetry was published and other poems were probably circulated in manuscript amongst his friends and acquaintances amongst the local gentry. David Neave considers that the poems give a useful picture of Pocklington and its society but they do not in themselves provide evidence of any sense of civic identity. On the contrary, the author expected them to be read, if they were read at all, by the local gentry rather than by the townspeople. The gentle mockery of some of the poems might well have been ill received in the town. But their publication in 1821 is a clear indication of the wish to recognise such talent as Pocklington had possessed in the past.⁶ Although Pocklington had no town directory until 1845, the publication, again by Easton, of a directory and plan in that year, is indicative of a sense of civic identity that had no doubt existed

⁵ As to the bridge, see Chapter II, Section 2.6.

⁶ Neave, *Pocklington*, (Second edition, 1984), Appendix.

for many years.⁷

In contrast, the publication of the first history of Easingwold, *Vallis Eboracensis* in 1852 by Thomas Gill, an Easingwold printer, tends to confirm the sense of general malaise at Easingwold, typified by the failure to meet the challenge of the decline in the coaching and carrying trades after the construction of the railway to the west of the town in 1841. Only 52 of its 450 pages are concerned with Easingwold, the rest covers neighbouring villages. Quite apart from the content and the title itself, the presentation 'with the arms of the lord of the manor in gilt on the front cover and illustrated with lithographic views', and the list of subscribers headed by the Lord of the Manor and some 26 peers and members of the landed gentry, all suggest that Gill was aiming at a 'county' audience and was not concerned to establish the identity of Easingwold.⁸

Parsons' *The Tourist's Companion: or The History of the Scenes and Places on the route by the railroad and steam packet from Leeds and Selby to Hull*,⁹ is, as

⁷ *Easton's Directory of Pocklington*.

⁸ Gill, *Vallis Eboracensis* ; Cowling, *Easingwold*, 128. As to the railway see Chapter III, Section 3.3.

⁹ Parsons, *The Tourist's Companion*. The names on the title page are Whittaker & Co. of London, Bancks & Co. of Manchester and W R Galpine of Selby. It was printed in Selby. The author had written a history of Leeds. (Morrell, *Selby*, vii.)

its name implies, more a promotional booklet for the railway than a history of these three towns. Though it was initiated in Selby and was doubtless intended to promote that town, it does not display civic pride or civic identity in the way that Mountain does in his History.

Whilst Morrell's *History and Antiquities of Selby*, published in 1867, forms a useful and reliable source book, looked at as evidence of the town's cultural identity it suggests that Dobson's assessment of the changed character of Victorian Selby from 'a period of energetic enterprise into one of staid respectability' is all too accurate.¹⁰ Morrell says in his preface that his aim was 'to foster a spirit of intelligent interest and enquiry among the inhabitants of Selby into the history of their town and neighbourhood'. The list of subscribers is headed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, followed by thirteen members of the nobility, and suggests a very different readership to that which James Mountain was targeting. It looks to the past rather than the future and the verse that appears on the title page of Mountain's History in 1800 would have been totally inappropriate for Morrell's book.

The construction of the bridge at Selby and the canal at Pocklington are facets of a willingness to deal with the practical needs of the respective town, rather than evidence of civic pride, and the lack of new public buildings in all four towns, other than nonconformist chapels and Selby's 'town hall' in 1825, is not unusual in

¹⁰ Morrell, *Selby*; Dobson, *Selby*, 29.

the late eighteenth century, nor in smaller towns in the early nineteenth century. But what is very indicative of civic identity at Selby are the major alterations in the layout of the centre of the town after the building of the bridge in 1791. Morrell attributes these changes to the driving force of John Audus, who developed the south side of the enlarged Market Place and the road leading from the Market Place to the bridge, now known as the Crescent.¹¹ There are no comparable developments in any of the other towns during the period. Pocklington's basic town plan dated back to the thirteenth century and was little changed until the 1840s and the market place at Easingwold was laid out in the seventeenth century, though many of the houses round it date from the eighteenth century.

7.2 The towns as social centres

It was not the principal function of any of the four towns to act as a social centre, but to a greater or lesser extent all did function in this way. Neave found that:-

'Pocklington had the aura of a minor social centre in the 1730's and 40's. There had been attorneys and apothecaries resident since the late seventeenth century but by this period they had multiplied and a number of local clergy were choosing at this time to live at Pocklington rather in their 'barbaric' villages. The shops were well stocked, and by the 1740s a library for the gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood had been founded. For

¹¹ Morrell, *Selby*, 255 and 280.

those interested in sports cockfights were plentiful and once a year there was horse racing on the common'.¹²

It could well be that this picture is more true of Pocklington in the 1730s and 40's than it was a few years later. The notice in the *York Courant* on 21 Feb 1748/9 that Neave quotes as authority for the foundation of a library did in fact announce its closure. Nevertheless it is indicative of Pocklington's capacity to offer a social function at this level that seven individuals at Pocklington paid tax on male servants in 1780 - as against two at Selby and none at Easingwold and Market Weighton.¹³ That William Hickington, whose poetry has been mentioned above, came to live in Pocklington in c1763 is indicative of its continuing social function. Yeoman farmers such as John Dewsbury of Allerthorpe no doubt moved to Pocklington when they ceased to be active farmers.¹⁴

A factor that suggests Neave's picture of Pocklington in the 1740s may no longer be true in the 1780s is that in 1788 only £1.0.4 (£1.02) was paid in shop tax by Pocklington shopkeepers, representing perhaps ten taxable shops. The Easingwold figure was a little more, the Market Weighton a little less. In comparison York's

¹² Neave, *Pocklington*, 19. He quotes as sources the Parish Records, the Herring visitation returns and the *York Courant*, 21 Feb 1748/9 and 31 May 1748.

¹³ Cartwright, 'Persons in Yorkshire who paid tax on male servants'; Schwarz, 'English servants', 241.

¹⁴ ERYA DDPY 29/107 - Will of John Dewsbury.

shop tax total was £212, Beverley £21 and Scarborough £25. Perhaps the correct emphasis should be that Pocklington was then a minor social centre.¹⁵

There is no evidence that Easingwold had a similar group of urban gentry in the eighteenth century. From the diary of William Lockwood one has the impression that, in the 1790s, although a young lawyer might meet his friends in a local inn, serious social diversion would be found in York or Scarborough.¹⁶ It seems highly unlikely that Market Weighton had such a group, even during the time when it was expanding commercially in the 1790's, because of the lack of professional men in Market Weighton and the proximity of Pocklington and Beverley. The peruke makers listed for Market Weighton in the *Universal British Directory* could well have been making wigs for use elsewhere whereas the hairdressers listed for the other three towns would have practised their craft upon local people. No bookseller was listed in the *Universal British Directory* at Market Weighton, nor at Easingwold, whereas there was a bookbinder and stationer at Pocklington and bookseller was listed by Mountain at Selby.¹⁷

Pocklington common was enclosed in 1757 but it is likely that the horse racing

¹⁵ Selby Window Tax Return 1788; PRO E182/1159 – Window and Assessed taxes 1788.

¹⁶ Kirk, *Lockwood*.

¹⁷ *Universal British Directory*, Mountain, *Selby*, Directory.

referred to by Neave continued, probably adjoining the New Inn built by Thomas Overend close to the turnpike. Races held on 2nd May were mentioned by Baines in 1823 and the racecourse can be seen on the 1851 Ordnance Survey map.¹⁸

There is a record of a theatre company operating in the town in 1818/19 and in 1824 a concert was held in the church to raise funds for 'a charitable institution for lying in women'.¹⁹ What appears to be a long established 'New Walk' is shown on the north west side of West Green on Watson's map of 1844.²⁰ Shaded by elm trees it could well have been constructed to meet the needs of those who thought of themselves as urban gentry - and of those who aspired to be within that group. Cowling considers that Easingwold had a theatre between 1811 and 1820, a local hunt between 1810 and 1814 and horse racing in 1818, so perhaps that town too was more active in the social sphere in the early years of the nineteenth century.²¹

In contrast there appears to have been a racecourse at Selby in the seventeenth century and racing continued until after 1739. But the racecourse was lost in 1797

¹⁸ See above Chapter III, Section 3.2.3.

¹⁹ Neave, *Pocklington*, 34; Borthwick PR Pock 54- programme for a musical evening 1824.

²⁰ ERYA DDPY/19/3 W. Watson, *Map of Pocklington to accompany Easton's Directory of Pocklington*.

²¹ Cowling, *Easingwold*, 115-6; There is no mention of either of these activities in the entry for Easingwold in Baines.

as a result of the enclosure of the common.²² It is symptomatic of the emphasis on the commercial functions of Selby that neither Mountain nor Morrell give more than a passing mention to the social functions of that town. Morrell mentions 'the pleasant footpath, shaded by trees planted about 1780, and called Abbey Walk' that lead from the Market Place to Church Hill, and the erection of the Selby Public Rooms in 1839.²³ Both stress the major change in the layout of the town after the building of the bridge across the Ouse. That rebuilding clearly shows that there were within the town men and women who appreciated the improved houses that were then available. The extensions and improvements of the George Inn before the building of the Public Rooms suggest a demand for quite large accommodation for social functions. In 1808 the Independent Minister, Dr Reed, preached to a congregation of 220 'in the Assembly Room which belonged to the hotel' at Selby.²⁴ Unfortunately there is very little hard evidence. In 1835 Parson's mentions W.R. Galpine's 'excellent reading room' whose subscribers' comprise the most respectable individuals in the town and the vicinity'. But no record has been traced of any theatre. There was a musical festival in the church in 1827, focused on the new organ, but virtually all those involved appear to have come from York.

²² J. Fairfax- Blakeborough, *Northern Turf History* (nd), 2, 225.

²³ Morrell, *Selby*, 284-5.

²⁴ Borthwick, *Selby Peculiar Wills and Inventories* - Thomas Hawdon, 1763, Ann Hawdon, 1776; Particulars and Sale Plan of Property to be sold 25th and 26th November 1835 at George Inn, Selby; Morrell, *Selby*, 268.

There is little evidence of any continuing musical activity other than by the membership of the church choir, though one should not underestimate the significance of that choir.²⁵

Looney, in his analysis of cultural life in York and Leeds from 1720 to 1820, relied heavily on newspaper advertising since 'handbills and good evidence on verbal advertising [street cries] rarely survive'. Unfortunately such newspaper advertising as has been found relating to the four study towns made virtually no mention of cultural activities.²⁶ Handbills must surely have been produced by the local printers and for Selby at least the town crier was a recognised office. But, as for York and Leeds, little or no evidence survives, although the Trustees of the Selby Blue Coat school paid for crying vacancies in 1787.²⁷

²⁵ Parsons, *The Tourist's Companion*, 143. It may well have been commissioned by Galpine; Morrell, *Selby*, 206; A copy of the 1827 program is displayed in Selby Abbey; As to the choir see Chapter VI, Section 6.1 above. Many of the choir appear to have been local tradesmen. As to the rise of northern music generally see F. Musgrove, 'The rise of a Northern musical elite' *Northern History*, 35 (1999), 50-76.

²⁶ Looney, 'Leeds and York, 1720-1820', 487 and 507-8; The *York Courant* was checked for the years 1778, 1790 and 1820, the *Leeds Intelligencer* for the years 1773-4 and 1791 and the *Leeds Mercury* for 1783 and 1791.

²⁷ As to the Selby town crier see Selby Baptism Register - baptism of daughter of Thos Wadsworth, Town's Crier, 9 Nov 1783. As to crying for vacancies for schoolboys see WYAS, Leeds, Acc 1809 - Selby Charity School Account book and Register, 3 Jun and 6 Dec 1787.

Looney contrasted York, which focused on visiting gentry attracted to a compact winter season, with Leeds, whose merchant elite saw no reason to confine their social activities to the winter and whose social activities tended more to unadvertised clubs and convivial banquets. Good turnpiked roads to York from Pocklington and Easingwold would have encouraged attendance at social functions in that city. In contrast the lack of a turnpiked road to York from Selby could indicate a lack of traffic going to York, thus implying greater social activities in Selby. The character of the Selby elite suggested that the pattern of those activities might have been a scaled down version of those at Leeds, and it was therefore gratifying to find evidence which suggested that this was in fact so. From at least 1757, the members of the Selby Amicable Society met regularly throughout the year in one or other of the two principal inns at Selby. The members came from the elite of the town and by their subscriptions paid for the education of boys at the Blue Coat school.²⁸

Whilst such social activity as there was in the four towns was of a very minor nature as compared with that to be found at York, Leeds or Beverley,²⁹ one should

²⁸ WYAS, Leeds, Acc 1809 - Selby Charity School Account book and Register. Cf. the social activities of the Halifax elite in the late eighteenth century, see Smail, *The origins of middle class culture; Halifax, Yorkshire 1660-1780*, 180-7.

