

**The Microhistory of a Lincolnshire Parish:
Humberston, 1750-1850**

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

by

Martin Watkinson, B.A. (Hons), M.Phil.

**Centre for English Local History
University of Leicester**

2017

MARTIN WATKINSON,
‘THE MICROHISTORY OF A LINCOLNSHIRE PARISH:
HUMBERSTON, 1750-1850’

Abstract

This is an account of everyday life in a single village (Humberston in Lincolnshire) in the century after 1750. However, this study is more than a local history, for it uses the experience of Humberston to examine and test some major issues of historical debate. In this respect, the thesis is an exercise in 'microhistory', where the local becomes the site for consideration of much wider issues.

Humberston was transformed from an open parish into an estate village in the period between 1700 and 1750 and fell into the hands of absentee owners after 1750. The first three chapters of this thesis examine how power and authority were exercised in such a 'closed' parish, focusing in turn on the relationships between landlord and tenant, farmer and farmworker, squire and parson. The following chapter considers how this tightly-controlled village responded to the potentially disruptive challenge of Methodism. The closing chapters examine the condition of those furthest down the social hierarchy, the Cottagers who had access to pasture and kept a cow and those who were, at various points in their lives, dependent on the parish for poor relief.

A conclusion considers how this exercise in microhistory adds to our overall knowledge of the period. It suggests that the 'open-close' model of English villages may require further refinement to better reflect the nature of power and authority in closed parishes with non-resident landlords. It argues that the effects of enclosure may – in some places and for some people – have been less destructive of cottagers' livelihoods than is sometimes supposed. And it maintains that the relatively benign welfare culture of the south and east of England may have extended further north than previously thought. Finally, it reflects on the relatively slow pace of change in parts of rural England in the century after 1750.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND DEDICATION

I feel immensely privileged to have been a student of the Centre for English Local History at the University of Leicester. I have benefitted greatly from the guidance of my excellent supervisors (Keith Snell, Peter King and, latterly, Andrew Hopper) and from the inspiring teaching of other members of staff, past and present (Richard Jones, Simon Sandall, David Churchill and Matthew Tompkins). Academics and friends from other universities (Rod Ambler, Peter Edwards, and Jeremy Burchadt) have kindly read and commented on early drafts of parts of this thesis and Shirley Brooks has generously shared her unpublished research on Lincolnshire farm buildings. I am grateful to them all for their help.

The staff of the Lincolnshire Archives, the North East Lincolnshire Archives and the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies have been extremely helpful, as have members of The National Archives and British Library. I am also grateful to Lord Carrington and his archivist, Sarah Charlton, for allowing me access to the Carington family archive at Bledlow Manor.

I have nurtured an ambition to undertake a PhD since completing an M.Phil. in the then Department of English Local History some thirty years ago. It has been a real joy to have been able finally to fulfil that dream. Throughout all that time my wife Lynn has been a constant source of love, kindness, encouragement and support and an active companion on my journey. This thesis is dedicated to her.

To Lynn, with love

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements and Dedication.....	ii
List of Figures.....	iv
List of Tables.....	vii
Abbreviations and Conventions	viii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
PART ONE: POWER AND AUTHORITY IN A CLOSED PARISH	
Chapter 2 Landlord and tenant	19
Chapter 3 Farmers and farmworkers	52
Chapter 4 Squire and parson.....	86
Chapter 5 The challenge of Methodism	112
PART TWO: INDEPENDENCE AND DEPENDENCY	
Chapter 6 Enclosure and the cottager	136
Chapter 7 Poverty and poor relief, 1750-1836	162
Chapter 8 Poverty and poor relief, 1836-1850	198
Chapter 9 Conclusion	216
Appendix: Places mentioned in the text	223
BIBLIOGRAPHY	226

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1	Humberston and District, 2014	5
1.2	The Geographical Regions of Lindsey (North Lincolnshire).....	6
1.3	The Lincolnshire Marsh at Humberston: Fields, Roads, Dykes and Beach	7
1.4	Humberston and District, 1824	8
1.5	Humberston, 1825	8
1.6	Humberston Village Centre, Looking North-west, 1966.	13
2.1	Landownership and Parish Type in Lincolnshire, c.1830	26
2.2	Landownership and Parish Type in North-east Lincolnshire, c.1830	27
2.3	John Friend's Plan for the Enclosure of Humberston, 1707	28
2.4	Monument to Matthew Humberston in St Peter's Church, Humberston	29
2.5	Nave of St Peter's Church, Humberston, rebuilt 1721	30
2.6	Portraits of Robert, Lord Carrington, and Thomas Thompson of Hull	34
2.7	Humberston Before Enclosure, c. 1705	38
2.8	Humberston After Enclosure, c.1805	38
2.9	Architectural Styles in Humberston: The Imprint of the Estate	43
2.10	Architectural Styles in Humberston: The Vernacular Tradition	45
2.11	Annual Rents per Acre in Humberston and in England, 1750-1850	47
3.1	The Arrangement of Farms in Humberston, 1765	56
3.2	The Arrangement of Farms in Humberston, c.1860	56
3.3	Names of Families Occupying Farms in Humberston, 1750-1850	58
3.4	Representations of Social Status	62
3.5	Former Tied Cottage, Humberston	70

3.6	Floor Plan of Manor Farm, Humberston, c.1850	73
4.1	Plan of the School House, School Room and Chaise House	97
5.1	Number of Members of the Methodist Society in Humberston, 1796-1851	121
5.2	Numbers of Members of Methodist Societies in the Marshland Parishes of Bradley Haverstoe Wapentake, 1769-1851	122
5.3	The First Methodist Chapel in Humberston, c.1900.....	123
6.1	Robert Gourlay's Tour through North Lincolnshire, 1800	144
6.2	Number of Cottagers and their Livestock by Type of Parish, 1800	145
6.3	Number of Cottagers by Type of Keeping, 1800	146
6.4	The Cow Pastures in Humberston, 1825	151
6.5	Cottager's House: Haverstoe Cottage, Wendover Lane	158
6.6	'Small Holdings', The Earl Carrington, 1907, by Sir Leslie Ward	159
7.1	Proportion of the Population in Receipt of Poor Relief, 1802/03 and 1812/13- 1814/15	167
7.2	Proportion of the Population in Receipt of Poor Relief in the Marshland Parishes of Bradley Haverstoe, 1802/03 and 1814/15	168
7.3	Proportion of the Population in Receipt of Poor Relief in the Marshland Parishes of Bradley Haverstoe, 1802/03 and 1814/15, by parish type	169
7.4	Parish Rates in Humberston, 1797-1836 (Pence per Pound)	171
7.5	Income from Parish Rates in Humberston, 1797-1836	172
7.6	Overseer's Expenditure on Poor Relief in Humberston, 1797-1836	172
7.7	Overseer's Expenditure on Poor Relief, with building costs excluded, 1797-1836	173
7.8	Overseers' and Trustees' Expenditure on Poor Relief, with building costs excluded, 1797-1836	174

7.9	Expenditure on Poor Relief per Head of Population in England and Wales and Humberston, 1775 to 1834	175
7.10	Number of Paupers in Humberston, 1819-1836	176
7.11	Number of Paupers in Humberston by Category, 1819-1836	177
7.12	Number of Paupers in Humberston by Form of Relief, 1819-1836	178
7.13	Part of Robert Adam's Sketches for the Humberston Almshouses	194
7.14	The Humberston Almshouses (one of a pair) and New School, c.1910	195
8.1	Lincolnshire Poor Law Unions and Their Dates of Formation	203
8.2	The Costs of Poor Relief in Humberston per Half-year, 1849-1861.	210
8.3	Days Spent in the Workhouse by Humberston Residents, 1849-1856.	210
8.4	Expenditure on the Parish Roads, Humberston, 1815-50	213
8.5	Days Worked on the Parish Roads, Humberston, 1815-50	214
10.1	Places in Lincolnshire Mentioned in the Text.....	223
10.2	Places in Lincolnshire Mentioned in the Text (contd).....	224
10.3	Parishes in Bradley Haverstoe Wapentake.....	224

LIST OF TABLES

2.1	Land Use in Humberston, 1796-1825 and 1866	41
2.2	Cropping Ratios in Humberston, 1796-1825 and 1866	41
3.1	Numbers of Farmworkers in Humberston, 1841-1861	64
3.2	Wages of Farm Servants in Humberston and Spalding, 1768-85	65
3.3	Wages of Day Labourers in Humberston and Elsewhere, 1759-74	66
3.4	Wages of Day Labourers in Humberston and Lincolnshire, 1798	66
3.5	Number of Houses and Cottages in Humberston, 1750-1851	69
3.6	Composition of Farmers' Households in Humberston, 1861	72
5.1	Index of Attendances at Religious Worship in the Marshland Parishes of Bradley Haverstoe by Parish Type, 1851	119
6.1	Cottagers' Holdings before Enclosure (1788) and after it (1794)	152

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
BPP	<i>British Parliamentary Papers</i>
CBS	Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies: Buckinghamshire Record Office
CFA	Carrington Family Archive, Bledlow (see note on 'Carrington' below)
LC	Lincolnshire Collection (also known as Grimsby Local History Library), Grimsby Central Library
LAO	Lincolnshire Archives Office
LHA	<i>Lincolnshire History and Archaeology</i>
LRSM	<i>Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury</i>
NAS	National Archives, Scotland
NELA	North East Lincolnshire Archives
TNA	The National Archives

Conventions

The place name and family name of 'Humberston' is rendered without an 'e' at the end in all cases even though usage varied in the past. The 'e' was officially dropped from the place name in the twentieth century to distinguish it from Humberstone in Leicestershire.

The personal name 'Carrington' is used to refer to Robert Smith (1752-1838), the first Lord Carrington, unless otherwise stated. The Smiths changed their surname to Carrington in 1839, to Carington (with a single 'r') in 1880, and briefly to Wynn-Carington in 1896.

The term 'Marsh' is rendered with a capital 'M' when it refers only to the area known as the 'Lincolnshire Marsh'.

The term 'Cottagers' is spelt with a capital 'C' when it refers exclusively to those cottagers in Humberston who had access, before enclosure, to common land and, after enclosure, to shared pasture.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The Time is approaching when History will be attempted on quite other principles; when the Court, the Senate and the Battlefield, receding more and more into the Background, the Temple, the Workshop and the Social Hearth will advance more and more into the foreground, and History will not content itself with shaping the answer to the question: How were men taxed and kept quiet then? But will seek to answer this other infinitely wider and higher question: how and what were men then? Not our Government only, or the 'house wherein our life was led', but the Life itself we led there, will be inquired into.

Thomas Carlyle (1839).¹

This thesis embraces Thomas Carlyle's vision. It is an account of everyday life in a single village (Humberston in Lincolnshire) in the century after 1750. However, this study is more than an examination of the life that once was led there, for it uses the experience of Humberston to examine and test some major issues of historical debate. In this respect, the thesis is an exercise in 'microhistory', where the local becomes the site for consideration of much wider issues.

The following paragraphs describe what is meant by microhistory and how it has been used to frame this study. Subsequent paragraphs describe the village of Humberston and explain why it has been chosen as the subject of this research. A final section outlines the major issues which are examined in this thesis.

Microhistory

Microhistory can be defined as the intensive historical investigation and analysis of a small unit – an event or incident, a person, place or community – in order to reveal something of the reality of everyday lives. In most forms, it seeks to use the local experience to elaborate, confirm or challenge the 'grand narrative' of conventional history.²

¹ T. Carlyle, 'Boswell's life of Johnson' in Carlyle, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. 2 (1839; Chicago, 1899 edn), p. 421.

² I.M. Szi-járto, 'Four arguments for microhistory', *Rethinking History*, 6 (2002), pp. 209-15; S.G. Magnusson and I.M. Szi-jártó, *What is Microhistory?* (Abingdon, 2013), pp. 4-5 and 74-6.

The term was first coined by an American scholar, George R. Stewart, in 1959.³ However, it was adopted and more fully developed by Giovanni Levi, Carlo Ginzberg and others of the Italian school of 'microstoria' from about 1977.⁴ 'Microstoria' shares much in common with the 'Alltagsgeschichte' (the history of everyday life) in Germany, post-Annales cultural history in France, and the 'new social history' in the UK, as well as the longer tradition of English local history.⁵ They each, in their different ways, represent a departure from, and in some cases a rejection of, the sort of conventional history which focusses attention on major developments spanning long periods and large geographical areas. Microhistorians see in such studies a level of abstraction which to a large degree ignores the experiences, actions and habits of ordinary people. By concentrating on aspects of 'everyday life' they seek to reveal the beliefs, practices and relationships of those who they believe have previously been 'hidden' from history. And by studying them in microscopic detail, they hope to uncover the complexity and reality of everyday life.⁶

For some, this is an end in itself. For others, it is also a means by which the grand narrative of mainstream history can be elaborated, challenged, and modified.⁷ By exploring the details of everyday lives microhistory can test the veracity and representativeness of overarching themes and trends, reveal previously unobserved issues, influences and connections, and expose anomalies and exceptions. At their best, micro-histories can open up an otherwise obscure social world and reveal new insights. For example, in *The Cheese and the Worms*, Carlo Ginzburg used the inquisitorial testimony of a sixteenth-century Italian miller to explore the sources of a single person's knowledge and ideas. Through an analysis of this unusually detailed source, Ginzburg was able to argue that peasant culture was much more

³ G.R. Stewart, *Pickett's Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Attack at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863* (Boston, 1959).

⁴ C. Ginzburg, transl. J. and A.C. Tedeschi, 'Microhistory: two or three things that I know about it', *Critical Inquiry*, 20 (1993), pp. 10-35.

⁵ Magnusson and Szijártó, *Microhistory*, pp. 13-76.

⁶ J. Brewer, 'Microhistory and the histories of everyday life', *Cultural and Social History*, 7 (2010), pp. 87-109; P. Hudson, 'Closeness and distance: a response to Brewer', *Cultural and Social History*, 7 (2010), pp. 375-85.

⁷ Magnusson and Szijártó, *Microhistory*, especially pp. 4-5 and 157-8; Z.B. Simon, 'Microhistory: in general', *Journal of Social History*, 49 (2015), pp. 237-48.

sophisticated, layered and complex than previously thought.⁸ Similarly, Giovanni Levi examined one village's land transactions to throw light on a then current debate about the commercialisation of land. He found, contrary to all expectations, that 'by reducing the scale of observation to an extremely localized area ... it became possible to see that the price of land varied according to the kin relationship between the contracted parties' and not to any notion of nascent capitalism.⁹

Microhistories are therefore more than case studies. They do not seek to validate and exemplify a given position but rather to test and challenge it and introduce new knowledge.¹⁰ They are also more than local histories. They are not confined to the study of places but can range widely over incidents and events, people and groups. They have a clear and consistent focus. And they have a methodology, derived from the social sciences, which (even more than local history) has been shared and debated by practitioners across the Anglophone world.¹¹

Yet shrinking the historical scale in order to investigate the past has its limitations as well as its benefits. Microhistory depends for its success on the existence of a rich and detailed archive which enables the comprehensive reconstruction of a specific event or place in time. However, not all incidents and places lend themselves to such an examination because they have not left a sufficiently detailed or voluminous record. Moreover, microhistory imposes limitations of scale. While it may be possible to reconstruct the lives of those in a small village, it is rather more difficult to apply the same approach to a town with several thousand people, still less a city, because of the

⁸ C. Ginzburg, trans. J. and A. Tedeschi, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore, 1980).

⁹ G. Levi, 'On microhistory' in P. Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 97-8.

¹⁰ B.S. Gregory, 'Is small beautiful? Microhistory and the history of everyday', *History and Theory*, 38 (1999), p. 104; F. de Vivo, 'Prospect or refuge? Microhistory, history on the large scale', *Cultural and Social History*, 7 (2010), p. 392.

¹¹ For a discussion of changes and inconsistencies in the definition, purpose and scope of English local history see J. Beckett, 'What future for the past in local history?', *East Midlands Historian*, 4 (1994), pp. 5-15, and D. Hey, 'The antiquarian tradition' and 'Local and regional history: modern approaches' in Hey (ed.), *Oxford Companion to Family and Local History* (Oxford, 2008 edn.), pp. 66-73; for a comment on the relationship between microhistory and English local history see B. Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 259-61.

potentially huge quantity of source material and the complex and diverse range of social interactions that would be encountered.¹²

There are questions also about how effectively microhistory can inform larger historical debates. Not all examinations of everyday life afford deep insights. Furthermore, not all studies of single incidents or places are representative of the wider picture.

Regarding them as such could be misleading. That said, however, some anomalies may prove to be as revealing of general conditions as paradigms and exemplars.¹³

Knowing how much weight to attach to a single, detailed study is therefore critical.

Making this judgement, Ginzburg observes, 'constitutes both the greatest difficulty and the greatest potential benefit of microhistory'.¹⁴

In order to distinguish between the analogous and the anomalous, some historians have advocated the adoption of a 'multiscopic' approach in which microanalysis is just one among several scales of historical investigation. The expectation is that each level of analysis will disclose a distinctive kind of historical knowledge and will offer a different perspective on a single issue. Combining them all will provide a more complete and rounded view of the micro-study.¹⁵

This study adopts that approach. It is primarily an exercise in microhistory, but the events of a single village are set within and appraised against a wider context. Each chapter begins with a brief review of the historiography of a given issue and then proceeds to reveal what an examination of life in Humberston can add to that account. Some purists may argue that the narrative is the wrong way round and that the account should be written from the bottom up rather than from the top down. This is indeed the way that the research was undertaken. The overarching themes were identified only after the source material had been analysed. The written account of the process of research has been inverted purely for reasons of clarity, so that the route through the thesis can be clearly signposted and the argument in each chapter can be signalled ahead.

¹² Gregory, 'Is small beautiful?', pp. 106-9.

¹³ Gregory, 'Is small beautiful?', pp. 100-110; de Vivo, 'Prospect or refuge?', pp. 391-2.

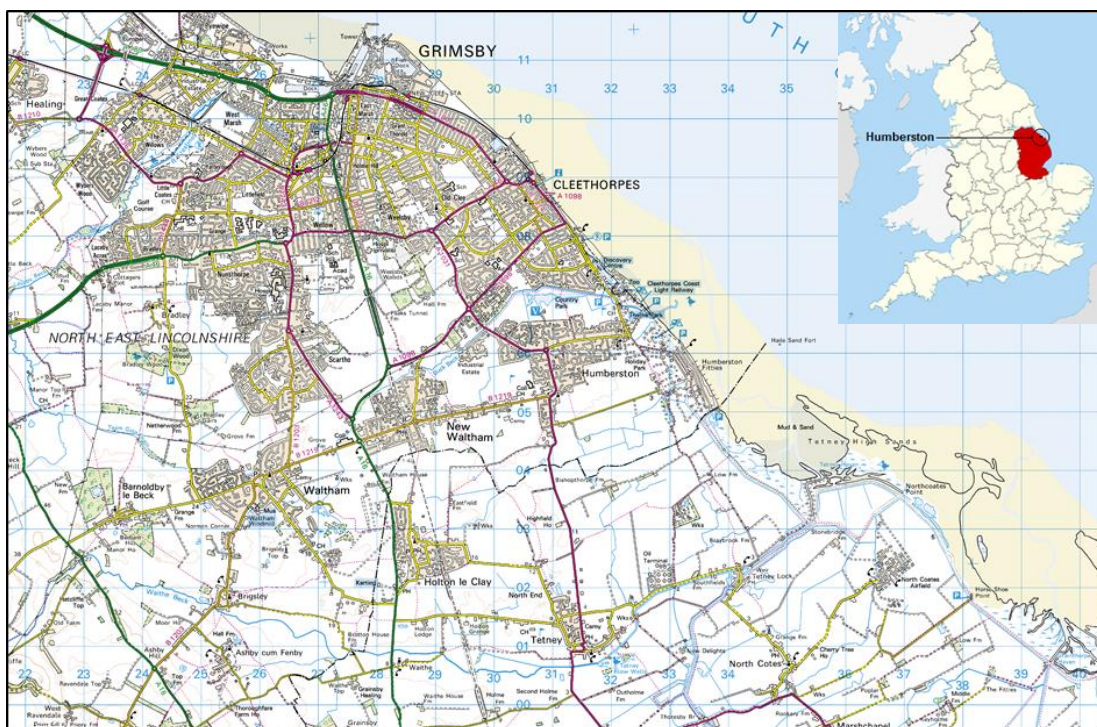
¹⁴ Ginzburg, 'Microhistory', p. 33.

¹⁵ Sziijárto, 'Four arguments', pp. 210-11; Ginzburg, 'Microhistory', pp. 26-7; de Vivo, 'Prospect or refuge', pp. 387-97.

Humberston and the Lincolnshire Marsh

The place chosen for investigation is the small village of Humberston in north Lincolnshire. It is situated in the coastal marshland immediately to the south of Cleethorpes and 5 miles from Grimsby (see Figure 1.1). It has been selected for two reasons. First, the lives of the people who lived in the Lincolnshire Marsh have not been studied in depth; much remains to be learned. Second, Humberston is a relatively well-documented parish; it can therefore yield information on a number of different aspects of rural life.

Figure 1.1 Humberston and District, 2014¹⁶



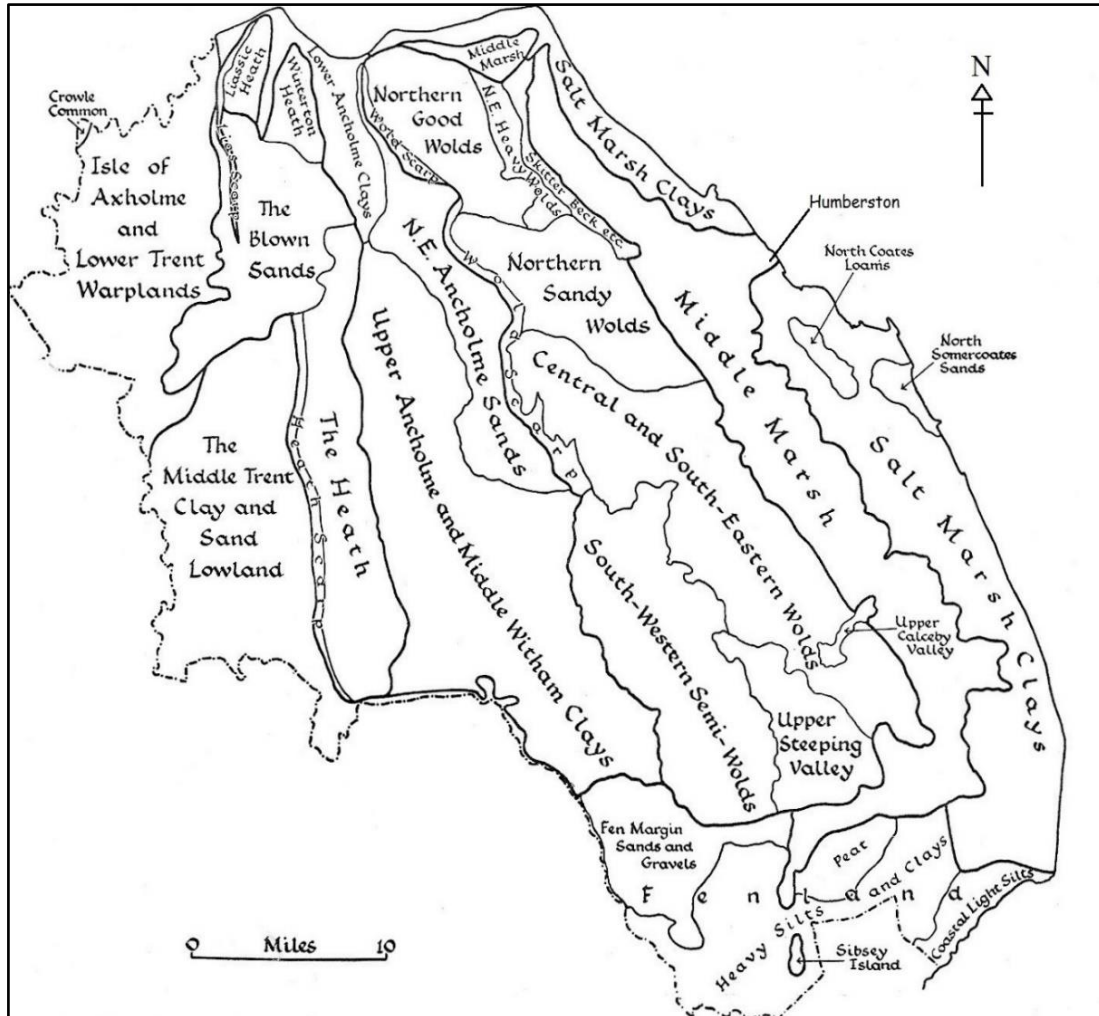
The Lincolnshire Marsh runs down the length of the coast from the River Humber in the north to the Wash in the south, and is met on its western edge by the dip slope of the Wolds. It comprises two parallel regions – an area of saltmarsh clays, silts and sands on the coastal fringe (the Outer Marsh) and an inland region of heavy boulder clay (the Middle Marsh).¹⁷ Just to the south of Grimsby, the Middle Marsh cuts through the

¹⁶ Ordnance Survey, *Landranger Series, Scale 1:50,000, Sheets 113 and 122* (Southampton, 2014).

¹⁷ British Geological Survey, *Solid and Drift Geology, 1:50,000 Series, Sheet 90* (Southampton, 1990); W.A.E. Ussher, *The Geology of North Lincolnshire and South Yorkshire* (London, 1890), pp. 167-70; H.H. Swinnerton and P.E. Kent, *The Geology of Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1948) pp. 94-101.

saltmarsh clays to meet the coast at Cleethorpes and it is on this peninsular of boulder clay that much of the parish of Humberston is situated (see Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2 *The Geographical Regions of Lindsey (North Lincolnshire)*¹⁸



The Outer Marsh and Middle Marsh have distinct landscapes. The Middle Marsh is an area of gently undulating farmland with hedged and tree-lined fields. Parishes are small and villages are tightly nucleated. Narrow lanes wind through the countryside. In contrast, the Outer Marsh, which was settled later and contains much reclaimed land, is flat, open and largely treeless. Parishes here are relatively large and settlements tend to be linear, following the lines of old droveways and salters' lanes

¹⁸ L.D. Stamp (ed.), *The Land of Britain: The Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain, Parts 76-77, Lincolnshire (Parts of Lindsey and Kesteven)* (London, 1942), p. 481.

running east and west, and abandoned sea banks running north and south. Roads are usually straight and direct and bounded by deep drainage ditches (see Figure 1.3).¹⁹

*Figure 1.3 The Lincolnshire Marsh at Humberston: Fields, Roads, Dykes and Beach*²⁰



Humberston has the characteristics of an Outer Marsh parish. Historically, the village was aligned north to south along the coast road with old droveways running east to the coast and west to the Wolds (see Figure 1.4). Agricultural land, divided into fairly regular fields, took up all the rest of the parish (see Figure 1.5). Today, twentieth-century residential overspill from the towns of Grimsby and Cleethorpes occupies much of the northern and middle parts of the parish but farm land remains towards the south (see Figure 1.6 on page 13).

¹⁹ Ordnance Survey, *One Inch Survey of England and Wales, Old Series, Sheet 30* (1824 and later editions) and *1:50,000 Landranger Series, Sheets 113 and 122* (1972 and later editions); A. Windrum, *Lincolnshire Coast and Marshes* (English Nature, East Midlands Team, no place of publication, 1997).

²⁰ Top two photographs by the author; bottom two by Steve Fareham and Richard Croft (<http://www.geograph.org.uk/TA3105>, accessed 21/04/2017))

Figure 1.4 Humberston and District, 1824²¹

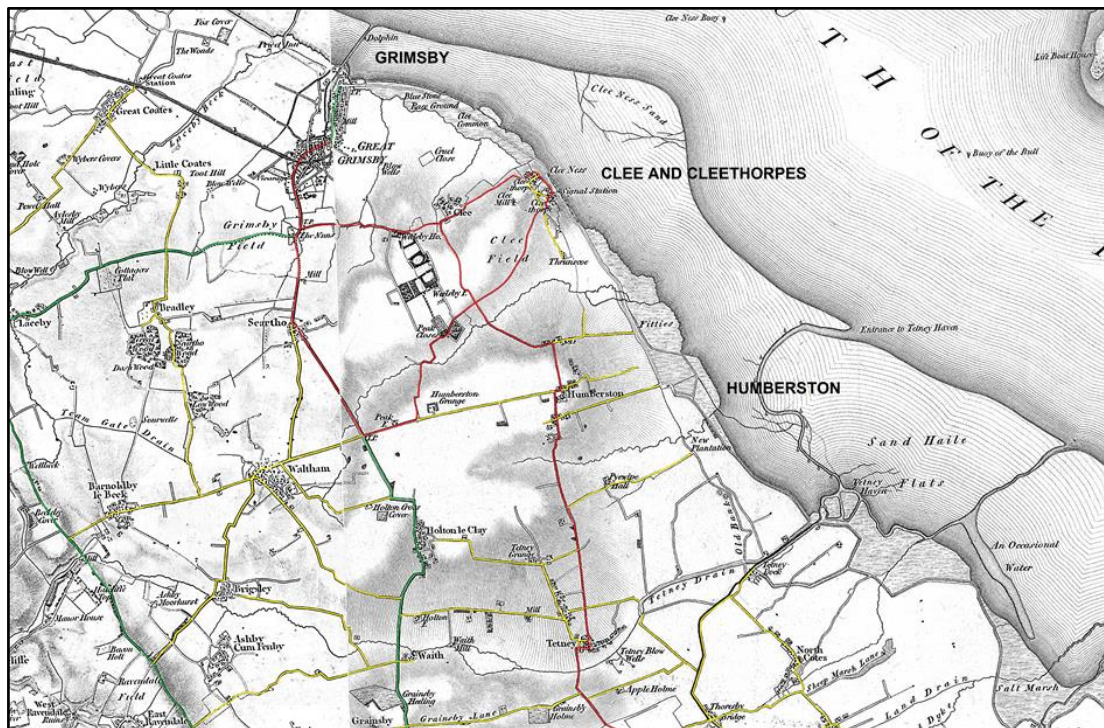
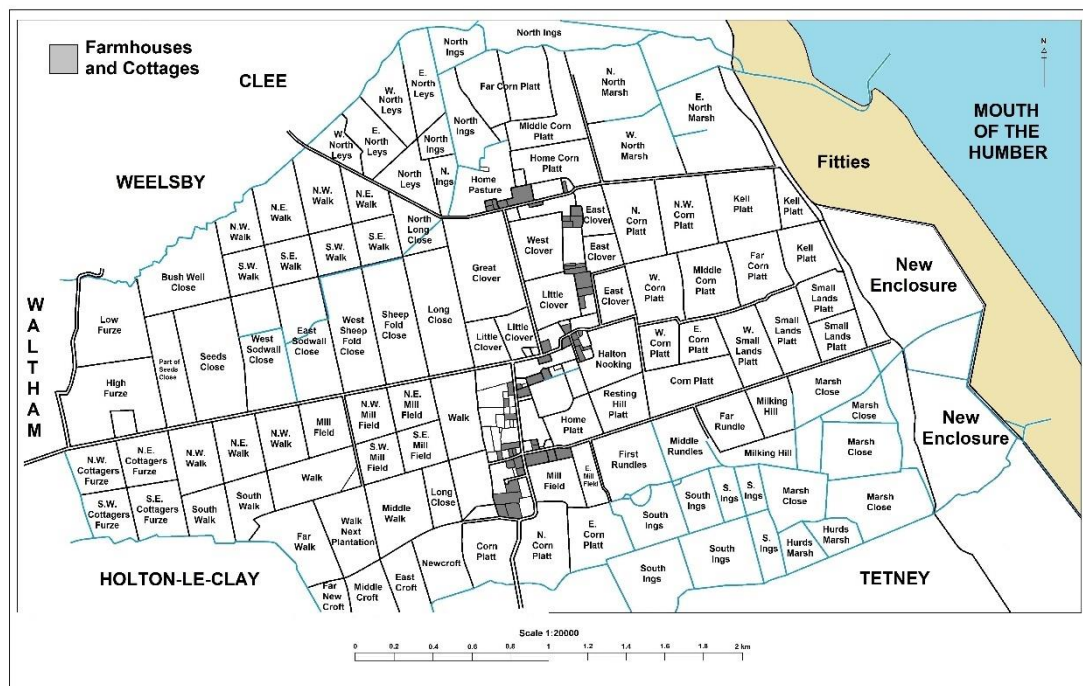


Figure 1.5 Humberston, 1825²²



²¹ Ordnance Survey, *Old Series* (1824), with later additions, and scale adjusted to 1:50,000.

²² Constructed from CBS: D-CN/18/8/4/6 and CFA: 5-6.

The Lincolnshire Marsh has a distinctive history. During prehistoric and early medieval times, settlers exploited its rich pastures, manufactured salt along the coastal fringe, and engaged in fishing and fowling. They built artificial banks between the sand dunes as an early form of sea defence.²³ During the later Middle Ages, successive breaches of these sea defences caused widespread and frequent flooding. The coast between Mablethorpe and Skegness was particularly badly affected. However, on the north-east coast, around Humberston, coastal accretion from the fourteenth century onwards led to the formation of large tracts of saltmarsh known locally as 'fitties'. As the saltmarshes expanded, the salterns and the sea banks moved progressively eastward and over time the land behind them was drained, piece by piece, with dykes and sluices. By the mid-nineteenth century a line of old sea banks and relic sand dunes was left two or three miles inland in some places.²⁴

The salt industry declined in the sixteenth and seventeenth century in the face of competition from cheap Scottish and Northumbrian imports, and sea fishing and maritime trade diminished as the harbours silted up.²⁵ However, farming, and particularly pastoral farming, thrived. Daniel Defoe described the Marsh as 'the richest, most fruitful, and best cultivated of any county [sic] in England'.²⁶ Sheep and cattle were bred on the Middle Marsh and fattened on the Outer Marsh before being driven to London. Wool was sent to the cloth towns of Norfolk and Yorkshire. Wealth was widely shared. The Marshes supported many small farmers with modest acreages

²³ H. Fenwick et al., 'Introduction to the archaeological survey', and G. Thomas and W. Fletcher, 'Prehistoric and Roman salt-making in the Lincolnshire Marsh', in S. Ellis, H. Fenwick, M. Lillie, and R. Van de Noort (eds), *Wetland Heritage of the Lincolnshire Marsh: An Archaeological Survey* (Hull, 2001), pp. 63-97 and 215-31 respectively.

²⁴ A.E.B. Owen, 'Coastal erosion in east Lincolnshire', *Lincolnshire Historian*, 9 (1952), pp. 330-41; D.N. Robinson, 'Coastal evolution in north-east Lincolnshire', *East Midlands Geographer*, 5 (1970), pp. 62-70; A. E. B. Owen, 'Salt, sea banks and medieval settlement on the Lindsey coast', in F.N. Field and A.J. White (eds), *A Prospect of Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1984), pp. 46-49; H. Fenwick, 'Medieval salt production and landscape development in the Lincolnshire Marsh', in S. Ellis et al., *Wetland Heritage*, pp. 231-41; D.M. Gray, 'Medieval and post-Medieval salt extraction in north-east Lincolnshire', in R.H. Bewley, *Lincolnshire's Archaeology from the Air* (Lincoln, 1998), pp. 81-95.

²⁵ Gray, 'Medieval salt extraction', p. 86; C.J. Sturman, 'Salt-making in the Lindsey Marshland in the 16th and early 17th centuries' in Field and White (eds), *Prospect of Lincolnshire*, pp. 50-56; S.J. Pawley, 'Lincolnshire coastal villages and the sea, c.1300-c.1600: economy and society' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 1985), pp. 76-95.

²⁶ D. Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-7, London, 2006 edn), p. 271.

(30-80 acres) and innumerable smallholders and cottagers with less than 5 acres each.²⁷

From the early seventeenth century onwards, however, many of these indigenous Marshland farmers were squeezed out by wealthy upland graziers who were hungry for good fattening pastures. As a consequence, the small Marshland farmer, who had been amongst the most prosperous of all Lincolnshire farmers in the sixteenth century, was amongst the poorest in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In addition, a number of Marshland villages which had once supported large numbers of owner occupiers, were transformed into closed or semi-closed parishes as absentee landlords acquired more and more of the land.²⁸ Humberston was one such village.

Further misfortune befell the Marshlanders in the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Poorly drained soils militated against the adoption of new crops and farming systems and silted harbours and waterlogged roads hindered the exploitation of new markets. As a result, light land farmers on the Wolds secured a competitive cost advantage over Marshland farmers. By the early-nineteenth century, the Marsh had become a rural backwater.²⁹ One vicar of Humberston, writing in 1819, described it as 'a neglected corner of England'.³⁰

Conditions changed in the middle of the century. The introduction of mass-produced tile drains in the 1840s led to the effective under-draining of the Marshland soils and the advent of steam railways improved access to markets, enabled the construction of the docks at Grimsby and led to the development of seaside resorts at Cleethorpes,

²⁷ J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming: The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times* (London, 1957), pp. 49-78, and 'English rural communities: structures, regularities, and change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in B. Short (ed.), *The English Community: Image and Analysis* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 47-8; C. Wilson, *Lincolnshire's Farm Animals: A Brief History* (Lincoln, 2012), p. 16.

²⁸ A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln* (London, 1799), p. 182; Thirsk, *Peasant Farming*, pp. 142-58; B.A. Holderness, 'Aspects of inter-regional land use and agriculture in Lincolnshire, 1600-1850', *LHA*, 9 (1974), pp. 35-42.

²⁹ Thirsk, *Peasant Farming*, pp. 237-51; T.W. Beastall, *The Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire*, (Lincoln, 1978), pp. 11-12, 133, 156-60 and 174; J.A. Perkins, *Sheep Farming in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Lincolnshire* (Sleaford, 1977), pp. 32-5, and 'The prosperity of farming on the Lindsey uplands, 1813-37', *Agricultural History Review*, 24 (1976), pp. 126-143.

³⁰ NELA: 239/1, f. 60.

Mablethorpe and Skegness.³¹ Taken together, these changes reinvigorated the local economy and, apart from the years of depression in the 1890s, helped to sustain it successfully for the next hundred years.

It is evident from the above account, that much is known in general terms about the economic development of the Marsh and about the long cycle of prosperity, decline and recovery which was a feature of that development from the early medieval period onwards. The impact of these changes on the nature of individual communities and the lives of people who lived in them has been less fully explored. Much has been written about the growth, decay and revival of Grimsby as a town and a port.³² The development of Cleethorpes and other coastal resorts in the nineteenth century has been studied in depth.³³ And the characteristics and fortunes of a number of Marshland villages have been examined in the period before 1750.³⁴ Rather less has been written about the condition of rural parishes in the years after 1750, and in particular about the period of general economic decline between 1750 and 1850.³⁵

³¹ Thirsk, *Peasant Farming*, pp. 251-6; Beastall, *Agricultural Revolution*, p. 146; N.R Wright, *Lincolnshire Towns and Industry, 1700-1914* (Lincoln, 1982), pp. 119-36 and 179-199; R.W. Ambler, 'The historical development of Grimsby and Cleethorpes' in S. Ellis and D.R. Crowther (eds), *Humber Perspectives: A Region Through the Ages* (Hull, 1990), pp. 227-49.

³² E. Gillett, *A History of Grimsby* (Hull, 1970); S.H. Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby: Growth and Decline* (Hull, 1993); G. Jackson, 'The Claytons of Grimsby: local trade and politics in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', *LHA*, 9 (1974), pp. 43-52, and *Grimsby and the Haven Company, 1796-1846* (Grimsby, 1971); A. Dowling, *Grimsby: Making the Town, 1800-1914* (Chichester, 2007).

³³ P.J. Aspinall, 'Speculative builders and the development of Cleethorpes, 1850-1900', *LHA*, 11 (1976), pp. 43-52; A. Dowling, *Cleethorpes: The Creation of a Seaside Resort* (Chichester, 2005) and *Humberston Fitties: The Story of a Lincolnshire Plotland* (Cleethorpes, 2001); R. Gurnham, 'The creation of Skegness as a resort town by the 9th Earl of Scarborough', *LHA*, 7 (1972), pp. 63-76; D.N. Robinson, *The Book of the Lincolnshire Seaside* (Buckingham, 1981), pp. 52-114.

³⁴ Pawley, 'Lincolnshire coastal villages'; T. Maybury, 'A century of change on the Lindsey Marshland: Marshchapel, 1540-1640' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Hull, 2011); M.A. Watkinson, 'Population change and agrarian development: the parishes of Bradley, Scartho and Humberston, c.1520-c.1730 (unpub. M.Phil. thesis, University of Leicester, 1984); R.W. Ambler and B. and L. Watkinson, *Farmers and Fishermen, The Probate Inventories of the Ancient Parish of Clee, 1536-1742* (Hull, 1987). See also A.E.B. Owen, *The Medieval Lindsey Marsh: Select Documents*, Lincoln Record Society, 85 (Lincoln, 1996) and, for a semi-fictional account, J.E. Swaby, *The Marshmen* (London, 1962).

³⁵ Amongst the best is a publication of the North Thoresby Local History Group: R. Bird et al., *Aspects of Life and Work in North Thoresby in the 19th Century* (North Thoresby, 1978).

This study aims to remedy that deficiency by looking in depth at the parish of Humberston in the century after 1750. Humberston was one of those Marshland parishes which had been transformed from an open parish into a closed parish in the period before 1750. The process is described in an unpublished MPhil dissertation by the present author.³⁶ The dissertation was subsequently summarised by Joan Thirsk in her work on agricultural regions.³⁷ This thesis takes that account forward into the following century.

Humberston in the nineteenth century was a large parish by local Marshland standards (some 2,930 acres) yet it supported just 200 people at the beginning of the century and only 250 in 1850. Its economy, like that of most Marshland villages, was dominated by agriculture and associated trades. Domestic and other industry offered few additional or alternative opportunities for employment on any scale. Village society was highly stratified. The parson and eight farmers dominated the parish in the 1840s. Beneath them in social status were 5 artisans and their families, 32 labouring households, 49 servants (male and female) and 6 almspeople.³⁸

Humberston was chosen above other Marshland villages that were initially examined for this study because the parish has a relative abundance of primary source material. There is, first, the surviving topographical evidence. Parts of the fabric of the nineteenth-century village survive amidst twentieth-century residential development – though not all buildings retain their original functions – and the old field structure and the long-abandoned medieval coastal defences are also still discernible on the ground. Figure 1.6 shows how the ancient centre of Humberston, comprising the site of the former medieval abbey precincts, the church and the moated manor house, as well as the lines of the enclosure roads and fields and farmsteads, continue to define the modern landscape. Even the areas of modern housing development (now much more extensive than in the photograph of 1966) are contained within, and constrained by, nineteenth century field boundaries.