²⁹ As to Beverley see Allison, *Victoria County History, York, East Riding*, 6, *Beverley*, 131-2.

stress that each town must have had significant social activities at lower levels. One knows that Thomas Pilling, the flying man, came to Pocklington in April 1733 because he died as a result of the failure of his equipment and was buried in the churchyard.³⁰ But no doubt other travelling showmen visited the towns in happier circumstances. The weekly markets were not just commercial events but also social occasions. The regular meetings of the Friendly Societies brought together their members both from within the respective town and from outside it. That Selby, Pocklington and Easingwold were all heads of Methodist circuits would have brought together both men and women at regular intervals for activities that, whilst primarily religious, would have also been very much social occasions. Nor should one forget the casual meetings of friends, often in a favourite inn, so well recorded by Robert Sharp in his diary. There is every reason to believe that the picture that Sharp paints of South Cave could be equally true of Market Weighton, probably of Easingwold, and to some degree of both Pocklington and Selby.³¹

7.3 Religious Change

Writing in 1985, Neave remarked 'The neglect and alienation of the populace by the Anglican Church are often quoted as major reasons for the growth of

³⁰ Neave, *Pocklington*, 17; Leadman, 'Pocklington Church and Pocklington School', 127.

³¹ Crowther, *Sharp*, xxxiii.

nonconformity and irreligion in the eighteenth century'. In support of this view he cited examples of widespread non residency and pluralism on the part of the clergy in the East Riding, which often left the care of the parish being left in the hands of an ill paid and overworked curate. Jago and Royle, in their recent review of the Church in Yorkshire at the time of the Drummond visitation in 1764, are somewhat more sanguine, and consider that overall the Church was able to maintain its position until it was faced with the wave of dissenters twenty years later. However the returns for the four study towns made by the parish clergy to Archbishops Herring and Drummond during their respective primary visitations in 1743 and 1764 tend to support Neave's view.³²

In 1743 and in 1764 the vicar of Easingwold lived in Manchester. In 1743 the vicar of Market Weighton lived at Etton, some six miles away, in 1764 his successor lived at North Grimston, over 15 miles away, which he described as 'a much pleasanter and healthier situation'. The Vicar of Pocklington was resident in 1743, but Neave considers that 'between 1750 to 1840 the parish was served by a

³² D. Neave, 'Post Reformation Religion' in B. Dyson (ed.), *A Guide to Local Studies in East Yorkshire* (Beverley, 1985), 79; J. Jago and E. Royle, *The Eighteenth Century Church in Yorkshire : Archbishop Drummond's primary visitation of 1764*, Borthwick Papers 95 (York, 1999), 33; Herring, 71, 183, 75, 11-12, 65-66 and 222-223; Drummond, 1, 142-3, 2, 172-3, 3 (forthcoming), Market Weighton.

succession of poverty - stricken and poorly educated curates'.³³ This is all too clearly borne out by the poor state of the parish registers for Pocklington. In contrast, whilst Selby was cared for by the vicar of nearby Brayton, this does not seem to have been to the town's disadvantage in practical matters in that the parish registers were well maintained, and in the Dade format, until 1813.³⁴

All four towns had Catholic families in 1743. At Selby they may have comprised five per cent of the population, elsewhere the numbers were smaller. Although the figures in Worrall's *1767 Returns of Papists*³⁵ suggest that replies to both visitations underestimate their true numbers, the political restraints upon them meant that they tended to keep a low profile. In each case the small Catholic group would be cared for by a priest attached to a local landed family. There was a Catholic chapel in Pocklington in 1790, but it was not until 1830 that there was a Catholic Church at Easingwold, 1837 at Selby and not until the mid twentieth century at Market Weighton.³⁶

At the other end of the religious spectrum, there were a few Quakers noted in

³³Neave, *Pocklington*, 30.

³⁴ Herring; Drummond.

³⁵ Worrall, *Returns of Papists 1767*.

³⁶ Neave, *Pocklington*, 31; Cowling, *Easingwold*, 94, Morrell, *Selby*, 270.

Easingwold and one family at Market Weighton in 1764, but only in Selby was there an established Quaker Meeting. Jago and Royle suggest the Quakers may have been identifiable by reason of 'their distinctive form of worship and overt opposition to the normalities of parish life'.³⁷ This may be true, but in Selby they were noted for their ability to combine 'to a remarkable degree, success in business with devotion to their opinions'. Thomas Procter, the leading local Quaker, moved to Selby before 1751 and built up a very successful business, which was continued by his sons. The Procters also took an active part in meetings of the Vestry.³⁸ That Selby also had a long-standing Unitarian Chapel, rebuilt in 1690, is again symptomatic of the character of the town since it presupposes a section of the population who were able, both spiritually and by reason of their worldly possessions, to stand apart from the established church.³⁹

Reading the return for Pocklington in response to Archbishop Drummond's visitation in 1764 it is hardly surprising that Pocklington was an early centre of Methodism in the East Riding. The return was unsigned but was probably completed by the two churchwardens. The parish was then served by Michael Lythe, an impecunious curate. John Wesley had first preached in the town in 1752

³⁷ Jago and Royle, *Drummond*, 26.

³⁸ Morrell, *Selby*, 262; Library of Society of Friends, Quaker Biographies. See Chapter VI, Section 6.1 above.

³⁹ Morrell, *Selby*, 260.

and was to visit the town on numerous occasions thereafter. In July 1761 he was 'preaching and meeting the Society at Pocklington' and in 1762 the first Methodist Chapel - a converted barn - was in existence.⁴⁰ It seems likely that from the outset the Pocklington Methodists had a wide spectrum of support. Neave notes that the first list of members (1788) included eight labourers but also a druggist and a butter factor. The list also included Jane Bell the wife of the local surgeon and possibly Richard Cross, a substantial merchant.⁴¹ In the early days of Methodism such middle class supporters were not unusual. By 1786 Pocklington was head of a circuit that stretched from just north of Howden to Bridlington on the coast. The first chapels in the other study towns came later, 1785 in Selby, 1786 in Easingwold and in Market Weighton. Easingwold was head of its circuit in 1800, Selby in 1813, Market Weighton in 1875.⁴²

That Methodism flourished in Pocklington earlier than it did at Selby may in part be due to the survival of old dissent within that town, so that initially the natural potential leaders were not attracted to Methodism. A Selby Methodist class list for

⁴⁰ Drummond, 2, 172-3; C.J. Solomon, *The Pocklington Methodist Circuit 1786-1986* (nd), 1-10; D. Neave and S. Neave, *East Riding Chapels and Meeting Houses*, East Yorkshire Local History Society 44 (Beverley, 1990), 55.

⁴¹ Neave, *Pocklington*, 31.

⁴² As to the dates of chapels and circuits see Solomon, *Pocklington Methodist Circuit*, passim, Unwin, 'Market Towns 1660-1830', 86-96; Neave and Neave, *East Riding Chapels and Meeting Houses*, 53-55.

1783 contains no names of the leading townsmen or their wives and Christopher Obee, whom Morrell describes as the father of the Selby [Methodist] Society was probably a small farmer in 1788.⁴³ But a more important factor may be that Pocklington enjoyed better communications than Selby (other than by water) until the closing years of the eighteenth century. When Independent Chapels were opened in the towns the dates were much closer together - 1807 at Pocklington, 1809 at Selby and Market Weighton and 1814 at Easingwold. And when the more radical Primitive Methodists began to fan out from Hull, Selby's chapel was opened in 1818, Pocklington's in 1820 and Easingwold's shortly after that date. The Primitive Methodist chapel at Market Weighton's was not opened until 1828.⁴⁴

Wesley himself always saw Methodism as a force that should operate within the Anglican Church and exhorted all Methodists also to attend the Parish Church. In all the four study towns it seems likely that vestiges of what Jago and Royle describe as 'Church Methodism' continued for many years.⁴⁵ Even if Methodists

⁴³ W.W. Morrell, *Notices of Methodism in Selby, 1744-1892* (Selby, 1892), 10-11; Selby Window tax Return 1788; WYAS, Wakefield, Selby Land Tax Assessment 1788.

⁴⁴ Unwin, 'Market Towns 1660-1830', 92; Neave and Neave, *East Riding Chapels and Meeting Houses*, 53-55; Cowling, *Easingwold*, 118.

⁴⁵ Jago and Royle, *Drummond*, 28.

did not come regularly to Anglican services they brought their children there for baptism and came there to be married. There appears to have been no Methodist baptism register at Pocklington until after 1828 and in 1845 both the son and daughter of a Methodist Minister were married at Pocklington Parish Church.⁴⁶

In 1743 it was only in Selby that there were non-conformist places of worship. By 1830 each of the study towns had two Methodist chapels and an Independent chapel. Twenty years later the Religious Census of 1851 confirmed that in each town the overwhelming proportion of those who attended a place of worship went to a non-conformist chapel - and predominately to a Methodist chapel. The return for the parish church of Selby does not list the numbers attending services and simply says 'I cannot undertake to say' and, in the other three towns, only at Easingwold did more than twenty per cent of the population worship at the parish church.⁴⁷

7.4 Educational Provision

That one turns to Archbishop Herring's visitation of 1743⁴⁸ to find what was the educational provision in the study towns at that date is indicative of the close links between religion and education at that time: -

⁴⁶ Pocklington Marriage Register - 17 Feb 1845.

⁴⁷ PRO HO 129/513, 516, 527 - Religious Census Returns 1851.

⁴⁸ Herring, 71, 183; Ibid. 75, 11, 66, 222.

At Easingwold, 'There is a public school not endowed';

At Market Weighton, 'There is a school (no public or charity school being endowed) taught in this Parish Church: Thirty children are taught in it'.

At Pocklington, 'There is a free school in this town well endowed for a master and usher, there's also two or three more schools within this town for teaching children reading writing and accounts, but have no fixed salaries, in each school about fifty in number are taught'.

At Selby, 'There is one charity school not endowed but maintained by contributions. Ten children are taught ... '.

But one must at once sound a note of caution. At Selby there was an endowed school, run by trustees from the Independent chapel, which had been established in 1716.⁴⁹ Nor do these replies give much indication of the level, quality and relevance of education at the schools in question. Pocklington Grammar School was founded in the sixteenth century and appears to have served the town reasonably well until around 1780. For the next 38 years the school had very few pupils, and none at all for the ten years to 1807. St John's College, Cambridge, who had residuary powers in respect of the school, seem to have taken little interest in it and Thomas Sheild, whom they appointed master of the School in 1807 proved to have little interest in educating any boys at the School.

Whilst the improvements made after 1817 were in part due to national concern as to the failings of endowed grammar schools, some 50 inhabitants of the town petitioned St John's College, Cambridge in that year. From 1819 to about 1836

⁴⁹ Morrell, *Selby*, 189.

matters improved and apparently the school functioned as a grammar school should. Thereafter there was a total decline until a new headmaster was appointed in 1848.⁵⁰

Pocklington also had a National School, built in 1819, which in 1820 had 172 pupils. In that year there were said to be a further eight private schools with 124 pupils. Since there were then 304 pupils in all it is hardly surprising that it was said 'There are scarcely any children who do not attend some one of [these] schools.' There is every indication that this state of affairs continued until after 1830. It is perhaps ironic that Pocklington, which the 1851 Religious Census showed to be a stronghold of Methodism, had a Grammar School run by Anglican clergy and a National School built by Robert Dennison, the Lord of the Manor, and 'very liberally supported by the gentry in the town'. Perhaps it was that very strength of non-conformity that encouraged Dennison to fund the National School.⁵¹

⁵⁰ P.C. Sands, C.M. Haworth and J.H. Eggleshaw, *A History of Pocklington School 1514-1980* (Second edition, Beverley, 1988), 49-54; PP Digest of Returns to the Select Committee on the Education of the Poor, (1819), 1088.

⁵¹ Baines; Pigot 1830; PP *Education of the Poor*, (1819), 1088. As to the background of National Schools in the East Riding see J. Lawson, *Primary Education in East Yorkshire 1560-1902*, East Yorkshire Local History Series 10 (Beverley, 1959), 13. He incorrectly states that Pocklington had no day school in 1843. The National School that was built in 1819 was demolished when the railway was built in the 1840s and replaced by the new school in New Street.

At Market Weighton in 1819, there was a school of 30 children taught by the assistant curate, but there were also said to be nine other schools with 223 pupils. Two were operated by the Methodists, one for boys and another for girls, and their pupils included forty four boarders. Easingwold presents an interesting contrast to Pocklington and Market Weighton. By 1809 there were two schools with endowments, the Westerman School and the Free School with 140 pupils and a further six schools with 141 pupils. It is likely that the former schools were offering a slightly higher level of education than the Market Weighton schools, and perhaps midway between Pocklington Grammar School and the National School where children were taught on the Madras system, relying on the use of monitors - senior pupils - as teachers. At Easingwold the two endowed schools had a total income of £77, modest compared with £902 for the grammar school at Pocklington, but probably of more benefit to the education of the pupils.⁵²

In these three towns the number of children said to be at school in 1819 was equivalent to between seventeen and twenty per cent of the population. At Selby it was just over two per cent. The five schools at Selby were endowed to the tune of a total of £77 but there were apparently only 73 pupils. Here again the number of schools appears to have little changed until after 1830. It was not until 1843 that a Methodist day school was opened and there was no National School in Selby until

⁵² PP *Education of the Poor*, (1819), 1096 and 1111; Baines; Pigot 1830.

1858. On the other hand the level of attendance at the two Sunday schools in 1819, both apparently nonconformist, was said to be a slightly unlikely 500. This was far higher than in the other three towns in that year - if one excludes the National School children at Pocklington who were apparently compelled to attend the parish Church on Sunday.⁵³ There was certainly a willingness at Selby to nourish educational facilities where it was felt to be needed - the support for the Blue Coat boys school from at least 1757 and the later Grey Coat girls school is indicative of that,⁵⁴ and perhaps those who could afford to do so may have educated their children at home or sent them to schools elsewhere. Thomas Proctor, a wealthy local Quaker, arranged for a widowed relation to come to teach his children and those of his friends. Although Elizabeth Procter came to Selby around 1820 she is not mentioned in Baines in 1822.⁵⁵ But it seems clear that until well after 1830 there was a conscious decision within Selby that, in general, education for the poorer classes was undesirable and unnecessary.⁵⁶

⁵³ *PP Education of the Poor*, (1819), 1169; Baines; Pigot 1830; Morrell, *Selby*, 265.

⁵⁴ WYAS, Leeds, Acc 1809 - Selby Charity School Account book and Register; Borthwick PR SEL 242 - Account Book for Grey Coat School 1795-1856.

⁵⁵ Davies, *Polam Hall*, 11.

⁵⁶ *PP Education of the Poor*, (1819), 1169.

The level of educational provision in the study towns was to some extent a facet of the religious attitudes within the towns but the limited provision for even elementary education could reflect a view that adequate provision for the children of the poor was both unnecessary and unwise. It is interesting that the level of literacy, as indicated by the proportion of signatures in the marriage registers between 1775 and 1800, shows a sharp divide between Selby, with a male rate of around 67 per cent and a female rate of less than 40 per cent, and the other three towns, where the rates were between 74 and 77 per cent and 53 and 56 per cent respectively. Unwin's detailed analysis of educational patterns in the market towns of the Vale of York reveals the complex nature of the reasons for the provision of educational facilities, and, more often, the lack of them.⁵⁷

7.5 Conclusions

In the preceding chapters of this thesis the emphasis has been on the practical and material manifestations of the demographic, economic and social changes in the four towns, and the reasons for those changes. This has also been done in the present chapter, which has considered how far the towns were social centres; how they were affected by religious change; what educational facilities were available and how they changed during the period. But the cultural background of the towns and cultural development and change in each town during the period are a force behind demographic, economic and social change as well as being a manifestation of those changes.

⁵⁷ Unwin, 'Market Towns 1660-1830', 96-113.

Although this facet of the life of a town is therefore very important, it is often the one that is most difficult to assess. In the case of Market Weighton such information as is available suggests that the cultural outlook within the town was, in general, part of the rural scene. At Easingwold there were certainly rather more urban characteristics, but the cultural life in the town was very limited and will have made relatively little impact on the economic and social outlook of the town.

In contrast, at Selby one can see very clear evidence of a civic identity and a general ethos and cultural background that was in turn manifest in the demographic and commercial facets of the development of the town. Mountain's *History of Selby*, a tribute to Selby's civic pride, owed little to York and a great deal to the influence of Hull and Leeds. Smail has charted the rise of middle class culture in the commercial environment of Halifax⁵⁸ and many of the facets he describes can be seen very clearly at Selby. For example those who attended the meetings of the Selby Amicable Society met both socially and for a very practical purpose, namely the support of the Blue Coat schoolboys. But they were occupied in commercial and professional activities in the town and their regular monthly

⁵⁸ Smail, *Middle class culture; Halifax 1660-1780*.

meetings helped to maintain the elite of Selby as a cohesive group.⁵⁹

Pocklington never demonstrated the level of self confidence found at Selby and its cultural institutions – such as they were, reflected this. The evidence of civic identity is less clear cut, and the hard evidence dates from the nineteenth century. The poems of William Hickington were not published until 1821 and it was in 1817 that the remonstrance as to the state of Pocklington School was sent by 50 inhabitants of the town to St John's College, Cambridge. A few years earlier the efforts of those in the town who pressing for a canal to Pocklington were successful. Earlier, Pocklington had been the head of a Methodist circuit since 1786 partly because of the rapid rise of Methodism in the town, but it also because of the importance of the town as a social centre. The roots of this sense of civic identity go back many centuries but the overt evidence that is to be found at Selby is lacking.

⁵⁹ However it did not appear to fashion the elite as an exclusive group. Although the Procters took a leading role in the town through the period, they do not appear ever to have been involved with the Amicable Society, probably because they were Quakers.

CHAPTER VIII Conclusions and Broader Themes

8.1 General conclusions

It was of no surprise to find that the economic fortunes of each of the four towns were closely linked to the transport systems of the region. Between 1750 and 1830, Easingwold benefited from the traffic going through the town, but it reverted to being a small market town once that traffic ceased, following the construction of a railway that by-passed the town. Market Weighton also prospered because of the traffic along the turnpike, and it benefited from the construction of the Market Weighton canal. But once the steam packets along the Humber diluted the road traffic, and the canal had to compete with the Drifffield and Pocklington canals, Weighton declined although it had a modest revival after the arrival of the railway. In contrast Pocklington benefited from the nearby turnpike but was not dependent on the traffic passing along it. The Pocklington canal, although not built until 1818, was also very important to the town. Selby's position was different again. The rapid rise in its fortunes in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was largely due to the Selby canal, which recreated the town's role as the port of Leeds. Yet, in contrast to Easingwold, instead of merely benefiting from that transit traffic, the town used it as a foundation upon which to build its prosperity.

Pocklington and Selby were both well-established towns long before 1750, and their very existence was in part due to their location. Both also had 'civicness' - long established patterns of civic activity, perhaps less marked at Pocklington

than at Selby.¹ This can be seen in Pocklington's efforts to get a canal, very clearly in the building of the bridge at Selby, and also in Selby's response to the Goole to Knottingley canal, which effectively by-passed Selby. Those involved at Pocklington did not, perhaps could not, move so quickly and were dependent on the support of local landowners, in particular Fitzwilliam at Malton. In contrast, the elite of Selby were pro-active. In the 1790's they were enlisting local landowners as allies. In the 1820s and 1830s they were co-operating with Leeds and Hull merchants.

Some of the inhabitants of Easingwold may have taken an active part in getting the road from Northallerton to York turnpiked in 1753, but thereafter there was little sign of any attempt to gain real benefit from it other than from the passing trade. As to Market Weighton, all the indications are that its inhabitants merely took the benefits from its location and did little to encourage or develop such advantages that came to them from it.

When looking at Pocklington, one tends to measure it against the commercial and industrial success of Selby and to conclude that Pocklington would inevitably remain as a small market town. Yet this is too simply the situation. Had a canal been built southwards to Howdendyke in the 1790's, rather than westwards to the Derwent in 1818, it is possible that the local water mills would have

¹ There was also a higher level of local independence and social activity at Selby.

attracted industrial development and that, at the very least, Pocklington might have enjoyed a rate of growth after 1800 closer to Malton or Driffield.

Selby had the commercial and industrial success that can be seen in other West Yorkshire communities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.² The role of the town's elite in that success was of crucial significance³ and averted the decline of the town when it ceased to be the port of Leeds.

The rise of the West Riding, especially Leeds, and the decline of York was a continuing theme throughout, though it was slightly surprising to find that this was in part responsible for the decline of both Easingwold and Market Weighton. Traffic that had passed through Easingwold to York went instead to Leeds. Traffic that had gone through Market Weighton from Hull to York, and thence to Leeds and the West Riding, went instead along the Humber and the Ouse, especially in the steam packets after 1815. Small towns could benefit from transport developments but their fortunes could also be adversely affected by such developments. What is very clear is that 'Local actions and non actions did matter',⁴ as was clearly shown by the survival of Selby and Pocklington and the

² Pollard, 'Regional character', 23.

³ Cf. Smail, *Middle class culture: Halifax 1660-1780* and Wilson, *Gentleman Merchants*.

⁴ Clark and Corfield, *Industry and Urbanisation in Eighteenth Century England*, ix. Cf. Chapter III, Section 3.3.

decline of Easingwold and Market Weighton.

This thesis opened with a quotation from Borsay in which he commented that: -

'A town's place within this [urban] hierarchy depended on the depth and range of influence it exerted over its hinterland, and the sophistication of its economic, social, political and cultural organisation. Few attempts have yet been made to evaluate precisely the type of interaction that existed between towns within the hierarchy, or to apply the idea of an urban system to a local context'.⁵

What became apparent when considering this interaction, was the complexity of the issues involved. Any Christallerian central place theory needed frequent adaptation to cope with evolving situations. Interaction was at various levels and was inherently untidy. Thus a careful study of the carriers going to and from the towns was very helpful but illustrated that any data from such a study must be treated with great caution.⁶ The more advanced techniques of computer based

⁵ P. Borsay (ed.), *The Eighteenth century town - a reader in English urban History 1688-1820* (1990), 3.

⁶ As to these matters see Chapter II, Section 2.2, and Chapter IV. Sections 4.3 and 4.4.

analysis now available⁷ meant that the analysis of carriers and market areas in Chapter IV was more sophisticated than anything undertaken by Noble and threw new light on this question. Just as a low marriage horizon does not necessarily indicate an isolated community, so the lack of common carriers to a town may indicate a well-established community with adequate informal facilities.⁸

Poor relief, which was becoming of overwhelming significance for some English communities, was not, at least until after 1830, quite such a burden on any of the four study towns. But this was generally so in the region and was not specific to the four towns. In the same way the high level of nonconformity was not unusual in comparable Yorkshire communities. The level of educational provision was more complex and it is difficult to see quite why the situation in Selby differed from the other towns, particularly Pocklington. But the differing levels of local independence and social activity and the degree of sophistication in the administration of the respective town clearly reflected the quality of the elite of that town.

The development of Pocklington over this period is an interesting example of how a small market town can use the opportunities available and adjust to changing

⁷ The methods used in this thesis were relatively unsophisticated. For example the database employed was *Reflex*, a flat file database.

⁸ See Chapter IV, Section 4.4 above.

situations. Whilst that development was certainly influenced by the rise of the industrialising West Riding that was not critical to its development. In contrast this study of Selby during a crucial period may help to throw light on the reasons why this part of the West Riding was one of the growth areas of the period. Interesting comparisons can be made with York and with Leeds, Hull and Halifax and one suspects that the actions of those responsible for the growth of Selby can be mirrored in the development of many other small, but successful, West Riding communities.

8.2 Broader themes

Turning to broader themes, several matters of general interest emerged during the research.

The impact of the Humber steam packets has not had the attention that it deserves. For technical reasons, seagoing steam ships were generally of limited importance until the mid nineteenth century. One therefore tends to overlook the importance of the steam packets in the pre-railway age since there were few areas in Britain where they could operate on fresh water. The Humber was one of those locations and their importance in facilitating travel between Hull and the West Riding before the arrival of the railways deserves further research.⁹

⁹ Although of limited value in Britain, steamboats were widely used on the rivers and lakes of North America. See Cardwell, *Technology*, 235-7.

Considerable work has been undertaken in the past using Land Tax records though much of it may now prove to be of limited value.¹⁰ However little use appears to have been made of the returns for the Window Tax and the Assessed Taxes. In part this is understandable. The survival rate for Window Tax returns is poor and for the Assessed Taxes, especially the Shop Tax, even worse. The Selby returns are correspondingly valuable both in themselves and in the way that they can be used to interpret the summaries for other communities for which the returns do not survive. The work undertaken on Selby throws doubt on some of the conclusions of Mitchell and Alexander in that both may have underestimated the extent of retail shops at the end of the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Perhaps Selby is more typical of Yorkshire than of England as a whole. But that of itself is of interest. Returns for other communities do exist¹¹ and it is to be hoped that others can be encouraged to undertake further research and compare the results with the findings in this thesis.

It would be rash to speculate on what may emerge from such research but the contrasts between the results of Mitchell's work on Cheshire and the preliminary research on Yorkshire townships is most interesting. Mitchell suggested that there was 'a basic provision of shopping facilities right across [Cheshire]' in 1788. In Yorkshire fixed retail shops were to be found in towns and in the urban areas that

¹⁰ Cf. Ginter, *Measure of Wealth*, 276.

¹¹ See Gibson, Medlycott and Mills, *Land and Window Tax Assessments*; Suffolk Record Office C10/1/110 – Ipswich return for Window and Assessed taxes 1788.

were developing in the industrial West Riding, and around Hull and the larger towns, rather than in the rural townships.¹²

The most valuable facets of the research undertaken for this thesis may prove to be those linked to the demographic changes between 1775 and 1812. The research that has been undertaken using the parish registers for these towns that are in the Dade format illustrates how valuable these registers are as a source for the late eighteenth century. The Selby Parish register would be unsuitable for conventional family reconstitution because of the volatile population, but it is communities such as this that throw light on the crucial period when the population of England grew so quickly. Previously research using Dade registers has concentrated on the baptism entries. Given the facilities now available for computer aided research,¹³ it is to be hoped that future studies will use other baptism, marriage and burial registers that are available in Dade format and thus throw new light on the conclusions of the authors of the *Population History of England* and *English Population History*.¹⁴

¹² Chapter IV, Section 4.3 especially Table 4:4. Mitchell, 'The development of urban retailing 1700-1815', 270-2.