³⁶ Watkinson, 'Population change and agrarian development', pp. 182-216.

³⁷ J. Thirsk, *England's Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History, 1500-1750* (Basingstoke, 1987), pp. 34-6.

³⁸ TNA: HO 107/637/15 and HO 107/2113.

Figure 1.6 Humberston Village Centre, Looking North-west, 1966.³⁹



Detailed estate maps of 1707 and 1881, and a series of estate surveys for the years in between, enable the changing size and shape of the village and the boundaries of the farms and fields to be reconstructed.⁴⁰ Photographs taken at the beginning of the twentieth century reveal much about the condition of housing in the village and illustrate the wide social gulf that existed between the farmers in their large brick and tile farmhouses and the farmworkers in their cramped thatched cottages of mud and stud.⁴¹

Documentary evidence reveals rather more about people's lives and relationships. Cross-matching of data in parish registers,⁴² census enumerators' returns,⁴³ wills and inventories⁴⁴ enables a number of families to be reconstituted, relationships to be mapped and biographies to be written. Estate records, including good runs of surveys, leases and rentals, and some fragmentary correspondence, provide further information

³⁹ *Grimsby Evening Telegraph*, 1966.

⁴⁰ NELA: 212/2-3; CFA: 5-6, pp. 12-32; CBS: D-CN 18/8/1 and 4.

⁴¹ LC: H804 (file of photographs); NELA: 166/722/19, 474/1 and 4, and 478/9 and 10.

⁴² LAO: Humberston Par 1/1-6.

⁴³ TNA: HO 107/637/15 [1841], HO 107/2113 [1851] and RG 9/2390 [1861].

⁴⁴ LAO: LCC Wills, LCC Inv and LCC Admons.

about farming families and disclose much about the relationship between landlord and tenant, as well as about the process of agricultural improvement.⁴⁵ These records have been supplemented by surviving farm account books for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which yield tantalising information about the life and work of a tenant farmer and the servants and labourers he employed.⁴⁶ Another account book, for the village shop, shows how local credit systems were used to supplement farm wages.⁴⁷

The records of a local charity, which managed six almshouses and a free school in the village, survive for the early nineteenth century.⁴⁸ They include legal documents relating to a series of bitter disputes between the landlord, the charity trustees and the vicar and reveal a great deal about the fractious relationships that existed between squire and parson.⁴⁹ Diocesan and estate correspondence show how this relationship was further complicated by the Nonconformist leanings of the landlord and his agent.⁵⁰ Information about the growing strength of Methodism in the village is contained in early records of the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist Circuits in Grimsby.⁵¹

The parish records contain not only registers of vital events but also minutes of vestry meetings from 1749 and detailed accounts of overseers of the poor from 1819.⁵² These reveal how a closed parish with an absentee landlord managed its affairs in the nineteenth century and particularly how the parish discharged its responsibilities for the poor. In addition, when coupled with census and other data, they enable biographies of the poorest members of society to be constructed. Surviving records of the Poor

⁴⁵ CBS: D-CN 18/1, 18/8/1 and 18/8/4; NAS: GD 46/1/12 and 324; LAO: 1 Dixon 8/5-6.

⁴⁶ NELA: 212/1.

⁴⁷ NELA: 478/73.

⁴⁸ NELA: 166/722 and 239/1-78.

⁴⁹ Other papers are in the records of the Court of Chancery at TNA: C 13/398/2, 416/22, 434/23 and 665/5.

⁵⁰ LAO: Cor B5/4; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7.

⁵¹ NELA: 362/2; TNA: RG 4/1639 and 3956; LAO: Meth/B/Grimsby W and Grimsby P. Contemporary published accounts are also very informative, especially J. Hocken, *A Brief History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Grimsby Circuit* (Grimsby, 1839).

⁵² LAO: Humberston Par 10/1-3, 13/1 and 14/1.

Law Union enable the story to be carried forward into the era of the new poor law, as do the accounts of Humberston's surveyors, who put unemployed men to work on the highways in preference to sending them to the workhouse.⁵³ Unusually, petty sessions records also survive for this part of north Lincolnshire and provide additional information on the fortunes of the many servants and labourers who were brought before magistrates on matters concerned with their settlement, the maintenance of their children, their contracts of employment, and their misdemeanours.⁵⁴ More significant felonies, and the conduct of some administrative business, can be traced in the Quarter Sessions minute books that survive for this period.⁵⁵

Contemporary published accounts of various sorts help to put flesh on these bones. Arthur Young visited the village in 1798 and left a detailed account of the state of farming and the views of the tenant farmers.⁵⁶ Robert Gourlay visited in 1800 and wrote of the condition of the Cottagers.⁵⁷ Thomas Thompson, the landlord's agent, wrote further on this subject in 1799 and 1805.⁵⁸ Parliamentary Papers (such as those on the state of agriculture, the employment of women and children in agriculture, and the maintenance of the poor) offer further information on conditions in Humberston and neighbouring parishes.⁵⁹ The county and local newspapers (the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* from 1714, the *Hull Packet* from 1800, and the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* from 1837) also contain much local intelligence, as do the annual volumes of galley proofs from a printing house in Grimsby.⁶⁰

⁵³ LAO: PL3/102/1-8, and Humberston Par 14/1.

⁵⁴ LAO: PS/Bradley Haverstoe/Minute Books, 1830-50.

⁵⁵ LAO: LQS/Minute Books, A2/6-50.

⁵⁶ Young, *General View*, pp. 46-9, 83-4, 107, 121, 125 and 325.

⁵⁷ R. Gourlay, 'An inquiry into the state of the cottagers in the counties of Lincoln and Rutland', *Annals of Agriculture*, 37, 215 (1801), p. 591.

⁵⁸ T. Thompson, 'Extract from an account of a provision for cottagers keeping cows at Humberston, in the county of Lincoln', *Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor*, 2 (London, 1799), pp. 133-8, and 'Reasons for giving lands to cottagers, to enable them to keep cows', *Communications to the Board of Agriculture*, 4 (London, 1805), pp. 422-28.

⁵⁹ British Parliamentary Papers, <http://parlipapers.proquest.com>.

⁶⁰ British Newspaper Archive, www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk; LC: Skelton Papers, 1824-59.

Finally, some limited use has been made of oral testimony and personal recollections. An opportunity was taken in 1973 to interview a member of one of the last farming families in Humberston.⁶¹ A local schoolmaster who was born and brought up in the village wrote a history of the parish in the 1950s and set down what he knew and had uncovered about the history of the village during his lifetime.⁶² There are also some brief recollections of nineteenth-century Humberston in articles, letters and obituaries.⁶³

The Research Questions

The surviving archive enables much to be learned about the lives and relationships of the people who lived in Humberston in the century after 1750. Information about the squire and parson, the tenant farmers, servants and farm labourers, artisans and cottagers, and the aged poor survives in sufficient detail to ask a number of questions about life in this Marshland parish in this period. The answers to these questions not only shed light on the nature of this single community but also have the potential to augment our knowledge of a number of wider historical issues.

The first question, which is addressed in the opening chapters of this thesis, is how was power and authority exercised in the parish? Humberston was a 'closed' parish during this period, meaning that all the land and houses were owned by a single landlord. However, like many other such parishes, the landlord lived elsewhere and managed this distant part of his estate through local agents – though, in this case, the agents also lived elsewhere. Much has been written about estate villages with resident squires but rather less is known about the organisation of closed parishes with absentee landlords, beyond the general observation that landlords tended to be less interventionist in peripheral parts of their estates than in villages close to their

⁶¹ M.A. Watkinson, 'Interview with Michael Marshall, 1973' (mss note in the author's possession).

⁶² A.E. Kirkby, *Humberstone. The Story of a Village* (Lincoln, 1953). See also, by the same author, 'The Benedictine Abbey of Humberstone', *Lincolnshire Magazine*, 4, no. 2 (1938), pp. 17-23, 'The Humberstone Foundation School', *Lincolnshire Poacher*, 2, no. 1 (1954), pp. 36-40, *The 250th Anniversary of Rebuilding St Peters, Humberstone, 1722-1972* (Humberston, typescript, 1972) and, with A.R. Tailby, *The Abbey of St Mary and St Peter, Humberstone, Lincolnshire* (Waltham, typescript, 1974) and *Catalogue of Finds from Excavations at Humberstone* (Grimsby, typescript, 1966).

⁶³ J. Furness, 'Memoir of Mrs Joseph Richardson', *Wesleyan Magazine*, 16 (1819), pp. 596-600; H.E. Cockburn, 'Notes upon Humberston, Part 1' and 'Part 2', *Humberston Church Magazine*, October 1929 and November 1929 respectively (copy in NELA: 474/1); E.M. Stephenson, 'Letter to the Editor', *Lincolnshire Life*, April 1968.

residence. Chapter 1 therefore uses the experience of Humberston to ask whether and how landlord and agent sought to control and influence affairs in this distant and detached part of their property.

A related question is addressed in chapter 2. Landlords have generally been seen as the major controlling powers in closed villages. However, there were other sources of local power and authority which, in the absence of a resident squire, could become influential. The principal tenant farmers, for example, might be expected to take a more active part than elsewhere in the management of the local economy and the conduct of village affairs. This second chapter therefore asks how far the farmers, individually and collectively, exercised power and influence in Humberston and the extent to which their authority was respected and accepted by others in the village.

Chapter 3 looks at an equally important issue related to power and influence – the relationship between squire and parson. For many Victorians, the ideal rural parish was one in which squire and parson worked harmoniously together for the common good. Yet there are a number of known instances in which incumbents came to challenge the landlord's authority. Such was the case in Humberston. This third chapter looks at the events leading up to this long-running dispute and assesses its impact on the rest of the community.

Structures of authority could also be disrupted and undermined by the establishment of Methodist congregations in rural areas. Many Anglican landlords chose to exclude Methodists from their parishes for just that reason. In Humberston that was not the case. Methodism flourished. Chapter 4 seeks to uncover the reasons for the adoption of this unusually accommodating approach on the part of the landlord and to look at its consequences for social relationships and religious observance in the parish.

In the next three chapters attention is directed towards the condition of the middling and lower rungs of Humberston society, and the extent to which they were independent or dependent on local structures of authority. Chapter 5 is concerned with the 'Cottagers' who worked as artisans and day labourers. The enclosure of common fields and waste land has generally been seen as the point at which many poor Cottagers were deprived of access to pasture and other resources upon which much of their livelihood depended. Yet in Lincolnshire, and in Humberston in particular, many labourers continued to have access to pasture, and continued to keep cows, long after enclosure had taken place. Chapter 6 looks at the features of the 'Lincolnshire cottage

system' and seeks to establish the extent to which this gave Cottagers a degree of independence from wage labour and poor relief.

Finally, the last two chapters examine the incidence and treatment of poverty in Humberston. Until 1834, English parishes were responsible for caring for their own poor. The framework within which these obligations were discharged, however, was only loosely defined and this gave rise to a wide diversity of practice between places and over time. Chapter 7 provides a detailed analysis of the extent of poverty in Humberston and the strategies adopted by the vestry for dealing with hardship in their parish. It concludes by offering an analysis of prevailing attitudes to the poor in this part of Lincolnshire.

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was intended to transfer responsibility for poor relief from parish vestries to union boards and a central commission and to impose a more stringent and uniform approach to the granting of poor relief. In the event, however, the Act was not rigorously applied in all parts of the country. Chapter 8 looks at ways in which the principal inhabitants of Humberston sought to circumvent the provisions of the Act and how they found ways of keeping their poor out of the workhouse and in the parish where they could be maintained more cheaply, more flexibly and more humanely.

A final chapter brings these various issues together to provide an overview of life in this Marshland village between 1750 and 1850. It also offers a view on how this account can add to our understanding of rural life generally in this period.

The issues that have been selected for examination in this thesis, and which have been outlined above, are those which have been suggested by an analysis of the surviving documentary and other evidence. Other questions could have been asked but have been left unanswered simply because space does not permit or because the extant material is not sufficiently detailed or comprehensive to examine them in depth. There is very little said, for example, about demographic changes, kinship structures, gender roles, belief systems and popular culture. This is not, then, a 'total' history of Humberston. It is an examination of selected themes. Nevertheless, it has broad ambitions. Consistent with the vision of Thomas Carlyle, and with the ethos of microhistory, it aspires to reveal something of the reality and complexity of the lives of ordinary people in a rural parish in the century after 1750.

PART ONE: POWER AND AUTHORITY IN A CLOSED PARISH

CHAPTER 2 LANDLORD AND TENANT

Many accounts of rural England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have adopted a typology of parishes that is based on a distinction between 'open' and 'closed' (or 'close') parishes. Open parishes typically contained many small proprietors. Closed parishes, on the other hand, were generally dominated by one or two major landowners who owned all the farms and cottages in the village and let them to a small and strictly-controlled number of tenants.¹

In some instances, the landlord of a closed parish was resident in that parish. In other cases, he lived elsewhere. The distinction between closed parishes with resident and absentee landlords is an important one and is often made. Nevertheless, the differences between them – economically, socially, politically and culturally – are seldom explored in detail. This chapter seeks to identify those features more clearly.

The chapter begins by examining the concept of open and closed parishes and by summarising what is known about the differences between closed parishes with a resident squire and those with an absentee landlord. The latter distinction is then explored further with reference to the county of Lincoln and more particularly to the parish of Humberston.

Parish Types

The terms 'open' and 'closed' parishes were originally adopted in the nineteenth century to describe different sorts of parish government. The closed parish was one in which the vestry meeting was closed to all except a small number of its inhabitants. The open parish functioned with a vestry meeting open to all ratepayers wishing to attend.²

¹ B.A. Holderness, "Open" and "Close" parishes in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Agricultural History Review*, 20 (1972), pp. 126-39; D.R. Mills, *Lord and Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London, 1980), pp. 76-85, and 'Canwick (Lincolnshire) and Melbourn (Cambridgeshire) in comparative perspective within the open-close village model', *Rural History*, 17 (2006), pp. 1-22; B. Short, 'The evolution of contrasting communities within rural England', in B. Short (ed.), *The English Rural Community: Image and Analysis* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 19-43.

² S.G. and E.O.A. Checkland (eds), *The Poor Law Report of 1834* (Harmondsworth 1974), pp. 190-203; D.R. Mills, 'The poor laws and the distribution of population, c.1600-1860, with special reference to

During the early and mid-nineteenth century, it became common to adapt these terms to describe differences in the structure of landownership. A closed parish was taken to be one in which the ownership of land and housing was concentrated in the hands of one or, at most, two or three proprietors. By contrast, open parishes were those in which property was divided between several or many owners. These differences between parishes were seen to have important implications for the administration of poor relief and the laws of settlement. In closed parishes, the landowner (or the landowners acting together) had the ability, if they were so inclined, to limit settlement in the parish and to exclude or remove those who were potentially chargeable to the poor rates. In open parishes, landowners could less easily apply limits on settlement because they were more numerous and they frequently had different interests: for example, small farmers might seek to limit the numbers of those dependent on poor relief but cottage owners, petty tradesmen and speculative builders might be receptive to the influx of newcomers because they could profit from the increased demand for housing and goods. As a consequence, surplus labour was often drawn into open parishes where it created a ready pool of casual labour upon which employers in closed parishes could draw.³

During the last sixty years, Dennis Mills and others have used this simple dichotomy between open and closed villages to develop a more sophisticated typology of parishes. They have adapted the basic model in two ways. First, Mills has suggested that open and closed parishes existed at opposite ends of a spectrum and that in between these two extremes lay a number of other village types. This led him to articulate a typology that identified four different settlement types: closed parishes with a resident landlord or landlords (which he called estate villages), closed parishes with up to three absentee landlords, parishes with divided ownership (usually occupied by lesser gentry), and open villages (which he termed peasant villages).⁴

Lincolnshire', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 26 (1959), p. 186; Short, 'Contrasting communities', pp. 28-9.

³ Short, 'Contrasting Communities', pp. 29-35; Mills, *Lord and Peasant*, pp. 76-83.

⁴ Mills, *Lord and Peasant*, pp. 76-83. Mills defines closed parishes as those in which a single landlord paid more than half of the land tax (or two to three owners paid two-thirds) and open parishes as those with 50 owners or more (or 20 owners or more with an average density of less than 36 acres per owner). Other historians have adopted similar typologies, though they have sometimes used different labels and methods of classification.

Second, Mills has suggested that these four parish types could be correlated with other features, such as the density of settlement, the rate of population growth, the size of farms, the supply of agricultural labour, the range of occupations, the quality of housing, the degree of social control, and the incidence of Nonconformity, popular protest and criminal behaviour. Under this extended model, the various village types took on multiple and predictive characteristics. Estate parishes, for example, were said to contain thinly populated villages with relatively low rates of population growth, and to have large farms, seasonal scarcities of labour, a limited number and range of craftsmen and tradesmen, good quality housing, and well-endowed churches, schools and charities. They were also highly regulated and villagers there were said to be conditioned by landlord, parson and schoolmaster to be deferential to their superiors and accepting of their place in society.⁵ Other types of parish were differently constituted in these respects, with open parishes held to be the polar opposite of closed parishes.

Mills' typology of settlement types, and variants of it, has been widely used by historians writing of nineteenth-century rural England. For example, the model has been used to examine and explain differences between parishes in the supply of labour,⁶ the distribution of housing,⁷ the administration of poor relief,⁸ the pattern of religious affiliation,⁹ and the incidence of popular protest.¹⁰ It has also been suggested

⁵ Mills, *Lord and Peasant*, pp. 116-44.

⁶ Holderness, "'Open" and "close" parishes', pp. 126-39; J.A. Sheppard, 'East Yorkshire's agricultural labour force in the mid-nineteenth century', *Agricultural History Review*, 9 (1961), pp. 19-39; C.K. Rawding, 'Village type and employment structure: an analysis in the nineteenth century Lincolnshire Wolds', *Local Population Studies*, 53 (1994), pp. 53-68.

⁷ M. Ayres, 'The provision of housing and power relations in rural England, 1834-1914' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2004), pp. 27-72.

⁸ B.K. Song, 'Parish typology and the operation of the poor laws in early nineteenth-century Oxfordshire', *Agricultural History Review*, 50 (2002), pp. 203-224; A. Digby, *Pauper Palaces* (London, 1978), pp. 89-92; W. Apfel and P. Dunkley, 'English rural society and the new poor law: Bedfordshire, 1834-47', *Social History*, 10 (1985), pp. 37-68; C.K. Rawding, *Poor Relief and the Rural Workforce: A Case Study of North Lincolnshire, 1834-1861* (Sussex, 1986).

⁹ K.D.M. Snell and P.S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 364-94; A. Everitt, *The Pattern of Rural Dissent: The Nineteenth Century* (Leicester, 1972), pp. 20-22; J. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-1875* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 12-13.

¹⁰ E.J. Hobsbawm and G. Rudé, *Captain Swing* (London, 1969), pp. 182-3; D.R. Mills and B.M. Short, 'Social change and social conflict in nineteenth-century England: the use of the open-closed village

that the model has relevance for studies of the twentieth-century countryside.¹¹ Nevertheless, Mills' approach has also attracted criticism. Sarah Banks and others have argued that many of the linkages which are held to exist between landownership and other features do not hold for all places at all times. From this she contends that, whilst the model can provide a helpful framework for analysis, it cannot be used, as Mills and others have claimed, as a deterministic and predictive tool.¹² These relationships, she maintains, were more complex than Mills has acknowledged.

Others have pointed out that whilst Mills has drawn attention to the differences between estate villages and peasant villages, he has said little about the variants in between. Critically for this study, he has said little about the distinction between estate villages with a resident landowner and closed parishes with an absentee landlord. He has noted merely that 'townships were more closely controlled by large landowners when they were resident than when they were not' and that when an absentee landlord lived just a short distance away 'his influence is likely to have been far greater than when he lived in another county'.¹³ Elsewhere he has written that in villages with absentee owners social leadership was exercised either by the parson, if resident, or by the large tenant farmers who acted on behalf of the landlord.¹⁴

It has fallen to others to explore the differences between closed parishes with resident owners and those with absentee owners, though even they have not probed the

model', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 10 (1983), pp. 253-62; M. Reed, 'Social change and social conflict in nineteenth-century England: a comment', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 12 (1984), pp. 109-21; D.R. Mills 'Peasants and conflict in nineteenth-century England: a comment on recent articles', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 15 (1988), pp. 394-400.

¹¹ A.J.H. Jackson, 'The 'Open-Closed' settlement model and the interdisciplinary formulations of Dennis Mills: conceptualising local rural change', *Rural History*, 23 (2012), pp 121-136.

¹² S. Banks, 'Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model? A new look at 'open' and 'close' parishes', *Economic History Review*, 41 (1988), pp. 51-73; D. Spencer, 'Reformulating the 'closed' parish thesis: associations, interests, and interaction', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26 (2000), pp. 83-98; S. Hindle, 'Power, poor relief, and social relations in Holland Fen, c. 1600-1800' *Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), p. 93; Short, 'Contrasting communities', p. 39; Reed, 'Social change and social conflict', pp. 109-21. Mills has claimed that the results of Banks' main statistical tests provide support for his model: see D.R. Mills, 'Canwick (Lincolnshire) and Melbourn (Cambridgeshire)', p. 20, n. 4.

¹³ Mills, *Lord and Peasant*, pp. 39 and 76.

¹⁴ D.R. Mills, 'English villages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: a sociological approach, Part 1', *Amateur Historian*, 6 (1965), pp. 271-8.

differences very deeply. Two major dissimilarities have emerged from these analyses. First, those studying individual estates have noticed that landowners were prepared to invest greater sums in the physical infrastructure of estate villages than other closed villages that they owned.¹⁵ Heather Clemenson has used the term 'distance decay' to describe the tendency for farm houses, cottages and other buildings to be progressively less stylish and ornamented the further they were from the owner's house.¹⁶ Fuller, Rawding and Brook have also observed this phenomenon in their studies of Lincolnshire and have noticed that it extended to other aspects of the local 'cultural landscape', such as the layout of villages, the planting of woodland and the attention given to churches.¹⁷ As Williamson and Bellamy have commented, there was 'little point in an absentee landlord concerning himself with the aesthetics of an estate that he hardly ever saw'.¹⁸ Grigg, Holderness, and Beckett have also suggested that landlords may have been less inclined to invest in agricultural improvement in parishes that were some distance from their main house.¹⁹

Second, historians looking at notions of paternalism in Victorian society have remarked that landowners were most likely to have ministered to the moral and material welfare of their tenants, and to have sought to influence their behaviour, in parishes where they themselves were resident. In closed parishes at some distance from their home, landlords were less interventionist. Beckett has observed that 'Paternalism was often limited to places in which landowners had the sole interest, or a strong political hold' and Thompson has remarked that 'Landowners' involvement in undertaking good

¹⁵ Ayres, 'The provision of housing', p. 139.

¹⁶ H.A. Clemenson, *English Country Houses and Landed Estates* (Beckenham, 1982), p. 90.

¹⁷ H.A. Fuller, 'Landownership and the Lindsey landscape', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 66 (1976), pp.14-23; C.K. Rawding, 'Society and place in nineteenth-century north Lincolnshire', *Rural History*, 3 (1992), pp. 59-85, and 'The iconography of churches: a case study of landownership and power in nineteenth-century Lincolnshire', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 16 (1990), pp. 157-176; A.S. Brook, 'The buildings of high farming: Lincolnshire farm buildings 1840-1910' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 2005), pp. 99-102.

¹⁸ T. Williamson and L. Bellamy, *Property and Landscape: A Social History of Land Ownership and the English Countryside* (London, 1987), p. 128.

¹⁹ D. Grigg, *The Agricultural Revolution in South Lincolnshire* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 82-3; B.A. Holderness, 'Landlords' capital formation in East Anglia, 1750-1870', *Economic History Review*, 25 (1972), p. 436.; J. V. Beckett, 'Absentee landownership in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: the case of Cumbria', *Northern History*, 19 (1983) pp. 99-102.

works – providing schools, churches, cottages, free coal and clothing clubs – was largely limited to the estate villages that were dependent and adjacent to the big house'.²⁰ Susanna Wade Martins has written of outlying villages on the Holkham estate where tenants rarely saw the landlord and 'the educational and philanthropic duties of the landlord were performed to only a minimal extent'.²¹ Obelkevich and Ambler have similarly observed that a landowner's determination to influence the religious life of his estate was stronger in his home parish than in other, more distant, parts of his property.²²

Parish Types in Lincolnshire

Open and closed parishes were differently distributed across England in the nineteenth century. Holderness has found that closed parishes were most numerous on the chalk and limestone uplands of the East Riding of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and the North Midlands, where they accounted for about 40 per cent of all villages. They were least common in the grazing districts of the north of England, Wales and Cornwall, where they made up 15 per cent or less of all parishes, and similar proportions were also recorded in parts of the south and east of England. On the clays and alluvial soils of the Midland Plain and the Lincolnshire Marsh the proportion of closed villages was closer to 25 per cent.²³

Some of these differences in the spatial distribution of open and closed parishes can be seen in the spread and density of different village types in Lincolnshire in the early nineteenth century. As is evident from Figure 2.1, there was a predominance of open parishes in the low-lying, ill-drained lands of the Fens and the coastal marshes, the Humber and the Isle of Axholme, where smallholders had traditionally been able to eke out a tolerable existence from arable and pasture farming, fishing and fowling. Closed parishes and intermediate parishes were located primarily on the better drained

²⁰ J.V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England, 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1986), p. 369; F.M.L. Thompson, 'Landowners and the rural community', in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, vol. 2 (London, 1981), p. 472.

²¹ S. Wade Martins, *A Great Estate at Work: The Holkham Estate and its Inhabitants in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 255-6.

²² Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 30; R.W. Ambler, *Lincolnshire Returns of the Census of Religious Worship, 1851* (Lincoln, 1979), pp. lxix-lxx.

²³ Holderness, '"Open" and "close" parishes', pp. 126-7.

uplands of the Wolds and on the Lincoln Heath, close to the Great North Road, where the aristocracy and gentry had chosen to build their houses, lay out their parks and create estate villages.²⁴

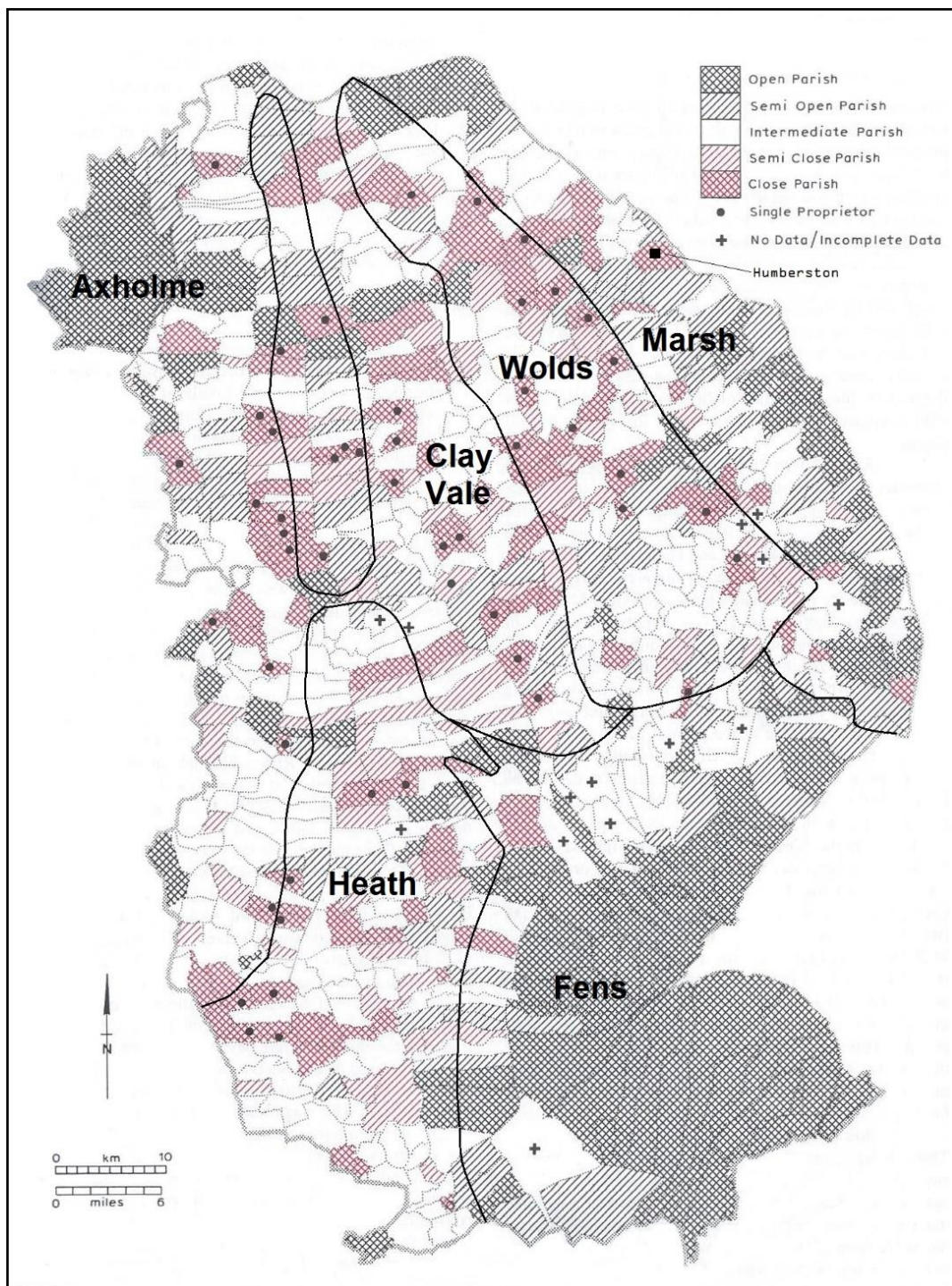
In north-east Lincolnshire, this pattern was disturbed by the presence of a small cluster of closed parishes in the Middle Marsh (see Figure 2.2). These were parishes in which holdings had been progressively engrossed and consolidated by indigenous farmers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and which had subsequently been acquired by rising gentry families in search of good fattening pastures and by wealthy attorneys and merchants looking to invest in property.²⁵ By the mid-eighteenth century, these major landowners had removed themselves from the Marsh and were living in grand houses on the Wolds or further afield. As a consequence, few Marshland parishes had resident squires. In their absence, agents managed their estates from a distance, the clergy filled their roles as JPs, and large tenant farmers exercised control of parish business.²⁶ Humberston was one such parish.

²⁴ S. Bennett, 'Landownership and parish type' and D. Mills, 'Country seats of the gentry' in S. and N. Bennett (eds), *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire* (Hull, 1993), pp. 94-5 and 106-7 respectively; Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, pp. 8-22; C.K. Rawding, *The Lincolnshire Wolds in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln, 2001), pp. 51-6 and 170-1.

²⁵ A. Young, *A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln* (London, 1799), p. 182; J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming: The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times* (London, 1957), pp. 147-51, 154-5, 237-8 and 327-8; T.W. Beastall, *The Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1978), pp. 10-11, 17, 92; B.A. Holderness, 'Aspects of inter-regional land use and agriculture in Lincolnshire, 1600-1850', *LHA*, 9 (1974), pp. 35-42; M.A. Watkinson, 'Population change and agrarian development: the parishes of Bradley, Scartho and Humberston, c.1520-c.1730 (unpub. M.Phil. thesis, University of Leicester, 1984), pp. 143-248.

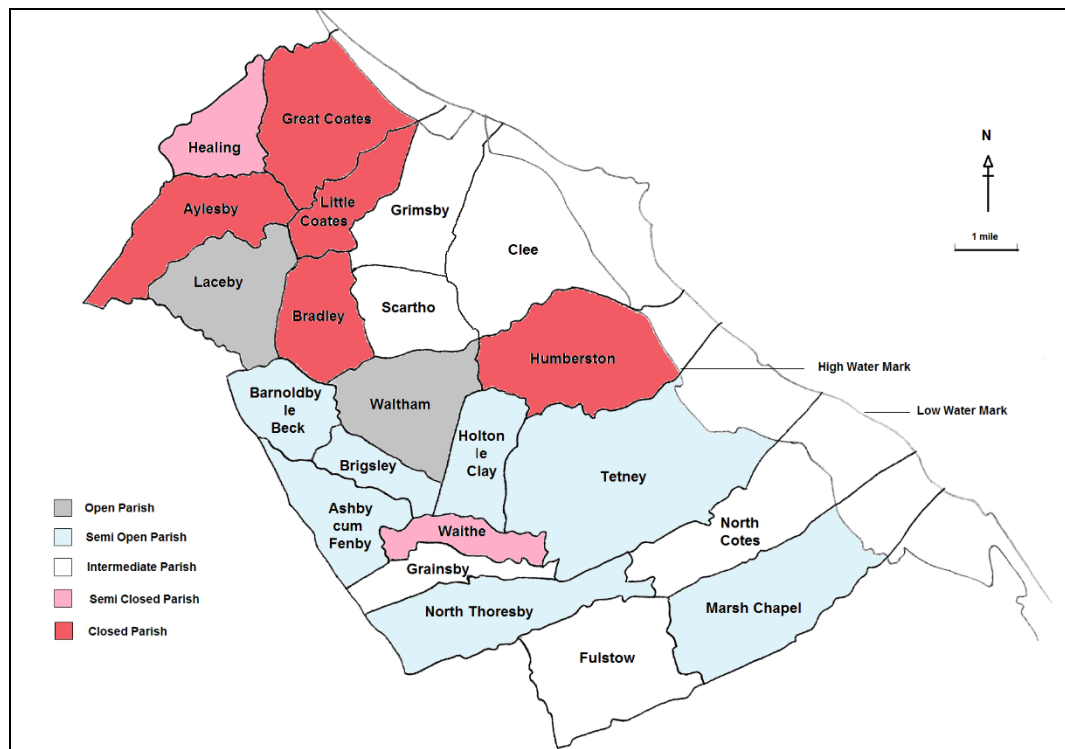
²⁶ Thirsk, *Peasant Farming*, p. 237; Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, pp. 8-17 and 23-102; E. Gillett, *The Humber Region in the 19th Century* (Hull, 1982), p. 42; B.J. Davey, *Rural Crime in the Eighteenth Century: North Lincolnshire, 1740-80* (Hull, 1994), pp. x and 59; B. J. Davey and R.C. Wheeler (eds), *The Country Justice and the Case of the Blackamoor's Head* (Lincoln, 2012), pp. 1-23.

Figure 2.1 Landownership and Parish Type in Lincolnshire, c.1830²⁷



²⁷ Bennett, 'Landownership', pp. 94-5. The classification is based on an analysis of the Land Tax returns for 1831 and 1832 (and, in some cases, 1826). Open parishes are those which had more than 55 landowners and where the largest paid less than 30 per cent of the tax; semi-open parishes are those where just one of these criteria applies. Closed parishes are those which had fewer than 5 proprietors and where the largest paid more than 85 per cent of the tax; semi-closed parishes are those where just one of these criteria applies. Intermediate parishes lie between these extremes.

Figure 2.2 Landownership and Parish Type in North-east Lincolnshire, c.1830²⁸



Humberston

Holdings had been engrossed in Humberston from the late sixteenth century onwards. The process gathered pace in the second half of the seventeenth century and reached its zenith at the beginning of the eighteenth century when Matthew Humberston, a wealthy customs official from London, decided to purchase all the property in the parish that bore his name. Between 1704 and 1708 he purchased every farm, cottage and acre of land in the village as well as the lordships of the two principal manors, the advowson of the rectory, and the rights to the major and minor tithes.²⁹

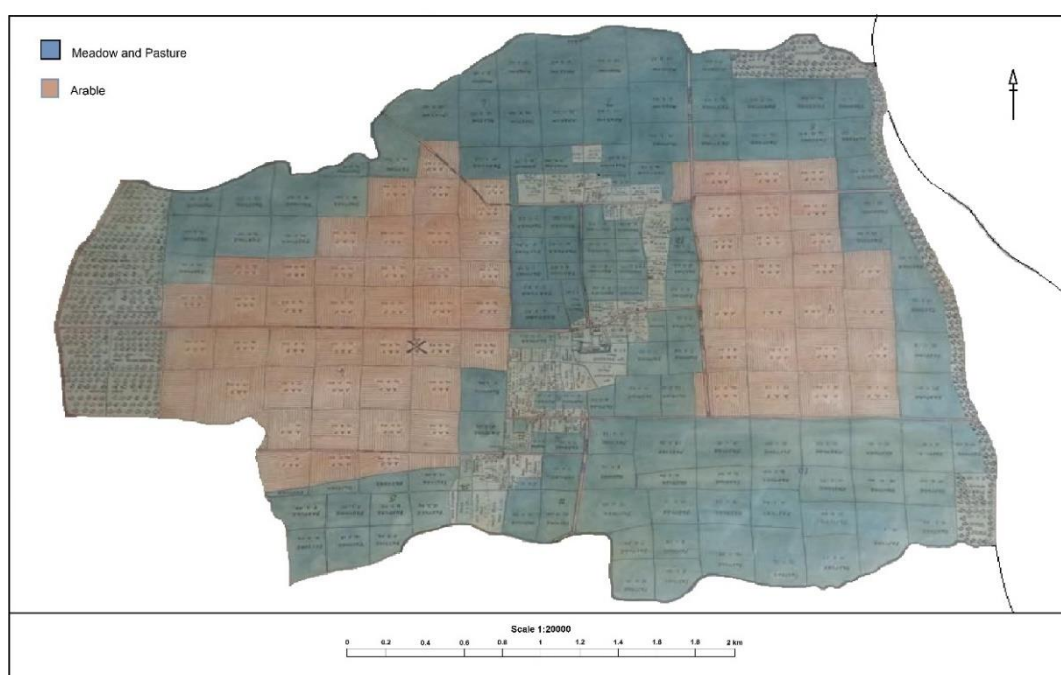
Matthew Humberston spent more than £6,000 on the purchase of property in Humberston but, even so, he was prepared to invest further sums on the improvement of his estate. In 1707 he appointed John Friend to draw up a plan for the enclosure of

²⁸ The classification is based on an analysis of the Land Tax returns for 1831 and 1832 in LAO: LQS/Land Tax/Bradley Haverstoe. It adopts the same definitions as in Figure 1 above, except that the threshold for open parishes has been reduced from 55 landowners to 50 to reflect the smaller parishes found in this area. This change only affects the designation of Waltham which becomes an open rather than a semi-open parish.

²⁹ Watkinson, 'Population change and agrarian development', pp. 141-3.

the parish (see Figure 2.3). He ‘repaired and beautified’ the old manor house, to use his own words, and he laid plans for the building of a new ‘handsome, neat brickhouse’ of twelve rooms with stables and coach-houses. In addition, he determined to rebuild the parish church which he found in ‘a desolate and deplorable condition’.³⁰ None of these plans, however, came to fruition in his lifetime for, in 1709, at the age of 60, he died in the manor house at Humberston.³¹ In his will, Matthew left money to rebuild the manor house and restore the church, and also to establish and maintain a free school, schoolhouse and six almshouses.³² This became known as the Humberston Charity and is referred to again in this and subsequent chapters.

Figure 2.3 John Friend’s Plan for the Enclosure of Humberston, 1707 ³³



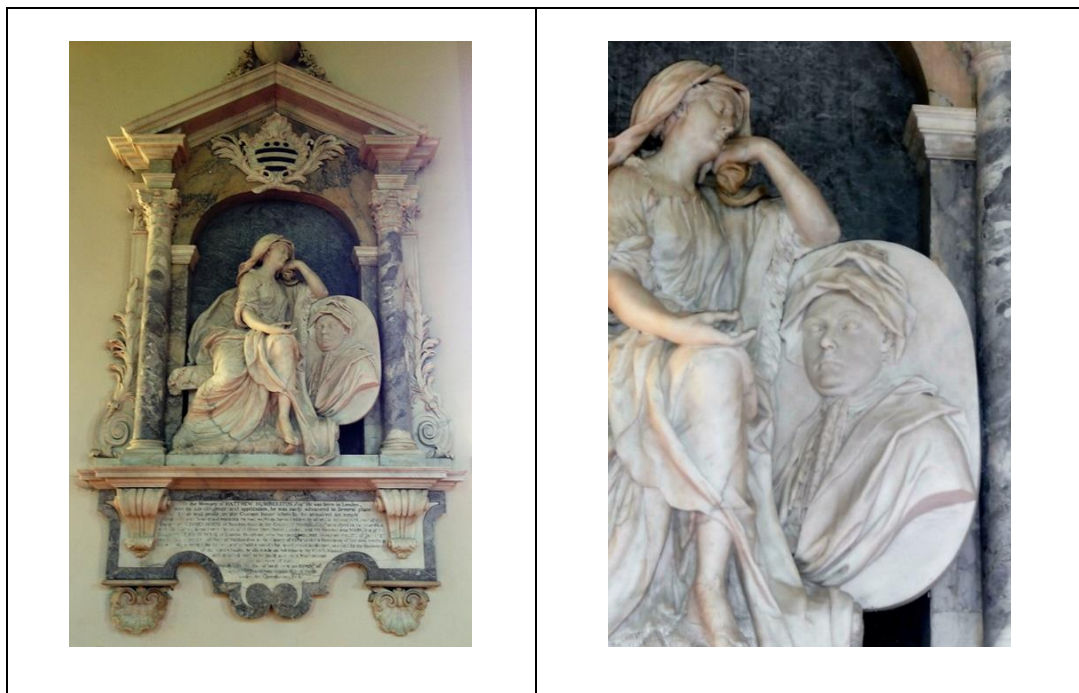
³⁰ TNA: Prob. 11/511/149, ff. 106 and 124d; House of Lords Record Office: PO/JO/10/6/114/2334 (Petition of Matthew Humberston to Rebuild Humberston Church) and PO/PB/1/1706/6An74 (An Act for Rebuilding Humberston Church, 1706-7).

³¹ Monument to Matthew Humberston, St Peter’s Church, Humberston.

³² TNA: Prob. 11/511/149, ff. 123, and 125d-26.

³³ Based on ‘An Exact Survey of Humberston Lordship’ by John Friend of London, 1707 (NELA: 213). Friend’s map was curiously aligned south to north and decorated with various cartouches. The map here has been realigned with north at the top and the cartouches removed. The original map is now in a poor state but a hand drawn copy was made by A.E. Kirby in 1965 when the map was in better condition. This figure is a reproduction of Kirby’s copy of the map.