¹³ Any future research would certainly make use of a relational database.

¹⁴ Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History*; Wrigley et al, *English Population History*.

In the light of the comments of Levine¹⁵ it is apparent that the demographic data available for Selby between 1777 and 1812, and for a variety of other parishes with Dade registers, is in many ways superior to that available to the authors of *English Population History*. An area that may prove to be of crucial importance is that when using a Dade register it is much easier to include data relating to those who have migrated to that parish. A fundamental plank in the work of the Cambridge Group is that the demographic behaviour of migrants did not differ from those who remained in their home parish.¹⁶ Much work remains to be done but the Selby data raises serious doubts as to whether this is a valid assumption in an area of high mobility in the late eighteenth century.¹⁷

The demographic snapshot revealed by the study of the parish registers between 1777 and 1788, particularly the registers for Selby and Easingwold, suggest a low rate of mortality in the crucial first month of life.¹⁸ This in turn is a pointer to the

¹⁵ Levine, 'Sampling history: the English population'.

¹⁶ Cf. Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, 73; For the Cambridge Group view see, for example, E.A. Wrigley, 'How reliable is our knowledge of the demographic characteristics of the English population in the early modern period?', *Historical Journal*, 40, 3 (1997), 571-595; For a robust claim for the accuracy of rates of mortality based on family reconstitutions, see Wrigley et al, *English Population History*, 353.

¹⁷ See Chapter V, Section 5.5.

¹⁸ Cf. Wrigley, 'Explaining the rise in marital fertility'.

rate of endogenous mortality, which is closely linked to the general health of the mother of the child during pregnancy. The implication, based on the views of Wrigley referred to above, is that the general health and nutrition of the local population was above the national average.¹⁹

Future research using Yorkshire Dade registers may show whether the demographic experience of Yorkshire in the late eighteenth century was different to that of England as a whole, as portrayed in *English Population History*.

Research that included the handful of Dade registers outside Yorkshire might give an indication of whether the exclusion of migrants weakens the validity of that portrayal during that period.

¹⁹ See Chapter V, Table 5:6 - Infant and child mortality.

APPENDIX ONE Dade Parish Registers

Whilst parish registers have been kept since the sixteenth century individual incumbents have always enjoyed a wide discretion as to the extent of the data that should be recorded in them. In the eighteenth century there were efforts by the clergy and others to improve the quality of parish registers. Whilst the deficiencies of the Anglican registers in the expanding industrial areas are well known¹ it is not always appreciated that some influential clergy, notably Bishop Barrington and Archbishop Markham, did manage to make significant improvements. The Yorkshire Dade registers stem from a direction of Archbishop Markham, then Archbishop of York, who, adopting the ideas of William Dade,² directed in 1777: -

'As great complaints have arisen of the registers of Marriages, Births and Burials belonging to several parishes being in accurately kept and drawn-out so as not to identify the persons etc whereby they have not their due weight in point of evidence: It is required that for the future the following

¹ Cf. Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History*, 136 and M. Slack, 'Nonconformist and Anglican registration in the Halifax area 1740-99' *Local Population Studies*, 38 (1987), 44-5.

² For further information on William Dade see Sheils, 'Mobility and registration in the north in the eighteenth century'. William Dade of Barmston, in the East Riding, introduced this form of parish register whilst he was a curate at St Helen's, York in 1770. The system was then adopted by Markham, the new Archbishop of York, in 1777.

form be pursued and adhered to'.³

The Archbishop no doubt intended that the system should operate throughout his Diocese of York but it would seem that he lacked the power to enforce this intention. Unfortunately some parishes abandoned the full system after only a few years. Others never adopted it at all. But a great number did, and, for reasons often unknown, it was also adopted in some parishes outside the diocese.

TABLE A1:1
A DADE BAPTISM ENTRY - SELBY 1785

Infant's Christian Name & Seniority	Wm Weddall First son
Infant's surname	Martin
Father's name, Profession, Descent and abode	of William Martin of Selby Merchant Son of William Martin of Wakefield Merchant by Mary his wife
Mother's name and Descent	Sarah Daur of Thos Weddall of Selby Mercht by Mary his wife Daur of Thos Mason of the City of York Mercht
Born	Novr 22nd
Baptised	Novr 23rd

Source: Selby Baptism Register.

³ Borthwick PR ALN - Alne Baptism Register. The starting dates for Dade registers was dependent on the date of the Visitation, that for Market Weighton is noted in the Parish Register on 6th June 1778.

Looking at the wealth of data required it is hardly surprising that so many parishes abandoned the Dade system fairly quickly and not all the entries, even in Selby, are complete, but as can be seen from Table A1:1 a full Dade baptism entry can provide a great deal of information

It must be stressed that the data is as at the date of the event. Thus in the entry above it cannot be assumed that Sarah Weddall was born in Selby, still less that Selby was Thomas Weddall's place of birth. But Thomas Weddall was either living in Selby in 1785, or, if he was dead, he had been living there at the date of his death. It is not clear what criterion was adopted when entering the seniority of a child. If a child was listed as the sixth son it could well be that he was the sixth living son of that father at the date of his baptism. The Selby register suggests that sometimes, though not necessarily always, this was the criterion adopted.

At Selby between 1777 and 1788 the baptism register records that 30 per cent of the children were baptised within 48 hours of birth, and 60 per cent within three days. Nationally it is thought that, on average, about 50 per cent were baptised within 26 days.

The information given in a Dade Burial register follows the pattern of the baptism register - Christian name and surname; Descent, profession and abode; When died and where buried; Age; Distemper. For example the Selby burial entry for Mary Jewitt records that she was a widow, died at Selby on 22nd February 1780, aged 83, and was buried in the churchyard. The cause of death was recorded as

Decline of Nature. No mention is made of her late husband, but the register records that she was the daughter of Robert Harrison of Selby, ship carpenter, who must therefore have been born before 1680.

It was initially thought that all the four study towns had Dade Parish registers, though of varying quality, but when examined closely the register for Market Weighton proved to have very limited information.

Selby's baptism register has all the facets of a full Dade register including the occupation and residence for over 90 per cent of the grandparents of the baptised child between 1777 and 1788. At Selby, but not for the other towns, these details are also given for some 54 per cent of the fathers of the maternal grandmothers, and just under 50 per cent of the fathers of the paternal grandmothers. In Table A1:1, Thomas Mason of York, merchant is shown but not the great grandfather on the Martin side of the family. Selby is also the only one of the four which gives the seniority of the child within the family. The register appears to continue in full Dade format until 1813 but from about 1794 if a sibling had already been baptised the relevant details were not repeated and reference was made to the earlier entry.

The analysis for the Easingwold's register was done from the printed register,⁴ which also does not repeat the details if a sibling has previously been baptised.

⁴ D. Lumb (ed.), *The Register of the Parish Church of All Saints Easingwold Co. York 1599-1812*, Yorkshire Parish Register Society (Leeds 1916).

However a check against the original baptism register showed that this was done by the editor - the original register contained the entries in full. Nor was the editor's judgement on this matter always reliable. For the period from 1777 to 1788 nearly 100 per cent of the entries gave the residence of the maternal grandfather of the baptised child and over 85 per cent gave his occupation.

Pocklington only maintained the full Dade format for the five years from 1779 to the end of 1783. But for that period the data for grandparents can be established for around 90 per cent of the entries with some data available for the fathers of the grandmothers.

Whilst Market Weighton's register proved not to be in Dade format, from 1778 the names of both parents of the baptised child are usually given as well as the occupation of the father, so it can be used to establish the occupational patterns in the town during the period up to 1788.

The Dade system did not cover marriage registers, which were the subject of Lord Hardwicke's Act,⁵ but Selby's marriage register improved markedly when the Dade system was adopted in 1777. Between 1777 and 1803 the age of the parties and the status of the bride is given in nearly 100 per cent of the entries and in about 95 per cent of them the status and occupation of the bridegroom is also given. The remainder of the register to 1812 has not yet been transcribed but this

⁵ 22 Geo II c33

state of affairs seems to continue to that date. The marriage registers for the other three towns for the period from 1754 to 1802 have also been loaded on to databases but unfortunately their quality does not approach this standard. Whilst all three consistently show the residence of bride and groom none of them show age or a significant percentage of occupations. As to the description, (i.e. matrimonial status) of bride and groom, the Easingwold register gives the descriptions for 96 per cent of brides and grooms, that for Market Weighton for 98 per cent and 99 per cent respectively but the percentages in the Pocklington register are 12 per cent and 8 per cent respectively. The printed Easingwold register was again used but it does not show if the parties signed the marriage register. That data has been taken from the original register.

There are thought to be at least 160 parish registers in Dade format, most of which are in Yorkshire, of which 34 have been transcribed and printed. In addition around 40 known registers appear to have some Dade features. Specific mention should be made of the register for Colyton in Devon, where information as to the maternal grandfather was given between 1765 and 1777, since it has been researched by Wrigley and others.⁶ Webb's *Guide to Parish Records in the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research*⁷ besides noting the existence or

⁶ Wrigley 'Life time mobility'.

⁷ Webb, *Parish Records in the Borthwick*.

otherwise of Dade data in the registers deposited at the Borthwick, has a useful background note as to the Dade registers.

Bishop Barrington was responsible for the similar, but slightly simpler, registers used in Durham between 1798 and 1812. It is important to appreciate that these are not Dade registers. He asked specifically that 'the place of nativity of the parents' be entered in the baptism register whereas in true Dade registers occupation and residence appears to be that at the date of the relevant entry, or at death if the ancestor concerned is dead.⁸ Beyond the Anglican fence line some Methodist and Moravian registers are said to be in similar, or even better, format.

Such research as has been undertaken using Dade registers has concentrated on the baptism registers. Holderness studied personal and social mobility using the registers for Easingwold and seven rural parishes around York, Long and Maltby undertook similar research using the registers for Skipton, Bolton Abbey and Addingham.⁹ Davey made use of the register for Moreton in Essex, but unfortunately did not appreciate that she had found a Dade register.¹⁰ Two short

⁸ As to Barrington registers see A.J. Pain and M.F. Smith 'Do marriage horizons accurately measure migration? A test case from Stanhope parish, County Durham', *Local Population Studies*, 33 (1984), 44-48.

⁹ Holderness, 'Personal mobility'; Long and Maltby, 'Personal mobility'.

¹⁰ Davey, 'Mobility in an Essex Parish'.

articles by Bellingham have shown what could be achieved by linking marriage and baptism registers.¹¹ Others who have written about these registers include Sheils, Henstock and Falla.¹²

¹¹ Bellingham, 'Use of marriage horizons'; Bellingham, 'Age at marriage'.

¹² Sheils, 'Mobility and registration in the north in the eighteenth century'; A. Henstock, 'Genealogical register entries in Nottingham Parishes' *Local Population Studies*, 25 (1980), 57-58; T.J. Falla, 'Further material for eighteenth century mobility', *Local Population Studies*, 26 (1981), 46-47.

APPENDIX TWO Window Tax and the Assessed Taxes

The Window Tax operated from 1696 to 1851 but was recast by successive Acts of Parliament. In 1784 it was consolidated with the various 'Assessed Taxes' which are listed in Table A2:1. Whilst the taxation implications of these taxes are not considered in this thesis, one must attempt to assess the basis of the respective taxes so as to interpret the data returned in response to the assessments for them. The data that is being analysed for Selby relates to the Window Tax between 1755 and 1789, and the Assessed Taxes listed in the Selby return of 1788. Thus the comments in this appendix are largely restricted to the way the Window Tax operated between 1755-89 and the Assessed Taxes in 1788. The four volumes of Dowell's nineteenth century *History of Taxation and Taxes in England & Wales*¹³ must be the initial point of reference, but one must then consider the relevant Acts of Parliament, in particular to establish exactly what were the relevant exemptions. The relevant annual law lists are also helpful in indicating how the tax regime actually operated. It must be said that Dowell does not always measure up to the standards one would expect from either a historian or a tax practitioner in the 1990's.

Window Tax. Very little has been written on the window tax from a historical

¹³ S. Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes in England and Wales* (Third edition, 1965).

perspective, other than by Ward and Medlycott.¹⁴ The window tax returns should be contrasted with the Land Tax returns, which have been used by historians with varying degrees of success. There are two crucial differences. Firstly the name listed in a window tax assessment will normally be the occupier of the property who was therefore resident at that property, and in the township. The duplication and difficulties of identification inherent in the Land Tax returns are therefore avoided. Secondly the number of windows listed is, by and large, factually correct whereas, as time passed, the land tax assessments bore less and less relationship to the value of the property concerned.¹⁵

The survival rate for Window Tax assessments in England is relatively low, unlike that for Land Tax returns, whose much higher survival rate between 1780 and 1832 is due to their retention in Quarter Session records because they established voting qualifications. Medlycott has listed those assessments that were known to have survived but there are undoubtedly others.¹⁶

¹⁴ W.R. Ward, *The Administration of the Window Tax and Assessed Taxes 1696-1798* (1963); M. Medlycott, 'The Window Tax: A survey of Holdings in Britain', *Genealogists' Magazine*, 24, 5 (1993), 186-189; J. Gibson, M. Medlycott and D. Mills, *Land and Window Tax Assessments* (Birmingham, 1993, Second edition 1998);

¹⁵ As to the Land Tax see M. Turner and D. Mills (eds.), *Land and Property: The English Land Tax 1692-1832* (Gloucester, 1986) and Ginter, *Measure of Wealth*.