Figure 2.4 Monument to Matthew Humberston in St Peter's Church, Humberston ³⁴



Although Matthew Humberston married twice, there were no children by either marriage. He therefore sought out, from all parts of England, sixty-two persons who bore the surname of Humberston and he named each of them as heirs to his estate according to a strict order of succession.³⁵ Tragically, the first two people to inherit both died young – Matthew Humberston the younger in 1735 and his son Thomas in 1755.³⁶ Under their stewardship, the church was rebuilt (see Figure 2.5) and the enclosure of the parish was begun but disputes over the terms of the first Matthew Humberston's will delayed the building of the almshouses, school and schoolhouse.³⁷

³⁴ Monument of c.1730-40 attributed to Sir Henry Cheere (1703-81): N. Pevsner and J. Harris, rev. N. Antram, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire* (London, 1989), pp. 401-2.

³⁵ TNA: Prob. 11/511/149, ff. 104d-5, and 107-15.

³⁶ CBS: D-CN/13/1/42, f.3; A.R. Madison (ed.), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, Vol. 2, Harleian Society Publications 51 (London, 1903), p. 522; Monument to Matthew and Thomas Humberston and others, St Peter's Church, Humberston.

³⁷ Proposals for the enclosure of the parish were presented to Parliament in 1712 (*Journal of the House of Lords*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=30210>, accessed 18 November 2013), considered by the Court of Chancery in 1716 (CBS: D-CN/13/1/42, f. 4), anticipated in leases of 1727 (LAO: TdE C/13/7/5) and finally moved forward by Thomas Humberston and his executor in the 1750s (TNA: Prob. 11/817, ff. 16-18d, and CBS: D-CN/13/1/21, pp. 95-133). Even so, it was said that only the west part of the parish was enclosed and fenced at this time (LAO: Dixon 19/1/2, f. 17).

Figure 2.5 Nave of St Peter's Church, Humberston, rebuilt 1721 ³⁸



After Thomas' death, the Humberstons' estate in Humberston and neighbouring parishes was held first by Thomas' sister Mary McKenzie and then, in turn, by her sons Thomas McKenzie and Francis McKenzie who took the name of Humberston in addition to their family name. They never resided in Humberston. Mary lived in Hertfordshire. Thomas was an army officer who served overseas and died on active service in India in 1783. Francis was a Scottish MP who inherited the title of Baron Seaforth and lived on his estates in Ross-shire. When the opportunity arose to extend their estate in Scotland, the McKenzie Humberstons first mortgaged and then, in 1788, sold the Humberston property in order to finance the purchase and settle their debts.³⁹

³⁸ The west tower originally formed part of the Abbey Church of Humberston Abbey. An inscribed stone on the external east wall of the church records that John Nash, a master carpenter from London, died in February 1721 whilst overseeing the rebuilding of the nave.

³⁹ CBS: D-CN 13/1/20-42; *LRS*M, 28 March 1788, p. 2, col. 4; A. Mackenzie, *History of the Mackenzies* (1879, Inverness, 1894 edn), pp. 332-5; H.M. Chichester, 'Humberston, Thomas Frederick Mackenzie (1753-1783)' and 'Mackenzie, Francis Humberston, Baron Seaforth and Mackenzie of Kintail (1754-1815)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, nos. 14127 and 14126 (accessed 14 September 2013); F. McKichan, 'Lord Seaforth and Highland estate management in the first phase of clearance (1783-1815)', *Scottish Historical Review*, 86 (2007), pp. 50-68, and 'Lord

The estate was at that point purchased by a consortium of three local landowners who split the property between them.⁴⁰ The property in Humberston was put on the market again in 1792 and was acquired at auction by Robert Smith, the Midlands banker and London financier, who was created Lord Carrington in 1796.⁴¹ The Carringtons held the estate through three generations until the third Lord Carrington sold it in 1920. During the period of the Carrington's ownership, Humberston was administered as an outlying portion of a large estate that was centred on High Wycombe in Buckinghamshire.

Robert Smith (1752-1838), the first baron Carrington, came from a long and distinguished line of country bankers. He grew to prominence, first, as a senior partner in the family's banks in London and the provinces (from 1773), then as an MP for Nottingham (between 1779 and 1796), and finally as a long-time friend and financial adviser to William Pitt (from at least 1786). It was Pitt who raised him to the Irish peerage in 1796 and to the UK peerage in 1797, despite King George III's objections to ennobling men who engaged in trade. Pitt also appointed him a founding member of the Board of Agriculture in 1793 and its President in 1801, a position he held until 1803.⁴²

As his influence and personal fortune grew, Robert Smith started to invest in land. Property was not the most remunerative form of investment at this time but it was a mark of wealth and social standing and a passport to social distinction for future

Seaforth: Highland proprietor, Caribbean governor, and slave owner', *Scottish Historical Review*, 90 (2011), pp. 204-35.

⁴⁰ CBS: D-CN/13/1/42; LAO: Hen13/50, Abstract of Title, f. 30. The estate at that time included not only the parish of Humberston but also 197 acres of land in Weelsby and Scartho (which adjoined Humberston) and 12 acres in Laceby. These outlying portions were split off from the main estate at this time.

⁴¹ CBS: D-CN/13/1/43-44

⁴² J.A.S.L. Leighton Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers, 1658-1958* (London, 1958), pp. 54-7 and 128-29; A. F. Pollard, 'Smith, Robert, first Baron Carrington (1752-1838)', rev. S.M. Lee, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/25/101025892> (accessed 20 December 2014); Anon., 'Robert Smith', <http://heritagearchives.rbs.com/people/list/robert-smith.html> (accessed 20 December 2014); P. A. Symonds and R. G. Thorne, 'Smith, Robert (1752-1838)', <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/smith-robert-1752-1838> (accessed 3 January 2014); J.V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England, 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 46 and 117-8. Carrington's elevation to the peerage prompted the jibe that 'Billy Pitt made him a peer, And took the pen from behind his ear': Leighton Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers*, p. 129.

generations.⁴³ Smith began by purchasing the estate in Humberston when it came up for auction in London in 1792.⁴⁴ He seems to have been drawn to north Lincolnshire for a number of reasons. First, land in the county was cheaper and more readily available than property in the home counties.⁴⁵ Second, he may have been familiar with the area because his elder brother, Abel, had married one of the daughters of John Uppleby of Wootton Hall, a few miles north-west of Grimsby.⁴⁶ In addition, the Smiths had banks nearby, in Lincoln and Hull, from where intelligence could be gathered about the local land market and from where an estate could be administered.⁴⁷

Robert Smith expanded his purchases in north Lincolnshire when he bought Lord Scarbrough's debt-ridden estate in Winteringham in the following year.⁴⁸ Thereafter, he turned his attention to Buckinghamshire. This seems to have been prompted by the opportunity to purchase the 'pocket' borough of Wendover in 1794 and thus to secure control of two seats in Parliament, which he committed to Pitt. He later bought the borough of Midhurst in Surrey for similar reasons. He consolidated his purchases in Buckinghamshire two years later when he bought Loakes Manor in High Wycombe, and he made further purchases in the town and the county between 1801 and 1819. He also purchased property in London, in the Lincolnshire Fens, and in Wales.⁴⁹

⁴³ F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963), pp. 21-2; J.V. Beckett, 'Landownership and Estate Management' in G. E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 545-64; Beckett, *The Aristocracy*, p. 70.

⁴⁴ CBS: D-CN/13/1/42-44. In 1792 the estate comprised some 2,600 acres and generated an annual rental income of £1,682 (CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/2 and 8).

⁴⁵ B.A. Holderness, 'The English land market in the eighteenth century: the case of Lincolnshire', *Economic History Review*, New Series, 27 (1974), pp. 557-576.

⁴⁶ A.R. Madison (ed.), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol. 3, Harleian Society Publications 52 (London, 1903), p. 1024.

⁴⁷ G. Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Economic and Social History* (Oxford, 1972), p. 112; K.J. Allison, *'Hull Gent. Seeks Country Residence', 1750-1850* (York, 1981).

⁴⁸ CBS: D-CN 11/1/2 and 11/2/1. The property comprised about 2,400 acres and produced an annual rental income of £2,203 in 1784: T.W. Beastall, *A North Country Estate: The Lumleys and Saundersons as Landowners, 1600-1900* (Chichester, 1975), pp. 109-10.

⁴⁹ CBS: 'Family and Estate Papers of the Carington Family, Barons Carrington' [Calendar of the D-CN Deposit], p. 1, and Appendix 2.

Robert, Lord Carrington appears to have decided fairly early on that he was not going to reside in Humberston. He rented a town house in London and, after 1798, established his country seat in High Wycombe. Here he began to shake off his commercial background and take on the trappings of a landed aristocrat. He employed James Wyatt to remodel and extend his house in the up-to-date Gothic style in about 1804.⁵⁰ He gradually divested himself of his interests in the Smith family banks in London, Nottingham, Hull and Lincoln and, in his will of 1836, he stipulated that his son Robert John should not join any banking business or joint stock company on pain of forfeiting his inheritance.⁵¹

Robert John (1796-1868), the second Lord Carrington, was brought up as an aristocrat. He was sent to Eton, secured a good marriage, and served as an MP for twenty years before inheriting his father's title in 1838. He then set about expanding and consolidating his late father's estate in Wycombe and elsewhere in Buckinghamshire so that by the time of his death in 1868 he owned 26,000 acres there and in Lincolnshire. However, he also accumulated mortgages and personal debts amounting to £400,000. The annual interest burden alone was about £20,000 a year, substantially over half his income. His financial position was thus dire. It fell to his son, the third Lord Carrington (1843-1928), who was created Marquis of Lincolnshire in 1912, to restore the family's fortunes.⁵²

The first and second Lords Carrington must have been remote figures to those in Humberston. It is difficult to know how often they visited the village but it is unlikely to have been frequent. There is one reference to Robert, the first Lord Carrington, visiting for three days in 1824 during which time he chaired a meeting of the Humberston Charity trustees, attended a tenant's funeral and looked over the estate.⁵³ This may be indicative of a common pattern. It was recommended at the time that landowners

⁵⁰ 'Wycombe Abbey', <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000609> (accessed 7 December 2016); N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Buckinghamshire* (Harmondsworth, 1960), p. 165.

⁵¹ CBS: D-CN 17/1/35, f. 6.

⁵² G.E. Cokayne et al. (eds), *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom* (1910-1959; reprint in 6 volumes, Gloucester, 2000), vol. 3, pp. 63-64; CBS, 'Papers of the Carrington family', p. 2; A. Adonis, 'Aristocracy, agriculture and Liberalism: the politics, finances and estates of the third Lord Carrington', *Historical Journal*, 31 (1988), pp. 871-97.

⁵³ CBS: D-CN 18/1/2, p. 6.

should visit the distant parts of their estates at least once a year and the annual meeting of the Humberston Charity Trustees, which was (with one exception) held in the village school, may have provided that opportunity.⁵⁴

For the most part, however, the Carringtons maintained a presence in the area through local agents. Robert, Lord Carrington employed his business associate and friend, Thomas Thompson of Hull, as his agent in north Lincolnshire. Thompson had begun his working life as a clerk in the counting house of Wilberforce and Smith, a firm of Russian and Baltic merchants in Hull. He rose to become manager there in 1779 and eight years later also became managing partner of Smith's bank in Hull (later renamed Smiths and Thompson). This brought him into a close working relationship with Robert Smith (later Lord Carrington) who was also a partner in the Hull bank (as well as in the family's other banks in London, Nottingham and Lincoln).⁵⁵

*Figure 2.6 Portraits of Robert, Lord Carrington, and Thomas Thompson of Hull*⁵⁶



⁵⁴ Beckett, *The Aristocracy*, pp. 149-51 and 369.

⁵⁵ CBS: D-CN 20/2/3 and 6; A.R.B. Robinson, *The Counting House: Thomas Thompson of Hull, 1754-1828, and His Family* (York, 1992), pp. 1 and 13; Leighton Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers*, pp. 160-3, 183-92 and 192-4; Jackson, *Hull*, pp. 102-3.

⁵⁶ J. Opie, 'Robert Smith, 1st Lord Carrington of Upton', <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/17131/lot/616> (accessed 6 December 2016); J. Russell, 'Thomas Thompson', <http://www.hullcc.gov.uk/museumcollections/collections/storydetail.php?irn=133> (accessed 9 February 2017).

When Carrington acquired his estates in north Lincolnshire in the 1790s, he appointed Thomas Thompson as his agent there. Thompson arranged the purchase of the Lincolnshire properties, supervised the collection of rents, drew up the annual accounts, selected the tenants, managed the leases and acted as intermediary in communications between Carrington and the tenant farmers.⁵⁷ In addition, Carrington employed one of the principal tenant farmers in Humberston, William Marshall, as his local steward or bailiff. Marshall was expected to oversee work on the estate, such as repairing buildings, mending fences and cutting field drains.⁵⁸

Between 1807 and 1818, Thompson served as MP for Midhurst in Sussex, a deserted pocket borough belonging to Lord Carrington, though he was absent from the House for long periods.⁵⁹ During his time in Parliament, Thompson continued to work on estate business for Lord Carrington but clerks in the Hull bank looked after much of the day-to-day business on his behalf. One of these was James Henwood, who took over as agent for Carrington's north Lincolnshire properties when Thompson retired in 1828.⁶⁰ Like Thompson, Henwood started as a clerk and rose in time to be a full partner in the bank.⁶¹

It appears that these arrangements worked well. The first Lord Carrington was diligent in replying promptly to letters, despite the many other calls on his time, and he was assiduous in ensuring that his instructions were carried out. It is evident from the estate papers that Carrington went through each one of the draft letting agreements with great care, annotating them where he felt they needed additions or corrections, and asking detailed questions when he required further information.⁶² He introduced cropping covenants within the leases to stipulate the course of farming to be followed

⁵⁷ CBS: D-CN 11/1/2, ff. 14-15, 11/2/1, 18/8/1/2, and 18/8/4/2, 4 and 10.

⁵⁸ CBS: D-CN 18/1/2, p. 6, 18/8/1/2, 7 March 1798, and 18/8/4/2, 4, 5, 9 and 11.

⁵⁹ Robinson, *Counting House*, pp. 28-9 and 105; Lawrence Taylor, 'Thompson, Thomas II (1754-1828), of Cottingham Castle, Yorkshire', <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/thompson-thomas-ii-1754-1828> (accessed 2 December 2015).

⁶⁰ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/2, rentals for 1808-18, and 18/8/4/4; Robinson, *Counting House*, p. 79.

⁶¹ Anon, 'Samuel Smith, Brothers & Co' in <http://heritagearchives.rbs.com/companies/list/samuel-smith-brothers-and-co.html> (accessed 10 December 2015); TNA: Prob. 11/2193/28.

⁶² CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/8, tenancy agreements, and especially D-CN 18/8/4/11, questions re Humberston leases.

and he issued detailed instructions to individual farmers. In addition, he commissioned and scrutinised cropping returns to ensure that the covenants were being strictly followed.⁶³ He had an eye for detail. In a single letter to William Marshall in 1809 he expressed regret that one of the tenants had not honoured a promise to sow seeds in one of his fields, he instructed Marshall to prevent another tenant ploughing up any more grass, and he urged Marshall to continue to experiment with warping.⁶⁴

At the same time, he trusted Thompson's judgement and he allowed Thompson a good deal of discretion in the management of the estate.⁶⁵ Thompson wrote in 1803: 'The liberality of my noble friend, Lord Carrington, the owner of the estate, left me at liberty to fulfil his wishes and my own, in any way I thought best'.⁶⁶ Later, whilst an M.P., he wrote that Lord Carrington put 'no restriction or even intimation as to the way in which he expected me to vote on any occasion'.⁶⁷

Thompson was an old-style agent – a professional man with business interests of his own who undertook estate management on a part-time basis. He was not one of the new breed of full-time stewards who are credited with transforming the fortunes of landed estates in the nineteenth century.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, he was, by all accounts, a diligent and astute manager. William Wilberforce described him as 'a man of great acuteness and integrity'.⁶⁹ In addition, he had a range of interests and expertise which equipped him to be a knowledgeable and enlightened land agent. He had first-hand experience of managing a farm and was keenly interested in agricultural

⁶³ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/3,5,6, and 8.

⁶⁴ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/4, 12 January 1809.

⁶⁵ CBS: D-CN/18/8/4/4 and 18/8/1/2.

⁶⁶ T. Thompson, 'Reasons for giving lands to cottagers, to enable them to keep cows', *Communications to the Board of Agriculture*, vol. 4 (London, 1805), p. 425.

⁶⁷ Thomas Thompson's Journals (in private hands) cited Robinson, *Counting House*, p. 29. The importance of a deep, trusting relationship between absentee landlord and local agent is attested by Carol Beardmore's studies of 'Landowner, tenant and agent on the Marquis of Anglesey's Dorset and Somerset estate, 1814–44', *Rural History*, 26 (2015), pp. 181–199, and 'The rural estate through the eyes of the land agent: a community in microcosm, c.1812 – 1844', *Family & Community History*, 19 (2016), pp. 17–33.

⁶⁸ E. Richards, 'The Land Agent' in G. E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, Vol. 2 (London, 1981), pp. 439–56; Beckett, 'Landownership and estate management', pp. 593–4.

⁶⁹ Robinson, *Counting House*, frontispiece.

improvement.⁷⁰ He had a deep concern for the welfare of the poor and was known in Hull as a reforming poor law guardian, seeking to keep the poor out of the workhouse by providing them with work, out-relief and allotments.⁷¹ He was a leading Methodist who nevertheless had a continuing association with the Anglican church and a firm commitment to religious toleration.⁷² In many ways Carrington's firm managerial approach and Thompson's humanitarian sensibilities complemented each other very well.

Carrington's overriding concern was the condition and value of his property. As soon as he acquired the estate at Humberston, he set about its improvement. In 1792 he engaged contractors to build a new sea wall and he began the process of reclaiming the saltmarsh lying behind it (see Figure 2.7 and 2.8).⁷³ In the following two years, he completed the enclosure of the parish by repossessing and dividing up the common meadows, pasture and furze grounds.⁷⁴ And in a series of letting agreements completed in 1792, 1794 and 1796, he required or authorised his tenants to plough up more than 276 acres of old pasture and scrub land, and to drain, pare and burn old meadow land. Some of this land was put down to wheat and beans, doubtless to take advantage of the high wartime prices for grain, but much was laid to temporary

⁷⁰ Robinson, *Counting House*, p.92; BL: Add. Ms 35131, f. 580 [correspondence with Arthur Young].

⁷¹ Robinson, *Counting House*, pp. 19-21, 55 and 68; E. Gillett and K.A. McMahon, *A History of Hull* (Hull, 1980), p. 238. Thompson wrote tracts on 'Observations on the Improvement of the Maintenance of the Poor' in 1801 and on 'Reasons for Giving Land to Cottagers' in 1803.

⁷² Robinson, *Counting House*, pp. 6, 8-9, 11, 32 and 50; A. Aspinall and E. Anthony Smith (eds), *English Historical Documents, 1783-1832* (London, 1969), p. 664.

⁷³ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/5 and 8-10; Young, *General View*, pp. 260-1; and J. Wild, *Tetney, Lincolnshire: A History* (Grimsby, 1901), p. 81. The sea bank was constructed in 1792 to a height of 7½ to 9 feet to join up with the new sea bank at Tetney, which had been completed in 1779. Sluices (known as cloughs) allowed the northerly and southerly becks to drain into the sea at low tide. The saltmarsh lying behind the new sea bank had previously been grazed by the local farmers but they were required to give it up at Lady Day 1793. The marsh was then rested to remove the salt until, between 1795 and 1799, it was ploughed, fallowed, seeded and fenced, and let to tenants. The bank was breached in 1798 but by 1810 the beach was increasing in height as the tide carried sand down the coast from Cleethorpes.

⁷⁴ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/8, tenancy agreements. The cow pasture on Milking Hill (23 acres) was enclosed and divided between two farmers; the meadow in the South Ings (52½ acres) was drained, fenced and split between four of the farmers; and the furze ground in the north of the parish (34 acres) was fenced and allocated to a single tenant.

Figure 2.7 Humberston Before Enclosure, c. 1705⁷⁵

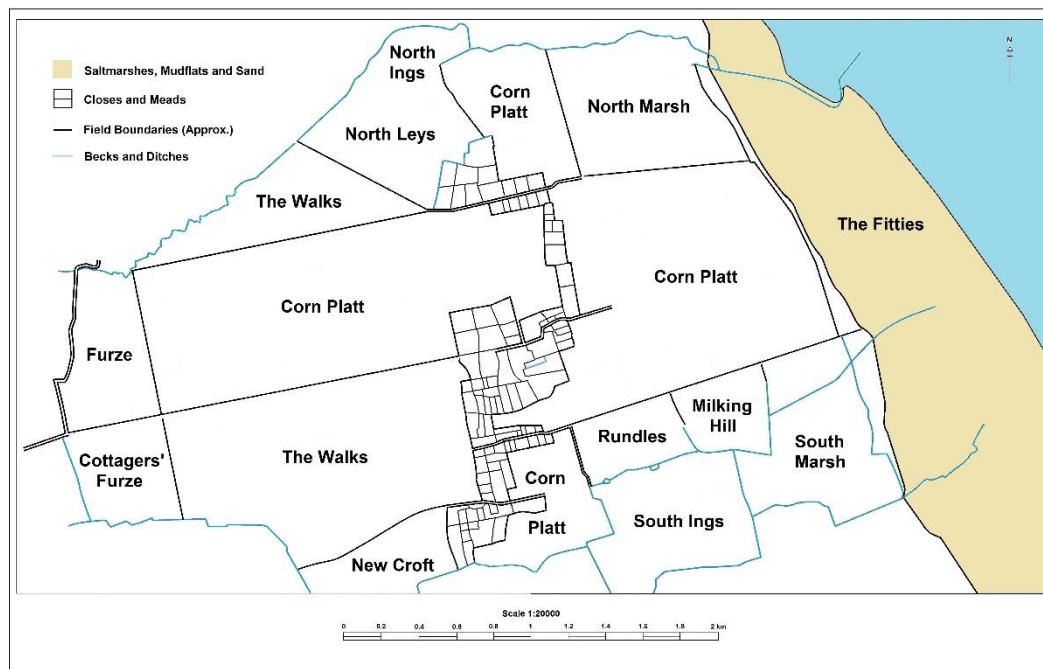
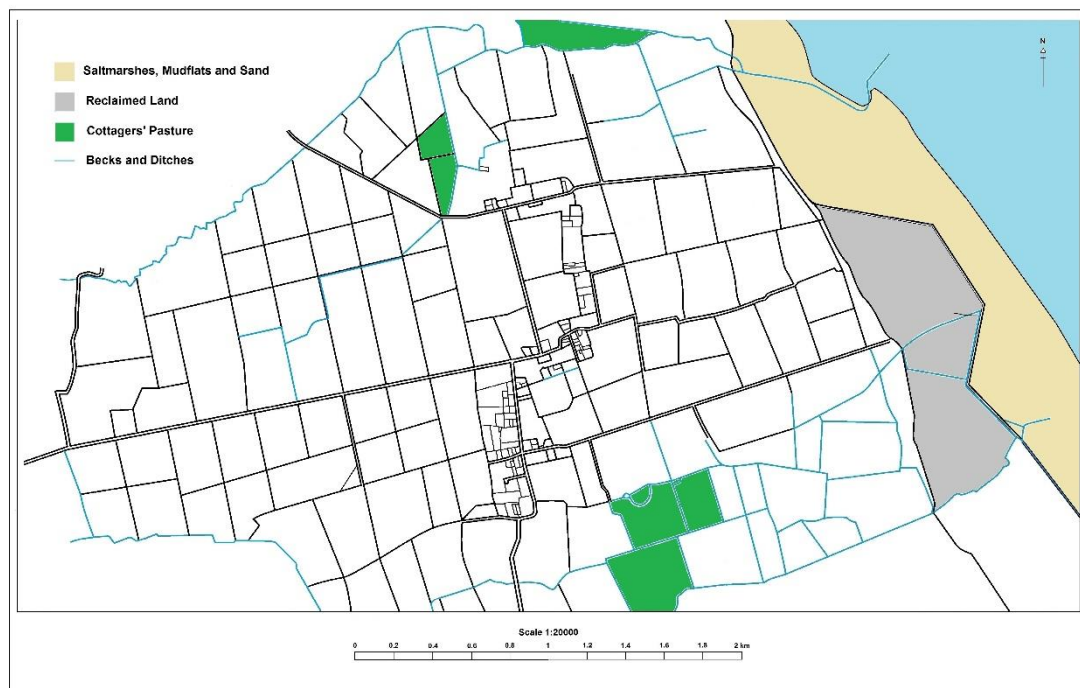


Figure 2.8 Humberston After Enclosure, c. 1805⁷⁶



⁷⁵ Based on John Friend's map of the Manor of Humberston, 1707 (NELA: 213) with additional material from NAS: GD 46/1/12 and 324, and CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/8 and 12.

⁷⁶ Based on Survey of the Humberston Estate, 1805 (CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/3) with additional material from CBS: D-CN 18/8/1/5 and 18/8/4/6, and CFA: 5-6.

grasses, presumably to improve the quality of the pasture; in a few instances, new land was sown with turnips.⁷⁷ In all cases, the effect was to enhance the productivity of the soil and the value of the land. An independent report, undertaken in 1796, spoke of the 'great improvements' that had been made throughout the parish and a survey taken in 1805 showed that the value of the agricultural land had increased by almost a third, rising from an average of 17s.0d. an acre in 1792 to £1.2s.6d. an acre in 1805.⁷⁸

In the years after 1800, Lord Carrington turned his attention to improving the system of husbandry in Humberston. Modern historians have tended to be sceptical in admitting the claims of contemporary commentators that agricultural change and improvement was driven by liberal and enlightened landlords. They have argued instead that the great landowners were better at popularising the work of others than initiating experimentation and innovation on their own account.⁷⁹ This was undoubtedly the role that Lord Carrington played, both as a landlord and as a member, and ultimately chairman, of the Board of Agriculture.⁸⁰ However, it was no less important for that.

⁷⁷ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/8, tenancy agreements. In 1792 and 1794, approval was given to plough up 86 acres of the Sheep Walks, 57 acres of recently enclosed land in Milking Hill and the Furze grounds (see fn. 74 above), and 7.75 acres of New Croft. Further parts of the Sheep Walk, the Furze Grounds and the Walks were ordered to be ploughed up in 1796 and parts of the South Ings, North Ings and Marsh Closes were to be drained, pared and burned prior to being put down to seeds.

⁷⁸ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/8, tenancy agreements and Beecroft's Report of Tillage, D-CN/18/8/4/3, and D-CN 18/8/4/9, Marshall to Carrington, 1798. Lord Carrington also built a new sea bank on his newly-purchased estate at Winteringham, drained the saltmarsh and enclosed what remained of the common fields: T.M. Smith, 'Enclosure and agricultural improvement in North-West Lincolnshire from circa 1600 to 1850' (Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Nottingham, 2012), pp. 281-3 and 286.

⁷⁹ J. V. Beckett, *The Agricultural Revolution* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 28-30, and 'Landownership and estate management', pp. 569-73; Grigg, *Agricultural Revolution*, p. 82; E.A. Wasson, 'A progressive landlord: the third Earl Spencer, 1782-1845' in C.W. Chalklin and J.R. Wordie, *Town and Countryside: The English Landowner in the National Economy, 1660-1860* (London, 1989), pp. 83-101; D. Brown, 'Reassessing the influence of the aristocratic improver: the example of the fifth Duke of Bedford (1765-1802)', *Agricultural History Review*, 47 (1999), pp. 182-195; Wade Martins, *A Great Estate at Work*, p. 257.

⁸⁰ According to Clarke's account of the old Board of Agriculture, Carrington was 'one of the ablest men who occupied the Presidential chair'. Under his chairmanship, the Board was influential in arguing against the indiscriminate conversion of grass to tillage when wheat prices escalated in the early 1800s; it also campaigned for the enclosure of waste land and championed the application of chemistry to agriculture. E. Clarke, *History of the Board of Agriculture, 1793-1822* (London, 1898), pp. 27-31; R. Mitchison, 'The old Board of Agriculture (1793-1822)', *English Historical Review*, 74 (1959), pp. 57-9.

When Carrington acquired the estate in 1792, the arable land in Humberston was still being cultivated on a traditional three-course rotation of wheat or barley, beans and fallow.⁸¹ This was a typical crop cycle for the Middle Marsh at this time, but was quite out of step with the more progressive rotations adopted on the light soils of the Wolds and elsewhere, where rotation grasses and turnips had replaced bare fallows.⁸² When Arthur Young visited Humberston in 1798 he was appalled at the continued use of a fallow, particularly in fields that had recently been enclosed, and he recommended the adoption of a five-course system in order to incorporate rotation grasses.⁸³

Lord Carrington was equally convinced that change was necessary. He used annual letting agreements to insist that clover and, where possible, turnips should be included in the standard system of crop rotation in place of a winter fallow.⁸⁴ He was only partially successful. As is evident from Table 2.1 most farmers moved to a four-course rotation incorporating rotation grasses between 1796 and 1805. However, this was achieved by reducing the area under barley rather than fallow. Moreover, the attempted introduction of turnips was short-lived. As William Marshall and Thomas Tomlinson, two of the leading tenant farmers in Humberston, rightly pointed out in 1809, the heavy, poorly-drained soils of the Middle Marsh were unsuited to turnips.⁸⁵ Just 7 per cent of sown land in the Marsh was under turnips in 1801, compared with 30

⁸¹ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/8; Young, *General View*, p. 46.

⁸² Thirsk, *Peasant Farming*, pp. 244-9; Beastall, *Agricultural Revolution*, pp. 156-60 and 174; J.A. Perkins, 'The prosperity of farming on the Lindsey uplands, 1813-37', *Agricultural History Review*, 24 (1976), pp. 126-143; H.C. Darby, 'The Lincolnshire Wolds', *Lincolnshire Historian*, 9 (1952), pp. 315-24.

⁸³ Young, *General View*, pp. 83-4 and 107.

⁸⁴ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/2, Michaelmas 1796, and 18/8/4/8, 11, 12, and 14-19.

⁸⁵ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/11, notes on a draft, unsigned lease, 9 November 1809, and note headed 'Humberston', 10 November 1809. For comment on the difficulties of growing turnips in ill-drained clay soils see J.D. Chambers and G.E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880* (London, 1966), pp. 58-9 and 139-1; Grigg, *The Agricultural Revolution*, pp. 178-9; J. Brown, 'Farming practices' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. 4, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 295-6; M. Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy, 1500-1850* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 194 and 196; and T. Williamson, *The Transformation of Rural England: Farming and the Landscape, 1700-1870* (Exeter, 2002), pp. 20 and 54-114.

per cent on the Lincolnshire Wolds.⁸⁶ It was not until the introduction of cheap mass-produced, pipe drains in the 1840s that turnips could be grown successfully in the Marsh.⁸⁷ By the 1860s turnips had finally replaced fallow in Humberston (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2).

*Table 2.1 Land Use in Humberston, 1796-1825 and 1866*⁸⁸

Acres	1796	1805	1815	1825	1866
Wheat	274	290	369	373	436
Barley	233	59	21	24	214
Oats	102	52	145	235	196
Beans	172	236	248	140	158
Turnips	38	25	0	12	273
Rotation Grasses	54	275	232	270	260
Bare Fallow	212	313	368	351	8
Total Arable	1085	1250	1382	1403	1544
Permanent Grass or Meadow	1449	1306	1200	1177	1019
Total All	2534	2556	2582	2580	2562

Table 2.2 Cropping Ratios in Humberston, 1796-1825 and 1866

Proportions	1796	1805	1815	1825	1866
Wheat	25%	23%	27%	27%	27%
Barley	21%	5%	2%	2%	14%
Oats	9%	4%	10%	17%	13%
Beans	16%	19%	18%	10%	10%
Turnips	3%	2%	0%	1%	18%
Rotation Grasses	5%	22%	17%	18%	17%
Bare Fallow	21%	25%	26%	25%	1%
Total Arable	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

⁸⁶ Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, p. 245. Some of the more enterprising of the Humberston farmers, such as the Marshalls, rented turnip fields inland and over-wintered some of their sheep there: see NELA: 221/1, Note Book, 1759-81: pp. 47-8 and 73-4, and LC: Skelton Papers, 1827, p. 190.

⁸⁷ LRSM, 8 October 1841, p. 2, col. 9; TNA: MAF/68/42/14-17; Beastall, *Agricultural Revolution*, pp. 80-1 and 171; A.D.M. Phillips, 'The landlord and agricultural improvements: underdraining on the Lincolnshire estates of the earls of Scarborough in the first half of the nineteenth century', *East Midlands Geographer*, 7 (1979), pp. 168-77, and *The Underdraining of Farmland during the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 241-6.

⁸⁸ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/3-6 and 8; TNA: MAF/68/42/14-17 and 28-33.

Carrington's interest in the improvement of the land extended also to the improvement of the built environment. On the Wolds, resident landlords were busy creating neatly ordered villages in which their presence, status and authority were displayed in the regular layout of the village, the grandeur of the manor house, the landscaping of the park, and the architectural uniformity of the tenants' houses.⁸⁹ In Humberston, Carrington had little reason to spend money on a grand house or park since he decided fairly early on that he was not going to reside in the village. He therefore knocked down the old manor house in Humberston and replaced it with a farm house, though he left intact the range of stables, barns and wagon houses (which still stand today).⁹⁰ He also built new neat brick farmhouses for four more of his farms (Field House, Midfield, Church, and South Sea Lane Farms). His son Robert John, built a sixth (Whitehall Farm).⁹¹ In addition, using the funds of the Humberston Charity and in accordance with Matthew Humberston's wishes, he built six almshouses, a school and a schoolhouse.⁹²

All these buildings had a broadly similar architectural style – symmetrical brick fronts with tall (occasionally square) sash windows capped with a flat brick arch or a white stucco lintel (see Figure 2.9). Their design could have been taken from a pattern book. The best was the new schoolhouse and rectory built in 1823 (see Figure 2.9 (e)). In contrast with many estate villages on the Wolds, these were relatively plain and simple buildings, employing none of the mock gothic designs, ornate barge boards, decorative finials and insignia for which the Yarborough and Heneage estate cottages became

⁸⁹ Fuller, 'Landownership and the Lindsey landscape', pp. 16-19, A. Mitson and B. Cox, 'Victorian estate housing on the Yarborough estate, Lincolnshire', *Rural History*, 6 (1995), pp. 29-45, and Rawding, *The Lincolnshire Wolds*, pp. 56-68.

⁹⁰ General Loft wrote in 1826 that the Hall had been taken down 'a few years since' (LAO: Dixon 19/1/2, fol. 17), George Weir, in *An Account of Lincolnshire*, vol. 1 (London, 1828), p. 229, noted that the house was 'now demolished', and Revd. Sir Charles John Anderson remarked in 1836 that the old manor house had been pulled down '30 years ago' (LAO: And. 6/8. p. 43).

⁹¹ CBS: CBS: D-CN 18/8/1/2, letter dated 8 April 1817, D-CN 18/8/4/2, rentals for LD 1813 and LD 1818, D-CN 18/8/4/8, estimate for 1790, and D-CN 18/8/4/10, tenancy agreements for Thomas Kirby and William Marshall, 1796; *LRS*M, 28 December 1810, p. 3, col. 3; Anon, *White Hall Farm*, http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=1566622 (accessed 21 May 2017). Carrington also built several new farmhouses and farm buildings on his estate in Winteringham in Lincolnshire at about the same time: see Young, *General View*, p.34.

⁹² CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/3, plan of vicarage and school house, and 18/8/4/7/4.

Figure 2.9 Architectural Styles in Humberston: The Imprint of the Estate⁹³

	
(a) Manor Farm, 2014	(b) Marshalls' Farm, 2014
	
(c) Church Farm, 1965 (Now Demolished)	(d) Midfield Farm, 1985 (Now Demolished)
	
(e) Schoolhouse and Rectory, 1972	(f) Almshouses, 2008 (The porch is a later addition)

⁹³ (a) and (b) author's photos; (c), (d) and (e) LC: H804/630, 728.67, and 726.9 (copyright Grimsby Telegraph); (f) <https://www.flickr.com/photos/75827322@N00> (copyright jonfholl).

renowned.⁹⁴ In Humberston, only two later buildings, a cottage and the smithy, had the Carrington arms on the front aspect or the gable end.⁹⁵

Although the two Lords Carrington were seemingly attentive to the farmers, they appear to have been less concerned with the condition of the cottages belonging to the farms and those rented directly from them. Most of these were traditional thatched cottages of mud and stud which dated from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries (see Figure 2.10 below). One, at least, was in a parlous condition: William Marshall reported in 1814 that 'it is so rotten & bad that I am affraid [sic] it will be difficult to make stand for much longer'.⁹⁶ Others had been encased in brick and roofed with tiles (see Figure 3.5 on page 70 and Figure 6.5 on page 158 below).⁹⁷ As a consequence, for most of the nineteenth century, old cottages and new farmhouses stood side by side in a haphazard arrangement of ill-matched buildings, in stark contrast with the regular and compact morphology of estate villages on the Lincolnshire Wolds.

This may reflect a greater concern of absentee landlords for economics than aesthetics. The construction of new brick-built farmhouses and farm buildings helped to attract and retain enterprising farmers who would pay high rents and work to increase the value of the farm. The replacement of mud and stud cottages with brick and tile houses, on the other hand, was less pressing because, until the decline of rural populations after 1860, farmworkers were in ready supply and housing was in high demand. Moreover, the returns on investment in labourers' cottages were poor compared with other forms of capital expenditure.⁹⁸ In Humberston, many mud and stud cottages survived until the early twentieth century and new estate cottages were added only slowly to the housing stock.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Fuller, 'Landownership and the Lindsey landscape', pp. 16-19; Mitson and Cox, 'Victorian estate housing', pp. 29-45.

⁹⁵ The cottage is no. 2 Cottage Yard Lane and the smithy is in Church Lane.


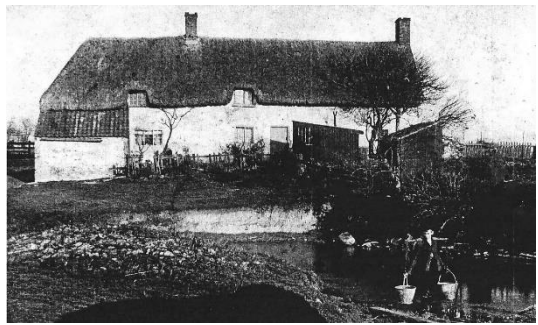




⁹⁶ CBS: D-CN18/8/4/5, Cropping book, 1810-13.

⁹⁷ NELA: 474/3; R. Cousins, *Lincolnshire Buildings in the Mud and Stud Tradition* (Sleaford, 2000), pp. 34 and 45; Historic England, 'Listing: Humberston', <https://historicengland.org.uk> (accessed 15/06/2015).

⁹⁸ J.A. Perkins, 'Working-class housing in Lindsey, 1780-1870', *LHA*, 10 (1975), pp. 49-55; Ayres, 'The provision of housing', pp. 130-7; Williamson and Bellamy, *Property and Landscape*, pp. 162-75.

⁹⁹ The sale catalogue for the Humberston estate in 1920 (LAO: Misc Dep 145/10) described all the estate houses and cottages as being built of brick, but many had brick facings on mud and stud walls, as later

Figure 2.10 Architectural Styles in Humberston: The Vernacular Tradition¹⁰⁰

	
<p>(a) Kirby Farm, c.1938 (Now Demolished)</p>	<p>(b) Field House Cottages (Now Demolished)</p>
	
<p>(c) Cheeseman's Cottage, South Sea Lane (Now Demolished)</p>	<p>(d) Lidgard's Cottage, North Sea Lane, c.1920 (Now Demolished)</p>
	
<p>(e) Cottage, Yard Lane (Now Demolished)</p>	<p>(f) Cottages, Walk Lane (Now Demolished)</p>

generations were surprised to discover when they came to demolish them (see, for example, the cuttings from the *Grimsby Evening Telegraph*, 15 January 1985 and 21 January 1985 in NELA: 474/3).

¹⁰⁰ All photographs are from LC: H804/388.1, 630, and 728.

Lord Carrington's apparent unwillingness to refurbish or extend the stock of labourers' cottages may also have had another purpose which was to limit immigration into the village from those who might become a charge on the poor rates. There is much evidence, which is cited in chapter 7 below, that those resident in Humberston were at great pains to control settlement by limiting employment opportunities on the farms. Carringtons' contribution was to ration the provision of housing and to exercise care in the selection of tenants. As to the first, neither the first nor second Lord Carrington added to the number of houses or cottages in the village in the years up to 1850 (see Table 3.5 below). As to the second, it is clear that both the first Lord Carrington and his son operated a lettings policy which gave preference to local residents over those from outside the parish. Consequently, many cottages passed through several generations of the same family. Fourteen of the twenty-two families who held estate cottages in 1850 had also been tenants in 1825. One of these tenants, Thomas Richardson, wrote to Carrington's steward in 1846 stating that he, his father and his grandfather had occupied the same cottage and a few acres of land on the Humberston estate since 1730 and he asked that his wife or son should continue as tenant after his death.¹⁰¹ This was essentially a 'closed' market in tenancies in which outsiders could gain a foothold only when a local dynasty died out or moved elsewhere.¹⁰²

The improvement of the land and the built environment, and the retention of the best tenants, were designed to improve the profitability of farms and thus provide the means by which rent income might be increased. Increases in rent were important to Carrington as a means of recouping his significant investment in housing, drainage and enclosure. It was also an essential way of maintaining his aristocratic lifestyle. Having divested himself of his banking interests, and without mineral or other rights to exploit, the family became wholly dependent on rental income from their estates.¹⁰³

When Robert Smith bought the Humberston estate in 1792, it generated an annual rental income of £1,682.¹⁰⁴ In the following year, even before he had embarked on any

¹⁰¹ NELA: 474/1.

¹⁰² The earls of Yarborough adopted the same approach on their extensive north Lincolnshire estates: a contemporary said that Yarborough 'breeds' his tenants: Anon., 'The Right Honourable the Earl of Yarborough', *The Farmers Magazine*, 20, 1 (July 1849), p. 5.

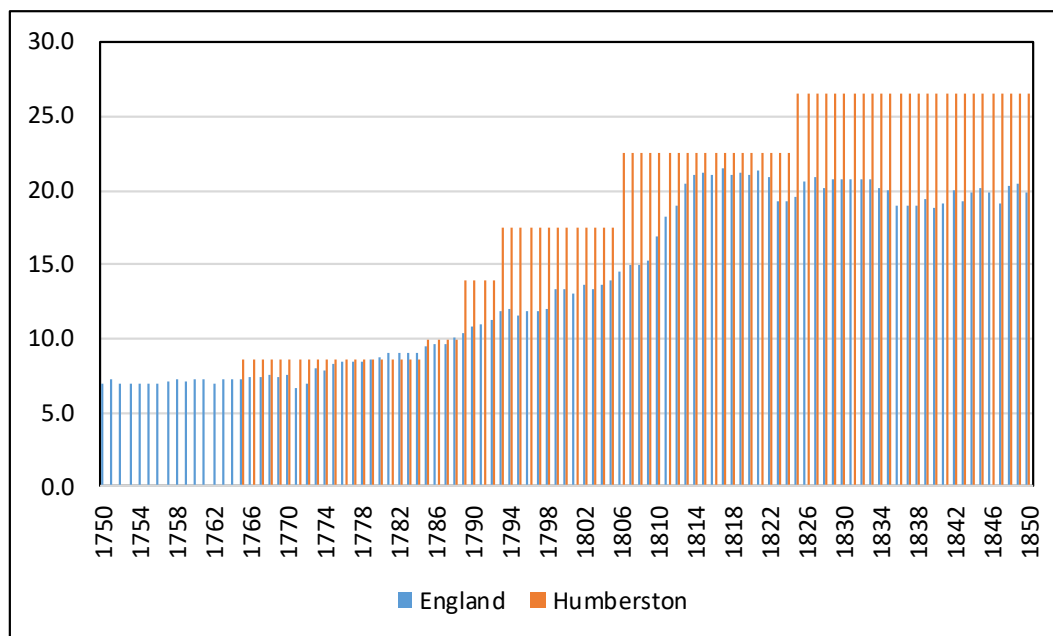
¹⁰³ CBS: D-CN 18/8/1/2, Carrington to Thompson, 27 October 1815; Adonis, 'Aristocracy, agriculture and Liberalism', pp. 881-2.

¹⁰⁴ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/2.

improvements, he raised rents to £2,327 per annum, an increase of 38 per cent.¹⁰⁵ In 1805, when he had completed the enclosure of the parish, he increased them by a further 31 per cent.¹⁰⁶ A valuation in 1825 indicated that there was scope to raise rents by another 17 per cent but it is unclear whether he did so on this occasion.¹⁰⁷

These increases pushed rents in Humberston slightly ahead of the general rise in agricultural rents (see Figure 2.11). This caused difficulties for some farmers and was the cause of general complaint in the 1790s.¹⁰⁸

Figure 2.11 Annual Rents per Acre in Humberston and in England, 1750-1850¹⁰⁹



Richard Taylor, who had been a tenant since at least 1765, quit his farm in 1798 claiming that he had been forced out by an 'enormous increase in Rent' and Seth

¹⁰⁵ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/2 and 8.

¹⁰⁶ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/2 and 3.

¹⁰⁷ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/6.

¹⁰⁸ Young, *General View*, p. 46.

¹⁰⁹ NAS: GD 46/1/12 and 324; CBS: D-CN 13/1/31, 18/1/5, ff. 90-3, 18/8/4/2, 6 and 12; M.E. Turner, J.V. Beckett, and B. Afton, *Agricultural Rent in England, 1690-1914* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 314-18. Rent books for Humberston do not survive for the years after 1825: it is assumed here that rents were increased in 1826 in line with the revaluation undertaken in the previous year, as they had on similar occasions in the past.

Cooper was given notice to quit in 1819 for failing to clear his arrears of rent.¹¹⁰ Others, however, stayed on, buoyed up no doubt by the increased profitability of farming during the French Wars but also by Robert, Lord Carrington's willingness to allow tenants to carry rent arrears for two or three years and, in one case, for eight years (albeit for a relatively small sum).¹¹¹ In his will of 1836, he counselled his son Robert John to 'extend to my tenants the same indulgence in the payment of their rents as have been granted by me'.¹¹²

Traditional concepts of the functions of landownership required diligent landlords not only to provide decent houses and charge a 'fair rent' but also to exert a paternalistic influence in other spheres, such as religion, education and the care of the poor.¹¹³ Here the first and second Lord Carrington took on their expected role, but with less commitment and alacrity than they gave to estate matters. Indeed, much of the credit for social provision probably belongs to their agents, Thomas Thompson and James Henwood.

When Carrington acquired the Humberston estate, the funds that Matthew Humberston had bequeathed for the building and maintenance of almshouses and a school were still languishing in the Court of Chancery where they had been for over 80 years. As a later chapter recounts, it took 20 years for Carrington to begin legal proceedings to have these monies released and applied to their intended purposes. Even then, the Master of Chancery believed that Carrington was motivated merely by 'a wish to benefit the estate' rather than from any 'nobler and more liberal feeling'.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/9, George Babb to Lord Carrington, 28 Nov 1797, and D-CN 18/8/4/2.

¹¹¹ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/2. Failure seems to have affected only a small number of farmers in Lincolnshire. Between 1760 and 1830 on those estates for which detailed rent rolls have survived, fewer than five per cent of all tenants failed, quit owing large arrears, or were evicted for non-payment of rent: B.A. Holderness, 'Prices, productivity, and output', in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. 4, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 187.

¹¹² CBS: D-CN 17/1/35, m. 12.

¹¹³ D. Roberts, *Paternalism in Early Victorian England* (London, 1979), pp. 2-8, 129-32 and 273-4; H. Newby, C. Bell, D. Rose and P. Saunders, *Property, Paternalism and Power: Class and Control in Rural England* (London, 1978), pp. 26-30.

¹¹⁴ BPP, *32nd Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into Charities*, Part 4, H.C. 1839 [194], p. 427; TNA: C 13/665/5; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/3, Opinion of Mr Steele, 1804, and 18/8/4/7/9.

A similar ambiguity hangs over the decision, taken at the enclosure of the parish, to set aside some 60 acres of pasture and meadow for the use of 13 Cottagers who had previously had access to common land in the village. Chapter 6 describes the circumstances of this decision in greater detail. The creation of the cow pastures was undoubtedly a signal contribution to the welfare of poor Cottagers but it was Carrington's agent, Thomas Thompson, who appears to have championed the scheme, overseen its management and arranged for its later extension.¹¹⁵ Similarly, though Carrington granted land for the Methodist chapel, he declined to contribute to the building fund and it was again his agent James Henwood, a Methodist himself, who spent two years helping the congregation get their chapel built.¹¹⁶

In other respects, the Carrington's record of charitable giving in Humberston was relatively modest. They were generous and regular subscribers to national organisations and to charities and societies in and around High Wycombe but they subscribed less frequently to good causes in Humberston and usually made one-off payments to meet particular circumstances rather than regular donations to support a village charity.¹¹⁷ When the first Lord Carrington wrote his will in 1836, he bequeathed £100 to the poor of High Wycombe but left nothing to the poor of Humberston.¹¹⁸ The second Lord Carrington was even more divorced from the affairs of the parish. As later chapters show, he tired of the business of the Humberston charitable trust and ceased

¹¹⁵ T. Thompson, 'Extract from an account of a provision for cottagers keeping cows at Humberston, in the county of Lincoln', *The Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor*, vol. 2 (London, 1799), pp. 133-8, and 'Reasons for giving lands to cottagers, to enable them to keep cows', *Communications to the Board of Agriculture*, vol. 4 (London, 1805), pp. 422-28.

¹¹⁶ LAO: Cor B5/4/42/1/2; *LRS*M, 31 July 1835, p. 3, col. 3.

¹¹⁷ For High Wycombe, see: CBS: D-CN 21/6/1; Pollard, 'Smith, Robert', n.p.; D. Snoxell, 'Robert John Smith, 2nd Baron Carrington, 1796-1868' (typescript, courtesy of Sarah Charlton, n.d.), p. 4; Leighton Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers*, p. 129; L.J. Ashford, *The History of the Borough of High Wycombe from Its Origins to 1880* (London, 1960), p. 283; K.A. Walpole, *From One Generation to Another: A Panorama of Wycombe Abbey, Buckinghamshire* (Wycombe, n.d.), p. 12. For Humberston, see: CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/2 and CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/4, Gedge to Carrington, 17 February 1830; *LRS*M, 30 December 1842, p. 3, col. 5, and 27 December 1844, p. 3, col. 5; *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, 23 January 1846, p. 8, col. 2, 1 January 1847, p. 5, col. 4, and 31 December 1847, p. 5, col. 6; *The Hull Packet*, 12 January 1849, p. 6, col. 3; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/2, certificate, 25 February 1840.

¹¹⁸ CBS: D-CN 17/1/35, m. 12.

to attend its meetings. It was said, albeit by a political rival, that he declined to give a single penny to the charity.¹¹⁹

This reluctance to engage closely and directly with the affairs of Humberston may have been a reflection of the Carringtons' personal priorities and interests. Like other Whig aristocrats, they may have felt more inclined to exhibit a *laissez faire* attitude to social relations than adopt the paternalist views associated with many Tory landlords. But their close involvement in affairs in Buckinghamshire suggests that it is more likely to have been a function of distance. Beyond the confines of their home villages, the Carringtons seem to have looked to their agents rather than themselves to make judgements and decisions on what people and causes were deserving of help and financial assistance.

Conclusion

This analysis began by reflecting on the distinction that has been drawn by Mills and others between open and closed parishes and particularly between closed parishes with a resident landlord and those with an absentee landlord. It suggested that, taken together, these latter studies reveal two important differences between such parishes. First, they suggest that landowners were prepared to invest greater sums in the cultural landscape and the physical infrastructure of parishes where they themselves were resident than in closed parishes at some distance from their home. Second, they contend that landowners were more likely to have ministered to the moral and material welfare of their tenants, and to have sought to influence their behaviour, in estate villages than in other closed villages that they owned.

This detailed study of Humberston suggests that this twofold distinction has much merit. When Matthew Humberston first acquired the estate and took up residence in the village, he was keen to improve the physical appearance of the village and put his own stamp upon it. He wished to build a grand house, restore the church, enclose the land, and place an imposing monument to himself in the chancel. Robert, Lord Carrington, on the other hand, was less concerned with the aesthetics of the village. He built a number of new farmhouses but demolished the manor house and gave little attention to the random collection of mud and stud cottages that dominated the village landscape.

¹¹⁹ NELA: 238/90.

Matthew Humberston also had a concern for the spiritual and physical welfare of his tenants. He determined to provide a free school for the sons of his tenants, to endow almshouses for the elderly, and to install a resident vicar 'of sober life and good learning'. Robert, Lord Carrington, on the other hand, was seemingly less concerned with these aspects of lordship. He was dilatory in carrying through Matthew Humberston's plans for the building of a school and almshouses and for the appointment of a resident parson, and he and his son invested little of their own money in the improvement of housing, the education of children, or the care of the poor.

However, these distinctions need to be qualified in two important respects. First, though Carrington may not have been much concerned with the aesthetics of the village, he was very much interested in other aspects of the physical infrastructure of the estate. He was, above all else, active in improving the condition and value of the land. He built new sea banks, reclaimed a part of the former saltmarsh, completed the enclosure of the parish, built new farmhouses and sought to introduce more progressive farming methods. On the back of this, he pushed up rents.

Second, though Carrington lived some distance from Humberston, his agents lived much closer and were diligent in discharging many of the functions that otherwise would have fallen to the estate owner. Thomas Thompson appears to have had a genuine concern for the well-being of the tenants and was the driving force behind the provision of cow pastures for the poor. James Henwood was concerned for the spiritual welfare of the villagers and gave practical support to the Methodists.

On this evidence it is perhaps reasonable to conclude that absentee landlords like the Carringtons were concerned first and foremost with the condition and value of their estate and the income it generated and only secondarily with those issues to which resident landlords attached importance, such as the aesthetics of the estate village and the welfare of those living outside the park gates. The importance which non-resident landowners attached to these latter considerations doubtless varied according to the predispositions of individual proprietors but also, as we have seen, to the degree to which landlords were prepared to trust and empower agents to act on their behalf on matters to which they attached only secondary importance.

CHAPTER 3 FARMERS AND FARMWORKERS

Brian Short has argued, in opposition to Dennis Mills, that those who exercised power in rural parishes were not always the major landowners.¹ Even in a closed parish, where all the land and housing belonged to a single individual, others could hold considerable power. Notable amongst these were the parson and the principal tenant farmers. The role of the clergy is examined in the next chapter. This chapter looks at the power wielded by the leading tenant farmers.

In the absence of a resident landlord, tenant farmers exercised an unusual degree of authority in a closed parish. They were usually the major employers in the parish. They controlled the tied cottages. They filled the major parish offices. They therefore controlled wages and housing and dispensed poor relief. As a consequence, they formed a natural oligarchy. Apart from the vicar, there were few others in the parish with the economic or social standing to challenge them.

The following paragraphs examine the basis of power in closed parishes generally and in Humberston in particular and attempt, so far as the evidence will allow, to assess the way in which farmers in Humberston chose to exercise that power during the period 1750-1850. Sections look in turn at the farmers as a social group, at their control of housing, employment and poor relief, and at their attempts at social conditioning. Finally, the chapter considers the extent to which their authority was respected and accepted by others in the village.

Parish Oligarchies

Manuals from the 1790s to 1840s stressed the many duties expected of landlords in a village economy: choosing and encouraging industrious tenants, charging fair rents, offering long leases, improving agriculture and drainage, building and maintaining good cottages and schools, supplying employment and discouraging idleness, overseeing the work of the vestry, maintaining good order, looking to the welfare of the infirm and disabled, creating and supporting benefit clubs.² However, many landlords were incapable of discharging this full set of responsibilities because they were non-resident and were therefore unable to oversee or intervene in the day-to-day lives of their

¹ B. Short, 'The evolution of contrasting communities within rural England', in B. Short (ed.), *The English Rural Community: Image and Analysis* (Cambridge, 1992), p.40.

² D. Roberts, *Paternalism in Early Victorian England* (London, 1979), p. 131.

tenants. In these circumstances, it fell to others to perform some of the duties that other landlords would normally undertake, such as the provision of employment, the upkeep of tied cottages, the management of the vestry, the distribution of poor relief, and the maintenance of social control. In many cases, those who took on these responsibilities were the leading tenant farmers. In South Lindsey, Obelkevich observed that 'since there were so few resident squires, farmers acted as *de facto* rulers in most parishes, controlling village "government" (in the parish vestries) as tightly as they controlled the village economy'.³

This sharing of functions between the landlord and the leading tenant farmers constituted an important difference between estate villages in which the landlord was resident and closed parishes where he was not. It had the potential to create difficulties in establishing consistent and uniform leadership in the parish since tenant farmers were seldom a homogeneous group and unlikely to share common views and interests.⁴ Moreover, there were others in the village who might claim a leadership role – artisans, members of the professional classes, and other major employers such as rural industrialists.⁵ Power might, therefore, need to be negotiated and shared between several stakeholders.

In addition, the values of the senior tenant farmers were likely to be rather different from those of the absent landlord. The great landowners who presided over closed villages would, according to the conventions of the time, have been expected to have acted in a paternalist way towards their tenants – demanding obedience and deference but at the same time exercising benevolence by building decent cottages, charging a fair rent, and dispensing charity to those in distress.⁶ The senior tenant farmers were not necessarily imbued with this same sense of paternalism. Their dependence on the profits of labour rather than landed income tended to encourage a different ethos,

³ J. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-1875* (Oxford, 1976), p. 46.

⁴ B.A. Holderness, 'The Victorian farmer' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, vol. 1, (London, 1981), pp. 227-8; R.W. Hoyle, 'Introduction: recovering the farmer' in Hoyle (ed.), *The Farmer in England, 1650-1980* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 7-10.; Alfred Lord Tennyson. 'The Northern Farmer: Old Style' and 'New Style', <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/alfred-lord-tennysons-the-northern-farmer-with-manuscript-revisions> (accessed 22/04/2017).

⁵ Short, 'The evolution of contrasting communities', p. 40.

⁶ Roberts, *Paternalism*, pp. 2-8 and 129-32; H. Newby, C. Bell, D. Rose and P. Saunders, *Property, Paternalism and Power: Class and Control in Rural England* (London, 1978), pp. 26-30.

emphasizing pride in hard work and business prowess, thrift and domestic moderation, credit-worthiness and the avoidance of financial embarrassment.⁷ Some contemporaries accused farmers of putting their commercial values and economic interests above their wider social responsibilities by, for example, acting collectively to hold down wages and reduce the poor rates, and shifting labourers to the workhouse when they could no longer earn a living.⁸ John Clare, writing in the 1820s, was scathing in his description of local parish officers who, he said, had 'learning just enough to sign a name / And skill sufficient the parish rate to frame / And cunning deep enough the poor to cheat'.⁹

Certainly, there was much resentment against farmers (as there was against landlords) and landlords and farmers seldom ruled their parishes unchallenged by those they sought to control and influence.¹⁰ The lower orders in society were quite capable of developing and defending their own values, interests and attitudes against externally imposed authority structures and behaviours.¹¹ Incidents of defiance were commonplace, even in closed parishes, and probably more frequent and significant than the acts of arson and riot which have received so much attention, as the following account of farmers' power and authority in Humberston demonstrates.¹²

⁷ L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London, 1987), pp. 18-30.

⁸ Hoyle, 'Introduction', pp. 20-6.

⁹ J. Clare, *The Parish: A Satire*, ed. E. Robinson (Harmondsworth, 1985), p. 63.

¹⁰ A. Armstrong, *Farmworkers: A Social and Economic History, 1770-1980* (London, 1988), pp. 85-6; K.D.M. Snell, 'Deferential bitterness: the social outlook of the rural proletariat in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England and Wales', in M.L. Bush (ed.), *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe since 1500: Studies in Social Stratification* (Harlow, 1992), pp. 158-184.

¹¹ E.P. Thompson, 'The Patricians and the Plebs' in Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London, 1991), pp. 16-96; F.M.L. Thompson, 'Social control in Victorian Britain', *Economic History Review*, 34 (1981), pp. 189-208; M. Goldie, 'The unacknowledged republic: officeholding in early modern England' in T. Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001), p. 155.

¹² The relative significance of acts of covert and overt social protest are examined in a series of articles in the *Journal of Peasant Studies* which have been reproduced in M. Reed and R. Wells (eds), *Class, Conflict and Protest in the English Countryside 1700-1880* (London, 1990); see also D. Jones, 'Rural crime and protest' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, vol. 2 (London, 1981), pp. pp. 566-79 and C.J. Griffin, *Protest, Politics and Work in Rural England, 1700-1850* (Basingstoke, 2014), pp. 82-5.

Humberston

(a) Farmers as a Social Group

Holdings had been engrossed in Humberston from the late sixteenth century onwards. However, the process gathered pace in the second half of the seventeenth century and reached its zenith in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when new landlords, the Humberstons and then the Carringtons, began to merge small tenant farms with large ones.¹³

By 1765, there were just ten farms in the parish (see Figure 3.1). The smallest was 57 acres and the largest two were both 437 acres. Between these two extremes, there were four farms of around 200 acres each and three of about 300 acres.¹⁴ One hundred years later, the number of farms had fallen to eight and their boundaries had been rationalised (see Figure 3.2). The smallest was now 160 acres and the largest was 580 acres. The farms in between ranged from 237 acres to 437 acres.¹⁵ These were huge farms by Marshland standards: the 1867 agricultural census reveals the average size of farms elsewhere in the Middle Marsh to have been 60.8 acres and in the Outer Marsh to have been 41.5 acres.¹⁶

What is also remarkable about this disposition of holdings, and what distinguishes it from earlier periods, is that after 1805 there were no small and middling farms of 10 to 120 acres.¹⁷ The owner occupiers and small farmers who, a hundred or more years previously, had provided a bridge between the substantial farmers and the poorer artisans and labourers had entirely disappeared. In other words, the middle strata of village society had been removed and a few large farmers occupied a dominant position at the top of the social pyramid. This was typical of many closed parishes but quite unusual for parishes in the Lincolnshire Marsh.

¹³ M.A. Watkinson, 'Population change and agrarian development: the parishes of Bradley, Scartho and Humberston, c.1520-c.1730' (unpub. M.Phil. thesis, University of Leicester, 1984), pp. 182-216.

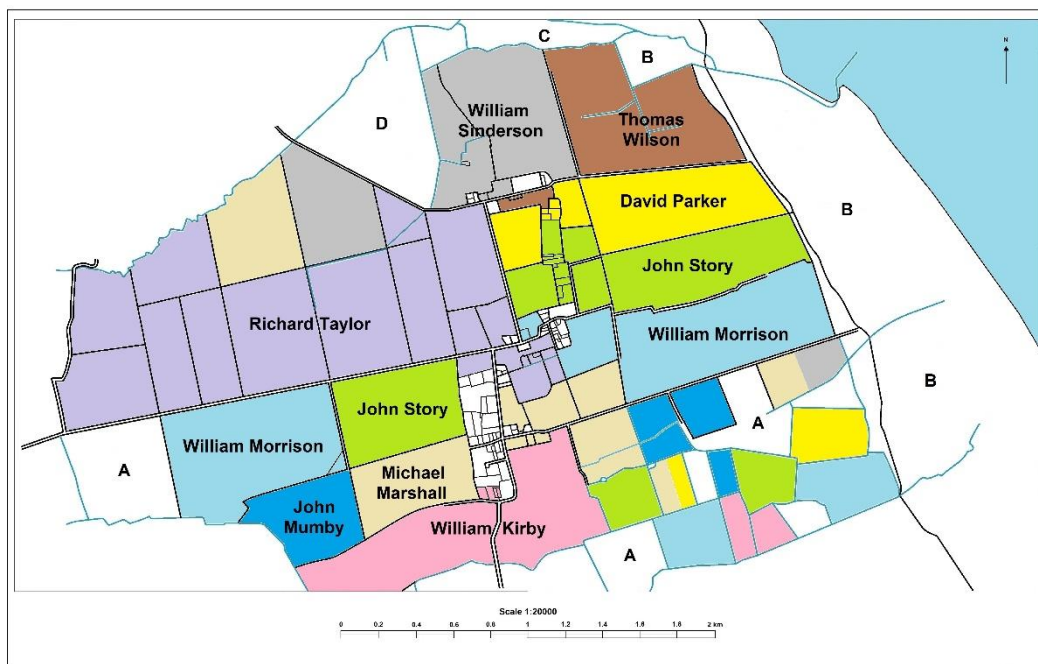
¹⁴ NAS: GD46/1/324.

¹⁵ CBS: D-CN 18/8/1/5.

¹⁶ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, pp. 47-8.

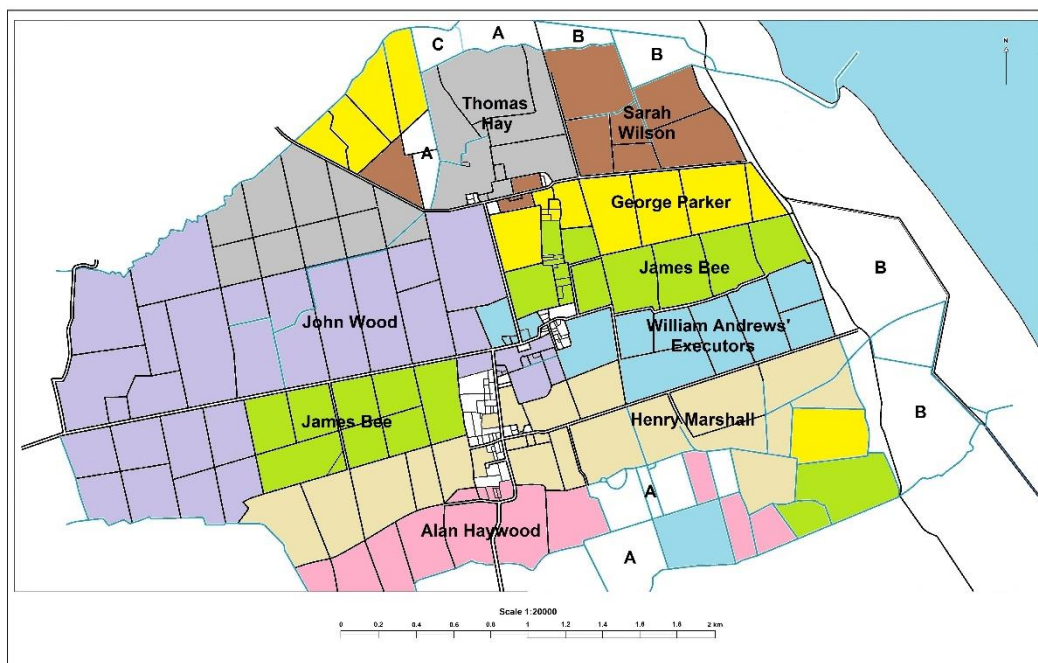
¹⁷ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/3.

Figure 3.1 The Arrangement of Farms in Humberston, 1765¹⁸



Key: A: divided between the Cottagers; B: shared equally by Sinderson, Parker, Story, Morrison and Marshall; C: divided between Sinderson, Parker, Story, Morrison/Mumby, Marshall and Kirby; D: shared equally by Sinderson, Wilson and Parker.

Figure 3.2 The Arrangement of Farms in Humberston, c.1860¹⁹



Key: A: divided between the Cottagers; B: shared equally by Hay, Parker, Bee, Andrew's Executors, and Marshall.

¹⁸ Constructed from NAS: GD46/1/324 and CFA: 5-6.

¹⁹ Constructed from CBS: D-CN 18/8/1/5 and CFA: 5-6.

Many of these farmers were members of long-established, local families. As has already been noted, the absentee landlords of Humberston were content for their tenants to pass their farms down from one generation to another, providing that they did not accumulate arrears of rent or neglect the condition of the land and farm buildings.²⁰ Fathers passed farms down to eldest sons.²¹ Those without children arranged for their farms to pass to their younger brothers or nephews. Widows took the tenancy in cases where their sons were still minors and, by the 1850s, wives and daughters of former tenants were managing farms in their own right.²²

As a consequence, a number of families established a presence in the village that spanned several generations. As Figure 3.3 illustrates, the Kirbys and the Marshalls were farmers in Humberston throughout the century after 1750, and indeed were farming both before and after this period. The Wilsons and Parkers were farmers for at least 85 years between 1750 and 1850 and possibly longer. The Sindersons, Storys and Bees were similarly long-standing farmers in Humberston, with two of these three at one time occupying more than one farm in the parish. With the exception of Church Farm, all of the farms in Humberston experienced a relatively slow turnover of tenant families.²³

²⁰ Five of the eight families who rented farms in Humberston in 1850 had been tenants when the Carringtons acquired the estate in 1792.

²¹ In the 1840s and 1850s, Bennett Odling Parker and William Andrew felt so confident that the second Lord Carrington would allow their young sons, then minors, to enter their farms after their deaths that they appointed trustees to manage and cultivate the farms until their sons attained their majority (LAO: LCC Wills 1847/294 and 1854/5).

²² The descent of farms has been traced through rentals, leases and surveys (principally NAS: GD 46/1/12 and 324; CBS: D-CN 18/8/1/5 and 18/8/4/2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 12, and 14-19), rate books (LAO: Humberston Par. 14/1) and land tax assessments (LAO: LQS/Land Tax/Bradley Haverstoe). Relationships between tenants have been established through parish registers (LAO: Humberston Par.1/1-6, and BTs), census enumerators' books (TNA: HO 107/637/15, HO 107/2113, and RG 9/2390), wills (LAO: LCC Wills, and TNA: Prob.11), gravestones (Humberston churchyard), the births, marriages and deaths columns of the county newspaper (*LRSM*) and the online database of vital events at <https://www.ancestry.co.uk>.

²³ Turnover was slow even by contemporary standards - Stead has concluded from a survey of this period that it was unlikely for a farming family to remain on the same holding for more than a generation or two: D.R. Stead, 'The mobility of English tenant farmers, c. 1700-1850, *Agricultural History Review*, 51 (2003), pp. 173-189.

Figure 3.3 Names of Families Occupying Farms in Humberston, 1750-1850 ²⁴

	1750	1760	1770	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	
Manor Farm	<i>NI</i>	Taylor				Tomlinson					Walesby
Whitehall Farm	Sinderson										Holland
Ivy Farm	<i>NI</i>	Wilson									
Field House Farm	<i>NI</i>	Parker									
Midfield Farm	<i>NI</i>	Story						Bee			
Church Farm (Part)	<i>NI</i>	Morrison			Bee			Sinderson	Mountain		
Church Farm (Part)	Mumby			Huddleston			Cooper	Bee	<i>Engrossed</i>		
Goxhill's Farm	Goxhill						<i>Engrossed</i>				
South Sea Lane Farm	Marshall										
Kirby Farm	Kirby										

Members of this group of farmers forged relationships with each other through marriage and friendship. The Sindersons, for example, were at different times related by marriage to the Storys, Kirbys, Taylors and Bees.²⁵ The Tomlinsons were related to the Marshalls and the Parkers to the Storys, unions which were celebrated in the names given to two of their children, William Marshall Tomlinson and William Story Parker.²⁶ Thomas Kirby regarded Thomas Tomlinson and Thomas Wilson, fellow farmers in Humberston, as his 'friends' and asked them to assist his eldest son and heir Anselm with counsel and advice after his death, especially with regard to the education and bringing up of his other children.²⁷ John Sinderson asked Robert Story to perform a similar role in respect of his children.²⁸

Nevertheless, this was not an introspective group. There were many more relationships and friendships outside the group than within it. Sons and daughters frequently found partners outside the parish and those relationships could create kinship networks across a wide area. Anselm Kirby's wife, Frances, came from

²⁴ NAS: GD 46/1/12 and 324; CBS: D-CN 18/8/1/5 and 18/8/4/2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 12, and 14-19; LAO: Humberston Par. 14/1, and LQS/Land Tax/Bradley Haverstoe.

²⁵ John Sinderson married Mary Story in 1773, Ann Sinderson married Thomas Kirby in 1783, Benjamin Sinderson married Elizabeth Story in 1785, Martha Sinderson married Thomas Taylor in 1812, and Ann Sinderson married James Bee in 1831 (LAO: Humberston Par. 1/3-5).

²⁶ LAO: Humberston Par. 1/4, 1804, and 1/2, 1842.

²⁷ LAO: LCC Wills 1817/151.

²⁸ LAO: LCC Wills 1803/ii/99.

Doveridge in Derbyshire and their connections with that part of the country appear to have been maintained during their married lives as two of their daughters married men from Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.²⁹ Younger sons often left Humberston to find a living elsewhere, similarly establishing links outside the parish. Lionel Wilson (1769-1851), the youngest son of Thomas Wilson senior, married a girl from Binbrook in 1796 and set up as a butcher there. He returned to Humberston to occupy the family farm after his older brother died childless in 1825.³⁰ Friendships, too, transcended parish boundaries. William Marshall appointed as his executors his 'friends' William Phillipson and Thomas Garritt, two farmers from the nearby parishes of Bradley and North Coates.³¹ Thomas Wilson called upon a farmer from the neighbouring village of Holton-le-Clay to be a co-trustee of his will.³²

Neither was it a closed group. It was refreshed from time to time by the arrival of newcomers from neighbouring villages and from places beyond the Marsh. William Tomlinson came from Melton in Yorkshire to take the tenancy of Manor Farm in 1797, doubtless with the assistance and perhaps at the prompting of Thomas Thompson, Carrington's agent in Hull.³³ Thomas Holland, senior, lived in Walcot in the south of Lincolnshire before settling at Whitehall Farm in Humberston in 1832; his son returned to Walcot a few years after his father's death.³⁴ Relationships and friendships could also extend beyond the farming group. Richard Taylor's daughter married George Babb, an attorney and town clerk of Grimsby, who was a prominent figure in the borough.³⁵

Though this was a relatively high-status group, it was probably not socially exclusive. Farmers' daughters married the sons of artisans and Cottagers could count farmers amongst their friends. For example, John Sinderson's daughter Elizabeth married

²⁹ TNA: RG 9/2390, p. 11; *LRS*M, 23 Sept 1853, p. 3, and 17 July 1857, p. 5, col. 1.

³⁰ LAO, Humberston Par. 1/1 and 14/1; W. Brooke (ed), *Poll for the County of Lincoln, 1807* (Lincoln, 1807), p.58, and *Poll for the County of Lincoln, 1818* (Lincoln, 1818), p. 60; Anon., *Poll for the County of Lincoln, 1823* (Lincoln, 1823) p. 37.

³¹ TNA: Prob. 11/2255, f. 86.

³² LAO: LCC Wills 1826/328.

³³ J. Hocken, *A Brief History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Grimsby Circuit* (Grimsby, 1839), pp. 48-9.

³⁴ TNA: HO 107/637/15, p. 9, and RG 9/2325/64, p. 5.

³⁵ LAO: Humberston Par. 1/1, 1792; *LRS*M, 20 May 1859, p. 7, col. 5.

Anderson Bell, the village blacksmith.³⁶ Joseph Richardson, a cottager in Humberston, regarded the farmers William Marshall and Robert Story as his 'esteemed friends' who he could call upon to act as guardians and trustees of his children after his death.³⁷ Robert Robinson, a shoemaker, appointed James Bee, a Humberston farmer, as the sole trustee of his will charged with selling all his personal estate.³⁸ Farmers themselves often stood on the brink of descent into the ranks of artisans and labourers, especially during the hard times between 1815 and 1835. Benjamin Sinderson, the tenant of Whitehall Farm between 1823-30, relinquished his tenancy and became a joiner in Grimsby; Seth Cooper, the tenant of part of Church Farm between 1814 and 1818, subsequently became a farm labourer, as did his successor on the farm, Samuel Bee.³⁹

Finally, though the farmers shared much in common, they were not a homogenous group. There were clearly gradations in status and wealth between, for example, John Walesby, who occupied the prestigious Manor Farm, cultivated 583 acres and employed 14 men, and Lionel Wilson who lived in a thatched farmhouse, worked 180 acres, and employed 4 labourers.⁴⁰ Some, like William Marshall, were progressive farmers with well-managed farms and an established reputation in the locality as breeders of high-quality, long-wool sheep and short-horn cattle.⁴¹ Others, like Samuel Bee, struggled to keep their farms in a good state of cultivation.⁴²

There were also differences between them on matters of education and other issues. Michael Marshall kept a detailed (if somewhat chaotic) book of farm accounts in the 1770s but twenty years later three of the nine farmers who were presented with new leases (David Parker, Thomas Huddleston and Joseph Goxhill) were unable to sign

³⁶ LAO: Humberston Par. 1/3, 1798.

³⁷ LAO: LCC Wills 1827/232.

³⁸ LAO: LCC Wills 1849/319.

³⁹ TNA: HO 107/635/15, p. 21, HO 107/635/17, p. 1, and HO 107/630/26, p. 19.

⁴⁰ TNA: HO 107/2113, pp. 7 and 11.

⁴¹ CBS: D-CN/18/8/4/6, pp. 5-8; LC: Skelton papers, 1848, p.50; *LRS*M: 24 March 1848, p. 2, col. 6, and 6 October 1848, p. 2, col. 7; *The Hull Packet*, 10 January 1845, p. 5, col. 6. William Marshall planned to attend the Royal Agricultural Society show at Cambridge in 1840 (CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/5, Marshall to Jalland, 24 June 1840).

⁴² CBS: D-CN/18/8/4/6, pp. 23-4.

their names. Standards of literacy were, however, improving and, by 1818, all the farmers were able to sign their lease agreements.⁴³ Religious differences were more enduring. The Marshall family and most of the other farmers in the village were Anglicans but the Tomlinsons, Bees and Kirbys were staunch Methodists and had strong connections with other Wesleyans in the Grimsby Circuit.⁴⁴ Politically, the farmers generally voted for the Whigs after 1832 but there were occasional dissenting voices: Thomas Tomlinson and Robert Story took opposing sides in the acrimonious and corrupt parliamentary elections in Grimsby in 1819 and Thomas Mountain voted for the Tories in 1852.⁴⁵ There were also some social nonconformists. Elmitt Walesby lived for two years in an unmarried state with the mother of his child. The vicar opined that he 'thinks himself above all rules ecclesiastical & I fear moral too'.⁴⁶

What distinguished this group of farmers from others in the parish was probably not their cohesiveness or exclusiveness, though mutual ties of kinship and friendship were important, but their elevated social status and financial position. Socially, they were a cut above others in the village, apart from the parson. They and members of their families were addressed formally as Mr, Mrs or Miss and, occasionally in legal documents, as 'gentlemen'.⁴⁷ When gathered at church, the Anglican farmers occupied the high box pews in the nave of the church whilst the farm servants and

⁴³ NELA: 212/1; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/12 and 14-19.

⁴⁴ H. E. Cockburn, 'Notes upon Humberston', *Humberston Church Magazine*, Part 2, November 1929, n. p. (in NELA 474/1); Hocken, *Wesleyan Methodism*, pp. 48-9; Anon., *Amos Appleyard, Methodist Pioneer, 1750-1813* (Gainsborough, n.d.), pp. 27-33; F. Baker, *The Story of Cleethorpes and the Contribution of Methodism through two hundred years* (Cleethorpes, 1953), pp. 65, 117; LAO: Meth Recs 3/Grimsby 7 & 8, Grimsby Wesleyan Circuit Schedules, 1848-1894.

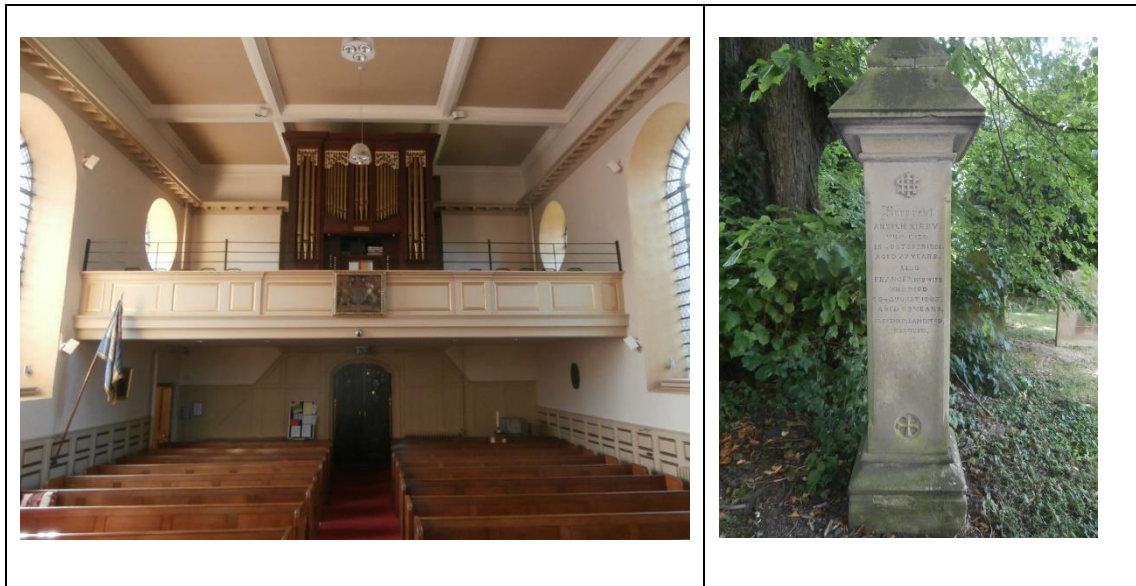
⁴⁵ G. Jackson, *Grimsby and the Haven Company* (Grimsby, 1971), p. 86; E. Gillett, *A History of Grimsby* (Hull, 1970), pp. 196-201; Anon. (ed.), *Poll Book for the North Division of Lincolnshire, December 1832* (Lincoln, n.d.), p.104; Anon. (ed.), *The Poll for the Lindsey Division of Lincolnshire, January 1835* (Stamford, n.d.), p. 118; J. Drury (ed.), *Poll Book for the Parts of Lindsey, August 1841* (Lincoln, n.d.), p. 127; T. Fricker (ed.), *Poll Book of the North Lincolnshire Election, July 1852* (Boston, 1852), p. 109; *LRSM*, 21 July 1837, p. 2, col. 5, and 25 June 1841, p. 1, col. 3. Mountain had previously voted for the Whigs but in 1852 was under notice to quit, so may have cast his vote for the Tories as a mark of protest against his Whig landlord: *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, 16 January 1852, p. 8, col. 2.

⁴⁶ LAO: Cor B5/4/42/1/12.

⁴⁷ LAO: Dixon 1/i/3/1-2.

labourers sat in the gallery in the west end, wearing their Sunday smocks.⁴⁸ At death, they were buried beneath substantial headstones close to the west door of the church whilst others occupied graves with less permanent memorials elsewhere in the churchyard (see Figure 3.4). Their nuptials and their passing were recorded in the county newspaper, and later the Hull paper, where they were often said to be ‘universally respected’ or ‘opulent’.⁴⁹

Figure 3.4 Representations of Social Status



The interior of Humberston parish church showing the nave (with box pews now removed) where the farmers sat with their families and the gallery to the west (with an organ now inserted) where the farm servants and labourers sat; and the exceptionally fine memorial to a leading farmer, Anselm Kirby (1784-1861), in Humberston churchyard.

Those who farmed during the years of high prices between 1795 and 1815 and in the period after 1835, were able to enjoy significant prosperity. The most successful amongst them furnished their houses with linen, silver and china.⁵⁰ They bought or rented small parcels of land in neighbouring parishes.⁵¹ They invested in shares in the

⁴⁸ Cockburn, ‘Notes’, Part 2, n. p..

⁴⁹ *LRSM*, 5 July 1822, p.3, 17 August 1838, p. 2, col. 4, and 19 December 1845, p. 3, col. 4; *Hull Packet*, 13 August 1847, p. 5, col. 6, and 6 March 1857, p. 8, col. 6.

⁵⁰ LAO: LCC Wills 1817/151.

⁵¹ LAO: LCC Wills 1781/185, 1814/130, 1819/237, 1822/172, 1826/328, 1829/21, 1839/378 and 1852/385; LAO: Dixon 1/j/2/4; Anon., *Poll of the Knights of the Shire for Lincolnshire, 25-27 June 1818* (Lincoln, 1818), p. 47.

new docks scheme in Grimsby and lent money out on mortgage.⁵² And they provided substantial annuities for their widows and significant cash bequests for their children. When Thomas Kirby wrote his will in 1813, he bequeathed furniture, plate, linen and china to his wife and eldest daughter, he left cash bequests totaling £1,295 to his nine children, and he additionally settled an annuity of £32 on his wife which he secured on his freehold lands in Tetney.⁵³

The farmers' social standing was given extra weight by their control of housing, employment and poor relief. They provided lodgings for farm servants and houses for confined labourers. They provided most of the employment in the village, not only for servants and confined labourers but also for many of the 'Cottagers' who worked as day labourers on the land. And when employment was in short supply, they used parish funds to dispense poor relief to unemployed men and their families, as well as supporting the elderly and infirm and single mothers with children.