¹⁶ Gibson, Medlycott and Mills, *Land and Window Tax Assessments*.

TABLE A2:1
FORM OF RETURN
Window, House and other new duties - 1788

Inhabitants Names	
Profession	
<hr/>	
Bachelors	
<hr/>	
Windows Number	
Houses and Windows	£ s d
<hr/>	
Windows Number	
Inhabited houses or Commutation Tax	£ s d
<hr/>	
Rent	£
Inhabited Houses	£ s d
<hr/>	
Rent	£
Shops	£ s d
<hr/>	
Number	
Male Servants	£ s d
<hr/>	
Number	
Female Servants	£ s d
<hr/>	
Number	
Horses	£ s d
<hr/>	
Number	
Carriages with four wheels	£ s d
<hr/>	
Number	
Carriages with two wheels	£ s d
<hr/>	
Number	
Wagons	£ s d
<hr/>	
Number	
Carts	£ s d

Source: Selby Window Tax Return 1788

TABLE A2:2
 RETURNS FOR WINDOW, HOUSE AND OTHER NEW TAXES
 SELBY 1755 to 1789

Year	Entries	Names	Occupations	Whether number of windows shown
1755	352	Yes	No	Only where 10 and above
1756	671	Yes	No	Tax paid shown
1760	354	Yes	No	Only where 10 and above
1773	367	Yes	No	All
1782	324	Yes	No	All except 5 entries
1785	377	Yes	No	All except poor & empty.
1788	449	Yes	Yes	All except poor & empty.
1789	443	Yes	Yes	All except poor & empty.

- Notes:**
1. The 1756 return also includes Land Tax.
 2. In the 1788 and 1789 returns, occupiers names & occupations are not given for about 50 tenements.
 3. The 1788 and 1789 returns include the assessed taxes including, in 1788 only, the Shop Tax.
 4. In the 1788 and 1789 returns there are a few entries for people who were not assessed for window tax but were assessed for one or more of the assessed taxes.

Source: Selby Window and Assessed Taxes returns.¹⁷

¹⁷ WYAS, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MD 186 - Selby Window Tax Return 1755; Borthwick, PR- SEL 343-6 and 307-8 – returns for 1756, 1760, 1773, 1782, 1785, 1788 and 1789.

PR SEL 307 - the 1788 Selby return for 'Window, House and other New Taxes' is on eleven headed sheets which have been bound together. Parts of it are barely legible so a transcription was made by using the 1788 Land Tax return as a base for transcribing the 1789 return for 'Window, House and other New Taxes', which was in turn used as the base for the 1788 return. The damaged or illegible parts of the 1788 return could then be made out with the help of data in one or other of those documents.

No window tax records have been traced for Easingwold, Pocklington or Market Weighton but for Selby the returns listed in Table A2:2 are available. They have been transcribed and loaded onto data bases.

The survival of the copy of the Selby return for the Window and Assessed Taxes for 1788 is of particular importance in that it includes the short lived shop tax (1785-1788) as well as the slightly more durable female servants tax 1785-1792). Very few urban returns appear to have survived that cover those taxes.¹⁸ One that does survive is the 1788 return for Ipswich, although the occupation of the occupiers is not given.¹⁹

The precise format of the assessments may well have depended on the whim of those preparing them. The 1788 return was the first surviving Selby return to be made on a printed form and that form may have been locally generated since it made provision for the profession of the tax payer to be entered, whereas the one used at Ipswich did not. It is particularly fortunate that the Selby return for 1788 gives the 'Profession' of the named occupiers. It is shown for about 350

¹⁸ See Gibson, Medlycott and Mills, *Land and Window Tax Assessments*.

¹⁹ Suffolk Record Office C10/1/110 – Ipswich return for Window and Assessed taxes 1788.

economically active heads of households, 13 of them women.²⁰

Those classed as 'poor' i.e. not paying the local poor or church rates, were exempt from the window tax. At Selby the number of windows of the houses they occupied was not usually shown, nor was it shown for those occupying properties with less than 10 windows before 1773. Until 1788 it is unusual for the same name to appear twice in a Selby assessment but in the 1788 and 1789 assessments some 'tenements' were listed with the name of the owner being listed and not the occupier.

Inhabited houses or Commutation Tax. This tax was again based on the number of windows and is therefore not considered further here.

Inhabited Houses Tax. In contrast to the two taxes based on windows, this tax was based on an assessed annual rental value. In 1788 it was levied at 6d in the £ on properties with annual value of £5 or over, other than owner occupied farmhouse with a rental value of £10 and over. In practice no Selby farmhouses appear to have been assessed for this tax.

²⁰ The Selby form does not give the name of the printer. The Ipswich return is entitled 'Punchard and Jermyn's complete Assessors and Collectors Duplicates for the several duties on Houses, Window Lights, Inhabited Houses, Retail Shops, Carriages, Servants etc'.

Shop Tax. The general survival of Window Tax assessments is sporadic and the survival rate for years that cover the short lived Shop Tax is even lower. That tax was levied from 1785 until 1788 and was chargeable on a place used as a shop only, or on a house or building any part of which was used as a shop, where the annual rental value was £5 or over. (Warehouses and bakers were specifically not chargeable). Thus the amount of the tax relates to the value of the property as a whole rather than the retail element. If a property was assessed at £5 or more under the Inhabited Houses tax, but was not assessed for shop tax, it can be assumed that the assessors accepted the occupier was not engaged in retail trade. That the assessment for Shop Tax related to the value of the premises concerned, rather than to the level of retail activity, appears not to have been fully appreciated by Mitchell who, in his useful study of retailing in Cheshire, made use of the returns now held in the Public Record Office, which give the global amount of Shop Tax paid for individual townships. At Selby in 1788 twenty-seven properties were assessed for Shop Tax in the £5 to £10 bracket and four in the £10 to £15 bracket. There were four higher brackets but no Selby properties were assessed at those levels.²¹

Male Servants. Servants employed in husbandry, manufacturing or the trade or calling of the master were excluded. Only five persons paid this tax at Selby in 1788, and probably six at Easingwold, one at Market Weighton and five at

²¹ Mitchell, 'Pitt's Shop Tax'; Mitchell, 'Retailing in 18th and early 19th century Cheshire'; Mitchell, 'The development of urban retailing 1700-1815', 279-1.

Pocklington. In 1780 it appears that only two people paid it at Selby, and none at Easingwold and Market Weighton, though seven are listed at Pocklington.²²

Schwarz states that after 1785 waiters in taverns and public houses were taxable but no tax was paid in respect of such servants at Selby in the 1788 return.²³

Female Servants. This tax was levied between 1785 and 1792 in respect of servants aged 14 or over, but not above 60. If there were two children or grandchildren under 14 in the household, one servant was exempt and a corresponding exemption applied if there were more than two children or grandchildren. The exemption as to servants employed in trade etc again applied. In 1788 53 people paid tax on 58 servants at Selby. At Pocklington, Easingwold and Market Weighton tax was probably paid on 18, 9 and 7 servants respectively.²⁴

Horses. The relevant Act (24 Geo III 31) of 1784 referred to horses 'for the purposes of riding' or drawing a carriage. It appears to have excluded those used for agriculture or as packhorses.

Carriages. A tax was levied on carriages for private use or for hire - in 1788 there

²² Cartwright, 'Persons in Yorkshire who paid tax on male servants'.

²³ Schwarz, 'English servants', 239, footnote 10.

²⁴ PRO E182/1159

was one rate for the former and another rate for the latter. In Selby in 1788, William Bullock, the agent of the Lord of the Manor, had a two-wheeled carriage and Thomas Hawdon, the principal innkeeper, had a four wheeled carriage available for hire.

Wagons and Carts. Only the first four wheeled wagon was taxable if all were employed in agriculture and two wheeled carts were also exempt if so used.²⁵

General Assessment of the Window and Assessed Taxes records. At national level the total taxes paid under the various heads have generally survived. For Yorkshire in 1788 they appear to be the amount paid for each township, grouped within wapentakes, which in turn are grouped within each Riding. The corporate towns are generally individual returns, usually subdivided by ward or parish. However they only show the tax paid under each head in respect of each unit and it is therefore not easy to make comparisons between towns. For example, in 1788 the tax for one single chargeable female servant was 2/6 (£0.125), for two it was 10/- (£0.50). Copies of local returns are therefore correspondingly valuable and some of the information from the Selby return for 1788 is listed in Table A2:3 and analysed in Table A2:4.

²⁵ *Clarke's Law List* (1789), 189. Dowell, *History of Taxation*, does not appear to mention this tax.

TABLE A2:3
SELBY WINDOW & ASSESSED TAXES RETURN 1788

Occ code	Occupation	Number	Shop tax %	Inhbtd houses tax		Sex		Windows				
				>=5	<5	M	F	0-1	2-5	6-9	10	plus % ##
1	Agriculture	28	7.3			25	3	3	6	16	3	10.7
14	Labourers	63	16.5			63	0	18	36	9	0	0.0
3	Textiles	17	4.5			17	0	0	7	7	3	17.6
	Cordmaker	2										
	Dyer	1										
	Heckler	8		1	2	6						
	Roper	1		1	1	0						
	Sailcloth maker	1										
	Woolcomber	3										
	Weaver	1										
4	Leather	18	4.7			18	0	1	5	8	4	22.2
	Collar Maker	1		0	0	1						
	Currier	4		2	2	2						
	Saddler	2		1	1	1						
	Tanner	11										
5	Metal working	5	1.3			5	0	1	1	3	0	0.0
	Blacksmith	5										
6	Wood working	36	9.4	1		34	2	2	19	14	1	2.8
	Cooper	2										
	Block maker	2										
	Wright	3										
	Carpenter	19										
	Timer squarr	1										
	Joiner	9		2	7							
7	Building	8	2.1			8	0	2	1	3	2	25.0
	Bricklayer	6										
	Glazier/plumber	2										
8	Food & drink	7	1.8			7	0	1	2	3	1	14.3
	Baker	5		0	0	5						
	Brewer	1										
	Miller	1										
9	Clothing & footwear	43	11.3			41	2	6	21	14	2	4.7
	Breeches Maker	2		0	0	2						
	Hatter	3		1	1	2						
	Millr/mantua mkr	2		1	1	1						
	Staymaker	2		0	0	2						
	Patten maker	3		0	0	3						
	Tailor	9		0	1	8						
9.1	Cordwnr	22	0	1	21							

Percentage of houses with 10
or more taxable windows

TABLE A2:3 - continued
SELBY WINDOW & ASSESSED TAXES RETURN 1788

Occ Occupation code	Number	Shop tax %	Inhbtd houses tax >=5 <5	Sex		Windows				
				M	F	0-1	2-5	6-9	10 plus	% ##
10 Other crafts & trades	5	1.3		5	0	0	3	2	0	0.0
Clockmaker	2	0	0 2							
Other	3									
11 Dealing & retail trade	58	15.2		55	3	2	14	20	22	37.9
11.1 Draper	8	5	6 2							
11.2 Merch/dealer	8	0	5 3							
11.3 Butcher	9	3	3 6							
Fellmonger	2									
11.4 Innkeeper	7	2	4 3							
Publican	9	0	4 5							
11.5 Grocer	5	5	5 0							
11.6 Brazier	2	1	1 1							
Hardware man	1	0	0 1							
Shopkeeper	1	1	1 0							
11.7 Barber	4	0	0 4							
11.8 Fish monger	1	0	0 1							
Horse dealer	1									
12 Transport	35	9.2	1	34	1	2	18	14	1	2.9
Water	35									
13 Professions	9	2.4		9	0	1	1	3	4	44.4
Attorney	3									
Druggist	2	2	2 0							
Schoolmaster	1									
Apothecary	3	3	2 1							
15 Gentry & clergy	15	3.9		7	8	0	2	3	10	66.7
16 Misc	4	1.0		4	0	0	1	2	1	25.0
17 No occpn shown	31	8.1		11	20	23	5	3	0	0.0
All individuals	382	100	29	343	39	62	137	124	54	14.1
Other entries	67					7	51	7	2	
Tenements	56									
Late/empty	4									
Other	5									
	449					69	188	131	56	12.5

Percentage of houses with 10 or more taxable windows

Source : Selby Window Tax return 1788

TABLE A2:4
SELBY WINDOW & ASSESSED TAXES RETURN 1788
General Analysis

Number of windows		Number of entries	Description Mr or Mrs	Rent Inhabited Houses \geq £5	Rent Shop Tax \geq £5
0	Assessed taxes only	9	3		
	Late or empty	4	0		
	Poor	55	68	0	3
1 - 6		273	5	6	2
7 - 9		52	8	24	12
10-12		31	10	28	10
13-26		25	16	23	7
All		449	42	81	31

Source : Selby Window Tax return 1788

The value of surviving returns, such as the ones for Selby, is not limited to the data they provide for the place in question. By examining the way that the taxes were calculated at a local level, and the amount paid by individuals, one can draw conclusions as to the significance of the tax paid for places where local returns do not survive. For the reasons just mentioned, direct comparisons between tax paid for towns is not always helpful, but the relationship between assessment, can be very revealing. Since the Inhabited Houses Tax was only levied on houses with a rental value of over £5, and generally excluded farms, the fact that the total for Beverley was 24 per cent of the Window Tax, as opposed to 10 per cent for Easingwold and Pocklington suggests, as one might expect, that there were many

more larger houses at Beverley. The percentage for both Selby and Market Weighton was 13 per cent. The comparison between the Inhabited Houses Tax and the Shop Tax is also revealing since it indicates the approximate percentage of the occupiers of these larger properties who were engaged in retail trade - 29 per cent at Selby, 24 per cent at Beverley, 21 per cent at Easingwold, 18 per cent at Pocklington and only 16 per cent at Market Weighton. What one cannot deduce is the commercial activity, if any of the balance in each case. Perhaps they were gentry, maybe merchants in trade but not in retail trade, possibly they were engaged in some other commercial activity.