(b) Employment

Farmers employed more than three-quarters of the working population of Humberston in the century after 1750. The parson kept domestic servants and the blacksmith and the wheelwright each employed one or two assistants or journeymen but there were few other opportunities for employment. Spinning and weaving had ceased to be a domestic industry by the 1780s and the revival of the docks in Grimsby and the growth of Cleethorpes as a resort did not fully get under way until the arrival of the railways in the 1850s. In 1801, some 64 adults were employed in agriculture and just 8 in trades and crafts; 75 were engaged in farming in 1831 as against 10 in trades, crafts and the professions.⁵⁴

There were three classes of agricultural labourer in Humberston in this period: farm servants, confined labourers and day labourers. Farm servants were engaged by the year, employed exclusively by one farmer and, in addition to being provided with bed and board, were paid an annual salary. Confined labourers were similarly engaged by the year and provided with accommodation but not with subsistence. They were

⁵² Jackson, *Grimsby and the Haven Company*, p. 86; LAO: TdE A/Saltfleetby/1/8.

⁵³ LAO: LCC Wills 1817/151; see also the will of Robert Story at LCC Wills 1819/237.

⁵⁴ BPP, *Abstract of Answers and Returns ... (Enumeration Abstract)*, 1801, H.C. 1801-2 (9), Part 1, pp. 193-4, and *Abstract of Population Returns of Great Britain, 1831, Vol 1 (Enumeration Abstract)*, H.C. 1833 (149), pp. 342-3.

usually married men with families who worked on the farms as bailiffs, shepherds or farm labourers. Day labourers, male and female, were engaged on a casual basis, as the work demanded it. Most of the Cottagers in the village worked as day labourers, as did the sons of confined men, and it is possible that others were drawn in from neighbouring villages when needed. Census returns for the end of the period indicate that about 70 per cent of the resident agricultural workforce was then made up of farm servants and confined men (see Table 3.1). Only 30 per cent were day labourers, though these figures exclude an unknown number of women and children who worked as casual labourers. The vicar of Humberston wrote in 1826 that 'here boys of the age 7 to 14 are as necessary to agriculture as men'.⁵⁵

*Table 3.1 Numbers of Farmworkers in Humberston, 1841-1861*⁵⁶

	1841		1851		1861	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Farm Servants (Male)	19	25	25	30	26	32
Farm Servants (Female)	14	18	14	18	11	13
Confined Men	21	28	14	17	19	24
Male Labourers (Cottagers)	11	14	13	17	14	17
Male Labourers (Other)	12	15	15	18	11	14
Total	77	100	82	100	82	100

Wage rates in north Lincolnshire were higher than in the south of England and Humberston farmers appear to have paid a competitive wage.⁵⁷ Michael Marshall gave his male servants £10 or £11 a year in the 1770s, which is considerably above what was paid in the south of the county (see Table 3.2). Female servants, though receiving less than a third of the male wage, were also paid comparatively well though wage levels varied markedly from person to person, suggesting that Marshall adjusted his rates according to the age, skills and experience of the person appointed and possibly their bargaining skills.

⁵⁵ NELA: 239/2, f. 69.

⁵⁶ TNA: HO 107/637/15, pp. 1-11, HO 107/2113, pp. 1-14, and RG 9/2390, pp. 1-14.

⁵⁷ A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln* (London, 1799), p. 403; BPP, *Report of the Select Committee on Labourers' Wages*, H.C. 1824 (392), p. 5; J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming: The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times* (London, 1957), p. 270. Wage data for Humberston for the second half of the eighteenth century is derived from Michael Marshall's farm note book for 1759-81 at NELA: 212/1.

Table 3.2 Wages of Farm Servants in Humberston and Spalding, 1768-85⁵⁸

Annual Wages	Humberston				Spalding
	1771-2	1772-3	1773-4	1774-5	1768-85
Male	£11.5.0	£10.5.0	£10.5.0	£10.0.0	£6.5.0
Female 1	£3.5.0	£3.3.0	£2.10.0	£3.3.0	£2.15.0
Female 2	£1.10.0	£1.15.0	£2.10.0	£2.2.0	

Marshall paid his confined labourers, such as his shepherd, rather more than his servants. Samuel Hallgarth, who worked for Marshall for at least four years, between 1770 and 1774, was a young married man with two small children. He was engaged almost continuously through the year, working six days a week for 52 weeks a year apart from a few days absence at Christmas and other feast days such as Plough Monday, Good Friday and May Day. Michael Marshall generally paid him 8d a day (4s.0d a week) in spring, autumn and winter but 1s.3d (7s.6d a week) from the last week in July to the first week in October when the hay and the corn was got in. Altogether, Hallgarth earned more than £12 a year. He drew his wages partly in cash and partly in kind. Payments in kind usually included barley and beans, occasionally wheat, malt and coal, and items such as linen yarn and wool, cabbage plants, lambs and a pig from time to time.⁵⁹

Marshall paid his day labourers by the day or by the task. For example, during the year May 1766 to April 1767, he employed Michael Anderson for 41 days in the hay and corn harvests at 1s.2d a day and a further 57 days during the following winter and spring at 8d a day. This earned him a total of £4.6s.0d. He drew the greatest part of his annual income, however, from threshing. This was paid as piece work, known locally as 'tain work'. He threshed 112 quarters of barley and beans and 10 quarters of wheat between December 1776 and May 1777 for which he earned £6.11.2d (1s.0d a quarter for barley and beans and 1s.8d per quarter for wheat). This brought his total earnings for the year to a little under £11. Like other farmworkers, Anderson took

⁵⁸ Humberston: NELA: 212/1, Note Book, 1759-81, pp. 45-6, 57, 66-7, 70, 158; Spalding: A.S. Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 37. Unfortunately, there is little other published wage data for this period with which to make a more comprehensive comparison. Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, p. 37, states that an account book from Tetney, the parish adjoining Humberston, shows 'the same pattern' as Spalding but she gives no details.

⁵⁹ NELA: 212/1, Note Book, 1759-81; entries relating to Samuel Hallgarth are on pp. 50-56, 62, 75-77, 103-107.

wheat, barley and beans in lieu of part of his wages, as well as a pig and a lamb, and he took the balance in cash at intervals during the year.⁶⁰

Michael Marshall employed other day labourers during the 1760s and 1770s, some more regularly than others. Men were employed in mowing and harvesting, ditching and thatching. Women and children were employed in the hay and grain harvests and occasionally for other unnamed tasks. They were paid only a fraction of what was paid to men and possibly below what was paid elsewhere in Lincolnshire and the east Midlands (see Table 3.3).

*Table 3.3 Wages of Day Labourers in Humberston and Elsewhere, 1759-74*⁶¹

Daily Rates		Humberston			Lincoln	Grantham	Notts
		1759-64	1766	1770-74	1768-71	1768-71	1768-71
Winter/Spring	Men	6d	8d	8d	9d	1s.0d	8d-10d
Harvest	Men		1s.2d	1s.3d	1s.3d	1s.6d	1s.0d
Harvest	Women	4d			8d	8d	8d
Harvest	Children	2d					

The situation was much changed when Arthur Young visited the village in 1798. According to his figures, wage rates in Humberston tripled between 1770-74 and 1798 and moved slightly ahead of those paid elsewhere in Lincolnshire (see Table 3.4).

*Table 3.4 Wages of Day Labourers in Humberston and Lincolnshire, 1798*⁶²

Daily Rates		Humberston	Lincolnshire
Winter/Spring	Men	2s.0d	1s.9d
Haymaking	Men	2s.6d	2s.3d
Corn Harvest	Men	3s.0d*	3s.4d
Haymaking	Women	1s.0d	1s.0d

* *The rate is actually 3s a day plus food.*

⁶⁰ NELA: 212/1, Note Book, 1759-81; entries relating to John Anderson are on pp. 5-7, 9, 17, 31-2, 39-42, 100 and 121; Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, p. 37.

⁶¹ NELA: 212/1, Note Book, 1759-81, pp. 6, 9, 14-15, 22, 25-8, 31, 37, 42, 50-3, 62, 75, 77, 103-5, and 121; A.H. John, 'Statistical Appendix' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. 6, 1750-1850 (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 1077-8.

⁶² Young, *General View*, pp. 402-3.

Payments recorded in estate papers and parish records for Humberston in the 1820s and 1840s show a wider range of rates. The highest wages recorded in the 1820s were 2s and 3s a day (or 12s and 15s a week) and similar rates were being paid in the early 1840s. These were at or slightly above the rates paid elsewhere in the Marsh, which averaged about 2s a day (or 12s a week) during this period. Again, however, there was a wide range, from 12s to 15s a week in summer to 10s or 10s.6d a week in winter.

Wages paid by Humberston farmers appear, therefore, to be slightly above the county average, though earnings are notoriously difficult to compare from place to place since cash wages were sometimes augmented by perquisites, such as food, drink and coal.⁶³ Moreover, 'fairness' is a difficult concept to quantify. Wages may have been generous by contemporary standards but nevertheless were only a little above subsistence level.⁶⁴ As J.A. Clarke remarked in 1851, 12s a week may have provided a superior standard of living to that encountered elsewhere in Lincolnshire but it was nevertheless 'a miserable pittance on which to feed, lodge, clothe, and warm 6 or 7 individuals for seven days'.⁶⁵

Moreover, the availability of employment was as important a consideration as the rate of pay. Servants and confined men were fortunate in being assured of regular work but employment for day labourers was notoriously precarious, in the Lincolnshire Marsh as elsewhere.⁶⁶ Jobs were highly seasonal. Though most men could find employment in the fields during the summer, there was seldom enough work to keep everyone employed over winter, especially on farms with servants. In 1834 it was reported from Caistor that about a quarter of farm labourers were idle in winter.⁶⁷ The availability of employment was also subject to fluctuations in economic conditions. A run of bad weather and poor harvests between 1826 and 1829 so reduced the demand for labour

⁶³ Armstrong, *Farmworkers*, p. 30; J. Humphries and K.D.M. Snell, 'Introduction' in P. Lane, N. Raven and K.D.M. Snell, *Women, Work and Wages in England, 1600-1850* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 4-12.

⁶⁴ T.L. Richardson, 'The agricultural labourers' standard of living in Lincolnshire, 1790-1840: social protest and public order', *Agricultural History Review*, 41 (1993), pp. 1-19.

⁶⁵ Clarke, *On the Farming of Lincolnshire*, p. 159.

⁶⁶ J. Burnette, 'The seasonality of English agricultural employment: evidence from farm accounts, 1740-1850' in R. W. Hoyle (ed.), *The Farmer in England, 1650-1980* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 142-51.

⁶⁷ BPP, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, Appendix B1, Answers to Rural Queries, Parts i-v*, H.C. 1834 (44), p. 291a.

that at times a third of the labour force, or about half the number of day labourers, were out of work in some Marshland parishes.⁶⁸ Full employment was also threatened by technological change. Demand for male labour was reduced following the introduction of threshing machines in Lincolnshire shortly after 1800 and in the area around Humberston from at least 1825.⁶⁹ Women's work was also adversely affected by the 'hand-tool revolution' by which the reaping or shearing of wheat with a sickle (which was performed by men and women and sometimes by children) was replaced by mowing with a scythe (which, because it was heavy physical work, became a predominantly male occupation).⁷⁰ In 1843 it was reported that women's work had almost disappeared around Louth.⁷¹

For all these reasons, the farmer retained significant power. It fell to him to decide who was to be offered employment, on what terms and over what period. In a closed parish such as Humberston, employment was relatively secure and well remunerated. A high proportion of the workforce were employed as farm servants and confined labourers and were therefore assured of fairly regular work and fixed wages for much of the farming year. It is to be expected that engagement by Humberston farmers was therefore relatively attractive. The day labourers were the makeweight in the system, offered work when needed and laid off when none existed. Their day rates were similar to those of confined men, and were amongst the highest in Lincolnshire, but they were vulnerable to the whims of individual employers, to market forces, to changing seasonal demands, and to the vagaries of the weather. Indeed, they were doubly vulnerable because there were few other employment opportunities in the village. Cottagers and the families of confined men were therefore entirely dependent on the farmers for paid work.

⁶⁸ Richardson, 'Standard of living', pp. 8-9; see Clarke, *On the Farming of Lincolnshire*, pp. 151-2 for reports of similar conditions in the Marsh in 1851.

⁶⁹ S. Macdonald, 'The progress of the early threshing machine', *Agricultural History Review*, 23 (1975), pp. 63-77; M.J. Critchlow, *The Barnoldby Booklet* (no place of publication, 1985), p. 43.

⁷⁰ J.A. Perkins, 'Harvest technology and labour supply in Lincolnshire and the East Riding of Yorkshire, 1750-1850, Parts 1 and 2' *Tools and Tillage*, 3/1 (1976), pp. 47-58 and 3/2 (1977), pp. 125-135; Snell, *Annals*, pp. 21-2, 49-50 and 52-6.

⁷¹ BPP, *Reports of Special Assistant Poor Law Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture*, H.C. 1843 [510], pp. 227-30.

(c) Housing

In addition to presiding over the provision of employment, the farmers also controlled the allocation of much of the housing stock in the parish. They were not the sole providers of housing. Lord Carrington and his agents let the 13 cottages that anciently held grazing rights in the parish, and added a further eight cottages to this number in the years up to 1851. The farmers controlled another 10 cottages in 1805, rising to 22 in 1831 (see Table 3.5). These were tied cottages that were given by farmers to confined labourers as part of their annual contracts of employment.⁷²

*Table 3.5 Number of Houses and Cottages in Humberston, 1750-1851*⁷³

	1750	1765	1785	1805	1825	1831	1841	1851
Farmhouses	11	11	11	10	9	8	8	8
Estate cottages	10	13	13	18*	21+	19	20	21
Tied cottages	NI	NI	NI	10	9	22	24	20
Almshouses	0	0	0	0	6	6	6	6
School house	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
Total (where known)				38*	46+	56	59	55
Population				199	217	258	269	259
Mean nos. per house				5.2	5.6	4.7	4.6	4.9

* Includes five cottages converted from tied cottages

+ Includes three cottages built by the parish for poor labourers

It is difficult now to assess the standard of housing provided by the farmers. One such property survives today – a pair of adjoining brick and tile cottages which were formerly tied to Whitehall Farm and were created from a single house sometime in the early nineteenth century.⁷⁴ The cottage to the east (illustrated in Figure 3.5) has two low-ceilinged rooms downstairs, one of which includes a small kitchen range, and two

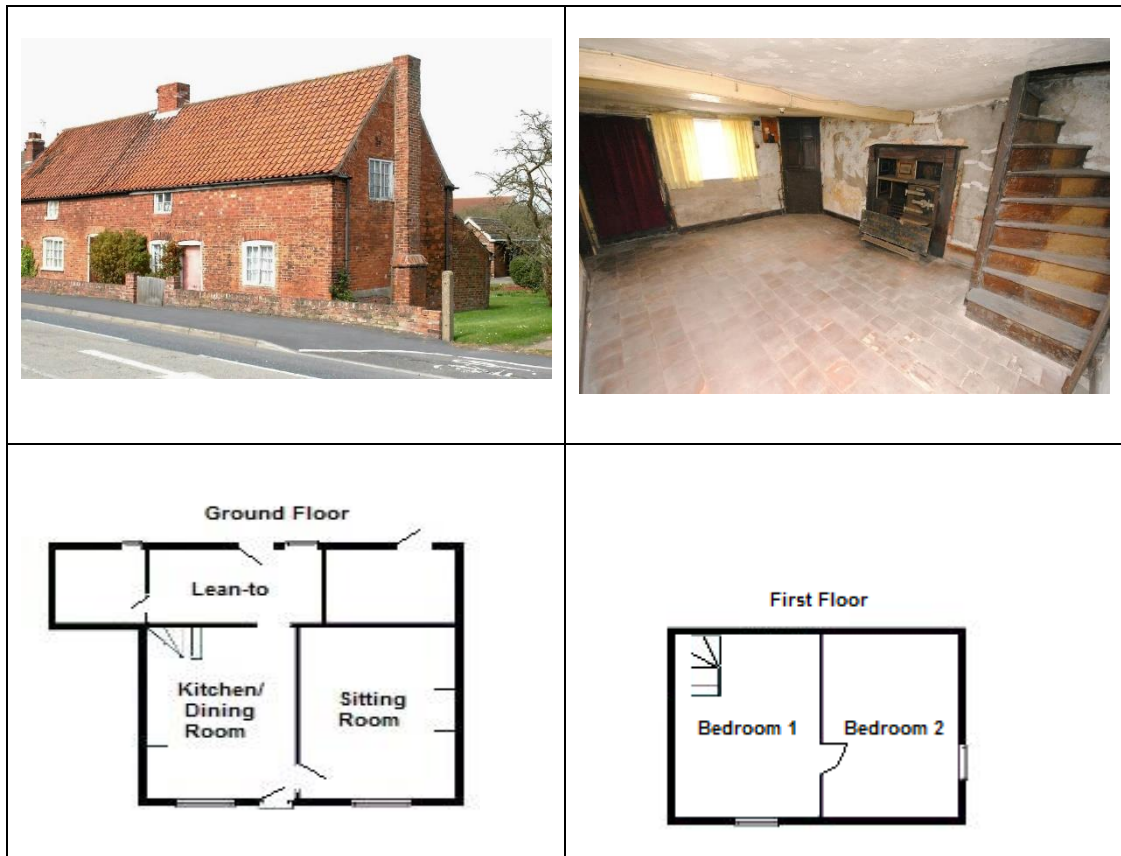
⁷² Information is from estate rentals (CBS: D-CN 13/1/2 and 31, and 18/8/4/3 and 6; NAS: GD 46/1/324) and census reports and enumerators returns for 1831, 1841 and 1851 (BPP, *Abstract of Population Returns of Great Britain, 1831, Vol 1 (Enumeration Abstract)*, H.C. 1833 (149); TNA: HO 107/637/15, pp. 1-11, and 107/2113, pp. 1-14). The number of tied cottages is calculated by subtracting the known number of directly-rented cottages and almshouses from the total of all houses recorded in the censuses for 1831 to 1851.

⁷³ CBS: D-CN 13/1/2, 31 and 18/8/4/3, 6; NAS: GD 46/1/324; LAO: Humberston Par. 14/1.

⁷⁴ Historic England, *The National Heritage List for England*, <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1103477> (accessed 18/09/2016).

rooms upstairs. A lean-to (including scullery, larder and WC) was added in the nineteenth century.

*Figure 3.5 Former Tied Cottage, Humberston*⁷⁵



This was a relatively well-appointed cottage for the time but it was quite exceptional. The rest of the tied cottages had mud and stud walls and thatched roofs. They were periodically patched and repaired, or encased in brick, until they were pulled down in the middle two quartiles of the twentieth century.⁷⁶ However rudimentary these cottages might have been, they nevertheless enjoyed the advantages of a garden, a paddock and a pigsty; some also had a stable or cowshed.⁷⁷ Retained labourers and their families were therefore able to grow vegetables, keep a pig and sometimes a cow. Arthur Young regarded this as 'living very well'.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ The floor plans have been redrawn from Jackson, Green and Preston, *Sale Particulars*: 273 *Humberston Road* (Grimsby, 2013), from where the interior photograph has also been taken.

⁷⁶ R. Cousins, *Lincolnshire Buildings in the Mud and Stud Tradition* (Heckington, 2000), pp. 8-17, 44-6.

⁷⁷ LAO: Misc Dep 145/10.

⁷⁸ Young, *General View*, p. 415.

In addition to tied cottages, farmers also controlled the accommodation made available to farm servants and domestic servants. The practice of boarding male and female farm servants was beginning to die out in many parts of the south-east of England after the late eighteenth century as farmers and their wives sought greater privacy, as the costs of provisions increased, and as the risk and potential cost of conferring rights of settlement upon annually contracted-workers became more significant.⁷⁹

In Humberston, however, the practice was slow to disappear, as it was in northern England and in parts of the Midlands.⁸⁰ Indeed, there were more servants boarded in farmhouses in Humberston in 1851 and 1861 (39 and 37 respectively) than there had been in 1841 (33).⁸¹ As Table 3.6 demonstrates, most farmers still had four or five men and boys and a single girl living under their roofs in 1861, equivalent to about a half to three-quarters of each farm's workforce. This was a high proportion, putting Humberston closer to the averages recorded in the East Riding of Yorkshire, with which it shared much in common, than to Lincolnshire as a whole, where just 20-29 per cent of all agricultural workers were recorded as farm servants in 1851.⁸²

The male servants were principally waggoners and ploughmen and looked after the numerous horses that were required for working these heavy clay soils. The female servants were mostly dairymaids; surprisingly few were engaged exclusively as housemaids.

⁷⁹ Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, pp. 120-32; K.D.M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 71-103.

⁸⁰ A.J. Gritt, 'The census and the servant: a reassessment of the decline and distribution of farm service in early nineteenth-century England', *Economic History Review*, 53 (2000), pp. 84-106; N. Goose, 'Farm service, seasonal unemployment and casual labour in mid nineteenth-century England', *Agricultural History Review*, 54 (2006), pp. 274-303; A. Howkins and N. Verdon, 'Adaptable and sustainable? Male farm service and the agricultural labour force in midland and southern England, c. 1850-1925', *Economic History Review*, 61 (2008), pp. 467-95.

⁸¹ There may have been a resurgence in farm service after the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 abolished yearly hiring as a head of settlement. In addition, James Caird claimed in 1850 that the system of boarding farm servants in the farmer's house was again coming more into practice in Lincolnshire as the cost of provisions had become cheaper: J. Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850-51* (London, 1852), p. 197.

⁸² Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, pp. 19-20; J. A. Sheppard, 'East Yorkshire's agricultural labour force in the mid-nineteenth century', *Agricultural History Review*, 9 (1961), pp. 43-54; S. Caunce, *Amongst Farm Horses: The Houselads of East Yorkshire* (Stroud, 1991), pp. 16-29.

Table 3.6 *Composition of Farmers' Households in Humberston, 1861*⁸³

	Farm size (acres)	Family Members	Male servants	Dairy-maids	House-maids	Total	Proportion of farm's workforce
Manor Farm	708	9	4	1	2	7	33%
Whitehall Fm	303	2	3		1	4	57%
Ivy Farm	160	1	2		1	3	75%
Field House	277	5	3	1		4	57%
Midfield Fm	358	2	4	1		5	55%
Church Farm	270	4	4	1		5	71%
S. Sea Farm	470	3	3	1	1	5	50%
Kirby Farm	242	3	3	1		4	57%
	2827		26	6	5	37	51%

On most of the farms, there were more servants than family members. Even the Wood's family of nine, who occupied Manor Farm, shared their house with seven servants. The floor plan of the farmhouse illustrates not only how such a large number were accommodated in a single house but also how the family was able to maintain some degree of privacy (see Figure 3.6). The servants would have taken their main meals in the large kitchen on the ground floor and would have slept in three large attic rooms reached by a set of back stairs. The attics were lit by small gable windows and were unheated. The family would probably have had exclusive use of the sitting room and the drawing room (one of which may have been used as a private dining room) and all the bedrooms on the middle floor, except perhaps for a single bedroom shared by the female servants. In addition, another two male servants and a shepherd lived with a farm bailiff at the opposite end of the farm, in an annex known as The Grange.

Taken together, some 70 farm servants and retained labourers, together with their families, were beholden to the farmers for a roof over their heads in 1851. There is evidence from elsewhere in Lincolnshire of such people being moved on within a year to prevent them from acquiring a settlement in the parish.⁸⁴ In Humberston, however, there are few signs of this. Michael Marshall's note book for the 1770s and 1780s reveals that two male servants stayed two years in succession and one of the female

⁸³ TNA: RG9/2390, pp. 1-14.

⁸⁴ It was reported from Caistor in 1834 that servitude as a basis for settlement was generally evaded by hiring a week, or a day or two, short of a year: BPP, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, Appendix B1, Parts i-v*, H.C. 1834 (44), pp. 289a-298a.

Figure 3.6 Floor Plan of Manor Farm, Humberston, c.1850⁸⁵



servants was with Marshall for two and possibly three years. In the neighbouring parish of Tetney, 11 of 26 servants (i.e. 43 per cent) hired by a single farmer between 1780 and 1789 stayed for more than one year.⁸⁶

In the mid nineteenth century, when the settlement laws were less constraining and employers were actively seeking to discourage the movement of skilled men, shepherds and other confined labourers stayed in the parish for several years at a time. Sixteen farmworkers who were living and working in Humberston in 1841 were still resident there 10 years later.⁸⁷ Anthony Ledgit of Humberston worked as a shepherd on Robert Story's farm for more than 50 years up until his death in 1823, aged 85, and Ezekiel Blow of Humberston had been 40 years in the service of William

⁸⁵ The floor plans are adapted from Mason's sale catalogue, *Manor House, Humberston* (Louth, 2015).

⁸⁶ A.S. Kussmaul, 'The Ambiguous Mobility of Farm Servants', *Economic History Review*, 34 (1981), pp. 223-7.

⁸⁷ TNA: HO 107/637/15, pp. 1-11, and HO 107/2113, pp. 1-14.

Marshall when he was awarded first prize at the North Lincolnshire Agricultural Society Show in 1850 for the shepherd who had lived longest with a single family or on the same farm.⁸⁸ Humberston farmers also continued to provide houses for labouring families even when, through bereavement or infirmity, they became dependent on poor relief. Thomas Cheeseman continued to occupy his cottage in Humberston for at least 30 years after he became unfit for work in 1831.⁸⁹

(d) Social Control

In Humberston, the tenant farmers also dominated the vestry. They were the principal ratepayers in the parish – between them, they contributed at least 95 per cent of the parish rate⁹⁰ – and they took it upon themselves to govern the parish. The vestry was technically an open or public meeting which all ratepayers were entitled to attend, but the farmers sought to control its business in a number of ways. First, for several years, they excused the Cottagers from contributing towards the parish rate and thereby (intentionally or not) disenfranchised them. Second, they sought to pack the vestry by agreeing that each of them should attend every monthly meeting or else pay a fine. The fine was raised from 1s to 2s in 1833.⁹¹ In addition, only the farmers and the vicar were called upon to agree the resolutions and sign the minutes.⁹²

In addition to dominating the vestry meetings, the farmers also monopolised the parish offices. On only two occasions were others appointed: in 1843 and 1844, years in which there were renewed outbreaks of incendiarism in East Anglia, the vestry decided to appoint 3 or 4 of the Cottagers as extra constables.⁹³ With posts of overseer, churchwarden, constable and surveyor (and later poor law guardian) to fill, each

⁸⁸ LRSM, 28 March 1823, p. 3, and 26 July 1850, p. 2, col. 1.

⁸⁹ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/2, Overseers' Accounts 1831/2 and 1832/3; TNA: RG 9/2390, p. 8.

⁹⁰ LAO: Humberston Par. 13/1, Rate Assessment Book for 1825-1878.

⁹¹ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1, 1 January 1827 and 7 January 1833.

⁹² LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1 and 2.

⁹³ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1 and 2; D. Jones, 'Thomas Campbell Foster and the rural labourer; incendiarism in East Anglia in the 1840s', *Social History*, 1 (1976), pp. 5-43; J.E. Archer, *By a Flash and a Scare: Incendiarism, Animal Maiming, and Poaching in East Anglia, 1815-1870* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 107-16.

farmer, on average, acted as parish officer in three years out of ten. Occasionally, they would perform more than one office in a single year.

The roles of vestryman, office holder and principal ratepayer gave the farmers considerable authority in the parish. In particular, they determined who was eligible to receive poor relief, under what conditions and for what amount. Two later chapters look in detail at the ways in which the farmers treated the poor.⁹⁴ They conclude that the farmers were sympathetic and helpful to those in genuine need and yet rigorous in their desire to limit expenditure to that which was necessary.

On the credit side, the farmers accepted an obligation to provide work for the able-bodied poor and to support those unable to live independently (the sick and frail, orphans, single mothers and widows). This responsibility appears to have been exercised in a fair-handed way without obvious discrimination. In the years before 1837, overseers paid allowances that were generous by contemporary standards. The level of payments varied considerably but, at their best, could be close to agricultural wages. In the years after 1837, they sought to keep the poor out of the union workhouse by employing the able-bodied on the maintenance of the roads and sea banks and distributing out-relief to the elderly and infirm in their own homes.

On the other hand, the support that the farmers provided to the poor was not unconditional. They diligently sought to control the size of the resident working population, notably through exclusion and eviction, and to reduce the numbers of chargeable poor living outside the parish, principally through repatriation. Furthermore, they adjusted the allowances paid to widows and the sick to take account of family earnings and they insisted that the parents of illegitimate children took financial responsibility for their offspring, to the extent of pursuing defaulters to distant parishes and having them committed to the house of correction.

In other ways, too, the farmers made their authority felt. Collectively, they sought to maintain law and order in the village. They threatened to prosecute those who broke hedges and took it upon themselves to fine a group of boys found brawling on the Sabbath.⁹⁵ As constables, they apprehended felons, arrested (or, more usually, moved on) vagrants, and they attended the two Statute Fairs in the wapentake (at Waltham

⁹⁴ The following two paragraphs are a precis of chapters 7 and 8.

⁹⁵ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1, Vestry Minutes, 10 September 1771 and 29 September 1828.

and Laceby) to regulate the fair and record the hiring agreements.⁹⁶ As churchwardens, they attended the annual visitation of the Bishop or archdeacon to report on the conduct of the vicar and on any moral or religious delinquencies of the parishioners.⁹⁷ And as surveyors, they ensured that ratepayers performed their 'statute duty' in repairing the roads and cleansing the drains.⁹⁸

In these and other ways, the vestry sought to put a stamp of respectability upon the village in general and the labouring classes in particular. This was a time (from c. 1780 onwards) when many of the 'rougher' aspects of traditional, rural culture were coming under attack from the reforming zeal of the upper echelons of society and the self-improving elements of the lower classes. Custom and ritual, superstition and folklore, feasts and fairs were seen by an increasing number of people as pagan, barbaric and rowdy and likely to encourage drunkenness, vice and criminality. Many such beliefs and activities were opposed, suppressed or reformed and more 'respectable' institutions (such as Sunday schools and day schools, mechanics institutes and reading rooms) promoted in their stead.⁹⁹

In Humberston, this cause was taken up by the landlord and his agent and by the principal farmers. In 1796, eleven farmers, who described themselves as the principal inhabitants of Humberston, announced that that they had unanimously determined to discontinue the village feast. They were persuaded of this, they said, because of the 'pernicious Effects of which Feasts are productive, both to Individuals and Society'.¹⁰⁰ At the same time, landlord and tenant farmers combined to close the alehouse in the village. Thomas Thompson, Lord Carrington's agent for the Humberston estate, noted in 1799 that 'there is no public house at Humberston; nor do the parishioners desire

⁹⁶ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1, Constable's Accounts, 1829/30-1832/3.

⁹⁷ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1, Churchwarden's Accounts, 1818/19 and 1829/30-1832/3.

⁹⁸ LAO: Humberston Par. 14/1.

⁹⁹ R.C. Russell, *From Cock-Fighting to Chapel Building: Changes in Popular Culture in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Lincolnshire* (Sleaford, 2002), pp. 1-101; R.W. Ambler, 'The transformation of harvest celebrations in nineteenth-century Lincolnshire', *Midland History*, 3 (1976), pp. 298-306; Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, pp. 57-60, 80-101, 131-6, 175-6, 259-62, and 280-91; D. Eastwood, *Government and Community in the English Provinces, 1700-1870* (Basingstoke, 1997), pp. 36-8.

¹⁰⁰ LRSM, Friday, 1 July, 1796, p. 2, col. 4.

one: and on this account, there are no cock-fightings or gaming within the parish: nor any drunken meetings for the purpose of settling the parish rates'.¹⁰¹

Whilst suppressing the feast and alehouse, Humberston farmers sought to improve other aspects of village life, notably the education and welfare of children. In the 1790s the curate, with Lord Carrington's assistance, established a school for the benefit of the young of Humberston which Arthur Young opined had been 'of very essential service to the parish'.¹⁰² When the curate moved on, the vestry petitioned Carrington to have it continue.¹⁰³ In later years, the parish paid for poor children, including girls, to be taught at the local 'dames school' and supported plans to establish a girls' elementary school in the village.¹⁰⁴ The school was initially run by the vicar's wife and the girls were required to attend Church each Sunday in uniforms provided by public subscription which, according to the vicar, rendered the girls 'neat and respectable'.¹⁰⁵

By the mid-nineteenth century, Humberston was being spoken of as a model village. In 1852 it was said that 'there are few villages more tranquil and respectable than the village of Humberstone'.¹⁰⁶ In 1855 a correspondent of the county newspaper wrote of Humberston that:

There is no public-house in it, and to this circumstance is attributed the absence of brawls or disturbances. ... To witness the order, neatness, and respectability of this most inviting rural spot would please the most fastidious. Its beautiful church and woody scenery would almost lead a stranger to suppose that it was the sum of perfection.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ T. Thompson, 'Extract from an account of a provision for cottagers keeping cows at Humberston, in the county of Lincoln', *Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor*, vol. 2 (London, 1805), pp. 185-6.

¹⁰² A. Young, *General View*, p. 415.

¹⁰³ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/2, Mich. 1796.

¹⁰⁴ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1826/7-1833/4; LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1, Vestry Minutes, 27 March 1845, 3 April 1847, 30 March 1848 and 2 April 1849.

¹⁰⁵ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/4, Revd Gedge to Lord Carrington, 17 February 1830.

¹⁰⁶ *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, 1 October 1852, p. 3, col. 4.

¹⁰⁷ *LRS*, 24 August 1855, p. 2, col 3.

Appearances can, however, be deceptive. It is not at all clear that labourers willingly acquiesced to the imposition of a polite culture. The village may have lacked an alehouse, but it was a short walk to Cleethorpes where there was an abundance of them. Their attractions were not unknown to Joseph Hannah, an agricultural labourer from Humberston, who was arrested in Cleethorpes for being riotously drunk one night in October 1864.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, though Humberston's feast had been stopped, the village feast in neighbouring Tetney continued to be held throughout the nineteenth century and proved popular with youths and men from other villages who, it was said, would go 'with the sole object of getting up a faction fight'.¹⁰⁹ And, in the adjacent village of Waltham, the annual statute fair continued to draw people from the neighbouring parishes, where 'Mr Eldin's brown stout' proved popular amongst those who thronged to the King's Head Inn.¹¹⁰

Superstition was also difficult to eradicate. Ten years after a miracle worker attracted large crowds in north Lincolnshire, the Humberston overseers allowed Solomon Lidgard 20s for a cunning woman or 'quack doctress' to attend him in 1819.¹¹¹ Aspects of the old popular culture also survived in the continued application of rough justice to those who had offended against social norms. Forms of 'ran-tanning', known elsewhere as 'Skimmingtons' – a custom by which a local mob, led by a straw man, made a cacophonous noise outside an offender's house for three consecutive nights before burning his or her effigy – were still practised in Humberston and neighbouring villages in the middle of the nineteenth century when circumstances were judged to require it.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ *LRS*M, 7 October 1864, p. 6, col. 6.

¹⁰⁹ J. Wild, *Tetney, Lincolnshire: A History* (Grimsby, 1901), p. 88. Village feasts and festivals elsewhere in the Marsh also had a reputation for drunkenness, fighting and debauchery: see Mrs Gutch and M. Peacock (eds), *County Folklore, vol. 5, Lincolnshire* (London, 1908), pp. 196-7.

¹¹⁰ *LRS*M, 10 May 1822, p. 3 col. 2.

¹¹¹ E. Gillett, *The Humber Region at War, 1793-1815* (Hull, 1988), pp. 2-3; LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1, Overseers' Accounts 1819/20.

¹¹² J. Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances in England, 1700-1832* (1979, Harlow, 1992), pp. 59-60; E.H. Rudkin, *Lincolnshire Folklore* (1936, Wakefield, 1973 edn), p. 52; *The Hull Packet*, 14 March 1851, p. 6, col. 4.

(e) Pockets of Resistance

Resistance to the application of new social norms could also be manifested in more explicit opposition to those exercising power and authority in the village. Though the farmers of Humberston may have chosen to adopt an autocratic, albeit benevolent, approach to the provision of housing, employment, poor relief and governance, it should not be assumed that others in the village were as ready to adopt the deferential tone that was expected of them. Labourers and servants were generally not passive recipients of authority. They expected to participate in many key decisions (such as the terms of their annual contract) and they were not averse to expressing opposition and resistance or to venting their grievances about poor pay, unemployment or ill-treatment.¹¹³

In the highly visible, intimate world of a small closed parish, where farmers controlled most aspects of a labourer's livelihood, the scope for overt dissidence must have been limited. But protest and resistance took many forms, from largely unrecorded acts of grumbling and non-compliance to covert acts of sabotage and even incendiarism. Many forms of protest went unrecorded and those that survive in the archive record perhaps only hint at the true level of social discord.¹¹⁴

At the most mundane level, farmers could face insolence and disobedience from those they employed. According to Thomas Dixon of Riby, the Mackenzie Humberston's steward at Humberston, this was not an uncommon experience. He wrote in his account book 'William Frow run away from his place on Thursday morning the first day of April 1774. He was a drunken, idle reprobate and debauched fellow, the worst servant I ever had'. Of others he wrote: 'William Robinson. He is the very worst boy I ever had in my life. A notorious lyer and a very idle boy'; 'Ann Coulson. A deceitful, lying, impudent jade as ever came into a house'; 'Jane Blanchard. A lying impudent, saucy baggage as I ever had'; and 'Judith Hall ... a very rude, ill-behaved girl, dirty and idle and impertinent to the last day'.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Eastwood, *Government and Community*, p. 30; Goldie, 'The unacknowledged republic', pp. 183–206, esp. 196–7; D. Jones, 'Rural crime and protest' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, vol. 2 (London, 1981), pp. 566–79.

¹¹⁴ C.J. Griffin, *Protest, Politics and Work in Rural England, 1700–1850* (Basingstoke, 2014), pp. 82–5.

¹¹⁵ B.J. Davey, 'The justice books of Thomas Dixon of Riby, 1787–1798' in B.J. Davey and R.C. Wheeler (eds), *The Country Justice and the Case of the Blackamoor's Head: The Practice of the Law in*

Occasionally, ill-feeling escalated into confrontation and civil action. In the Bradley Haverstoe petty sessions held at Grimsby between 1830 and 1840, there were 76 disputes between servants and their employers, ten of which involved masters and servants from Humberston.¹¹⁶ Masters charged their servants with disorderly conduct or absconding from service.¹¹⁷ Servants charged their employers with assault or withholding wages.¹¹⁸ In about half of all cases, charges were brought by labourers and servants, suggesting that they had no fear of using the law against their employers and trusted the court to give impartial judgements.¹¹⁹ Generally, the magistrates sought mediation and reconciliation but occasionally they would issue a reprimand or impose a fine or a custodial sentence when the guilty party was a servant.¹²⁰

Acts of defiance could also manifest themselves in crimes of trespass and malicious damage. Unfortunately, it is difficult to distinguish between ordinary criminal offences and those which were intended as acts of protest. The removal of a handgate, which so incensed Anselm Kirby that he offered a reward of 3 guineas for the apprehension of the culprit, was both a common youthful prank and a recognised form of intimidation and revenge.¹²¹ Other thefts were mostly petty opportunistic crimes or else the acts of

Lincolnshire, 1787-1838 (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 25-6; and Beastall, *Agricultural Revolution*, p. 111. Dixon was also a J.P. and his 'justice books' covering the years 1788-98 were dominated by master-servant disputes (Davey, pp. 24-31).

¹¹⁶ B.J. Davey, 'Crime and community in the 1830s: a north Lincolnshire example' in D. Tyszka, K. Miller, and G. Bryant (eds), *Land, People and Places: Essays on the History of the Lincolnshire Region written in honour of Rex C. Russell* (Lincoln, 1991), p. 155.

¹¹⁷ LAO: Bradley Haverstoe Petty Sessions, Rough Minute Books, 4 February 1840, 19 January 1841, and 19 February 1850, and Register of Summary Proceedings 18 October 1859 and 14 July 1863.

¹¹⁸ LAO: Bradley Haverstoe Petty Sessions, Rough Minute Books, 19 January 1841, 19 October 1841, 3 May 1842, 20 August 1844 and 5 August 1845.

¹¹⁹ Davey, 'Crime and community', pp. 150-1; B.J. Davey, *Rural Crime in the Eighteenth Century: North Lincolnshire, 1740-80* (Hull, 1994), pp. 13-18.

¹²⁰ LAO: Bradley Haverstoe Petty Sessions, Rough Minute Books, 4 February 1840, 15 September 1840, 19 January 1841 and 3 May 1842.

¹²¹ LC: Skelton Papers, 1826, p. 174; Jones, 'Rural crime', p. 572.

ostensibly hungry men, not necessarily residents of Humberston, stealing food and farm produce.¹²²

Despite Lincolnshire's reputation as a haunt of poachers, the poaching of game was a minor irritant in Humberston. The estate was used for fox-hunting rather than shooting and pheasants were therefore thin on the ground.¹²³ Sheep stealing and slaughtering, however, were common crimes in Humberston, as elsewhere on the Marsh. Sheep stealing was often perpetrated by seasoned criminals from outside the village. James Bee, for example, lost two of his sheep to 'a notorious poacher' and his accomplice from Louth.¹²⁴ The killing of sheep was a different matter. Some of these incidents of slaughter may, like acts of animal maiming, have been associated with acts of revenge, perpetrated by farmworkers against employers, poor law officials, and others against whom they harboured a grudge.¹²⁵ Thomas Tomlinson of Humberston found sheep butchered on his farm on at least seven separate occasions between 1826 and 1832 whereas William Marshall reported only three such incidents over the same period.¹²⁶ In most cases, however, it appears the animal was not cut with intent to maim but rather with the intention to slaughter. In all cases reported from Humberston the carcasses were taken away, presumably to be eaten or sold, and the head, skin and

¹²² *LRS*M, 26 February 1813, p. 2, 28 November 1828, p. 2, col. 3, 28 October 1842, p. 2, col. 4, and 24 October 1845, p. 2, col. 1; LC: Skelton Papers, 1830, p. 126, and 1835, p. 228; LAO: Lindsey Quarter Sessions Minutes, Easter (22 April) 1817, and Bradley Haverstoe Petty Sessions, Rough Minute Books, 20 August 1833 and 6 May 1851.

¹²³ Notices threatening prosecution of poachers were issued several times but there is no evidence of any prosecutions having been initiated: see *LRS*M 29 September 1792, p. 2, col. 4; CBS: D-CN 18/1/5, Mich. 1820; LC: Skelton Papers, 1824, p. 115, and 1832, p. 142. The Brocklesby Hunt met frequently in Humberston in the early-nineteenth century: see *LRS*M, 16 February 1810, p. 3, col. 2, and 11 April 1823, p. 3; LAO: Misc. Don. 114.

¹²⁴ *Louth and North Lincolnshire Advertiser*, 17 November 1866, p. 4, col. 5, 8 December 1866, p. 4, col. 5, and 15 December 1866, p. 4, col. 5.