Looking specifically at the shop tax, one can safely say that a payment listed in the returns at the Public Record Office of 3/- (£0.150) or less represents a single shop, that one between 3/4 (£0.167) and 4/10 (£0.242) represents two shops and that one between 5/- (£0.250) and 6/4 (£0.317) two or three shops. With slightly less confidence a payment between 6/8 (£0.333) and 8/- (£0.400) probably represents three or four shops and one for 8/4 (£0.417) between three and five shops. But it gets increasing difficult thereafter. The £4. 9. 6 (£4.475) paid for Selby in fact represented 31 shops, but that figure could have covered more or fewer shops. Further, the tax was levied on premises with a rental value of £5 or more, from which retail sales were made. Thus the size of the shop tax payment is not a conclusive indication of the extent of retail trade. This is clear from the Selby assessment.²⁶

²⁶ Cf. Mitchell, 'The development of urban retailing 1700-1815', 270-2.

APPENDIX THREE Occupational Groups and Codes

The occupational codings used in this thesis, and set out in Table A 3:1, are derived from those used by Glennie,²⁷ rather than the Booth / Armstrong categories, which were themselves based on the Registrar General's categories in the 19th century. In the 18th century men were generally described by their occupation irrespective of their wealth, or, to some degree, their social standing. During the 19th century this ceased to be so.

By the 1820's this format is showing signs of strain. Thus for example the Baines directory of 1822 for Selby lists 'Ship owners'. For purely practical reasons these have been listed under Occupation Code 6 - Wood working, even though it stretches the classification system to so classify them. As Glennie points out, there are problems of changing terminology in space and time. In 1750 one can safely assume a clerk to be a clerk in holy orders, classified under Occupation Code 15.2. In 1800 occupations in Mountain's Directory for Selby included 'Clerk for the Aire and Calder Navigation', 'Clerk of the Stores' and 'Clerk to Mr Coleman'.²⁸ All were classified under Occupation Code 13.

Glennie also refers to the need to consider the relationship between the bearer of

²⁷ P. Glennie, *Distinguishing men's trades*, Historical Geography Research Series 25 (1990), 10-18 and 93-5, table 2:3 and table 5:10.

the occupational label and the person who ascribed it.²⁹ This is very marked in the differences between the entry in the *Universal British Directory* for Selby and the near contemporary directory in Mountain's *History of Selby*. Men designated by their trade in the *Universal British Directory* are listed as gentlemen by Mountain. The man who compiled the list of shareholders for Pocklington Canal was keenly aware that 'Gentleman' covered both true gentry and urban tradesmen, who were also described as gentlemen, and accorded them appropriate seniority in the list.³⁰

There are also practical problems. Schoolmasters have been classified under Occupation Code 13 but this may overestimate their professional abilities and ignores the range of skills amongst those who are so described. Yeoman have been classified under Occupation Code 1 - Agriculture, but in reality this term may reflect status rather than occupation. The borderline between farmer or husbandman and labourer could be very fine, and more apparent than real. Ship carpenters were probably very different to apprentice trained carpenters and joiners, but carpenter could encompass both. Some ship carpenters had recently described themselves as labourers.

²⁸ Mountain, *Selby, Directory*. Mr John Coleman was described in the directory as a common brewer.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

³⁰ PRO Rail 858/4. See Chapter III, Section 3.2.7 above.

TABLE A3.1
OCCUPATIONAL CODINGS

Class	Subclass	Code	Subcode
Agriculture / Land	Farming	1	1
	Agricultural craft	10	10.2
Craft / Trade	Mining / Quarrying	2	2
	Textiles	3	3
	Leather producers / workers	4	4
	Metal working	5	5
	Wood working / general	6	6
	Wood working / not ships	6	6.1
	Wood working / ships	6	6.2
	Wood working / ship owners	6	6.3
	Building / Construction	7	7
	Food / Drink makers	8	8
	Clothing / Footwear / general	9	9
	Clothing / Footwear / shoes	9	9.1
	Other crafts & trades / general	10	10
	Other crafts & trades / clocks	10	10.1
	Dealing / retail trade		
	Cloth	11	11.1
	Merchant	11	11.2
	Meat	11	11.3
	Inns	11	11.4
	Grocer	11	11.5
	Shops general	11	11.6
	Barbers & hair	11	11.7
	Miscellaneous	11	11.8
Carriage / transport / water	12	12.1	
Carriage / transport / land	12	12.2	
Carriage / transport / misc.	12	12.3	
Professions / prof services	13	13	
Labourers / Servants	Labourers	14	14.1
	Servants	14	14.2
Other	Gentry	15	15.1
	Clergy	15	15.2
	Miscellaneous	16	16
	Miscellaneous / Estates	16	16.2
	Unidentified / no occupation	17	17
	Unidentified / no occupation	0	0
	Poor / no occupation	17	17.1

As research progresses one questions whether a coding decision was correct but there are practical problems in recoding once the research is well advanced.

A gunsmith (later described as a gun maker) was classified under Occupation Code 10 rather than a metal worker, and braziers and tallow chandlers were classified under Occupation Sub Code 11.6. With the benefit of hindsight the decision on the last two occupations may underestimate the manufacturing element in both trades.³¹

The whole problem of coding is a very difficult area. It is encouraging, and reassuring, to read in Morris's article 'Occupational Coding: Principles and Examples' that codes must respond to the particular period and location being studied and that whilst comparability is desirable, 'it should not be purchased at any price'.³²

A man could appear to change occupations during his lifetime.³³ Thus the Selby

³¹ B. Hurley (ed.), *Richard Philips's The Book of Trades or Library of Useful Arts 1811 - 1818, 1, 2 and 3* (Wiltshire Family History Society, nd) 1, 51 and 2, 53.

³² Morris, 'Occupational Coding', especially 11; see also G. Morton, 'Presenting the self: Record linkage and referring to ordinary historical persons', *History and Computing*, 6,1 (1994), 12-20.

³³ For a discussion as to changing occupations in the nineteenth century see A. Mutch, 'The 'farming ladder' in North Lancashire, 1840-1914 : myth or reality?', *Northern History*, 27 (1991), 162-183.

Window Tax Assessment and the Selby Dade baptism register suggest that between 1777 and 1788 labourers were around 18 per cent or more of the working male population, but the Dade baptisms that have been linked with marriages indicate that perhaps half of those described as labourers at the birth of their first child had been described as husbandmen or farmers when they married. The Selby marriage register indicates that something of this sort was happening throughout the period 1777 to 1803. Overall around 80 per cent of the bridegrooms were bachelors but only 30 per cent of the labourers were so described. One explanation could be that those who were described as labourers later in life were not so described if they married younger.

APPENDIX FOUR Fairs & Markets

Fairs and Markets in 1770

The following details of fairs and markets for the four study towns are given in

Owen's Book of Fairs (Sixth edition 1770)³⁴:-

'Easingwould	July 5, September 25, for horned cattle, horses, sheep, linnen and woolen cloth. <i>[No market day listed]</i>
Pocklington	February 24, April 25, July 24, October 28 for cattle, cheese, cloth and leathern ware. December 7, shew of horses; Seven days before St. Mathias [<i>17th February</i>], shew of horses; Seven days before Christmas-Day [<i>18th December</i>] shew of horses. S[atuesday]
'Selby	Easter Tuesday, June 22, October 10, for cattle, wool, line [flax], tin and copper ware. M[onday]
'Weighton	May 14, September 25, for horses and sheep. W[ednesday]

³⁴ Owen's *Book of Fairs* (Sixth edition, 1770), List of fairs in Yorkshire, in McCutcheon, 'Yorkshire Fairs', 174-177; 'flax]' in the entry for Selby appears thus in McCutcheon. The information in italics has been inserted by the writer.

Grants of fairs and Markets

Grants in Calendar of Charter Rolls 1227 to 1514³⁵

Easingwold	Fair	1291.
	No market listed	
Pocklington	Fairs	1245, 1272, 1299, 1303.
	Market 1299 (Wednesday), 1303 (Saturday)	
Selby	Fair	1227
	Market 1229 (Wednesday)	
Market Weighton	Fair	1311
	Market 1311 (Tuesday)	

Information from other sources

In the texts transcribed by English from the Yorkshire Hundred and Quo Warranto Rolls 1274-1294,³⁶ there are references to markets and fairs at Easingwold, Market Weighton and Selby, but the very nature of the documents throws some doubt on the reliability of the source:-

Easingwold. Reference to a market on Saturday and a fair on the ... (sic) of the Blessed Mary in the manors of Easingwold and Huby.

Market Weighton. Reference to market on Thursday

Selby. Reference to market on Monday and fair on St Germans day and on the eve and the day following.

³⁵ Ibid., 25, 77 and 161-171.

³⁶ B. English (ed.), *Yorkshire Hundred and Quo Warranto Rolls 1274-1294* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 151 (Leeds, 1996).

In a grant in 1639 to George Hall³⁷ by Letters Patent:-

Easingwold	Fairs
	Market (Friday)
	Cattle Market on alternate Fridays from 21st
	September

In a grant in 1551 to Leonard Beckwith³⁸ of property lately belonging to Selby Abbey:-

Selby	Fair
	Market (Monday)

As to Selby, in 1800 Mountain³⁹ records:-

'The Market-day, at *Selby*, is on Monday.

'There are also held here, three fairs annually, viz. on Easter Tuesday, Old Saint Barnabas, (June 22) and Old Michaelmas day; also a statute fair for servants about a fortnight before Martinmas.

'The *Selby* horse shew commences September 20, and ends on the 26th. Fairs for flax are every Thursday six weeks, from Michaelmas to Saint Peter's day, old style'

³⁷ Cowling, *Easingwold*, 73

³⁸ McCutcheon, 'Yorkshire Fairs', 43.

³⁹ Mountain, *Selby*, 160.

APPENDIX FIVE Directories

The following Directories have been used in this thesis:-

Universal British Directory, P. Barfoot and J. Wilkes (Second Edition, 1793-1798), Facsimile Text Edition (with Foreword and Index by C. Wilkins-Jones), Michael Winton (Kings Lynn, 1993).

Easingwold, 3, 29-3; Market Weighton, 3, 891-4; Pocklington, 4, 228-30; Selby, 4, 532-3.

The Selby Directory for 1800 in J. Mountain, *History of Selby* (York, 1800).

E. Baines, *Directory & Gazetteer of the County of York, West Riding*, 1 (Leeds, 1822), *East and North Ridings*, 2 (Leeds, 1823)

Easingwold, 2, 434-6; Market Weighton, 2, 365-8; Pocklington, 2, 377-80; Selby, 1, 273-8.

National Commercial Directory (Yorkshire) Pigot & Co (1830).

Easingwold 932-3; Market Weighton 1031-2; Pocklington 1040-1; Selby 1067-9.

National Commercial Directory (Durham, Northumberland & Yorkshire) Pigot & Co (1834) Facsimile Edition Michael Winton (Kings Lynn, 1994).

Easingwold 217-8; Market Weighton 363-4; Pocklington 385-7; Selby 422-425.

The Selby Directory in The Tourist's Companion: or The History of the Scenes and Places on the route by the railroad and steam packet from Leeds and Selby to Hull, E. Parsons, (1835) 147-52.

Easton's Directory of Pocklington, (Pocklington, 1845). Linked to Map of Pocklington by William Watson of 1844.

Bulmer's History & Directory of East Yorkshire (Preston, 1892) Facsimile Edition Mr Pye Books (Howden, 1985).
Market Weighton 677-82; Pocklington 688-97.

Whilst there had been directories before 1800 for the larger towns, the *Universal British Directory* published between 1793 and 1798 was the first attempt at a comprehensive directory for England and Wales. In his introduction to the 1993 facsimile edition Wilkins-Jones reproduces the Barfoot and Wilkes' prospectus to the *Universal British Directory*. The aim was to give the professional and commercial data for each community with particular reference to the information that would interest someone visiting a town or wishing to do business there.

Because of their importance for elections the names of freeholders were to be shown. Gentlemen's Seats and 'natural and artificial curiosities' were listed for the information of the traveller, guided by the 'new and improved map of England and Wales', the coach directory and details of the principal inns. Some entries were pirated from existing entries and the coverage is certainly uneven but as

Wilkins-Jones points out 'of 1,600 towns and villages listed in the *Universal British Directory* over 1,500 had never appeared in a directory before'.⁴⁰ All references in this thesis are to the 1993 facsimile version, which was made from a surviving copy of the second edition at Norwich. Before 1993 the most readily available version of the *Universal British Directory* was a microfilm of the copy in the Guildhall Library in the City of London.

Quite why the *Universal British Directory* coverage for Selby is so poor is not clear. The compilers were clearly having problems - the entry follows Swinton and is the first of nine entries that were presumably not available when the previous part of the directory was printed. The narrative is adequate - much better than the brief note for Pocklington. The entry for Malton, which Noble suggests was then the second market town of Eastern Yorkshire⁴¹ - a view supported by the Window and Assessed Taxes assessments for 1788 - is a miserable seventeen lines of narrative in the Appendix, with no list of the principal inhabitants. By this stage the compilers were also failing to provide details of freeholders in every case, so the entries for Selby and Market Weighton were not unusual in failing to list them. The *Universal British Directory* coverage for Easingwold, Market Weighton and Pocklington appears to be slightly above the usual level, though

⁴⁰ *Universal British Directory*, Foreword and Index by C. Wilkins-Jones; But see Chilton, 'The Universal British Directory - a warning'.

⁴¹ *Universal British Directory*, 5, 116; Noble, 'Regional urban system: Eastern Yorkshire 1700-1850', (1987), 9.

Easingwold may be unusual in that it had a high percentage of freeholders. Of the 38 men listed at Easingwold without an occupation, 37 were freeholders.

Comparison with the 1807 poll book suggests that some were in fact labourers.⁴²

The motives for Mountain's *History of Selby* were not those of Barfoot and Wilkes when they produced the *Universal British Directory*. Mountain was a Selby clock maker and it is doubtful if the work was commissioned by Peck, its York printer. The book includes a directory for Selby and a brief history of Cawood and a list of the principal inhabitants of that town.⁴³ It was probably aimed at the 'middling sort' and reflected the prosperity of the town, the 'upsurge in confidence' and the wish of that segment of the population to 'trumpet the achievements' of Selby.⁴⁴ By no means all the local subscribers were listed in the Selby directory of principal inhabitants and the book was certainly not aimed at a national market, nor principally a trade directory. But the coverage of the directory is vastly better than the *Universal British Directory* entry for Selby.

⁴² 1807 Poll Book. Occupations are given in this poll book.

⁴³ Mountain, *Selby*. The History of Cawood is separately paginated and may have been initially intended for separate sale.

⁴⁴ R. Sweet, 'The production of urban histories in eighteenth-century England', *Urban History*, 23, 2 (1996), 172, 180 and 183. See further, Chapter VII, Section 7.1 above.

Walton⁴⁵ commented on the lack of overlap between Oxfordshire directories in the later eighteenth century and Table A2:5 shows this was so at Selby. Since, from internal evidence, the Selby entry in the *Universal British Directory* probably dates from 1795,⁴⁶ only five years before Mountain was published, the absence of so many of the *Universal British Directory* entries in Mountain is superficially surprising. Some had died, some had encountered financial difficulties, a few could be linked by surname and had passed their business on to a son or relative, but the difference may also indicate the general lack of continuity in a growing town such as Selby.

TABLE A5:1
SELBY DIRECTORY ENTRIES
Universal British Directory and Mountain

	<i>Universal British Directory 1795-98</i>	<i>Mountain's Directory 1800</i>
<i>Universal British Directory</i> only	10	
Both directories	29	29
Linked entries	7	7
Mountain only		186
	46	222

Source : *Universal British Directory* and Mountain, Selby.

⁴⁵ Walton, 'Trades and professions in late 18th century England: assessing the evidence of directories', 346-8.

⁴⁶ William Potter, Vicar of Selby, is listed in the *Universal British Directory*. He died in 1796. Morrell, *Selby*, 213.

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Some of the differences between the Mountain directory for Selby and the *Universal British Directory* entries for the other three towns may be more apparent than real. Thus gentle women, who are classified as gentry in *Universal British Directory* directories and therefore are listed under Occupation Code 15, are not so designated in Mountain and are therefore shown as of no occupation and listed under Occupation Codes 0/17. Mountain also shows all too clearly the problems relating to those classified as 'Gentleman' or 'Esquire'. Five of the eight men he describes as gentleman can be identified in the *Universal British Directory* with an occupational description.

In contrast to the *Universal British Directory*, *Baines Directory* of 1822/3 and *Pigot's directory* of 1830 have entries under various trade categories, and a significant number of individuals appeared in more than one category. The 177 entries for Market Weighton in Baines relate to about 150 identifiable individuals so that around 15 per cent had more than one entry. When comparing the coverage of these three directories one must also remember that Pigot excluded most farmers. It also included some people living outside the town, but these have been excluded from Table A5:2. One practical facet of this duplication is that it is not easy to assess relative change. Excluding the Agricultural Group in both directories, the number of entries at Easingwold and Selby was much the same in both directories but those at Market Weighton and Pocklington the number fell sharply and though it seems likely that the number of identifiable individuals

moved in much the same directions this was not so in all Groups.⁴⁷

Table A5:2 indicates the percentage of the population of each town that is covered by the first four directories. The percentage covered rose to 8.8 per cent in 1830 at Pocklington but fell sharply at Market Weighton. As to Selby, Mountain covered master mariners, who are not listed in Baines, and this may partially account for the fall from 7.8 per cent to 6.8 per cent. But the lower percentages at Selby, as opposed to those for the other three towns, could well be due to the population profile. The fall in the percentage covered by Pigot can only partially be explained by the exclusion of both farmers and many of the urban gentry.

Since the Selby Window and Assessed Taxes Return of 1788 appears to list all the householders in the town in that year, the occupational coverage can be compared with the coverage of the directories in Table A5:2. The population of Selby in 1788 was probably around 1,800 to 2,000.⁴⁸ Excluding labourers and those with no listed occupation, some 288 people were listed in the return, representing 14 to 16 per cent of the likely population and far higher than any of the percentages for Selby in Table A5:2

⁴⁷ The West Riding volume of Baines lists towns and villages separately, and none of the directories for West Riding towns appear to include farmers.

⁴⁸ Morrell, *Selby*, 331 – Selby church terrier of 1777, 400 households; Selby Window Tax Return 1788 – 428 households; Census 1801 – population 2,861.

TABLE A5:2
DIRECTORIES - PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION COVERED

	Easingwold	Market Weighton	Pocklington	Selby
UBD 1793-8				
Entries	171	165	127	46
Individuals listed	171	165	127	46
Population 1801	1467	1183	1502	2861
Percentage of population covered	11.7%	13.9%	8.5%	1.6%
Mountain 1800				
Entries	-	-	-	222
Individuals listed	-	-	-	222
Population 1801	-	-	-	2861
Percentage of population covered			--	7.8%
Baines 1822/3				
Entries	237	177	249	317
Individuals listed	218	150	224	278
Population 1821	1912	1724	1962	4097
Percentage of population covered	11.4%	8.7%	11.4%	6.8%
Pigot 1830				
Entries	188	128	196	323
Individuals listed	176	115	180	285
Population 1831	1922	1821	2048	4600
Percentage of population covered	9.2%	6.3%	8.8%	6.2%
Parsons 1835				
Entries	-	-	-	422
Individuals listed	-	-	-	359
Population 1831	-	-	-	4600
Percentage of population covered	-	-	-	7.8%

Source: Directories as listed.

According to the census of 1831 the percentage of men upwards of 20 years of age at Selby was lower than at Pocklington, and substantially below the percentage for the other two towns. The percentage of females was also higher. It

is possible however that in Selby there was also a higher proportion of the population who were not thought to be of sufficient status to be listed in a directory. This would also seem a very likely explanation for the decline in the percentage covered at Market Weighton, reflecting an increased dependence on agriculture and a rising number of agricultural labourers.

Each entry in the *Universal British Directory* lists the seats of the gentry and nobility in the neighbourhood. Whilst the individual entries in Baines do not usually list the names of gentry in the neighbourhood, each volume lists 'Seats of the gentry and nobility' in the respective Ridings and notes the distance of each seat from the neighbouring town.⁴⁹ In previous studies such entries have been used to show an area of influence, but the data proved too scanty to use in this way.

⁴⁹ Baines, 1, West Riding, 643-652: Ibid., 2, East and North Riding, 595-604. Some entries in Volume Two refer to Selby.

APPENDIX SIX The 1831 Census⁵⁰

The data for the four towns from the published 1831 census abstract is listed in Table A6:1. The full headings for the data in the Abstract are shown in Table A6:2. However reference should also be made to the Preface of the Abstract where the instructions to Overseers are set out in more detail.

For example it appears that 'Labourers employed in labour not agricultural' may well have been the number returned in answer to the eleventh question, namely:-

'How many males upwards of twenty years old are miners, fishermen, boatmen, excavators of canals, roadmakers, toll collectors, or labourers ... otherwise employed in any kind of bodily labour, excepting agriculture'.

Likewise 'Capitalists, bankers, Professional and other Educated men' appears to cover the number returned in answer to the tenth question relating to:-

'Males upwards of 20 years old [who are] Wholesale Merchants, Bankers, Capitalists, Professional persons, Artists, Architects, Teachers, Clerks, Surveyors and other Educated men, [including] Persons maintaining themselves other than by Manufacture, Trade or bodily Labour'.⁵¹

⁵⁰ 1831 Census, Abstract of the Answers and Returns - vi, 734-7, 764-5 and 796-7.

⁵¹ Ibid., v and vi. Cf. E. Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census : the manuscript returns for England and Wales 1801-1901* (1989), 23-4.

At Easingwold this last group represented ten per cent of males over 20, at Market Weighton five per cent, at Pocklington seven per cent and at Selby six per cent.⁵²

Unwin used the 1811 and 1831 census data to measure occupational change and to make comparisons between the market towns in the Vale of York, but he referred only to that part of the Abstract that listed the number of families 'chiefly employed' in the three categories shown in Table A6:1. Nor did he give the area of the relevant township or parish.⁵³

Looking first at the Families in Table A6:1, the agricultural percentage for Market Weighton and Easingwold is somewhat above the national average for England of 28 per cent. Both Pocklington and Selby are significantly lower. The 'trade' percentage for Pocklington is close to the national average of 43 per cent but all the other towns are significantly lower. The national average for the 'other' percentage is 29 per cent, so that the figures for Easingwold, Market Weighton and Pocklington are much as one might expect. However 41 per cent for Selby suggests that those compiling the questions for this census did not envisage Selby's occupational structure.

The male / female split at Selby and the percentage of men of 20 years or over is

⁵² *Ibid.*, vi, 734-7, 764-5 and 796-7.

⁵³ Unwin, 'Market Towns 1660-1830', 83 and 84.

indicative of one of the reasons for this structure, linked perhaps to Selby's maritime activities. Seamen belonging to registered vessels were specifically excluded from the census - the other three towns are close to the national averages. But it is the data as to the occupations of the males of 20 years and upwards at Selby that is very surprising. Again, the agricultural figures for the other three towns are unsurprising, but 15 occupiers of land at Selby, employing 157 agricultural labourers, seems, to say the least, unlikely. There are two probable explanations. These figures would give an average acreage for each agricultural worker (including both labourers and occupiers) of 11.7 acres per worker, far less than the 20-30 acres that Sheppard found in most parts of the East Riding.⁵⁴ Brown⁵⁵ had mentioned in 1799 that farms were small and it is therefore likely that many of these men were in fact tradesmen or labourers who were part time farmers. Of the agricultural labourers, many could well have been working outside Selby - they were in fact 'commuters'. This could well also have been the case at Pocklington.

None of the towns had significant numbers employed in 'manufacturing' as defined by the Census. For example boat building, brewers, ironfounders, ropemakers were all considered as coming under Retail Trade and Handicraft. It is nevertheless very surprising that Selby's Trade / Handicraft percentage is only

⁵⁴ Sheppard, 'East Yorkshire's Agricultural Labour Force', 46 and 51.

⁵⁵ Brown, *General view of the Agriculture of the West Riding*, 41.

31 per cent, less even than Market Weighton and only slightly above the national average of 30 per cent.

The explanation must lie in the 'Other males aged 20 or over' figure. At 21 per cent, this is greatly in excess of the other towns, and of the national average of 6 per cent. It seems clear that the Overseers of Selby were unable to fit the population of the town into the categories suggested in their instructions and their return must be considered in that light.