¹²⁵ J. E. Archer, 'A Fiendish Outrage'? A Study of Animal Maiming in East Anglia: 1830-1870', *Agricultural History Review*, 33 (1985), pp. 147-157, and *By a Flash and a Scare*, pp. 198-221; J. G. Rule, 'The manifold causes of rural crime: sheep-stealing in England, c. 1740-1840', in Rule (ed.), *Outside the Law: Studies in Crime and Order, 1650-1850* (Exeter, 1982), pp. 102-29; C.J. Griffin, '"Some inhuman wretch"' Animal maiming and the ambivalent relationship between rural workers and animals', *Rural History*, 25 (2014), pp 133-160.

¹²⁶ LC: Skelton Papers, 1826, p. 142; 1827, pp. 124 and 190; 1830, p. 102; 1831, pp. 24, 59, 133a and 136; 1832, pp. 134 and 142.

entrails left behind. In 1837, William Neave of Humberston was found with a piece of mutton at his house which was said to correspond with the skin and other portions of a lamb left in Ambrose Wilson's field. He was taken before the Assizes and transported to Australia for life.¹²⁷

More obvious crimes of protest were associated with the rural disturbances of the 1830s and 1840s. This part of north Lincolnshire escaped fairly lightly from the Swing Riots of 1830-31 compared with the low wage areas of south-eastern England, but there were occasional outbreaks of violence and incendiarism in the years that followed.¹²⁸ A threshing machine was pushed out of the parish of Fulstow in November 1831 and threatening letters were sent to farmers in the parishes around Grimsby.¹²⁹ Corn stacks were fired in Laceby in 1825, in Tetney in 1832, in Waltham in 1834, and in Holton-le-Clay in 1836, and there were further instances of incendiarism in Clee in 1846 and Great Coates in 1849.¹³⁰ In 1848 and 1854, fire raisers also struck in Humberston, on each occasion firing stacks belonging to Thomas Holland.¹³¹ The correspondent of *The Lincolnshire Chronicle* was keen to reassure his readers that, despite being targeted by fire-raisers, Mr Holland was 'a kind master and very much respected in this part of the county' and the fire was put out by 'many willing hands'.¹³²

In this part of Lincolnshire, incidents of incendiarism were isolated events stretching over a long period. As the above case suggests, they were most likely to have been perpetrated by single people with a personal grievance rather than by organised gangs

¹²⁷ *LRS*M, 13 March 1835, p. 2, col. 5; C.L. Anderson (ed.), *Convicts of Lincolnshire: Listing* (Lincoln, 1988), n.p. [7 March 1835].

¹²⁸ Beastall has demonstrated that Hobsbawm and Rude underestimated the number of incidents in Lincolnshire. Nevertheless, they were largely confined to the low wage areas in the south of the county. Beastall, *Agricultural Revolution*, p. 128; E.J. Hobsbawm and G. Rude, *Captain Swing* (London, 1969), pp. 167-8, 239, 305, and 311-58; see also Richardson, 'Standard of living', pp. 10-17.

¹²⁹ Davey, 'Crime and community', p. 147; R. C. Russell, *Three Lincolnshire Labourers' Movements* (Barton-on-Humber, 1994), pp. 40 and 52.

¹³⁰ LC: Skelton Papers, 1825, p. 161; E.E. Gillett, *The Humber Region in the 19th Century* (Hull, 1982), p. 57; Davey, 'Crime and Community', pp. 146-7; Russell, *Labourers' Movements*, pp. 17 and 58; Bradley Haverstoe Petty Sessions, Rough Minute Books, 29 and 31 January 1836, and 31 October 1849.

¹³¹ *LRS*M, 2 June 1848, p. 3, col. 4, and 24 February 1854, p. 2, col. 1; *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, 24 February 1854, p. 3, col. 5.

¹³² *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, 24 February 1854, p. 3, col. 5.

protesting *en masse* at low wages or under-employment.¹³³ Nevertheless, the threat of incendiarism caused great anxiety to the local farmers. Those who used threshing machines were particularly alarmed. Some had received threatening letters and one in particular was sure his stacks were about to be destroyed because the labourers had refused to do flail-threshing for him. Special constables were enrolled in Grimsby, the commanders of the revenue cutters there were under orders to lead out the seamen in the event of any popular commotion, and the North Wold Yeomanry, comprising some 250 mounted men, was mustered in June 1831 to overawe any attempt at revolt.¹³⁴ Farmers subscribed in greater numbers to the Bradley Haverstoe Association for the Prosecution of Felons – membership grew from 43 in 1819 to 65 in 1830 – and an Association for the Prosecution of Incendiarism was formed in 1834.¹³⁵ The latter claimed that it had hired a London policeman to search the neighbourhood for miscreants.¹³⁶ Six Humberston farmers were members of the Prosecution Association in 1830 and William Marshall represented the farmers of Humberston on the Incendiarism Society.¹³⁷ There was renewed anxiety amongst farmers in the early 1840s. The Humberston vestry took the unusual step of appointing extra constables in 1843 and 1844, years in which there were renewed outbreaks of incendiarism in East Anglia.¹³⁸ A further 'Incendiary Fire Association' covering most of north Lincolnshire was formed in 1844 and included Grimsby and its neighbourhood from 1845. Five of the Humberston farmers joined in the following year.¹³⁹

T.L. Richardson has written of this period that 'the Lincolnshire countryside, far from being a place of peace, stability, and communal harmony, was characterized by

¹³³ Vagrants were also blamed: see R.J. Olney (ed.), *Labouring Life on the Lincolnshire Wolds: A Study of Binbrook in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Sleaford, 1975), pp. 26-8.

¹³⁴ Gillett, *History of Grimsby*, p. 209, and *The Humber Region*, pp. 55-7.

¹³⁵ *LRS*M, 11 June 1819, p. 2, col. 4, and 28 May 1830 p. 2, col. 4; Davey, 'Crime and community', pp. 146-7.

¹³⁶ Russell, *Labourers' Movements*, p. 52.

¹³⁷ *LRS*M, 28 May 1830 p. 2, col. 4; LC: Skelton Papers, 1834, pp. 202-3

¹³⁸ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1 and 2; Jones, 'Thomas Campbell Foster', pp. 5-43; J.E. Archer, *By a Flash and a Scare: Incendiarism, Animal Maiming, and Poaching in East Anglia, 1815-1870* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 107-16.

¹³⁹ LC: Skelton Papers, 1845, p. 58; LAO: Stubbs 45/1 and 45/15.

violence, discord, and class antagonism'.¹⁴⁰ This is not the picture that emerges from an examination of social relations in Humberston. Though attitudes of resentment and acts of defiance were undoubtedly present, and although farmers feared for the safety of their farmsteads in the 1830s and 1840s, it does not appear that Humberston was a parish simmering with unrest.

Conclusion

It is evident from the foregoing account that, in the absence of a resident landlord, the tenant farmers of Humberston held considerable power. They were a heterogeneous group but nevertheless, on many matters, they acted collectively together and displayed remarkable consistency of thought and action. They were effectively a parish oligarchy. They were the major employers in the parish. They controlled the tied cottages. They filled all the parish offices. They therefore controlled wages and housing and dispensed poor relief.

Their authority was near absolute because in a small, closed parish like Humberston there were few opportunities for employment outside agriculture and only limited prospects for lodgings or housing beyond the farmhouses and tied cottages that they controlled. Yet those opportunities, once secured, were relatively attractive. A high proportion of the labouring population were engaged as servants and confined men and thus enjoyed regular employment at rates of pay that were amongst the highest in Lincolnshire. The Cottagers and the families of confined labourers lived a more precarious existence and probably saw demand for their labour gradually decline over time. Nevertheless, the Cottagers, as will be noted elsewhere, had access to pasture and were able to enjoy the produce of a cow. Those who had a settlement in the parish also had access to poor relief which, in the hands of farmers, was administered sympathetically: the unemployed were offered work and the sick and elderly were given relatively generous financial support even though the total number of claimants and level of expenditure were strictly controlled.

The farmers not only controlled the local economy, they also ruled the vestry and used their superior position to impose a polite moral code on the village. They closed the alehouse, banned the village feast, and provided a Christian education for the children of the poor. In this they were remarkably resolute and steadfast but they were not noticeably more coercive, or less paternalistic, than the more patriarchal of the

¹⁴⁰ Richardson, 'Standard of Living' p. 2.

aristocratic landlords. Occasionally, farmworkers would vent feelings of discontent and grievance, and farmers might fear acts of vengeance, but there is little evidence of simmering discontent or sustained outbreaks of arson or violence. Indeed, contemporary commentators, from Young and Thompson in the 1790s and 1800s, to newspaper correspondents in the 1850s, commented on the overall tranquillity of the village.

This may reflect conditions generally in the north Lincolnshire Marsh where wages were higher and living conditions more agreeable than in the south and east of England. It may also reflect the less socially stratified nature of Marshland villages where, according to one tenant farmer, 'There is not so much distinction between classes. They run together in a kind of social blend.'¹⁴¹ But it may also suggest that the small, intimate character of closed parishes allowed for greater social cohesion, and perhaps closer social control, than many other places.

¹⁴¹ J. Stovin (ed.), *Journals of a Methodist Farmer, 1871-1875* (London, Croom Helm, 1982).

CHAPTER 4 SQUIRE AND PARSON

For many Victorians, the ideal rural parish was one in which a resident squire and parson jointly presided over a devout and deferential people.¹ Yet such parishes were always thin on the ground. Many parishes lacked not only a resident squire but also a resident parson. Even when one or both were resident, they were not necessarily of one mind and could vie with each other to establish their authority in the parish.

In the Lincolnshire Marsh, few parishes conformed to the Anglican ideal. In the late eighteenth century, there were hardly any resident gentry, the Anglican clergy were generally absentees, and Nonconformists were as numerous as Anglicans.² Conditions began to change in the first half of the nineteenth century as clerical absenteeism declined and more clergy became active in their parishes. However, as the experience of Humberston demonstrates, squire and parson did not necessarily work harmoniously together.

The following paragraphs explore the battle of wills that existed between squire and parson in this small Lincolnshire village in the years between 1825 and 1850. They are of interest for the light they shed on social and political relationships in the Lincolnshire Marshland during this period, and also on broader issues associated with notions of power and authority in closed parishes in the nineteenth century.

The Potential for Conflict

In his critique of the open-closed model of village types, Brian Short has argued that the structure of power cannot be determined, as Mills and others have supposed, simply from knowing the structure of landownership. Authority, he has pointed out, might be exercised by non-landowning individuals and organisations as well as by landowners and landlords.³

¹ A. D. Gilbert, 'The land and the church' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, vol. 1 (London, 1981), pp. 43-57.

² J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming. The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times* (London, 1957), pp. 327-8; J. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-1875* (Oxford, 1976), p. 103.

³ B. Short, 'The evolution of contrasting communities within rural England', in B. Short (ed.), *The English Rural Community: Image and Analysis* (Cambridge, 1992), p.40; see also D. Spencer, 'Reformulating

Even in a closed parish, where all the land and housing belonged to a single individual, others could hold considerable power. Notable amongst these was the parson, especially if he was resident in the parish he served. The parson derived his authority from a number of sources. His spiritual and pastoral responsibilities, and possibly his superior education and learning, gave him a measure of moral authority. When this was combined, as it often was, with a fine house and independent income, a seat on the magistrates' bench and close connections with the local gentry and the senior clergy in the district, he enjoyed social status and political influence as well.⁴

In addition, the parson had what no other resident of a closed parish possessed which was security of tenure. Although the landlord might hold the right of presentment, the parson, once installed, could not be ejected from the living except by a court of law.⁵ The consequence was that the parson, possibly alone amongst his fellow residents, could challenge the squire without putting his house, occupation and livelihood at risk.

In many places, this power was not invoked because squire and parson chose to work cordially together or because one or the other, or both, lived elsewhere and were content to leave the conduct of parish affairs to others. Opportunities for conflict were more likely to arise in the period after 1820 when the clergy were expected not only to take up residence in their parishes but also to take a more active role than hitherto in both spiritual and pastoral affairs.

When parsons were non-resident, the squire was likely to rule a closed parish unopposed. In 1780, 62 per cent of English parishes lacked resident incumbents and many of those who were resident served more than one parish: 36 per cent of the Anglican clergy in England were pluralists.⁶ However, the rate of non-residence declined significantly during the next fifty years as a new breed of bishops, under pressure from public opinion, began to increase the number of residents. By 1835, the number of English parishes without resident incumbents had fallen to 50 per cent. The rate of improvement continued during the 1840s until by 1850 just 27 per cent of

the 'closed' parish thesis: associations, interests, and interaction', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26 (2000), p. 90.

⁴ P. Virgin, *The Church in an Age of Negligence: Ecclesiastical Structure and Problems of Church Reform, 1700-1840* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 94 and 115-6 and 255.

⁵ A. Tindal Hart, 'The parson's freehold', *The Churchman*, 80 (1966), pp. 9-15.

⁶ Virgin, *The Church*, pp. 191-6.

parishes had non-resident parsons. In addition, the Pluralities Act of 1838, although slow to take effect, restricted incumbents to holding no more than two livings and stipulated that they should be within ten miles of each other.⁷

As the Anglican revival progressed, rectories and vicarages began to be occupied by a new generation of clergymen who placed greater emphasis than previous cohorts on the religious and pastoral aspects of a priest's role. They thus became more active in their communities – increasing the number of religious services, promoting new doctrinal practices (whether Tractarian or Evangelical), undertaking home visits, ministering to the sick, dispensing charity, supporting self-help clubs, organising Sunday schools, overseeing day schools, stimulating church building and restoration, and so on.⁸ In this they were often helped by their wives and daughters. Clergymen were also active outside the parish, notably as justices of the peace and poor law guardians, though as the century wore on they tended to withdraw from secular roles in order to give more attention to their priestly duties.⁹

Impressive though this renewed commitment to parochial duties might have been – and not all parsons were active in this way – it was not universally welcomed. Attempts at greater social control and more frequent intervention in parish affairs were often resisted by tenant farmers, who were used to controlling the Vestry, and by Nonconformists and others of an independent spirit, who resented the implied patriarchal approach of the reforming parson.¹⁰ Many landlords, too, became resentful of the power and influence of a growing body of resident clerics who they found difficult to influence and impossible to remove.¹¹

⁷ Virgin, *The Church*, pp. 191-6 and 209-11; R. Currie, A. Gilbert and L. Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 196-199.

⁸ A.D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914* (London, 1976), pp. 125-43; W. Gibson, *Church, State and Society, 1760-1850* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp. 96-105; F. Knight, *The Nineteenth Century Church and English Society* (Cambridge 1998), pp. 76-9; D. McClatchey, *Oxfordshire Clergy, 1777-1869: A Study of the Established Church and of the Role of its Clergy in Local Society* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 80-228.

⁹ Virgin, *The Church*, pp. 114-5; Gilbert, *Religion and Society*, p. 133; Gibson, *Church*, p. 104.

¹⁰ Gilbert, *Religion and Society*, pp. 79-81; B. Turner, *The Victorian Parson* (Stroud, 2015), p. 37; B.A. Holderness, 'The Victorian Farmer' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, vol. 1 (London, 1981), p. 239.

¹¹ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, pp. 37-40.

Tension between squire and parson was not uncommon. They had a shared interest in many aspects of village life – the upkeep of the church, the care of the poor, the provision of schooling, the safeguarding of social norms and the maintenance of public order – and yet their respective roles were not always sharply distinct. If both were conscientious in the care of their tenants and parishioners, their spheres of influence were bound to overlap. As Obelkevich has remarked, 'The relationship between squire and parson therefore teemed with opportunities for conflict, and the Anglican ideal of harmonious partnership was only one possibility among many, and not perhaps the most likely'.¹²

Differences arose, first of all, on matters of theology and ritual. Owen Chadwick has painted a picture of bitter personal rivalry in a Norfolk village where the parson's insistence on universal conformity to his Calvinist teaching ran counter to the squire's moderate churchmanship and his determination to be master in his own parish.¹³ Hart and Carpenter have similarly described how a high church rector of Blatherwycke in Northamptonshire and an evangelical vicar of Birling in Kent fell out with their respective squires over doctrinal matters.¹⁴ Obelkevich and Bennett have recounted similar instances in Lincolnshire.¹⁵

There were also disagreements between squire and parson over pastoral matters. They ranged from locally significant issues such as the principles for the collection of the poor rate¹⁶ and the commutation of tithes,¹⁷ the cost of church restorations,¹⁸ and

¹² Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 38.

¹³ O. Chadwick, *Victorian Miniature* (Cambridge, 1960).

¹⁴ A. T. Hart and E. Carpenter, *The Nineteenth-Century Country Parson* (Shrewsbury, 1954), pp. 51-2.

¹⁵ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p.38; S. Bennett, *A History of Lincolnshire* (1970, Chichester, 1999 edn), p. 120.

¹⁶ D.R. Mills and B.M. Short, 'Social change and social conflict in nineteenth-century England: the use of the open-closed model', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 10 (1983), p. 259, repr. in M. Reed and R. Wells, *Class, Conflict and Protest in the English Countryside, 1700-1880* (London, 1990), p. 96.

¹⁷ Virgin, *The Church*, p. 57.

¹⁸ R. Lee, *Rural Society and the Anglican Clergy, 1815-1914: Encountering and Managing the Poor* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 44-5.

the management of local charities,¹⁹ to more mundane matters such as the closing of rights of way to the church²⁰ and the allocation of church seating.²¹

Although squires could not remove parsons, they could demonstrate their contempt and displeasure in other ways – by sleeping or reading during sermons, by threatening legal action, or even, on occasion, by resorting to violence.²² In one case in Lincolnshire, the local landowner employed his gamekeepers to forcibly remove the parson from his church during Sunday service.²³ In another, an affronted curate challenged the squire to a duel.²⁴ Some of these confrontations were no more than minor skirmishes. Others, however, were running battles which soured relations between squire and parson for a generation. An indication of the length and depth of such disputes is revealed by an examination of the relationship between squire and parson in the parish of Humberston in the period after 1820.

Humberston

Absenteeism and pluralism amongst Anglican clergymen were particularly prevalent in the Lincolnshire Marsh in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Just two of the 21 Marshland parishes of Bradley Haverstoe were served by a resident incumbent in c. 1790 and they were both pluralists. The rest were held by clerics who lived in other parts of Lincolnshire or in places even further afield, such as Southwell, Newark, Yorkshire, London and Wales. Their absence was attributed either to the lack of a parsonage house or to the demands of their other, ostensibly more significant, roles as parish priests, prebendaries or teachers at Cathedral schools.²⁵ The lack of an

¹⁹ Hart and Carpenter, *Country Parson*, p. 29.

²⁰ M. Havinden, *Estate Villages Revisited* (Reading, 1999), pp. 37-9.

²¹ G.E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1963), pp. 148-9.

²² A. Tindal Hart, *The Eighteenth Century Parson* (Shrewsbury, 1955), pp. 86-8, cit. Mingay, *Landed Society*, pp. 148-9.

²³ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, pp. 38-9.

²⁴ F. Hill, *Victorian Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 174.

²⁵ LAO: Spec. 4, pp. 1-83. The rates of absenteeism and pluralism cited here are significantly higher than those for the rest of Lincolnshire and for the country as a whole: 63 per cent of Lincolnshire parishes and 62 per cent of English parishes lacked resident incumbents in 1780, compared with 90.5 per cent in this area of the Marsh; 36 per cent of the Anglican clergy in England were pluralists, compared with at least 74 per cent in these Marsh parishes: county data is from R.W. Ambler, *Churches, Chapels, and*

adequate income from these largely poor livings must also have been a factor. Seventeen of the 20 parishes for which data is available generated a clerical income of less than £150 a year in c.1790 and nine were valued at less than £50.²⁶ Coupled with the uncongenial nature of the low-lying, ill-drained Marshes, these poor parishes must have held few attractions for clergymen from elsewhere.²⁷

The value of many livings increased significantly over the next thirty years – across these 20 parishes net income grew threefold overall – as the enclosure of glebe and the commutation of tithes led to an increase in revenues.²⁸ Nevertheless, incumbents still chose to live elsewhere. Sixteen of these 20 Marshland parishes were served by curates in 1835. They drew stipends of around £60 per annum while the incumbents enjoyed an average net income of £237 a year. In 14 of these parishes, there was no parsonage house suitable for occupation.²⁹

Humberston was typical of these poorer parishes. The parsonage house had fallen down in the 1640s and had not been rebuilt. The glebe land had been granted to the Abbey of Humberston in the twelfth century and was never restored to the parish.³⁰ The tithes, too, had been appropriated by the abbey. They were granted to the Bishop of Lincoln at the Dissolution, leased to a succession of lay people in the seventeenth

the Parish Communities of Lincolnshire, 1600-1900 (Lincoln, 2000), p. 51, and national data is from Virgin, *The Church*, pp. 191-6.

²⁶ LAO: Spec. 4, pp. 1-83.

²⁷ In 1844, the non-resident rector of Beelsby, in north-east Lincolnshire, wrote from his residence in Southwell that, in Lincolnshire, 'the soil is unhealthy, flat, low, damp, aguish, unpopulated. No persons of tolerable means would live in such parishes', cited in R.W. Ambler (ed.), *Lincolnshire Parish Correspondence of John Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln, 1827-53* (Lincoln, 2006), p. 15.

²⁸ This was a national as well as a local trend, as agricultural improvement and prosperity increased the value of glebe and tithes and Queen Anne's Bounty helped the poorest livings: see Virgin, *The Church*, pp. 43-74 and 253-4.

²⁹ BPP, *Report of the Ecclesiastical Revenues Commission*, H.C. 1835 [67], pp. 510-613. In twelve of these parishes, curates received a stipend that was below the minimum stipulated by the Stipendiary Curates Act of 1813 - which, in normal circumstances, was £80 or the full value of the benefice if it was less than that – suggesting either that the Act was rarely enforced in this part of the country or, more probably, that incumbents from neighbouring parishes acted as curates: see Virgin, *The Church*, pp. 228-38.

³⁰ LAO: Dioc/Ter. 1/293 and 12/138, ChP/L, 1674, Humberston, and 2CC 32/97437.

century and then acquired by Matthew Humberston in 1707.³¹ The vicar saw no part of this income. He received only an annual stipend of £6 or £8 a year from the Bishop and, later, from Matthew Humberston.³² This was supplemented during the early eighteenth-century by an annuity from Matthew Humberston's estate and by a grant from Queen Anne's Bounty which enabled 22 acres of land in Laceby to be purchased and let.³³ Even so, the combined value of stipend, annuity, augmentation and fees in 1809 amounted to only £30, one of the lowest incomes in this part of the Marsh. The stipend was augmented by a further grant of income from Queen's Anne Bounty in 1828 so that by 1835 the value of the vicarage had risen to £63.³⁴

This level of income was barely sufficient to support a clergyman and his family.³⁵ For this reason, the living was usually held by clerics who had other benefices in the area, or further afield, and who could therefore combine the incomes of more than one parish. Thomas Micklethwaite, who served first as curate and then as vicar of Humberston between 1745 and 1758, was the vicar of the neighbouring parish of Clee.³⁶ Joseph Foster, who succeeded him, was at different times the rector of Grimoldby, near Louth, and the vicar of Irby, a parish on the Wold edge; he held Humberston for 31 years until his death in 1790.³⁷ He was followed by Samuel Knight, a perpetual curate in Halifax, who appointed a succession of local curates to act for

³¹ The grant to the Bishop of Lincoln is summarised in *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI, vol. 1 (1547-48)*, (London, 1924), pp. 153-7; the subsequent leases are in LAO: BRA 437/15 and 20, FL Deeds 1488 and 1489, 2 CC 28/114778, 32/97437, and 32/97438, BP Survey 2, and Dioc/Ter. 12/138; the petition and Act of Parliament for transferring the vicarage and tithes to Matthew Humberston is in the House of Lords Record Office: PO/JO/10/6/114/2334 and PO/PB/1/1706/6An74 and is reported in *Journal of the House of Lords*, 18, 1705-1709, pp. 238-9 and 317-21. Under the Carringtons, land in Humberston was let free of tithes: see TNA: IR 18/5031.

³² LAO: Dioc/Ter. 12/138, and 2 CC 32/97437.

³³ LAO: Dioc/Ter. Humberston, 1762 and 1822, and Humberston Par. 5/1; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/2.

³⁴ LAO: 3 CC 3/1; BPP, *Ecclesiastical Commission*, pp. 556-7.

³⁵ In the 1830s it was generally reckoned that an incumbent needed an income of at least £150 a year to fulfil his duties; the median income was then £275 a year, but with a considerable gap between the clerical elite and the poorest country parsons: Virgin, *The Church*, pp. 90-94, 145 and 255.

³⁶ LAO: Reg. 38/504 and LC 21/a, f. 53.

³⁷ LAO: Reg. 38/574; *York Chronicle*, 3 December 1773, p. 406 [sic], col. 2.

him.³⁸ Thomas Knowles was the longest serving of these: he lived in Marshchapel and served Humberston, as well as the neighbouring parish of North Cotes, from 1795 to 1809.³⁹ Samuel Knight was briefly followed by Revd. Owen Davys.⁴⁰ He resigned in 1821 when Lord Carrington insisted that he should take up residence. In his letter of resignation, Davys said: 'Your Lordship knows better than I do in what a neglected corner of England Humberstone is situated ... The living is of little or no value after paying a Curate but I cannot be called upon to reside as there is no house for an Incumb[en]t'.⁴¹

The officiating clergy in Humberston, as elsewhere in the Marsh, provided only a basic level of spiritual support. In c. 1790, most marshland parishes in Bradley Haverstoe wapentake had only one Church service a week (sometimes fewer in winter) and Communion three or four times a year.⁴² In Humberston, Thomas Micklethwaite conducted services just once a fortnight in summer and every third week in winter and celebrated communion three times a year.⁴³ Moreover, a clergyman who was non-resident could not offer the pastoral care that was seen to be an essential part of the vicar's role.

A new era was ushered in during the 1820s when Lord Carrington sought to realise Matthew Humberston's ambition of installing a resident clergyman.⁴⁴ Humberston had planned to augment the value of the living by endowing a free grammar school in the parish and appointing the vicar as its headmaster. In his will of 1709, he left funds to

³⁸ LAO: Reg. 39/578.

³⁹ LAO: Spe. 8a, f. 19, and Vj 39, f. 60.

⁴⁰ LAO: Reg. 40/272.

⁴¹ NELA: 239/1, f. 60.

⁴² LAO: Spec. 4, pp. 1-83; Ambler, *Churches*, pp. 86-7.

⁴³ LAO: Spec. 3. p. 60; see also N.S. Harding (ed.), *Bonney's Church Notes, being Notes on the Churches in the Archdeaconry of Lincoln, 1845-1848* (Lincoln, 1937), pp. 36-55, 117 and 124-5; Ambler, *Churches*, pp. 49 and 68. Ambler notes (p. 51) that services were more frequent where the incumbent was resident.

⁴⁴ This was somewhat ahead of moves elsewhere in Lincolnshire to reduce non-residence which were initiated by John Kaye following his installation as Bishop of Lincoln in 1827 and gathered pace in the 1830s and 1840s: Ambler, *Churches*, pp. 179-80, and Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, pp. 114-20.

build and maintain a school and a school house and to pay the salary of a schoolmaster. The school house was to serve as the parsonage and the schoolmaster's salary was to augment the vicar's stipend. For this reason, he expressly stipulated that the vicar should always be master of the school.⁴⁵ However, Matthew Humberston's will was poorly written and disputes ensued over the rights of succession and the duties of trustees with the result that the necessary trusts were not established until a century later.⁴⁶ Finally, Trustees were appointed in 1818, the school and schoolhouse were completed in 1823 and a new clergyman, Reverend Joseph Gedge, was appointed as both parson and schoolmaster in July of that year.⁴⁷ On 15 October 1823, the school was opened and 105 boys admitted.⁴⁸

This put an end to a period of absenteeism but it did not quite end the practice of pluralism. Gedge acted as curate of Barnoldby-le-Beck and then of Scartho between 1823 and 1833 and was instituted to the rectory of Ashby-cum-Fenby in 1844.⁴⁹ Neither did it usher in a new period of harmony. Carrington had hoped to find a person of 'humble mind & studious disposition & of industrious habits'.⁵⁰ Instead, he discovered that he had appointed a strong-willed and ambitious young man who was prepared to challenge and confront him on a number of issues.

⁴⁵ TNA: Prob. 11/5/11/149, ff. 103d-127; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/64.

⁴⁶ Funds for the purchase of land and the erection of buildings were released by the Court of Chancery in 1818, trustees were appointed in 1821 and rules for the governance and management of the Trust were agreed in 1823: NELA: 239/1, ff. 59-63, and 239/34, ff. 10-13; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/64; and TNA: TS11/422.

⁴⁷ LAO: Reg 40/334; *LRS*M, 24 October 1823, p. 3.

⁴⁸ NELA:166/722/4/1, ff. 1-8, and 239/1, f. 63. Matthew Humberston had intended that free places should be given to all the boys of Humberston aged 7 to 14 and to the boys of similar age belonging to his tenants in Laceby, Scartho, Weelsby, Clee, Tetney and Holton. However, by the time the Charity was being set up in 1819, no-one could confidently identify this property so the Master extended the right to up to 100 boys in these seven parishes, with precedence being given to children from Humberston (CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/9).

⁴⁹ NELA: 239/1, f. 113; LAO: Scartho Par. 1/7, 9 and 12, and Cor. B/5/4/124/3. Ashby-cum-Fenby is 6 miles from Humberston and therefore within the 10-mile limit for permissible pluralism imposed by the Pluralities Act of 1838; the act of 1850 reduced the limit to three miles: see Virgin, *The Church*, pp. 209-11.

⁵⁰ NELA: 239/1, f. 61.

Lord Carrington and Revd. Gedge fell out, first of all, over the vicar's social aspirations. Joseph Gedge had been born and brought up in Bury St Edmunds where his father was the founding proprietor and editor of the local newspaper, *The Bury News*. Joseph attended the free grammar school in the town and went up to Cambridge University where he graduated in divinity and took holy orders. Immediately after graduation, he was appointed by Lord Stanhope to be a tutor to his son, Philip, who was then in his teens. Lord Stanhope was Lord Carrington's son-in-law and when Philip Stanhope went up to Oxford, Carrington invited Gedge to take up the vacant living at Humberston together with the headmastership of the school.⁵¹ Gedge found the position to his liking. After visiting Humberston at the beginning of May 1823, he wrote to Lord Carrington 'I was very much pleased with the house & its situat[io]n which compared with much of the neighbouring Country is quite a little paradise'.⁵²

However, it soon became apparent to Carrington and his fellow Trustees that Joseph Gedge was not prepared to be a mere country parson and schoolmaster. He maintained a relationship of sorts with the aristocracy by accepting appointment as one of Lord Stanhope's domestic chaplains in January 1824.⁵³ Moreover, he secured his place in the local squirearchy when he married Harriet, the sister of Richard Thorold of Weelsby Hall, in October 1824.⁵⁴ The Thorolds were an ancient family of country gentry who held an estate of 1,628 acres in and around the parish of Clee, which adjoined Humberston to the north.⁵⁵

Six months after his marriage to Harriet Thorold, Gedge asked Lord Carrington if he would put his name upon the Commission to become a Justice of the Peace. He wrote 'An active magistrate is much wanted here ... Mr Tomline who is the nearest magistrate is so seldom at Riby [his home parish] that there is little chance of his acting

⁵¹ NELA: 474/1; J.A. Venn (ed.), *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, Pt. 2, Vol. 3 (London, 1946), p. 29; C. Mosley (ed.), *Burkes Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*, Vol. 1 (107th edn., Wilmington, USA, 2003), p. 706; A.E. Kirkby, *Humberston: The Story of a Village* (Lincoln, 1953), pp. 106-10.

⁵² NELA: 239/1, f. 61.

⁵³ *LRS*M, 30 January 1824, p. 3.

⁵⁴ *LRS*M, 15 October 1824, p. 3.

⁵⁵ A.R. Madison (ed.), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol. 3 (London, 1904), p. 977; A. Dowling, *Grimsby: Making the Town, 1800-1914* (Chichester, 2007), pp. 85-8.

and I believe ... Mr Marshall [of Grimsby] has no qualification'.⁵⁶ Lord Carrington declined Gedge's request thinking it would interfere with the duties of the school.⁵⁷ The refusal rankled and Gedge turned to his family connections to achieve the same ends. In 1828-9, when his brother-in-law Richard Thorold was High Sheriff of Lincolnshire, Gedge was appointed sheriff's chaplain and secured appointment to the bench.⁵⁸ The Trustees of the Humberston Charity were appalled and argued even into the 1840s that Revd. Gedge should be prevented from engaging in duties other than those of vicar and headmaster. They appealed to the Master of the Rolls but he disagreed, observing (correctly) 'Why, in some parts of Lincolnshire, if the Clergyman was not a Magistrate there would be none at all'.⁵⁹

As first a parson with ambitions, and then as a clerical magistrate with gentry connections, Joseph Gedge became a force to be reckoned with. He locked horns with Lord Carrington over a number of issues. He was determined, first of all, that the new schoolhouse (which also served as the vicarage) should reflect his elevated social status and provide an appropriate standard of accommodation for himself and his new wife. Even before he took up the living, Gedge asked for a number of alterations and additions to be made to the newly-constructed schoolhouse, including the construction of a double, rather than a single, chaise house. Lord Carrington consented but Thomas Thompson, Carrington's agent and a co-trustee, wrote to Carrington in August 1823 expressing concern that the use of charity funds to build a double chaise house might be regarded as beyond 'common prudence'.⁶⁰ A succession of further requests for improvements were made and agreed in the following years until the patience of Carrington and his fellow Trustees was tried beyond endurance. They regarded Gedge's 'unreasonable and repeated requirements' for alterations, additions and

⁵⁶ NELA: 239/1, f. 65.

⁵⁷ NELA: 239/19, ff. 81 and 89.

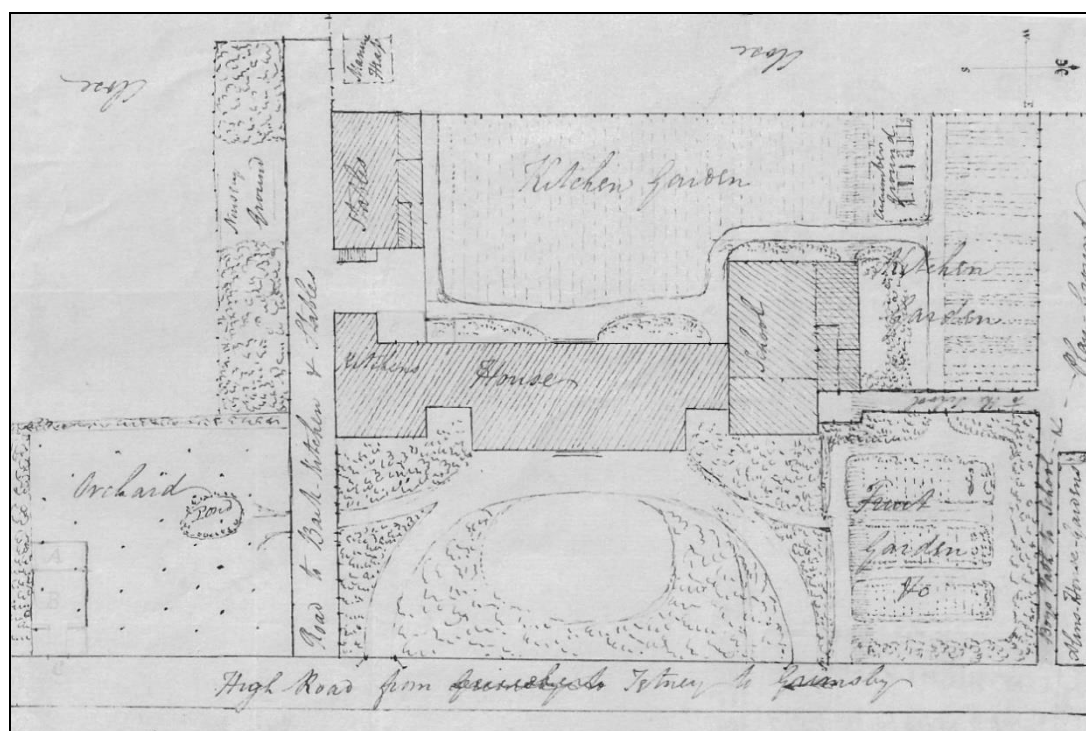
⁵⁸ NELA: 239/1, f. 81; LAO: LQS A/42; *LRSM*, 7 August 1829, p. 3, cols 2-3. In 1836, Revd. Gedge also became a poor law guardian in the Caistor Union by virtue of his role as a J.P.: LAO: PL3/102/1, pp. 1-3.

⁵⁹ *LRSM*, 25 March 1842, p. 4, col. 5. The relative scarcity of squires in north Lincolnshire and around the Fens resulted in the recruitment of clergy to maintain the ranks of the magistracy. In Lindsey, 29 out of 65 magistrates listed in 1841 were clergymen: Sir Francis Hill, 'Squire and parson in early Victorian Lincolnshire', *History*, 58 (1973), p. 338.

⁶⁰ NELA: 239/1, f. 62-3.

improvements to the school house as 'scarcely necessary for the persons filling the station of [School] Master' and they were irritated that Gedge had disregarded their authority by authorising expenditure on his own account.⁶¹ Matters came to a head in April 1828 when Revd. Gedge suggested that the school room should be turned into a nursery for his children (Mrs Gedge was expecting their second child) and that a new school should be built some distance away. The relationship of the school room to the house is shown in Figure 4.1. Lord Carrington and the Trustees refused Gedge's request and were then taken aback by 'the angry feelings' he expressed despite, as they thought, having given him 'every facility and accommodation'.⁶² When Revd. Gedge applied to the Trustees for further monies to repair the schoolhouse they refused.⁶³

*Figure 4.1 Plan of the School House, School Room and Chaise House*⁶⁴



⁶¹ NELA: 239/1, ff. 65, 69, 70 and 71.

⁶² NELA: 239/1, ff. 76-78, 80 and 93; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/3, Carrington to Tomline, 22 August 1828.

⁶³ NELA: 239/1, ff. 65-9 and 87; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/4, Correspondence, April 1839-July 1840.

⁶⁴ CBS: Part of D-CN 18/8/4/7/3. The kitchen and school room were demolished in 1894. A photograph of the east front is included in Figure 2.9

Joseph Gedge also took issue with Lord Carrington and the Trustees over the level of his remuneration as schoolmaster. The Court of Chancery had stipulated that the Master's salary should be proportionate to the number of pupils in the school. Lord Carrington and the Trustees took the view that this should be the average number of boys taught since attendance was irregular, especially at harvest time. Revd. Gedge, on the other hand, wished the number to be based on the total of students enrolled, arguing that infrequent attenders required high levels of remedial teaching.⁶⁵ Gedge appealed to the Court of Chancery, albeit with Carrington's agreement, for a resolution. The Court decreed that there should be a fixed salary of £150 a year and a variable element of up to an additional £50 a year, depending on the number of students attending.⁶⁶ The school was popular and Gedge regularly drew the additional sum.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, he remained unhappy. He believed the fixed element of the salary should have been £180 and argued that it was difficult to exist on less than £250 a year. Carrington took the view that the problem was not the parson's income but his extravagant lifestyle: Gedge had three indoor servants and a gardener and, as Carrington wryly observed, kept two four-wheel carriages in his coach house.⁶⁸

In addition to his schoolmaster's salary, Revd. Gedge also received an income as vicar. By the 1840s, this had roughly doubled in value from its 1806 level to reach £60, owing to the larger rental that Gedge was able to collect from the lands purchased with monies from Queen Anne's Bounty.⁶⁹ Gedge should also have received an annuity of £40 which Matthew Humberston had bequeathed for the augmentation of the vicarage. However, the first Lord Carrington stopped the payment as soon as Gedge began drawing his additional salary as schoolmaster, arguing that the annuity was a discretionary payment and he was not obliged to pay it. Gedge challenged his right to

⁶⁵ NELA: 239/1, f. 65-66, 69 and 70.

⁶⁶ NELA: 239/1, f. 70.

⁶⁷ Numbers were swelled by the admission of boys from the growing town of Cleethorpes, who were entitled to free places, and from Grimsby and neighbouring villages, who were not entitled to free places but who obtained lodgings in villages within the catchment area in order to qualify for admission (NELA: 166/722/4/1 and 239/21; LAO: Cor B/5/4/48/10; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/2, report of 1839).

⁶⁸ NELA: 239/1, ff. 67, 74 and 82. In 1834 the Bishop Kaye of Lincoln reckoned that £200 was the minimum level of income needed by a parish clergyman and £500 if he was also to maintain a family and care for his parishioners: Ambler, *Churches*, pp. 180-1.

⁶⁹ LAO: Ter. Humberston, 1822, and Field 1/20; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/3, Receipt, February 1821.

do so and the Charity Commissioners supported him, arguing in their report of 1839 that the sum should only be withheld if the vicar was incompetent, refused to teach, or led an immoral life, none of which, in their view, applied. The second Lord Carrington disagreed, claiming, for reasons that are discussed below, that in recent years Gedge had not been performing his duties satisfactorily. The Commission referred the matter to the Attorney General who, in 1842, ruled in Gedge's favour. Carrington was obliged not only to reinstate the annuity but also to pay the arrears and meet the costs of the case.⁷⁰

More significant disagreements arose over the nature of Gedge's duties as schoolmaster and his hours of work. They began in July 1823 when Master Dowdeswell, the Master of Chancery, issued a draft set of rules and regulations for governing the school. Revd. Gedge told Lord Carrington that the regulations seemed to be based on the rules for a National School over which 'someone of very low rank' was to be Master rather than those of a free grammar school 'to which university men are appointed'.⁷¹ He took particular exception to the proposed Rule 12 which specified in some detail the hours during which the Master were to be present in the school. He was affronted at such a level of detail as it appeared to him 'to imply suspicion that the Master would neglect the School'. In addition, he was insistent that the stipulated hours of attendance were inconsistent with his duties as incumbent of Humberston. He felt that the role of the Master should be a general supervisory one and not one in which 'the constant personal attendance of the Master was required'. He was prepared, he said later, to attend the school room daily, assist in the teaching of the boys and ensure the assistants did their duty but he would not be bound to attend personally throughout the school day. He was, however, willing to employ and pay out of his pocket an assistant to undertake part of the teaching.⁷²

As a consequence of Revd. Gedge's objections, Lord Carrington agreed that Rule 12 should be deleted but he suggested that Rule 9, which covered the opening hours of the school, should be amended by the addition of a short phrase to the effect that 'the Master and his assistant, if appointed, shall be required to attend the scholars' during

⁷⁰ NELA: 239/1, ff. 54, 86 and 90, 239/34, ff. 33-4; BPP, *32nd Report of the Charity Commissioners, Part 4*, H.C. 1839 [194], pp. 431-32; TNA: Char 2/157, C 13/416/22 and C 13/434/23; and *LRSM*, 16 December 1842, p. 2, col. 2.