TABLE A6:1
THE 1831 CENSUS

	Easwld	MW	Pock	Selby	Easwld	MW	Pock	Selby
Acres 1831	5520	6000	2520	3180	Acres per inhabitant			
					2.9	3.3	1.2	0.7
HOUSES					Percentage of all houses			
Inhabited	378	371	451	959	92.4	89.6	92.0	94.6
Building	3	2	4	6	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.6
Uninhabited	28	41	35	49	6.8	9.9	7.1	4.8
All Houses	409	414	490	1014	100	100	100	100
Families	431	375	452	989				
	Families per inhabited house				1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0
	Number in family				4.5	4.9	4.5	4.7
	Number in house				5.1	4.9	4.5	4.8
OCCUPATIONS - families					Percentage of all families			
Agriculture	143	143	105	189	33.2	38.1	23.2	19.1
Trade etc	158	143	199	391	36.7	38.1	44.0	39.5
Other	130	89	148	409	30.2	23.7	32.7	41.4
All families	431	375	452	989	100	100	100	100
PERSONS					Percentage of all persons			
Male	933	895	988	2177	48.5	49.1	48.2	47.3
Female	989	926	1060	2423	51.5	50.9	51.8	52.7
Total	1922	1821	2048	4600	100	100	100	100
Males 20 yrs of age	512	463	480	1004	Percentage of all males			
					54.9	51.7	48.6	46.1
Agriculture					Percentage of all engaged in agriculture			
Occ employing labr	33	18	15	68	18.8	9.0	12.1	25.0
Occ NOT employing	14	25	2	47	8.0	12.5	1.6	17.3
All Occupiers	47	43	17	115	26.7	21.5	13.7	42.3
Lab in agriculture	129	157	107	157	73.3	78.5	86.3	57.7
All agriculture	176	200	124	272	100	100	100	100
	Acres per occupier				117.4	139.5	148.2	27.7
	Acres per all agriculture				31.4	30.0	20.3	11.7
All agriculture	176	200	124	272	Percentage of Males over age 20			
Manufacture	7	0	0	33	34.4	43.2	25.8	27.1
Trade/Handicraft	197	151	237	311	1.4	0.0	0.0	3.3
Educated Men	52	23	33	59	38.5	32.6	49.4	31.0
Lab NOT agric	37	40	26	104	10.2	5.0	6.9	5.9
Other males >20	38	38	54	208	7.2	8.6	5.4	10.4
					7.4	8.2	11.3	20.7

TABLE A6:1 - continued
THE 1831 CENSUS

	Easwld	MW	Pock	Selby	Easwld	MW	Pock	Selby
Male servants					Percentage of all males			
20 years of age	5	11	6	17	0.5	1.2	0.6	0.8
under 20 years	7	12	0	12	0.8	1.3	0.0	0.6
All male servants	12	23	6	29	1.3	2.6	0.6	1.3
					Percentage of all females			
Female servants	97	78	75	192	9.8	8.4	7.1	7.9

Source : 1831 Census

TABLE A6:2
FULL HEADINGS IN THE ABSTRACT OF CENSUS RETURNS - 1831

Parish, township or extra parochial place.

Area - English statute acres.

Houses.

Inhabited.
Families.
Building.
Uninhabited.

Occupations.

Families chiefly employed in agriculture
Families chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures and Handicraft.
All other Families not comprised in the two preceding classes.

Persons.

Males.
Females.
Total of persons.

Males Twenty years of age.

Agriculture.

Occupiers employing labourers.
Occupiers not employing labourers.
Labourers employed in agriculture.

Employed in Manufacture, or in the making of Manufacturing Machinery.

Employed in Retail Trade, or in Handicraft as masters or Workmen.

Capitalists, Bankers, Professional and other Educated Men.

Labourers employed in labour not Agricultural.

Other Males 20 Years of Age (except Servants).

Male servants.

20 years of age
Under 20 years of age.

Female servants.

Source : 1831 Census

APPENDIX SEVEN Thesis of Rosemary Rees

In September 1999, a final trawl through the Internet disclosed that Leeds University Library held an M.Phil. thesis submitted in 1978 by Rosemary A. Rees upon social and economic change in Selby between 1752 and 1851.⁵⁶ Whilst certain points in that thesis have been referred to in the body of this present thesis, it was felt it would be helpful to comment upon it generally in this schedule.

The overriding feeling after reading her thesis was one of admiration for the work that must have gone into undertaking the research for it. It is unlikely that a mainframe computer was available so that the practical problems in analysing the data would have been formidable. The thesis was focused on the aggregate analysis of the entries in the parish register for Selby - baptisms, marriages and burials. She deduced that the opening of the Selby canal must have created employment and encouraged in-migration. This led to a sharp rise in the number of baptisms and infant mortality on what, she considered, had hitherto been a static rural community, thus creating enormous pressure on local resources such as sanitation and housing. She considered that infant mortality rose sharply after 1782 and continued to rise steadily thereafter, although it was not until after 1832 that it again increased sharply. But she gives no indication as to how she decided which burials were of infants less than one year old and it is very difficult to see how this could have been done accurately without transcribing the baptism and burial registers. Before 1777, even that would have been of relatively little

⁵⁶ Rees, 'Selby, 1752-1851'

assistance. Thus the lower level of infant mortality that she noted before 1782 may be illusory.⁵⁷

Much of her data is stimulating, though one must question many of her conclusions. For example she notes that the proportion of bridegrooms with addresses outside Selby fell after 1781 and then rose again after 1802. She attributes this to better communications after 1802. This could be relevant but perhaps it also points to a decrease of potential husbands migrating to the town before marriage.⁵⁸

She stated that she had used a 1788 Window tax return to compare occupations in the town at that date with those listed in the 1851 census - and understandably found it difficult to apply the Booth classification to the 1788 data. Without adequate computer facilities it is hardly surprising that she merely counted occupations listed in the 1788 return and thus failed to make full use of that return - thus she records that no paupers or widows appear as householders. In fact 55 householders were listed as 'poor' and eight women were described as widows in the 1788 return. She also assumed that 46 labourers were agricultural labourers - perhaps it was this that encouraged her belief in the rural nature of the

⁵⁷ Ibid., 38.

⁵⁸ See Chapter 5, Table 5:1 above and Bellingham, 'Use of marriage horizons'.

community. Strangely she found that 'in 1788 some 270 householders responded to the window tax'. In fact some 440 householders are listed in the Selby Window Tax Return 1788, of whom over 330 were identified by name and paid window tax. Had she been able to make a full assessment of the 1788 return it is inconceivable that she would have concluded that Selby was predominately a rural parish in 1788.⁵⁹

Her analysis of the 1781 and 1832 Land Tax returns persuaded her that there were far more houses in the town in 1832 than there had been in 1781 and that these new houses were predominantly rented housing for the poorer classes. This may be so but it is doubtful whether any one would rely on such an exercise today. In 1986 Margaret Noble attempted to use Land Tax returns for eight East Yorkshire towns - including Pocklington and Market Weighton, and concluded that Land Tax returns were 'incapable of being used for precise quantitative measurement'. In 1992 Ginter, referring specifically to Noble's studies, said that such studies 'were too error prone to be judged promising'.⁶⁰

Rees also attempted to use wills proved in the peculiar of Selby, and their associated inventories (but not including inventories attached to Letters of

⁵⁹ As to the Selby Window Tax Return 1788, see note to Table A2.2 above and the Second Schedule passim. It is possible Rees did not in fact use the copy of the return now deposited at the Borthwick under reference PR SEL 307.

⁶⁰ Noble, 'Land Tax Assessments', 93-117; Ginter, *Measure of Wealth*, 276.

Administration), to gauge the relative strength of family ties over time. However she understandably concluded that the value of the wills was very limited, since the small numbers made generalisation impossible.⁶¹ She did not attempt to use the wills, and all the available inventories, as an anecdotal source, as Riley did very successfully in his study of Selby and three other Yorkshire Ouse communities.⁶²

Whilst many of her conclusions are open to doubt, not least because she did not have available, or failed to use, many of the sources used in this present thesis, her thesis does point to avenues that must be further explored in the future. Thus, flawed though her infant mortality figures may be, it is clear from her thesis that it will be profitable to undertake a full analysis of the entries in the Selby parish register from 1788 to 1813, making full use of the potential of a Dade register.

⁶¹ Rees, 'Selby, 1752-1851', 15.

⁶² Riley, 'Four Communities: 1660-1760', 86-94.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- PRO** Public Record Office
- Baines** *Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York*, Baines E., 1, West Riding (Leeds, 1822), 2, East and North Ridings (Leeds, 1823)
- Borthwick** University of York : Borthwick Institute of Historical Research.
- Drummond** Annesley C. and Hoskin P. (eds.), *Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns 1764*, (York, 1997, 1998 and forthcoming). Easingwold, 1, 142-3; Pocklington, 2, 172-3; Market Weighton, (forthcoming).
- ERYA** East Riding of Yorkshire Archives
- Herring** Ollard S.L. and Walker P.C. (eds.), *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns 1743*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 71, 72, 75, 77 and 79, (1929-1931). Easingwold, 71, 183; Pocklington, 75, 11-12; Market Weighton, 75, 222-223; Selby, 75, 65-66.
- Jeffreys** Jeffreys T. *A Survey of the County of Yorkshire* published by Robert Sayer and John Bennett (1775)
- Mountain, Selby** Mountain J., *History of Selby* (York, 1800).
- NYCRO** North Yorkshire County Record Office

- Pigot 1830** *Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory (Yorkshire),*
Pigot and Co (1830)
- Pigot 1834** *Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory (Durham,*
Northumberland and Yorkshire), Pigot and Co (1834)
- PP** *Parliamentary Papers*
- Selby Window** Selby Window and Assessed Taxes return 1788. (Borthwick
Tax Return 1788 PR SEL 307-8)
- Universal British** *Universal British Directory*, Barfoot P. and Wilkes J. (Second
Directory edition, 1793-1798) Facsimile Text edition with Foreword and
Index by Wilkins-Jones C. (Kings Lynn, 1993)
- University of** University of Hull, Brynmor Jones Library, Archives and
Hull Archives Special Collections
- WYAS** West Yorkshire Archive Service

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Rail 858/2-4	Pocklington Canal
E182/1159	Window and Assessed taxes 1788
HO 129/513, 516, 527	Religious Census Returns 1851
WO/3/48	1686 War Office return of Guest Beds & Stabling

East Riding of Yorkshire Archives

DDMW	Market Weighton Canal
DDPY/19/3	Watson W. <i>Map of Pocklington</i> (1844)
DDPY/19/4	Watson W. <i>Map of Pocklington</i> (1855)
DDPY/19/9	Dolman Terrier
DDPY/20	Pocklington manorial records
DDPY/29	Wills deposited by Powell & Young, Pocklington.
DDX 28	Papers relating to Timothy Overend
DDX 268.	A copy of Neave D., <i>Pocklington 1660-1914</i> (First edition, 1971), with longhand footnotes by the author.
LT/7/20	Muster roll of Pocklington Volunteer Corps 1803
QDE	Land Tax Returns
QDL/4	Printing press licence – John Easton
QDT	Alehouse records
QDU 4/1	Turnpike records – 1820
TTBK	Turnpike trust – Beverley to Kexby
TTYK	Turnpike trust – York to Kexby
ERRD Y/230/39	Pocklington Enclosure Award

Typescript deposited by Mr E. Melvyn Cookman, *Hints to an emigrant presented by George Grimston Cookman to his uncle Francis Cookman May 5th 1823 Hull.*

The location of the original document is unknown, but it is believed to be in private hands in the United States of America.

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MS M445 Register of vessels under Act of Parliament of 1795.
(Geo III c58)

North Yorkshire County Record Office

DC/SBU MIC	Selby Vestry Book
BP/SB	Selby Toll Bridge Accounts
PSLB7	Plans of Londesborough Arms, Selby
QDE(L)	Land Tax Returns.
QDS(F)	Articles of New Union Society, 1799
ZDV MIC 164	Easingwold cum Huby Manor Court Book 1719-1891

Pocklington Town Council

General Vestry Resolution Book

Selby Abbey

Programme for music festival 1827

University of Hull, Brynmor Jones Library, Archives and Special Collections

DDEV	Everingham Estate papers
DDBA/4/46	South Cave market agreement 1782
DDL02	Manor Court records Manor of Selby cum Membris

University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, Special Collections

A 21. 1 and 2 Minutes of Selby Preparative Meeting of the Religious
Society of Friends (Quakers)

University of York : Borthwick Institute of Historical Research

Alne Parochial Records

ALN Baptism Register

Easingwold Parochial Records

Parish Registers

EAS 30 Churchwardens accounts 1804-1826

Market Weighton Parochial Records

Parish Registers

MW 16 and 17 Market Weighton Churchwardens accounts

MW 20 Market Weighton Overseers accounts 1783-1826.

Pocklington Parochial Records

Parish Registers

POC 24 Churchwardens accounts

POC 54 Programme for music evening

Selby Parochial Records

Parish Registers

SEL 56 Notes of a vestry meeting 1765

SEL 73 List of Trustees of the Selby Workhouse 1741-1758

SEL 242 Account Book for Grey Coat School 1795-1856.

SEL 310 Orders passed at meeting of Selby Amicable Society,
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SEL 311 Subscription list for Selby Prison 1824

SEL 343-6 Selby Window Tax returns 1756, 1760, 1773, 1782 and
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CCDY9 Deanery Estates – Pocklington correspondence

Suffolk Record Office

C10/1/110 Ipswich return for Window and Assessed taxes 1788

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Acc 1809 Selby Charity School Account book and Register.

Wakefield

QE13 Land Tax Assessments

QE 32 Ale House licences

RT 9 and RT 83 Turnpike records

QE 13 Land Tax Returns.

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