⁷¹ NELA: 239/1, f. 62.

⁷² NELA: 239/1, ff. 39-40.

school hours'. Joseph Gedge later claimed that he agreed to this change because it implied that his constant attention was not required. Lord Carrington, however, asserted that he and the other Trustees understood that Gedge would personally instruct the children during all the hours of school time.⁷³

Once the revised regulations had been approved, Revd. Gedge appointed Thomas Richardson as his Assistant to teach in the school. Up until that point, Richardson had been keeping a school in the neighbouring village of Tetney, though he lived in Humberston. Gedge paid him £35 a year, later £40 a year, out of his own salary of £200.⁷⁴ The Trustees appointed Revd. Charles Wildbore as the Under Master, or Usher, at a salary of £80.⁷⁵ Wildbore taught the upper school and Richardson taught the younger boys. Revd. Gedge did not have any fixed and regular duties but visited from time to time to hear the boys' catechism or check on their progress.⁷⁶

By 1827, Lord Carrington and the Trustees were beginning to worry that Gedge was not giving the attention to the School that they judged was necessary and they instructed him to attend the school during the hours of teaching.⁷⁷ However, nothing more appears to have been done and the Trustees seem to have been content to turn a blind eye to Gedge's irregular attendance so long as the school was performing well. It was another ten years before matters came to a head. In April 1837 Charles Wildbore, the second master, asked Lord Carrington for leave of absence for one month on account of his ill health – he had a bad back. He then contracted tuberculosis and was incapacitated for more than a year.⁷⁸ During this time, Lord Carrington and the other Trustees insisted that Revd. Gedge should be present in the

⁷³ NELA: 239/1, ff. 38-9, 41 and 84.

⁷⁴ NELA: 239/1, ff. 41, 62, 64 and 107-8.

⁷⁵ NELA: 239/1, ff. 62-4, 85, and 104; and CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/3, H.V. Bayley to the Trustees, 9 April 1824.

⁷⁶ NELA: 239/1, ff. 104-5. The younger boys were taught reading, writing and arithmetic and the older boys were also instructed in English grammar and, by 1841, in geography and history; some 6 to 8 boys a year, who were intended to be 'apothecaries or chemists or such like', were also taught Latin (CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/13; NELA: 239/2, f. 106, and 239/96).

⁷⁷ NELA: 239/1, ff. 72-4, 80, 91 and 94.

⁷⁸ LAO: Cor B 5/4/103/1, Wildbore to Kaye, 19 March, 24 May and 13 June 1838.

school during all the school hours and should take a full share of the teaching duties.⁷⁹ In his various responses, Gedge vacillated between insisting, on the one hand, that he would only superintend the School and, on the other hand, that he was undertaking Wildbore's duties, but at great cost to himself, whilst at the same time concealing the fact that, after eight months, he had appointed a temporary assistant to teach in the school.⁸⁰ In January 1838 the Trustees asked Gedge to inform them 'whether in point of fact you have during the last year strictly and literally performed the duties of School Master as ordered in the Report of the Master of Chancery 23 July 1823'.⁸¹ Gedge refused to reply. At the following meeting on 8 March 1838, the Trustees censured him and ordered him to comply with their previous directives.⁸² They also appointed a Mr George Hodgkinson to enquire into the state of the school and the education of the children. Though Gedge initially refused to co-operate with the inspection, he subsequently relented and Hodgkinson spent three days in the school examining all the pupils.⁸³

On 4 April 1838, the Trustees met at Humberston. By this time, Lord Carrington was tiring of the business of the Trust and his son, the Hon. Robert Smith, attended in his place. The Trustees expected to meet in the small room adjoining the school room as usual. Smith called it 'The Trustees Room' but Gedge called it his study. Gedge locked the door and refused them entry. In a heated exchange, Robert Smith insisted that Gedge unlock the door to the study but Gedge replied that he would do so only if he was requested rather than commanded. Smith sent for a carpenter to break open the door, but the Trustees ended up sending the boys home and meeting in the large school room.⁸⁴

At 3 p.m., Joseph Gedge was called into the meeting and asked to sign a declaration that he would obey the instructions of the Trustees, that he would personally attend the school and assist in teaching the boys during the school hours in accordance with Rule 9, and that no assistant would be employed in the School except those appointed by

⁷⁹ NELA: 239/1, ff. 42, 45 and 48.

⁸⁰ NELA: 239/1, ff. 43, 54, 57 and 84.

⁸¹ NELA: 239/1, f. 48.

⁸² NELA: 239/1, f. 88.

⁸³ NELA 239/1, f. 49.

⁸⁴ NELA: 239/1, ff. 49-50, 56, 62 and 89; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/11

the Trustees. He refused and was given 30 minutes to reconsider his position. During this time, Revd. Gedge made three separate written demands of his own: that he be able to see Mr Hodgkinson's report, that he be able to take legal advice before signing, and that he be paid £60 for covering Wildbore's duties during the previous 9 months. All were refused. The Trustees then told Gedge that he was dismissed and that he should quit the school house within six months. Given that Wildbore was still on long term sick leave, Thomas Richardson was appointed as temporary Head.⁸⁵

On the following day, Joseph Gedge opened the school as usual at 9.00 a.m. and began teaching the boys. Thomas Richardson arrived but was sent away. At 10.30 a.m. Robert Smith and three other Trustees appeared, dismissed the boys and asked Gedge to leave. Gedge said that only the Court of Chancery had the power to dismiss him and he left with the keys to the school room. The Trustees then shut the school and posted notices to the effect that the school was closed until further notice consequent upon the dismissal of the Head and the illness of the Usher. Formal proceedings were begun to eject Revd. Gedge from the schoolhouse.⁸⁶

On 30 June 1838, Revd. Gedge gained a temporary injunction from the Court of Chancery restraining the Trustees from dismissing him as Master of the School and evicting him from the school house. The Lord Chancellor instructed the Master of Chancery to examine and report on the dispute.⁸⁷ Each side began collecting affidavits to support their case. Wildbore and Richardson testified that Gedge was seldom in the school and treated the role of schoolmaster as a sinecure.⁸⁸ Richardson produced class lists for 1835 and 1836 which showed that in some weeks Gedge visited the school only once or twice a week and at other times not at all.⁸⁹ Two of the leading farmers in the village alleged that it was 'a common opinion' in Humberston and its neighbourhood that Revd. Gedge was 'above being the schoolmaster' and took little or no interest in the school. They said villagers resented the fact that Gedge drew a schoolmaster's salary and yet employed Richardson to do his teaching, particularly

⁸⁵ NELA: 239/1, ff. 51-2, 54, and 89; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/11.

⁸⁶ NELA: 239/1, ff. 53-4 and 90; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/11; LRSM, 13 April 1838, p. 2, col. 6.

⁸⁷ NELA: 239/12, 34 and 190.

⁸⁸ NELA: 239/1, ff. 104-5 and 113.

⁸⁹ NELA: 239/1, ff. 108-11.

since his other duties of vicar were 'not in any way laborious'. It seemed to them that Gedge spent more of his time outside the village, officiating as a JP and visiting family and friends, than he did within it.⁹⁰

Gedge was unable to muster any supporting affidavits from his parishioners in Humberston. Perhaps they also felt antipathy towards their minister or, as tenants of Lord Carrington, they may have felt conflicted between their loyalty to the vicar and their dependence upon their landlord. In either case, Gedge had to rely on testimonials from those living outside the parish – from parents who had sons at the school and from fellow clergy and schoolmasters who were acquainted with the school. They all professed great satisfaction with Joseph Gedge's management and with the high quality of the teaching, though it was claimed by Lord Carrington's camp that the credit for that belonged to Wildbore and Richardson.⁹¹

After a hearing lasting three days, the Master of the Rolls decided in favour of Revd. Gedge. In a judgement made on 10 August 1838, he said that, when appointed, Gedge had reason to believe his own personal attendance in teaching the boys was not to occupy the whole of every day. He had objected to Rule 12 which had been rescinded, the Trustees had accepted Gedge's appointment of an assistant paid out of his own salary, and they had known and accepted for a number of years that Gedge did not employ the whole of his time teaching. He conceded that Revd. Gedge could have been at the school more frequently but it was, he said, very difficult to combine the duties of vicar and schoolmaster. The Master further noted that there were no allegations of incompetence levelled against Revd. Gedge. Indeed, the school had flourished under his management and he had properly supervised the assistants, examined the children and assured the quality of the teaching and learning. The Trustees, on the other hand, had acted unreasonably in insisting that Gedge accept their conditions within 30 minutes. They had also acted unconstitutionally since they could not legally dismiss the schoolmaster without the direction of the Court, and they had acted improperly because a motion to dismiss was not made at a general meeting convened for the purpose or by the requisite number of Trustees. Therefore the Master decreed that Revd. Gedge should be reinstated as schoolmaster. However, he also insisted that Gedge should undertake to give as much of his time to the school as

⁹⁰ NELA: 239/1, ff. 111-13.

⁹¹ NELA: 239/15/1, ff. 1-7.

was consistent with the performance of his duties as vicar and he should not act independently of the Trustees.⁹²

Both sides counted this a victory. Joseph Gedge told the county newspaper that the Master of the Rolls had acted 'to prevent Lord Carrington's interference with him as Head Master'.⁹³ Lord Carrington told the Bishop of Lincoln: 'We are labouring hard to reform this school, and have so far succeeded as to have procured from the Master of the Rolls ... an order that Mr Gedge should devote all his time to the duty of the school, except when his Parish stood in need of his presence'.⁹⁴

Yet despite the gloss that the second Lord Carrington chose to put on the outcome, there was little doubt that his failure to humble Revd. Gedge seriously impaired his authority in the village. He had been sorely hurt, he said, by 'the very unpleasant feelings' generated by the case. He took little further interest in the affairs of the Trust and ceased to attend its meetings.⁹⁵ Charles Wildbore resigned as second master and Thomas Richardson stepped down shortly after.⁹⁶ Both had supported the Trustees' action against Gedge. Joseph Gedge also considered himself 'to have been deeply injured & heavily tried' by the legal process but, in his case, this seemed to strengthen his resolve to continue the fight.⁹⁷ Though he undertook to comply with the directions of the Court, he nevertheless continued his previous practice of appointing an assistant to perform his teaching duties in the school.⁹⁸

In his original petition to the Court, Revd. Gedge had sought not only to restrain the trustees from removing him from the office of master but also to have the rules of the

⁹² NELA: 239/19; CBS: D-CN 118/8/4/7/8; *The Times*, 11 August 1838, p.6, cols 1-2; *LRS*M, 17 August 1838, p. 4, col. 3.

⁹³ *LRS*M, 7 December 1838, p. 3, col. 4.

⁹⁴ LAO: Cor. B/5/4/42/1.

⁹⁵ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/11, Affidavit of Lord Carrington, 16 May 1850.

⁹⁶ NELA: 239/2, ff. 41 and 64; LAO: Cor B 5/4/27/20. Lord Carrington used his influence with the Bishop of Lincoln to have Revd. Wildbore appointed as vicar of Clee, where he was already the curate; nevertheless, Wildbore complained that Revd. Gedge, Richard Thorold and their clerical friends in the district continued to vilify and ostracise him: CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/4 and 53, and 18/8/4/7/11, Affidavit of Lord Carrington, 16 May 1850; LAO: Cor.B. 5/4/42/1.

⁹⁷ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/4, Revd. Gedge to the Trustees, 8 November 1839.

⁹⁸ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/2, Letters to and from Revd. Gedge, 30 April and 2 May 1839.

Trust reformed so that the power to appoint Trustees and dismiss the schoolmaster was removed from Carrington's hands. The Trustees, he argued, could not be relied upon to reach an independent and impartial view on issues before them because they were all relatives, friends and business associates of Lord Carrington.⁹⁹ Furthermore, they knew little of the school because they all lived some considerable distance away, in Buckinghamshire, London and Hull. Legal arguments on these points continued for the next four years until a final judgement was secured in 1842.¹⁰⁰ It was unambiguously favourable to Gedge. The Master decreed that there should be 18 trustees rather than 12 and that they should be resident within 20 miles of Humberston, excepting Lord Carrington and the Bishop of Lincoln.¹⁰¹ Accordingly, the trustees who lived at a distance from the parish, and who were mostly relatives or past friends of Lord Carrington, were removed and new trustees were appointed.¹⁰² The new trustees were a mix of local gentry and beneficed clergy whose names had been suggested by Revd. Gedge. Most were relatives, friends and associates of his.¹⁰³ They included Richard Thorold, the squire of Weelsby and Gedge's brother-in-law, and the Revd. Edward Mantell, the High Church vicar of Louth and Tetney, and Gedge's friend. Ominously, Mantell was said by contemporaries to be 'stiff and starched' and contemptuous of all those who opposed him.¹⁰⁴

For the next eight years, Joseph Gedge appears to have managed the church and the school without interference from the second Lord Carrington. Then, in 1849, a further dispute erupted. Early in that year, Revd. Gedge inherited property from his late uncle

⁹⁹ The Trustees had been appointed by the Court of Chancery but had been nominated by Lord Carrington. They comprised, in addition to Carrington himself, his son, son-in-law and nephew, his friend and fellow Whig peer Lord Yarborough (who had promised 'to do whatever you recommend with regard to the school at Humberstone'), the son of his former business partner in Hull, three other business associates in Hull, and his steward. The churchwarden of Humberston, who was an *ex-officio* member of the Board, was Lord Carrington's tenant. See NELA 239/2, f. 55, and also ff. 72, 80-2, and 87-99; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/2, Yarborough to Carrington, 17 December 1838.

¹⁰⁰ TNA: C 13/398/2; LAO: Cor.B. 5/4/42/1/10; NELA: 239/82 and 96.

¹⁰¹ CBS: D-CN/18/8/4/7/13; NELA: 239/74 and 96; LRSM, 25 March 1842, p. 4, col. 5.

¹⁰² CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/64.

¹⁰³ NELA: 239/70 and 72; LRSM, 14 March 1851, p. 4, col. 7.

¹⁰⁴ NELA 239/71 and 73; R. Gurnham, 'The Revd Edward Reginald Mantell', http://www.louthmuseum.org.uk/stories/revd_mantell.html (accessed 1 December 2016).

which included the vacant family living of Bildeston in Norfolk. In May, Gedge resigned the school in Humberston, seemingly in anticipation of a return to Norfolk, but he did not resign the vicarage. It appeared to Lord Carrington and others that the purpose was obvious. If Gedge had resigned the living at the same time as the school, Lord Carrington would have had the patronage of both. But by resigning the school while he held the vicarage he enabled the Trustees to nominate to the school. And by resigning the vicarage once the appointment of the new schoolmaster had been completed, he thought to oblige Lord Carrington to give the living to the person appointed as schoolmaster.¹⁰⁵

Carrington and his agent urged the Trustees to defer the appointment of schoolmaster until Revd. Gedge had vacated the living but they resented Carrington's interference and pressed on regardless.¹⁰⁶ On 7 July a majority of the Trustees elected Revd. George Pattenden as Master and he took up his post in the following week.¹⁰⁷ A week after that, Revd. Gedge resigned the living of Humberston and Revd. Pattenden wrote to Lord Carrington seeking appointment as vicar.¹⁰⁸ However, Carrington instead appointed Charles Wildbore, the previous under-master and the nemesis of Joseph Gedge.¹⁰⁹ Though this asserted Carrington's right of presentment to the vicarage, it

¹⁰⁵ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/10, Lord Carrington to the Bishop of Lincoln, 26 Nov 1849, and James Freshfield junior to Mr Burder, 18 May 1850, D-CN 18/8/4/7/11, Affidavit of Lord Carrington, 16 May 1850, and D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/54. Carrington was convinced that Gedge had shared his plans with the Bishop of Lincoln, and possibly the Bishop of Ely, but neither would admit to it: CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/11, Affidavits of Lord Carrington, 16 May 1840, and the Bishop of Lincoln, 13 April 1850, and D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/57.

¹⁰⁶ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/11, James Freshfield, junr, to John Burder, 30 June 1849, and to Revd. Mantell, 6 July 1849.

¹⁰⁷ LAO: Presentation Deed 206/20; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/11, Affidavit of Revd. Pattenden, 20 April 1850; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/10, Bishop of Lincoln to Revd. Stoddart, 16 May 1849. Pattenden was second master of Sleaford grammar school, and curate at Scott Willoughby and Quarrington, when the post of Master of Humberston School was advertised: *LRS*M, 20 July 1849, p. 3, col. 4.

¹⁰⁸ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/64, D-CN 18/8/4/7/10, James Freshfield to Revd. Mantell, 11 July 1849, D-CN 18/8/4/7/11, Affidavits of the Bishop of Lincoln, 13 April 1850 and Revd. George Pattenden, 20 April 1850. Revd. Gedge had previously written to Lord Carrington offering to resign the living in favour of the new headmaster (CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/10, Joseph Gedge to Lord Carrington, 6 July 1849) and he had told Pattenden that, if Carrington refused, he would retain the living and appoint Pattenden as his curate (CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/11, Affidavit of Revd. George Pattenden, 20 April 1850).

¹⁰⁹ LAO: Reg 40/524; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/13, 45 and 67. Carrington offered Wildbore the vicarage of Humberston on condition that Wildbore would vacate the vicarage if he resigned the school.

was nevertheless an unsatisfactory outcome because it divorced the mastership from the vicarage. It was also an unattractive proposition for Revd. Wildbore because so long as Pattenden occupied the school house and drew the schoolmaster's salary, Wildbore had no official residence – though Carrington gave him a cottage in the village – and he drew a clerical income of just £60 a year. However, Wildbore knew that if Pattenden could be displaced, he was assured of appointment as headmaster.¹¹⁰

In November 1849, Wildbore wrote to the Trustees challenging the legality of the process to appoint Revd. Pattenden as headmaster and asserting his right, as vicar of Humberston, to be admitted as headmaster under the terms of Matthew Humberston's will.¹¹¹ The second Lord Carrington had taken little interest in the Trust for a number of years and was initially disinclined to act on this occasion: 'The affairs of Humberston', he said, 'have become a source of annoyance to me as they were to my Father'. Nevertheless, he aligned himself behind Revd. Wildbore. The majority of Trustees, led by Richard Thorold and Revd. Mantell, chose to oppose him.¹¹² Wildbore thereupon filed a suit against them in the Court of Chancery.

The case caused great excitement in the neighbourhood as the two rival camps sought to solicit affidavits in their favour. Altogether, 258 affidavits were obtained from 140 witnesses ranging, it was said, 'from the House of Lords to the workhouse'.¹¹³ Those collected by the Trustees sought to show that Revd. Wildbore was unfit to act as schoolmaster owing to his lax 'moral habits', 'unsound doctrines', 'infirmity of temper' and insobriety.¹¹⁴ Many of these affidavits were provided by people from neighbouring parishes who were tenants or parishioners of the leading Trustees and for this reason

¹¹⁰ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/48 and 64. Carrington was content for Wildbore to continue as vicar of Clee so that he had a second income to draw on: CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/11, Affidavit of Lord Carrington, 16 May 1850.

¹¹¹ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/50 and 52; D-CN 18/8/4/7/11, Affidavit of Revd. Pattenden, 20 April 1850.

¹¹² CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/64. The Bishop of Lincoln, publicly at least, sought to maintain his neutrality, and two other Trustees were inactive: CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/10, J.B. Hollingworth to James Freshfield Junior, 24 April 1850, and 18/8/4/7/11, office note, n.d..

¹¹³ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/73; *LRS*M, 31 May 1850, p. 2, col. 5, and 14 March 1851, p. 4, col. 7; *Hull Packet*, 4 July 1851, p. 7, col. 3.

¹¹⁴ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/59 and 62, and 18/8/4/7/10, Bishop of Lincoln to Charles Wildbore, 12 and 25 March 1851, and vice-versa, 24 February 1851.

Wildbore alleged that they had been extracted under duress.¹¹⁵ Charles Wildbore's friends got up a petition from the parishes that were eligible to send pupils to the school expressing satisfaction with Wildbore's services as second master, claiming that teaching standards had declined since he resigned, and supporting his candidature for headship.¹¹⁶ Revd. Wildbore reported that 'The general feeling of the neighbourhood is against Mr Gedge's conduct to his Lordship, & the Trustees are considered as having acted somewhat collusively with him. ... Mantell & his clique are chuckling at the manner in which they have, as they think, annoyed & over reached Lord Carrington'.¹¹⁷

The Vice Chancellor gave a preliminary judgement in May 1850 and a final decision in March 1851, both of which were favourable to Revd. Wildbore. He ruled that the Trustees were not competent to have appointed Mr Pattenden by a special meeting or an adjourned meeting and the matter should have waited on the general meeting in November 1849. He said that Pattenden was therefore not appointed and should quit the schoolhouse. Moreover, he declared that Wildbore was innocent of every charge of malpractice that had been brought against him and should be given possession of the office of headmaster in accordance with the Charity rules. He said the Trustees had been motivated by an antipathy towards Lord Carrington and recommended that they retire.¹¹⁸

News of the outcome reached James Bee, the churchwarden, on 8 March 1851 and he announced it to the village. According to the county newspaper, there was 'the greatest animation' in Grimsby and the neighbourhood as the news spread. Bells were rung in Humberston, Clee, Grimsby and many of the surrounding villages, except in Tetney where Revd. Mantell, one of the leading Trustees, was vicar and had the church locked. On Monday 10 March, some two hundred people assembled at the Waltham railway station with flags, banners, and music, to hail Wildbore's return from London and to escort him home. Unfortunately, he took a later train which passed through Waltham without stopping, leaving Wildbore to alight up the line at Grimsby. Undeterred, his supporters gathered at Cleethorpes the following day and, with bands

¹¹⁵ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/53 and 62, and 18/8/4/7/11, Affidavit of Lord Carrington, 16 May 1850.

¹¹⁶ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/11, Affidavit of Lord Carrington, 16 May 1850, and D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/62.

¹¹⁷ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/50.

¹¹⁸ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/73; *LRS*M, 31 May 1850, p. 2, col. 5, and 14 March 1851, p. 4, col. 7. Pattenden resigned and was subsequently appointed headmaster of Boston Grammar School: *LRS*M, 23 August 1850, p. 1, col. 4.

playing and flags flying, proceeded to Humberstone where Wildbore met them and 'warmly responded' to their good wishes. The day was closed with parading and afterwards, in an act reminiscent of a 'skimmington' or 'ran tan', effigies of the persons who had opposed Wildbore (presumably Thorold and Mantell) were burned. The local correspondent of the county newspaper reported that 'it is not too much to say that few events have given greater and more general satisfaction'.¹¹⁹

The seven Trustees who had been censured by the Vice-Chancellor resigned during April 1851. They each professed to have acted only in the best interests of the school and to have resisted what they saw as undue influence from Lord Carrington. In his letter of resignation, Richard Thorold of Weelsby wrote: 'I recognized no intention that the Trustees should make themselves as Trustees acceptable to Lord Carrington, who has never (any more than the first lord Carrington) contributed one shilling in aid of the Charity'. Another Trustee wrote 'I find from the Vice-Chancellor's Decree that to be qualified for a Trustee it is necessary to render oneself acceptable to Lord Carrington and pleasant to Mr Wildbore ... I feel I may be sadly deficient in these requisites'.¹²⁰ David Swanson and James Butt, the second and third master, also resigned under threat of dismissal.¹²¹

New Trustees were appointed during the summer of 1851. They were of a different stamp from earlier boards. Apart from Lords Carrington and Yarborough (who soon ceased to attend regularly), they were mainly professional and business men from

¹¹⁹ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/74; *LRS*M, 14 March 1851, p. 2, col. 3; *The Hull Packet*, 14 March 1851, p. 6, col. 4.

¹²⁰ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/76; NELA: 238/90. The Trustees subsequently presented a petition in the House of Lords against the Charitable Trusts Bill drawing attention to this case and complaining that, because of an irregularity in the conduct of meetings, they had had a large amount of costs awarded against them. They argued that such a harsh decision would deter clergy and gentry from acting as trustees of charities and proposed that the Bill should be amended so that costs were awarded against the charity rather than the trustees (*LRS*M, 4 July 1851, p. 4, col. 4.)

¹²¹ LAO: Cor. B/5/4/16/7; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/14, Charles Wildbore to Lord Carrington, 2 and 10 December 1851, David Swanson to Lord Carrington, 6 December 1851, and G.S. Robinson to Lord Carrington, 9 December 1851, 18/8/4/7/10, Charles Wildbore to Charles Veal, 31 January 1852, and to Lord Carrington, 31 January 1852, Charles Veal to Lord Carrington, 2 and 5 February 1852, and Lord Yarborough to Lord Carrington, 4 February 1852. Swanson's enforced departure caused a good deal of adverse publicity in the county press: see *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, 2 January 1852, p. 8, col. 4, 16 January 1852, p. 8, col. 2, 28 January 1852, p. 3, col. 2, 6 February 1852, p. 1, col. 2, and 27 February 1852, p. 3, col. 6.

Grimsby and Louth; eight of the 17 were nonconformists.¹²² Revd. Wildbore was installed as Master and continued as vicar and schoolmaster until his death in 1877 and new second and third masters were appointed.¹²³ Ironically, when the school was inspected in 1867, it was reported that Revd. Wildbore was only slightly more attentive to the schoolchildren than Revd. Gedge had been and 'cannot be said to be performing work adequate to the income he receives'. The real work, the report said, fell on the second and third master.¹²⁴ Seemingly, little had changed in that regard.

Conclusion

In conventional descriptions of closed parishes, absentee landlords are depicted as remote yet powerful figures who were able to orchestrate parish politics at a distance by persuading or instructing the clergy and the principal tenant farmers to comply with their wishes. Yet, in Humberston, the ownership and exercise of power was much more contested and fluid.

A key variable in this changeable environment was the extent to which the vicar was resident in the parish. For much of the period between 1750 and 1820, Humberston was served by a succession of absentee rectors and curates who ministered to the parish and occasionally ran a school but evinced little desire to challenge the authority of the squire. The installation of an ambitious and strong-willed resident vicar brought a new dynamic to the relationship. Joseph Gedge was prepared to use the courts and the rule of the law to oppose the demands of Lord Carrington and his associates.

In many similar situations, disputes between squire and parson arose about differences in religious practice or the management of parish affairs. In Humberston, they were personal and motivated by self-interest. In his disputes with Lord Carrington, Revd. Gedge's principal aim was to establish his independence from a landlord and patron, and a board of trustees, who he felt were seeking to control and condition his behaviour in unacceptable ways – limiting his social aspirations, constraining the

¹²² CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/14, Earl of Yarborough to Lord Carrington, 16 December 1851, and 18/8/4/7/10, James Freshfield to Lord Carrington, 4 May 1852; *LRS*M, 16 May 1851, p. 2, col. 6, 14 November 1851, p. 2, col. 2, 12 November 1852, p. 2, col. 8, and 21 November 1856, p. 2, col. 6;

¹²³ LAO: Reg. 41/563.

¹²⁴ BPP, *Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, 1867-8*, vol. 16, H.C. 1867-68 [3966-xvi], p.236.

improvement of his home, holding down his income, and insisting on his conformity to set hours of work.

Gedge's defiance might be taken as evidence of his determination to contest prevailing social norms. The early nineteenth century was, after all, a period in which traditional authority structures, values and behaviours, based on notions of deference and respect, were beginning to break down. A new and confident professional class was starting to emerge which was prepared to challenge the old aristocratic order and establish its own place in the social hierarchy.¹²⁵

Yet Gedge's assertiveness was riddled with conservatism. Gedge had no wish to overturn the established order. He was neither a reforming minister nor a social reformer. Indeed, he sought to keep his clerical, pastoral and teaching responsibilities to a minimum. Moreover, though he was bold and forceful in his dealings with the Carringtons, he continued to address them with civility.¹²⁶ He was not averse to notions of privilege, deference and respect. In fact, he wished those for himself. He aspired to be a gentleman, leading a life of leisure and culture and assuming his share of public duties as magistrate, poor law guardian and chairman of the parish vestry. Such aspirations were, to a large degree, achievable in the Marsh, where the clergy frequently performed the roles left vacant by the absent squirearchy. But they were not necessarily appreciated and accepted by others. It was Gedge's social ambitions and pretensions, perhaps more than anything else, that so incensed the Carringtons and alienated many of his parishioners

¹²⁵ L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London, 1987), pp. 18-30.

¹²⁶ NELA 239/34, f. 62.

CHAPTER 5 THE CHALLENGE OF METHODISM ¹

In the century after 1730, a wave of evangelical Christianity spread across Britain, first through the preaching of Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland in Wales, and then of George Whitefield and John Wesley in England. Many others followed their lead. It was an unco-ordinated and disparate movement until Wesley brought 'method' to bear by combining independent, local groups into a single 'connexion', and organising class meetings, congregations and lay preachers into Circuits. Wesley sought to embed his brand of evangelism within the Church of England but, shortly after his death in 1791, his followers split from the Church and Methodism became a separate denomination in its own right. Internal dissensions continued to dog the Methodist cause in the following years leading to further schisms and the creation of a number of different branches of Methodism.²

Some communities were quicker to embrace Methodism than others. A number of reasons have been advanced to explain this differential response, but two command general support. The first is that Methodism grew strong in areas where the established church was weak and old dissent was absent or moribund. The second is that Methodism grew quickly in parishes where landlords lacked influence. These two conditions often operated together.

The following pages examine these two propositions in detail, first in relation to north Lincolnshire and then in respect of the single parish of Humberston. As will be noted, north Lincolnshire exemplifies the essential truth of these two propositions but Humberston, a closed parish with a strong Methodist presence, is, for reasons that will be examined below, an exception to the rule. The exception points up some of the dangers of applying a too rigid distinction between religiously conformist closed parishes on the one hand and pluralistic open parishes on the other.

¹ I am grateful to Dr Rod Ambler for comments on an earlier draft of this chapter.

² D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, 1989); G.M. Ditchfield, *The Evangelical Revival* (London, 1998), pp. 39-40, 50, and 57-63; W.R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 296-352; J. Kent, *Wesley and the Wesleys: Religion in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 1-30 and 63-103.

Methodism in Closed Parishes

It has long been argued that Nonconformity was generally successful where the established church was either too weak or too negligent to maintain its monopoly of religious practice.³ In the 1960s Robert Currie extended this argument by claiming that Methodism was also successful in establishing itself in areas where old dissenting congregations were weak or absent.⁴ Ell and Snell tested the validity of these two hypotheses in their comprehensive analysis of the 1851 religious census and found them to be largely correct. They were able to show that old dissent and the Church of England were co-associated, tending to be strong in the same registration districts, whereas both Wesleyan Methodism and Primitive Methodism were strong in areas where the established church and older dissenting groups were weak.⁵

This inverse relationship between Anglican and Nonconformist strength is particularly evident in north Lincolnshire. The Church of England, in this region as elsewhere, went into relative decline in the second half of the eighteenth century. The provision of church services declined, the number of confirmations fell, fewer candidates came forward for ordination, the incidence of non-residence and pluralism amongst the parochial clergy increased, and church fabrics were neglected.⁶ At the same time, the number, distribution and size of Nonconformist societies grew larger as a wave of

³ The proposition was first formulated by F. Tillyard in 'The distribution of the Free Churches in England', *Sociological Review*, 27 (1935), pp. 1-18, restated by J.D. Gay in *The Geography of Religion in England* (London, 1971), pp. 109, 145, 147-8 and 159, and developed by A.D. Gilbert in *Religion and Society in Industrial England* (London, 1976), pp. 94-121. The statistical basis of Tillyard's thesis, though not the proposition itself, has been challenged by K.D.M. Snell in *Church and Chapel in the North Midlands: Religious Observance in the Nineteenth Century* (Leicester, 1991), pp. 3-4.

⁴ R. Currie, 'A micro-theory of Methodist growth', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, 36 (1967), p. 68. Currie's conclusions have been questioned by A. Everitt in *The Pattern of Rural Dissent: The Nineteenth Century* (Leicester, 1972), pp. 10-12, on the grounds that they do not sufficiently recognise the importance of other factors.

⁵ K.D.M. Snell and P.S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 185-98.

⁶ A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln* (London, 1799), pp. 437-8; R.W. Ambler, *Churches, Chapels, and the Parish Communities of Lincolnshire, 1600-1900* (Lincoln, 2000), pp. 48-52; D. Babington Smith, 'Ups and downs of church maintenance', in H. Thorold, *Lincolnshire Churches: Their Past and Their Future*, (Lincoln, 1976), pp. 25-26.

evangelical fervour swept the area.⁷ By 1851, there were more Nonconformist chapels in Lindsey than Anglican churches and, despite the Church's attempts at reform and revival during the 1830s and 1840s, total attendances at Nonconformist meeting places on Census Sunday, 1851, outnumbered those at Anglican churches.⁸

At the same time, old dissent remained weak and new dissent barely gained a foothold. Numbers of Baptist, Presbyterian and Quaker congregations declined in north Lincolnshire during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the Independents, though reinforced by Calvinists associated with the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, were largely concentrated in the towns.⁹ The real growth in Nonconformist activity came from the Methodists. They accounted for 40 per cent of all attendances at religious services in 1851 whilst Independents and Baptists mustered just 9 per cent.¹⁰ Amongst the Methodists, the Wesleyans were by far the strongest and most influential, even after the secession of the Primitives in 1813 and the Reformers in the 1850s. As Obelkevich has remarked of parts of north Lincolnshire at this time, 'if to be "religious" was to be a Methodist, then to be a "Methodist" was to be a Wesleyan'.¹¹

The second relationship – between the distribution of Methodism and patterns of land ownership – was first noticed by Mills in 1967 and by Gay in 1971.¹² It was subsequently investigated more systematically by Everitt and latterly by Snell and Ell.¹³ In these last two cases, the authors used information in the *Imperial Gazetteer* of 1870 to classify parishes as either 'open' or 'closed' and they used the Religious Census of

⁷ Ambler, *Churches*, pp. 129-75.

⁸ Everitt, *Rural Dissent*, p. 8; Snell and Ell, *Rival Jerusalems*, pp. 72, 119, 125 and 138.

⁹ Ambler, *Churches*, pp. 86-128; S. Davies, *Quakerism in Lincolnshire: An Informal History* (Lincoln, 1989), pp. 69, 75-6, 81-4, and 87-94; J.T. Barker, *Congregationalism in Lincolnshire* (London, 1860), pp. 20-27.

¹⁰ Everitt, *Rural Dissent*, pp. 10 and 48; Snell and Ell, *Rival Jerusalems*, p. 119.

¹¹ J. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-1875* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 183-4; see also Ambler, *Churches*, pp. 136-8 and 140.

¹² D.R. Mills, 'English villages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: a sociological approach', *Amateur Historian*, 6 (1965), p. 277; Gay, *Geography*, p. 111. Mills developed the argument more fully in his later book *Lord and Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London, 1980), pp. 125-6.

¹³ Everitt, *Rural Dissent*, pp. 20-22; Snell and Ell, *Rival Jerusalems*, pp. 364-94.

1851 to assess the strength of different denominations in those parishes.¹⁴ Everitt found that, in the four English counties or county divisions he examined (Kent, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Lindsey), Nonconformist chapels were almost entirely absent in parishes where the land was controlled by a single owner and very much an exception in those parishes where land was concentrated in the hands of a few families. Snell and Ell found a similar connection when examining attendance patterns in 1,524 parishes across 15 counties. They declared that the relationship between parish type and religious affiliation 'can now be regarded as definitely proven'.¹⁵

In Lindsey, the association was particularly striking. According to Everitt, Nonconformist chapels were present in only 2 of 71 parishes in which property was held by a single owner and in just 39 of 146 parishes in which property was in a few hands. In other words, 81 per cent of closed parishes had no chapel. The picture was very different in parishes with divided ownership. Here, 86 per cent of open parishes had at least one chapel.¹⁶ Ambler has undertaken a similar calculation for Lindsey using a slightly different system of classification and an earlier data source, White's *Directory of Lincolnshire* for 1856. His findings reinforce those of Everitt. He found that non-Anglican places of worship were present in only 4 out of 21 villages with a single resident proprietor (i.e. an estate village) and in 82 out of 179 places where the land was held by one or two non-resident proprietors, or by one resident and two absentee owners. On Ambler's calculations, 57 per cent of these closed parishes had no chapel, compared with Everitt's figure of 81 per cent. By contrast, Ambler calculates that 80 per cent of open parishes had one or more places of non-Anglican worship, which is close to the figure estimated by Everitt.¹⁷ An interesting finding to emerge from Ambler's analysis is that a landowner's determination to debar Nonconformist chapels

¹⁴ Everitt used the terminology of 'estate' and 'freeholders' parishes, rather than 'open' and 'closed' parishes, and he measured the size of congregations by counting the number of those attending the most popular service on Census Sunday whereas Snell and Ell totalled the numbers at all the services held in each meeting place on that day.

¹⁵ Snell and Ell, *Rival Jerusalems*, pp. 373-4.

¹⁶ Everitt, *Rural Dissent*, pp. 49 and 76-8.

¹⁷ R.W. Ambler (ed.), *Lincolnshire Returns of the Census of Religious Worship, 1851*, Lincoln Record Society 72 (Lincoln, 1979), pp. lxx-lxx.

from his estate seems to have been stronger in respect of his home parish than in other, more distant, parts of his property.¹⁸

It is often said that landlords sought to exclude Nonconformists from their estates because they feared that, in challenging the authority of the Church, they were also threatening the authority of the squire and undermining traditional notions of social conformity, loyalty and deference.¹⁹ The argument and the data, however, need to be treated with care since it has also been claimed that it was the Methodists' commitment to order, discipline and probity that helped to maintain social and political stability at a time when revolutionary fervour and radical sentiment was running high.²⁰ As Hempton and others have pointed out in helping to explain this seeming paradox, Methodism was not a single monolithic movement with a single political theology but a broad church, radical in some areas, conservative in others, and, so far as the Wesleyans were concerned, increasingly conformist during the course of the nineteenth century.²¹

It is to be expected, therefore, that landlords' reactions to Methodism similarly varied over time and between places. Some landlords, such as the Willoughby de Eresbys in south Lincolnshire, refused to admit Methodists as tenants on their estates.²² Others were grudgingly accepting of them. In north Lincolnshire, there were many landowners who refused to grant land for the building of a Methodist chapel, or to allow any of their properties to be used for Methodist services, who nevertheless admitted Methodists as tenants of their farms and cottages. Indeed, it would have been difficult in a strongly Nonconformist area such as this to have done otherwise. It was not unusual in these

¹⁸ Ambler, *Lincolnshire Returns*, pp. lxix-lxx.

¹⁹ D. Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland, from the Glorious Revolution to the Decline of Empire* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 18 and 33, and *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (London, 2005), pp. 33-5 and 87; A. Gilbert, 'Religion and political stability in early industrial England', in P.K. O'Brien and R.E. Quinault (eds), *The Industrial Revolution and British Society* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 89-90.

²⁰ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963, London, 1983 edn.), pp. 385-6; W. Gibson, *Church, State and Society, 1760-1850* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp. 76-80; F. O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History 1688-1832* (1997, London, 2016 edn.), pp. 282 and 313-6.

²¹ D. Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society, 1750-1850* (London, 1984), pp. 11 and 230-1, and *Religion and Political Culture*, p. 34; Gilbert, 'Religion', pp. 83, 86-7; Gibson, *Church*, pp. 79-81.

²² C.K. Rawding, *The Lincolnshire Wolds in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln, 2001), p. 81; Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 35.

cases for Methodist tenants to worship at a chapel in a neighbouring parish, giving the misleading impression (when the census returns are analysed) that Methodism was entirely absent in their home village. Thus the Wesleyans of Hatton, denied a chapel in their own parish, obtained land for one in the adjoining parish of Minting; the Wesleyans of Snarford built a chapel in neighbouring Welton for the same reason; and the Methodists of Muckton did likewise in Little Cawthorpe.²³ A rector of Waithe remarked on the 'zeal for God' shown by the Wesleyans as they made their way from their homes in Waithe to their place of worship in Grainsby, whilst he remained in the village and contemplated his 'almost empty church'.²⁴

There were other landlords who, for various reasons, were sympathetic to the Methodist cause and allowed Methodists to build chapels on their estates. Indeed, Everitt may have under-estimated the number of such landlords in north Lincolnshire.²⁵ There were those, first of all, who were sympathetic to the Methodist cause because they themselves had converted to Methodism. The outstanding example is Robert Carr Brackenbury, the squire of Raithby-by-Spilsby, who became a lay preacher and a friend of John Wesley. He fitted up a chapel in his stable block at Raithby Hall and stood shoulder to shoulder with his tenants at divine service.²⁶ Then there were those, like the Earls of Yarborough, the major landowners in north Lincolnshire, who seemingly recognised and valued the attributes of enterprise, industry, and sobriety which Methodism engendered. Methodists, said the steward of the Brocklesby estate, were 'some of the best tenants Lord Yarbrough had'. Yarborough not only gave tenancies to Methodists, but also allowed Methodist chapels on his estates and gave donations to Wesleyan Day Schools.²⁷ George Feischi Heneage of Hainton Hall, an Anglican who had converted from Catholicism, similarly allowed Methodists to build

²³ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 199, n.4.

²⁴ W. Johnson, *An Advent Letter for the Parishes of Waithe and Grainsby* (Louth, 1872), p. 4.

²⁵ Everitt, *Rural Dissent*, p. 42. Everitt was obliged to exclude 33 parishes from his analysis of north Lincolnshire owing to a lack of adequate information and he had to impute the classification of another 138 parishes (37 per cent of the total) for the same reason (see p. 70, n1). He also suggests (incorrectly) that the Earl of Yarborough was intolerant of Methodism (see p. 49).

²⁶ T.R. Leach, 'The Preaching Squire: Robert Carr Brackenbury (1752-1818)', *Lincolnshire Historian*, 2 (1964), pp. 25-8. Other examples are cited in W. Leary, *Lincolnshire Methodism* (Buckingham, 1988), pp. 34-5.

²⁷ Rawding, *The Lincolnshire Wolds*, pp. 81-5.

chapels in three of the four parishes he controlled.²⁸ Finally, after the extension of the franchise in 1832, there were those who curried favour with Methodists in order to gain electoral advantage. Such was Banks Stanhope of Revesby Abbey, a High Tory, who, despite his own strong churchmanship, made much of his credentials as a landlord of Methodist tenants when canvassing for votes in the election of 1852.²⁹

It is possible that landlords were more tolerant of Wesleyans than Primitive Methodists. Table 1 below shows the overall index of attendances at Anglican and Methodist places of worship in the 21 Marshland parishes of Bradley Haverstoe Wapentake (excluding Grimsby) on Census Sunday 1851, aggregated by parish type. It is clear from the table that the overall pattern of attendance in these Marshland parishes followed the broad conventions observed above. In other words, Methodists were present in both closed and open parishes, but Anglicanism was stronger in closed parishes than in open parishes and Methodism (taking Wesleyan and Primitive Methodism together) was strongest in open parishes.

However, there were important differences in the relative distribution of Wesleyan Methodism and Primitive Methodism. Wesleyanism was strong in nearly all parishes but Primitive Methodism was entirely absent in closed and semi-closed parishes, suggesting that landlords and their tenants (and perhaps resident Wesleyans) had chosen to exclude the more radical elements of Nonconformity.³⁰ The Reform Methodists established societies in the area from 1851 onwards but, like the Primitives, made little headway in closed villages and soon faltered in the open parishes.³¹

Humberston was one of the group of closed and semi-closed parishes in which both Anglicanism and Wesleyan Methodism were well represented. An examination of circumstances in Humberston therefore provides an opportunity to understand more clearly the reasons for this pluralist pattern of religious affiliation in closed parishes.

²⁸ Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 199.

²⁹ R.J. Olney, *Lincolnshire Politics, 1832-1885* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 62-3.

³⁰ Ambler (ed.), *Census*, pp. 198-211; Ambler, *Churches*, p. 151; Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, pp. 238-42. The Earl of Yarborough, however, leased land to Primitive Methodists in two parishes on his north Lincolnshire estates (Leary, *Lincolnshire Methodism*, p. 68).

³¹ LC: Skelton Papers, 1851, f. 12; 1852, ff. 58 and 151; 1853, f. 73; Leary, *Lincolnshire Methodism*, pp. 79-82; F. Baker, *The Story of Cleethorpes and the Contribution of Methodism through Two Hundred Years* (Cleethorpes, 1953), p. 128.

Table 5.1 Index of Attendances at Religious Worship in the Marshland Parishes of Bradley Haverstoe by Parish Type, 1851 ³²

Parish Type	Number of Parishes	Anglican	Wesleyan Methodist	Primitive Methodist	All Methodist	Total	Ratio of Anglican: Methodist
Closed and Semi-Closed	7	39%	36%	0	36%	75%	1:1
Intermediate	5	24%	33%	13%	46%	70%	1:2
Open and Semi-Open	9	18%	32%	20%	51%	69%	1:3

Humberston

When, in the years between 1704 and 1707, Matthew Humberston acquired all the land in Humberston and turned it into an estate village, he determined that it should be strictly conformist in every way. In his will of 1708 he decreed that ‘neither Papist, Quaker, Annabaptist [sic] or one of any other sect shall enjoy or inherit my estate and it shall be lawful to evict them if they after become so after succeeding’. The vicar was to be a person of ‘sober life and conversation a religious disposition and of good learning and morals ... as may excite honesty devotion and religion into the inhabitants’. He was to preach a sermon twice every Sunday (morning and afternoon) and read divine service according to the liturgy of the Church of England. In the weekdays he was to teach the youths of Humberston and those of his tenants in adjoining parishes. Those attending the school, and those living in the almshouses which he endowed, were to attend church every Sunday.³³

³² The definitions of parish type are those used elsewhere in this thesis and are based on the land tax returns of 1832. Closed parishes are those with less than 5 owners, the largest of whom paid more than 85% of the land tax; semi-closed parishes are those with less than 5 owners or those where the largest owner paid more than 85% of the land tax; open parishes are those with more than 50 owners, the largest of whom paid less than 30% of the land tax; semi-open parishes are those that had more than 50 owners or those where the largest owner paid less than 30% of the land tax; intermediate parishes are the rest. The ‘index of attendances’ is the total number of attendances (morning, afternoon and evening) recorded in the Religious Census of 1851 expressed as a percentage of the parish population. Data is from Ambler (ed.), *Census*, pp. 198-211.

³³ TNA: Prob. 11/511/149, ff. 114d and 123.

These strictures did not long survive him. In 1751, his heir, Thomas Humberston removed the entails on the estate and the religious test became redundant.³⁴ By this date too, the vicar was an absentee, divine service was held only once every other Sunday in summer and every third Sunday in winter, and communion was held just three times a year.³⁵ There was one and possibly two groups of Dissenters in the parish and Methodist societies were springing up in the area around.

Wesleyan Methodism grew strongly in this part of north-east Lincolnshire from an early date. John Nelson visited the area twice in 1743 and helped to set up societies in Grimsby and Tetney. He was followed later that year by John Wesley who visited the area on no less than 20 occasions before his death in 1791.³⁶ By this date there was scarcely a village of any size in the north-east Lincolnshire Marsh without a Methodist presence.³⁷

It was during this period of early growth that Methodism was introduced into Humberston, not through itinerant preaching but by the natural movement of Methodist families from one parish to another. Edward Cook, a farm labourer, and his wife Elizabeth settled in Humberston with their two daughters in about 1768. They were members of the Methodist Society in Grimsby and Elizabeth also attended weekday class meetings in Waltham though, once settled in Humberston, they joined the society in Cleethorpes. When Edward died in 1771, Elizabeth married a younger man, Joseph Richardson, the son of a Humberston Cottager, who, it was said, greatly admired her piety. He also converted to Methodism and, together with John and Mary Munday, an elderly couple from the village, they attended Methodist services in Cleethorpes in the 1780s.³⁸ When Joseph sustained an injury which made it difficult for him to walk to Cleethorpes, local preachers from Cleethorpes and Tetney came to visit him in his cottage in Humberston. Others soon joined them and regular prayer meetings were

³⁴ CBS: D-CN/13/1/2-14;

³⁵ CBS: D-CN/13/1/2; LAO: Dioc/Speculum 3, p. 60.

³⁶ Leary, *Lincolnshire Methodism*, pp. 14, 19-22 and 25-8; J. Hocken, *A Brief History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Grimsby Circuit* (Grimsby, 1839), pp. 8-57; G. Lester, *Grimsby Methodism (1743-1889) and the Wesleys in Lincolnshire* (London, 1890), pp. 15-39 and 82-116; Baker, *The Story of Cleethorpes*, pp. 9-34.

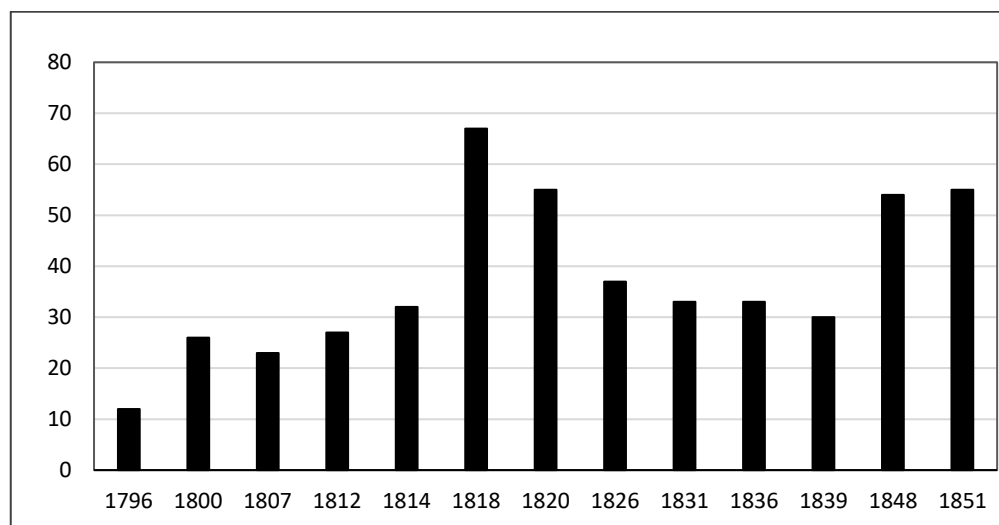
³⁷ Ambler, *Churches*, pp. 136-8.

³⁸ J. Furness, 'Memoir of Mrs Joseph Richardson', *Wesleyan Magazine*, 16 (1819), pp. 596-600; Baker, *Cleethorpes*, pp. 23-4, 26 and 33; NELA: 326/2, ff. 12 and 75.

held in his cottage, as well as occasional services conducted by local preachers and travelling ministers.³⁹ In 1790, Richardson had his cottage licensed for preaching.⁴⁰

In the 1790s, when Lord Carrington acquired the estate, the prayer meetings were gathering strength. The number of members grew from 12 to 25, meetings were moved to a larger cottage and the Humberston Methodists were constituted as a society in their own right.⁴¹ Numbers continued to grow over the next few years, reaching a peak in 1818 when something around half the adult population of Humberston were members of the society (see Figure 5.1).

*Figure 5.1 Number of Members of the Methodist Society in Humberston, 1796-1851*⁴²



The numbers who actually attended services may have been even higher than this: it was said in 1819 that 'at the present there is scarcely an individual in the whole village but what regularly attends our ministry'.⁴³ This was consistent with practice elsewhere in Lincolnshire, where congregations were often two or three times greater than the number of members.⁴⁴

³⁹ Furness, 'Memoir', p. 599; Hocken, *Brief History*, pp. 47-8.

⁴⁰ LAO: Diss 2/1790/22 and FB 2/375.

⁴¹ Hocken, *Brief History*, p. 48.

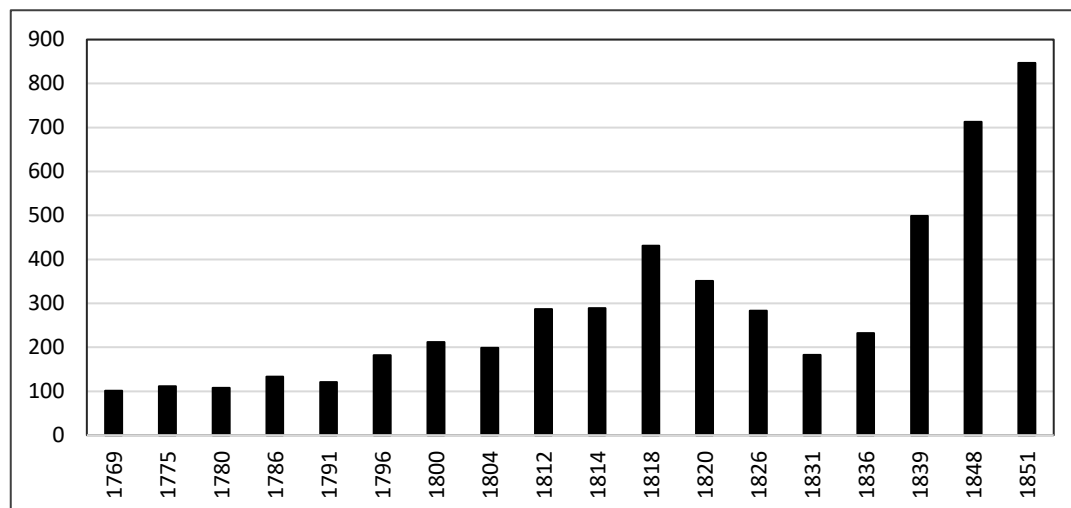
⁴² Hocken, *Brief History*, pp. 61-64; LAO: Meth Records 3/Grimsby/7; blank years indicate no known data.

⁴³ Furness, 'Memoir', p. 599.

⁴⁴ Ambler, *Churches*, p. 151, and Ambler (ed.), *Census*, p. lii.

The number of members fell during the 1820s and 1830s, as they did in the neighbouring Marshland parishes (see Figure 5.2). It is likely that some left to join the Primitive Methodists when they formally separated from the Wesleyans in 1819.

Figure 5.2 Numbers of Members of Methodist Societies in the Marshland Parishes of Bradley Haverstoe Wapentake, 1769-1851 ⁴⁵



A Primitive Methodist society was formed in Grimsby in 1819 and by 1821 the town was the head of a circuit with six itinerant preachers.⁴⁶ Two decades of missionary expansion followed. Primitive Methodists held Sunday and weeknight services (mostly fortnightly) in each of parishes adjoining Humberston during the 1820s and it is likely that a number of villagers travelled across the parish boundary to worship there, though it is not until the late 1850s and 1860s that there is firm evidence of Humberston families doing so.⁴⁷ The Primitives did not, however, form a society in the village until 1856 and, even then, did not build a chapel in the parish.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Hocken, *Brief History*, pp. 61-64. The table excludes data for North Coates, Fulstow and Marshchapel because Hocken did not publish data for these parishes after 1799.

⁴⁶ Ambler, *Churches*, p. 151; Leary, *Lincolnshire Methodism*, pp. 51-3 and inside back cover; Baker, *Cleethorpes*, pp. 68 and 78-9; LC: Skelton Papers, 1825, f. 36. In 1821 a Primitive Methodism camp meeting was held in the neighbouring parish of Waltham that attracted some 1600 people: R.C. Russell, *From Cock-Fighting to Chapel Building: Changes in Popular Culture in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Lincolnshire* (Sleaford, 2002), p. 34.

⁴⁷ LAO: Methodist Records 3/Grimsby/1, and Grimsby Primitive Methodist Circuit, Baptism Register, 1853-59; LRSM, 16 May 1856, p. 3, col. 4, and 2 June 1865, p. 5, col. 5

⁴⁸ A.E. Kirkby, *Humberstone: The Story of a Village* (Lincoln, 1953), p. 93.

Following the secession of the Primitive Methodists, the Wesleyan society in Humberston rarely held services more than once a week and meetings were often more irregular than that, sometimes being shared with the neighbouring parish of Tetney.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the society was determined to have its own chapel. Land was obtained from Lord Carrington in 1833 but it took the members another two years to raise the £30 necessary to begin work on the construction of a plain brick chapel (see Figure 5.3). A further £18 was raised at two special services to mark the opening of the chapel but the congregation was still left with bills to pay.⁵⁰

Figure 5.3 The First Methodist Chapel in Humberston, c.1900.⁵¹



Once the chapel had been completed, the frequency of Sunday services increased and on alternate Sundays a morning service was, for the first time, held in direct competition with the Anglican service in the parish church. An afternoon and an evening service were held on the other Sundays.⁵² By 1851, when the membership

⁴⁹ Baker, *Cleethorpes*, pp. 50-1; LC: Skelton papers, 1825, f. 2, and 1831, f. 50.

⁵⁰ Hocken, *Brief History*, p. 49; Ambler, *Churches*, p. 150.

⁵¹ NELA: 478/9. The Chapel was built in 1836 and the Sunday School extension to the right was opened in 1896. It was superseded by a larger and more elegant building in 1910 but remains in use as a community centre.

⁵² Leary, *Lincolnshire Methodism*, p. 46.

had once more risen above 50, an average of 60 to 70 persons was attending morning or afternoon services in the chapel and around 100 were present in the evening. This latter figure was equivalent to half the population of Humberston aged 10 years and above.⁵³ Elsewhere in the marshland parishes of Bradley Haverstoe, total attendances at Methodist services outnumbered those at the Church of England by three to one.⁵⁴

The membership of the Wesleyan society in Humberston was drawn from a broad cross section of the village community with farmers, artisans and semi-skilled workers being as well, if not better, represented than unskilled farm labourers.⁵⁵ The earliest adherents of Methodism in Humberston were mainly 'Cottagers'. As noted elsewhere, these were a privileged group of farmworkers and artisans who held their cottages directly from the landlord and who had access to shared pasture and meadow in the common fields prior to enclosure and in the 'Cottagers Plot' after it. Edward Cook, the first known Methodist in the village, was a semi-itinerant farmworker but Joseph Richardson and John Munday, who worshipped at Cleethorpes in the 1780s, were both Cottagers, as were Gabriel Benton, the first class leader in Humberston, and Benjamin Richardson and Gervase Brumpton, who hosted Methodist meetings in their homes during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶ The next generation of Methodists similarly included a large number of Cottagers. They included Thomas Richardson, the village grocer, tailor and draper and sometime third master of the charity school; Joseph Benton, the village carpenter; Anderson Bell and his son William, who were both blacksmiths; Francis Whitworth, a tailor; Ziba Gray, a scythe strickle maker; and Robert Mumby and William Cheeseman, who were both farmworkers. They were a close group. When Joseph Benton advertised for a journeyman in 1841, he declared that 'A member of the Methodist Society will be preferred'.⁵⁷

⁵³ Ambler (ed.), *Census*, p. 202.

⁵⁴ Ambler (ed.), *Census*, pp. 198-211.

⁵⁵ This was typical of Wesleyan Methodism in general: see C.D. Field, 'The social structure of English Methodism, eighteenth-twentieth centuries', *British Journal of Sociology*, 28 (1977), pp. 199-225, and of Lincolnshire in particular: see Ambler, *Churches*, pp. 144-50 and Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, pp. 194-204.

⁵⁶ Hocken, *Brief History*, pp. 47-8; LAO: Diss 3/1822/44 and FB 4/201d; NAS: GD 46/1/324; CBS: D-CN 13/1/31 and 18/8/3,6,8.

⁵⁷ Baker, *The Story of Cleethorpes*, pp. 65 and 117; LAO: Meth Records 3/Grimsby/7 and 8; *LRS*, 29 January 1841, p. 3, col. 6.

This group of Cottagers was joined early on by some of the tenant farmers in the village. Indeed, the initial growth in numbers in the late 1790s was attributed by contemporaries to the arrival in the village, on May Day 1797, of William Tomlinson, a farmer from Melton in Yorkshire, who rented the largest farm in the village, extending over 500 acres. He was already a Methodist, a class leader and a lay preacher and his 'influence and piety' was said to have greatly strengthened the society at Humberston. He was also active within the wider Grimsby Circuit. When he left the parish in about 1818, his son Thomas Tomlinson took the tenancy of the farm and continued to support the Methodist cause before his departure to Little Coates in 1833.⁵⁸ Two other farmers, contemporaries of Thomas, were also Methodists. Anselm Kirby, the third generation of his family to farm in Humberston, was the tenant of a farm of 260 acres in Humberston between 1817 and 1861, and James Bee, a second generation resident, farmed 345 acres in the parish between 1830 and c. 1868. His barn was regularly used for meetings in support of foreign Missions. They were joined by two other Methodist farmers in the 1850s – William Andrew and John Hay, who each farmed around 300 acres.⁵⁹

Though there were a number of farming families, like the Kirbys and Bees, who put down roots in the village, there were others who stayed for only a generation or two. This slow but steady turnover in the ranks of the tenant farmers caused the number of Methodists in the village to fluctuate from time to time. For example, when Thomas Tomlinson vacated his farm in 1833, he was replaced by an Anglican, a change which gave great comfort to the vicar.⁶⁰ The arrival of Andrew and Haigh in the 1850s, however, tipped the balance the other way.

In addition to the Cottagers and farmers, the society also included an unknown number of labourers who lived in tied cottages. Notable amongst these was Ezekiel Blow, a farmworker and shepherd and a lifelong resident of Humberston, who became a local

⁵⁸ Hocken, *Brief History*, pp. 48-9; Anon, *Amos Appleyard: Methodist Pioneer, 1750-1813* (Gainsborough, n.d.), pp. 28-33.

⁵⁹ H.E. Cockburn, 'Notes upon Humberston', *Humberston Church Magazine*, November 1929 (copy in NELA: 474/1); Lester, *Grimsby Methodism*, p. 95; TNA: RG4/1639; LAO: Meth Records 1/Grimsby/6 and 3/Grimsby/7 and 8; *LRS*, 31 January 1845, p. 2, col. 4, and 23 January 1846, p. 4; LC: Skelton Papers, 1850, fol. 8.

⁶⁰ LAO: Cor. B5/4/42/1, 27 February 1833.

preacher in the Grimsby circuit during the 1830s.⁶¹ The names of other Methodist families have survived in the circuit baptism registers from 1837 onwards but do not appear in census and other records, suggesting that the Methodist society included a number of agricultural labourers and their families who stayed for only short periods in the village, before they moved on for employment elsewhere. They include a Mr. Blackburn, Matthew and Rebecca Appleyard, Mark and Elizabeth Haith, and William and Ann Story.⁶²

The over-riding picture is of a Methodist society that included a broad and sizeable cross-section of the village community, with a core membership of farmers and Cottagers and a fluctuating number of farm labourers. As elsewhere, members of the higher social groups, the farmers in this case, took the major leadership role, serving as class leaders, society stewards and chapel trustees. Indeed, some of the farmers were also trustees of chapels in neighbouring parishes. A number of Cottagers were also class leaders but it was unusual for them to be society stewards. The exception in Humberston was Thomas Richardson, the local shopkeeper and man of many talents (he was at various times a school teacher, surveyor and census enumerator) who was a class leader and a society steward and also a trustee of the Methodist chapel in Scartho.⁶³

Initially, the Methodists in Humberston attracted some hostility from others in the village. Joshua Hocken, writing in 1839, recounts how various measures, including bribes and threats, were employed to stop the early prayer meetings in Joseph Richardson's house. As in other early Methodist accounts, however, the perpetrators were said to have suffered divine (or supernatural) retribution. One person who threatened to take Richardson and others before a magistrate passed away before he could carry out his threat. A clergyman who tried to persuade Lord Carrington's steward to eject Richardson from his cottage afterwards went insane.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Leary, *Lincolnshire Methodism*, p. 46; Hocken, *Brief History*, pp. 61-4; LAO: Meth Records 3/Grimsby/7 and 8.

⁶² LAO: Meth Records 1/Grimsby/6.

⁶³ LAO: Meth Records 3/Grimsby/7 and 8; Baker, *Cleethorpes*, pp. 65 and 117.

⁶⁴ Furness, 'Memoir', p. 599; Hocken, *Brief History*, p. 48. The sudden, unexplained deaths and misadventures of opponents of Methodism are a feature of many such accounts: see, for example, J. Rodell, *The Rise of Methodism: A Study of Bedfordshire, 1736-1851* (Woodbridge, 2014), p. 224.

In fact, Lord Carrington was not disposed to act against the Methodists. His religious views are difficult to recover precisely. In his younger life he had supported the fledgling Unitarian society in London (paying an annual subscription toward the minister's salary from at least 1775) and, as an M.P. for Nottingham, he had twice voted for repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (in 1787 and 1789).⁶⁵ In other respects, too, he was a liberal and humanitarian Whig.⁶⁶ It is said that he turned his back on the Dissenters during 1791 and he may, like other Unitarians of his class, have adopted Broad Church Anglican views during the French Revolution when Unitarian demands for freedom of worship became associated with sedition, revolution and republicanism.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, he seems to have retained some sympathy for the principles of religious toleration. As has been noted, during his period of ownership of the Humberston estate, Methodist numbers grew, Methodist farmers were awarded tenancies of farms, and the society was granted land on which to build a chapel.

The first and second Lord Carringtons were not, however, active participants in the affairs of the village. As noted elsewhere, Lord Carrington appears to have been a disinterested, absentee landlord who was more concerned with the value of his estate and the condition of his farms than with the spiritual welfare of his tenants.⁶⁸ He was, for example, seemingly content for the village to be served by a succession of curates, rather than by a resident vicar, for thirty years until monies from the Humberston Charity were used to build a house for the parson.⁶⁹ Real support for the Methodist cause in Humberston more likely came from Carrington's agents, Thomas Thompson and subsequently James Henwood, who exercised oversight of the Humberston estate

⁶⁵ T. Belsham, *Memoirs of the Late Theophilus Lindsey* (London, 1812), p. 135 and n.; B. Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England, 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 460-1; G.M. Ditchfield, 'The Parliamentary struggle over the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, 1787-90', *English Historical Review*, 89 (1974), pp. 551-77, esp. pp. 554, 559 and n.4.

⁶⁶ P. A. Symonds and R. G. Thorne, 'Smith, Robert (1752-1838)' in <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/smith-robert-1752-1838> (accessed 5 March 2016).

⁶⁷ D.W. Bebbington, *Victorian Nonconformity* (1992, Eugene, USA, 2011 edn), pp. 6-7; Gibson, *Church, State and Society*, pp. 51 and 156-7; B. Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England, 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 460-4. Arthur Young claimed that Carrington gave up his religion when he became a peer: M. Betham-Edwards (ed.), *The Autobiography of Arthur Young* (London, 1898), p. 361.

⁶⁸ See Chapter 2.

⁶⁹ NELA: 239/1, pp. 60-61.

on Carrington's behalf. Both were committed Methodists. Thompson converted to Methodism while working for the Smiths. He joined the Wesleyan society in Hull, took up lay preaching in his native Holderness and, when he entered Parliament as MP for Midhurst in Sussex, became the first Methodist local preacher to sit in the Commons.⁷⁰ It was he who admitted William Tomlinson, the Methodist farmer from Yorkshire, to the farm in Humberston in 1797.⁷¹ Nevertheless, he was not a separatist. Thompson continued to attend the Anglican Church and believed that Methodists should stay within the established church, a position that he shared with many others at the time.⁷² James Henwood, like Thompson, was an ardent Methodist – a local preacher, class leader, circuit steward and member of Conference.⁷³ According to the Methodists in Humberston, it was through his exertions that 'two years of difficulty' were overcome in order for the chapel to be built. Henwood delivered one of the two opening services in the chapel in 1835.⁷⁴

The combination of a disinterested but liberal landlord and a diligent and trusted Methodist steward seems to have created the conditions in which religious pluralism was able to grow and flourish in this closed parish in the years after 1790. This relationship did, however, place the vicar of Humberston in a difficult position. The parson of a closed parish would normally expect to have received the support of the squire in his spiritual and pastoral work in the parish. In Humberston, that support was qualified by the indifference of the landlord and the Methodist sympathies of the agent.

⁷⁰ A.R.B. Robinson, *The Counting House: Thomas Thompson of Hull, 1754-1828, and his Family* (York, 1992), pp. 28-9 and 105; Lawrence Taylor, 'Thompson, Thomas II (1754-1828), of Cottingham Castle, Yorks', <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/thompson-thomas-ii-1754-1828> (02/12/15).

⁷¹ CBS: D-CN 11/1/2, ff. 14-15, 11/2/1, 18/8/1/2, and 18/8/4/2, 4 and 10.

⁷² Robinson, *Counting House*, pp. 6, 11 and 50; A. Aspinall and E. Anthony Smith (eds), *English Historical Documents, 1783-1832* (London, 1969), p. 664.

⁷³ W.R. Ward (ed.), *Early Victorian Methodism: The Correspondence of Jabez Bunting, 1830-1858* (Oxford, 1976), p. 87 n.1; 'The late James Henwood, esq.', *Hull Packet*, 7 April 1854, p. 5, col. 4.

⁷⁴ *LRS*, 31 July 1835, p. 3, col. 3; LC: Skelton Papers, 1835, f. 134. The 'difficulties' referred to probably related to problems in raising sufficient money to build the chapel: see Ambler, *Churches*, p. 150. William Leary claims in *Lincolnshire Methodism* (Buckingham, 1988), p. 35, that James Henwood 'grudgingly' supported the Methodist cause in Humberston but I can find no evidence of this and there is no reason to suppose it is true.

Tensions began to manifest themselves in the period after 1823 when Revd. Joseph Gedge took up residence in the newly-constructed vicarage.

Joseph Gedge, as has been noted elsewhere, was not the most assiduous of parish priests and seemingly mounted no serious or prolonged opposition to the Methodists. He decided during the 1820s to institute a second service during the summer months but he said it 'was looked upon as opposition by the Methodists' and so he gave up.⁷⁵ Even in 1833, when other parsons were heeding the Bishop's encouragement to institute a second service, Gedge conducted only one service a week in Humberston, primarily because he was also officiating at Scartho where he acted as curate.⁷⁶ The Methodists used the lack of a second service in Humberston as a pretext to petition Carrington for permission to build a chapel in the village.⁷⁷ Irritated, rather than alarmed, by the implied slight, Gedge told Carrington and the Bishop that he was prepared to introduce a second service in Humberston but he laid down two conditions. The first was that a formal 'requisition' should be made to him for an additional service. The second was that his stipend should be increased so that he could relinquish the curacy of Scartho.⁷⁸ Consequently, it seems, Lord Carrington agreed to approach Queen Anne's Bounty and Gedge resigned Scartho, though it appears that he planned to perform only 'alternate services' at Humberston.⁷⁹

In all this, Gedge appears relatively untroubled by unfolding events. In January 1833 he told the Bishop that 'if the real opinions of the parishioners were fairly canvassed, a majority of them would be found in no wise favourable to the building of another [chapel]' and in August he wrote that the second congregation at Humberston 'rather increases than diminishes' and so 'there seems no ground for doubting that in time we shall all be of one mind' – in other words, the Methodists would return to the Church.⁸⁰ In retrospect this seems a bold claim, but it is quite likely that in the early 1830s the denominational divide between Anglican and Methodist was not as clear cut as it was later to become. Joseph Gedge was quite content, in the 1820s and early 1830s, to

⁷⁵ LAO: Cor B5/4/42/1/2, 27 February 1833, reprinted in Ambler (ed.), *Parish Correspondence*, pp. 191-2.

⁷⁶ LAO: Scartho Par. 1/7, 8 and 9, 1828-33.

⁷⁷ LAO: Cor. B5/4/42/1, 31 January 1833.

⁷⁸ LAO: Cor. B5/4/42/1, 27 February 1833.

⁷⁹ LAO: Cor. B5/4/42/1, 15 March 1833 and 12 August 1833.

⁸⁰ LAO: Cor, B5/4/42/1, 31 January 1833 and 12 August 1833.

employ Thomas Richardson as his assistant in the grammar school, even though he was aware that Richardson was a Methodist. Gedge later complained to the Bishop that Richardson deserted the Church 'when he can' but the implication of his remark is that Richardson, a leading Methodist, was still attending the Church in the late-1830s.⁸¹ Similarly, Anselm Kirby and James Bee, two prominent Methodists, served as churchwardens in the 1830s and 1840s and Kirby at least was actively involved in buying bread and wine for the sacraments and candles for the church.⁸² Furthermore, until the passage of the Civil Registration Act in 1836, Methodists in Humberston usually attended the parish church to celebrate and register family baptisms and marriages as well as burials. Only Anselm Kirby chose to have a child baptised in the Methodist Church in the years between 1818 and 1837.⁸³ By contrast, Joseph Benton, the Methodist blacksmith, had six children baptised (and two buried) in the parish church at Humberston between 1820 and 1837.⁸⁴ It was only after 1837, when civil registration was introduced, that he and others had their children baptised and married elsewhere.⁸⁵

In neighbouring parishes, too, Anglicans and Methodists co-existed quite happily. In parishes in which there was both a church and a chapel, it was usual – in this area, as elsewhere – for Anglican and Wesleyan services to be held at times that enabled parishioners, if they chose, to attend both. Thus, Anglican services were generally held in the morning and afternoon whereas the Wesleyan Methodists attracted their largest congregations in the evening. As a resident of Cleethorpes remarked in 1831, and as Ambler and Obelkevich have observed for other parts of north Lincolnshire, many who attended church in the morning were also likely to have attended Wesleyan chapels in

⁸¹ LAO: Cor. B5/4/42/1, 3 October 1838.

⁸² LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1, and 10/2, churchwarden's accounts 1832/3.

⁸³ TNA: RG4/1639, 27 February 1835.

⁸⁴ LAO: Humberston Par. 1/2.

⁸⁵ LAO: Meth. Records 1/Grimsby/6.

the evening.⁸⁶ In 1837, the vicar of Louth described those who attended both church and chapel as amphibians, 'half churchmen and half dissenters'.⁸⁷

What finally separated church and chapel in Humberston, or at least created a rift between the Revd Gedge and the Methodists, was not theological difference but personal antagonism. The conflict came to the surface in 1836, when Lord Carrington and the Trustees of the Humberston Charity sought to dismiss Gedge from his post as master of the grammar school.⁸⁸ As is explained elsewhere, the Trustees sought to compel Gedge to take a more active teaching role in the school than he was used to doing. Gedge objected that his parish duties prevented him from exercising more than a supervisory role in the school and he declined to do more. The matter ended up in the civil courts and the Trustees appealed to the villagers for affidavits in support of their case. Three prominent Methodists stepped forward. Thomas Richardson, the third master of the school, testified that Gedge was neglecting his duties in the school.⁸⁹ James Bee and Anselm Kirby claimed that Gedge was overstating the burden of his duties as vicar.⁹⁰ The leading Anglicans stayed out of the dispute. Gedge, for his part, rounded on the Methodists. Having worked alongside Thomas Richardson for twelve years, he now declared that it was highly improper for him, as a Church of England clergyman, to work with a Methodist in what he claimed (incorrectly) was a Church of England school. He told the Bishop of Lincoln that, if the Trustees carried through their plan to appoint Richardson to a more senior position in the school, he would apply to the Court of Chancery to be allowed to nominate someone more fitting for the role.⁹¹

⁸⁶ LAO: Cor B 5/4/101, 26 May 1831: It was said that the inhabitants of Cleethorpes attended the Methodist church 'not from hostility to the Church (for some of the parishioners now attend both) but from the great temptations of contiguity and convenience of service hours'; Ambler, *Churches*, pp. 141-4; Ambler (ed.), *Census*, p. xxiv; Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, pp. 213-7.

⁸⁷ R.W. Ambler (ed.), *Lincolnshire Parish Correspondence of John Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln, 1827-53* (Lincoln, 2006), p. 166.

⁸⁸ NELA: 239/1, ff. 50-4.

⁸⁹ NELA: 239/1, ff. 107-11.

⁹⁰ NELA: 239/1, ff. 111-13.

⁹¹ LAO: Cor. B5/4/42/1, 3 October 1838.

Although Gedge ultimately won his case for unfair dismissal, legal disputes between the vicar and the Charity Trustees continued for the next fourteen years. In this James Bee, the Methodist farmer, played a prominent role. The parish vestry continued to appoint Bee as churchwarden throughout the 1840s and, by virtue of his office, he continued as an *ex-officio* member of the Board of Trustees of the Humberston Charity. The Charity was responsible for the administration of the grammar school, as well as the almshouses, and thus exercised oversight of Joseph Gedge's management of the school. That Bee, an ardent Methodist, should have been willing to continue as churchwarden during this time indicates either his ability to divide his allegiance between church and chapel, or of his (and, by implication, the vestry's) intent to continue to harass Joseph Gedge. The latter seems as likely as the first. When the Board of Trustees was reconstituted and packed with Gedge's nominees, Bee was a constant thorn in their sides, speaking in opposition to Gedge and his associates, refusing to sign the minutes of decisions with which he disagreed, and forwarding a detailed record of proceedings to Lord Carrington.⁹² At the height of the dispute, Gedge appointed his own churchwarden to serve alongside Bee, as he was entitled to do, though it was not a practice that was ordinarily followed in Humberston.⁹³

The dispute between Gedge and Carrington and the other Trustees inevitably affected relationships between the Revd Gedge and his Anglican congregation and between the Methodists and the Anglicans. It may be significant that Gedge was unable to muster any supporting affidavits from parishioners in Humberston in his dispute with the Trustees, though equally Anglican tenants of Lord Carrington may have felt conflicted between their loyalty to the church and their dependence upon their landlord. It may also be indicative of the tensions that the dispute created in the village that Joseph Gedge ceased to attend vestry meetings during the period 1840 and 1843, when the court actions were at their height, and that James Bee and Anselm Kirby, his principal adversaries in the village, ceased to attend when Gedge resumed the chairmanship in the years after 1844, only to return when Gedge resigned in 1849.⁹⁴ Ill-feeling continued into the 1850s. Thomas Mountain was given notice to quit his farm in 1852 after he sided against the second Lord Carrington in a dispute over the appointment of

⁹² CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/53, 59, 68, 71, 74, 76, and 85, 18/8/4/7/11, Affidavit of George Pattenden, 20 April 1850, and 18/8/4/7/14, Wildbore to Carrington, 10 December 1851.

⁹³ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1.

⁹⁴ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1 and 2.

a schoolmaster to succeed Revd Gedge. The local correspondent of the Lincolnshire Chronicle sympathised with Mountain 'on his unexpected and most extraordinary discharge from his farm'.⁹⁵

When Joseph Gedge left the parish he was succeeded by the Revd. Charles Wildbore who, to judge by contemporary accounts, was a popular minister.⁹⁶ Certainly by the time of the religious census in 1851 both the Anglican and the Methodism chapel appear to have been thriving. In completing the census form, Wildbore reported that his congregation 'in morning and evening' numbered 150 people, though he unfortunately failed to make clear whether this was an aggregate of the two services or whether the same number attended at both times.⁹⁷ The return from the Methodists indicated that 80 people attended their afternoon service and 106 were present in the evening.⁹⁸ If it is assumed that 150 people did attend the Church of England in the evening, then the combined attendance at church and chapel that night would have been 256, which is just three less than the total population of the parish. This seems an unlikely figure, even allowing for the fact that the two congregations might have been swelled by people travelling from Cleethorpes or elsewhere.⁹⁹ That being the case, it is likely that total attendances at the Wesleyan chapel (186) outnumbered those at the Anglican church (150) on Census Sunday, though both figures are impressive for such a small closed community.

Conclusion

Closed parishes are, in general, held to be strongholds of Anglicanism from which Methodists were often excluded by the firm action of Anglican landlords, sometimes with the support of the parson and the principal tenants. In north Lincolnshire, as has been noted, there were a number of exceptions to this rule and Humberston was one of them. Here both Anglicanism and Methodism were strong and attracted a broadly

⁹⁵ *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, 16 January 1852, p. 8, col. 2.

⁹⁶ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/74; *LRS*M, 14 March 1851, p. 2, col. 3.

⁹⁷ Ambler (ed.), *Census*, p. 202. The vicar of the neighbouring parish of Clee couched his return in similar terms. The round number also suggests that it may have been an estimate and therefore subject to error.

⁹⁸ Ambler (ed.), *Census*, p. 202.

⁹⁹ Joseph Gedge complained in 1848 that, when there was no evening service at either Clee or Cleethorpes, 'a great many' came over to Humberston (LAO: Cor. B5/4/104/24, 24 August 1844).

similar cross section of the local population – a changing mix of tenant farmers, artisans and farmworkers. Primitive Methodism, however, made no headway in this parish or in other closed parishes.

Part of the reason for the growth of Wesleyan Methodism in Humberston lay in the disinclination of the Carringtons to exercise tight personal control over the social and religious lives of their Lincolnshire tenants. Equally important, however, was their readiness to allow their agents to administer the outlying parts of their estate with minimal supervision from them. Their land agents, in this case, were Methodists who were not only prepared to countenance the growth of a Methodist society but also to lend them support when they could. This is not to say that they positively discriminated in favour of Methodists when they took on new tenants – they did not – but rather that they did not choose to exclude them.

The clergy also appear to have accepted this pluralist approach. There was some early opposition to the Methodists from a curate in the 1790s, but by the 1820s and early 1830s the incumbent was resigned to the existence of a Methodist society in the village whilst remaining optimistic that, over time, the Methodists would return to the Anglican Church. That prospect was rendered increasingly unlikely during the late 1830s and the 1840s as the Methodists grew resentful of the way the Revd Gedge neglected his duties in both church and school. By at least the 1850s, the Methodists had ceased to use the Anglican church for baptisms and marriages.

For the most part, however, and at least until the late 1830s, relations between Anglicans and Methodists appear to have been relatively unproblematic. Indeed, the fierce denominational rivalry which is sometimes said to have characterised the relationship between Anglicans and Methodists in many parts of England was not a characteristic feature of village life in Humberston or of the north Lincolnshire countryside. Indeed, Thomas Thompson, the landlord's agent, was a Methodist who opposed secession from the Established Church. His successor, James Henwood, also a Methodist, was said to have venerated the Anglican church and been sympathetic to the evangelical clergy.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, it is likely, though it cannot be demonstrated conclusively for more than a few, that some of those who attended church in Humberston, and officiated as churchwardens, also attended chapel. As Ambler and Obelkevich have pointed out, this was a common feature of religious life in north Lincolnshire in the early decades of the nineteenth century and continued in

¹⁰⁰ 'The Late James Henwood, esq.', *Hull Packett*, 7 April 1854, p. 5, col. 4.

some areas until the end of the century.¹⁰¹ Obelkevich recounts how Edward Steere, curate at Skegness, was told by one of his parishioners 'We comes to church in the morning to please you, Sir, and goes to chapel at night to save our souls'.¹⁰² This was not an attitude that was likely to destabilise traditional forms of social control in the English countryside. It was a position that could be accommodated even in closed parishes, and especially those which had landlords and agents with relatively liberal and tolerant views.

¹⁰¹ Ambler, *Churches*, pp. 182-4 and 206-7; Ambler (ed.), *Census*, p. xxiv; Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 157.

¹⁰² Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p. 157; see also Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture*, pp. 29-30 and 34.

PART TWO: INDEPENDENCE AND DEPENDENCY

CHAPTER 6 ENCLOSURE AND THE COTTAGER¹

The enclosure of common fields and waste land has generally been seen as an important moment in the history of English rural communities, not least because it deprived many poor cottagers of access to pasture and other resources upon which much of their livelihood depended.² There is less than universal agreement, however, on the social consequences of this change. Some historians have argued that enclosure helped to create a rural proletariat of impoverished, landless labourers completely dependent on capitalist farmers for their livelihood and subject to the unpredictable vicissitudes of the labour market.³ Others have contended that it led to higher wages and more regular employment and thus to rising living standards for the rural poor.⁴

There is a tendency in both lines of argument to regard the loss of cow pastures as final, fatal and absolute. Yet enclosure did not always separate the cottager from his cow. In north Lincolnshire, many labourers continued to have access to pasture, and continued to keep cows, long after enclosure had taken place. This suggests that the effects of enclosure may – in some places and for some people – have been less

¹ I am grateful to Dr Jeremy Burchardt for comments on an earlier draft of this chapter. A short version of this chapter was delivered to a postgraduate conference at Roehampton University in 2014 and a research seminar at Lincoln in 2016.

² J.A. Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure in England, 1450-1850* (London, 1977), pp. 227-32.

³ J.L. and B. Hammond, *The Village Labourer* (1911, London, 1966 edn), pp. 37-118; E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963, London, 1980 edn), pp. 237-44; J.M. Neeson, *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700-1820* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 221-330; and K. D. M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 138-227. Lee Shaw-Taylor has argued that although enclosure brought immiseration to many cottagers, the great bulk of labouring households in the south and east of England had lost access to commons before parliamentary enclosure: 'Parliamentary enclosure and the emergence of an English agricultural proletariat', *Journal of Economic History*, 61 (2001), pp. 640-662, and 'Labourers, cows, common rights and Parliamentary enclosure: the evidence of contemporary comment, c. 1760-1810', *Past & Present*, 171 (2001), pp. 95-126.

⁴ J.D. Chambers, 'Enclosure and labour supply in the Industrial Revolution', *Economic History Review*, 5 (1953), pp. 319-43; J.D. Chambers and G.E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880* (London, 1966), pp. 77-104.

devastating than is sometimes supposed or, at least, that the worst effects of enclosure may have been tempered by a reasonably long period of transition.

This chapter looks first at the value of common pasture rights and the effects of their loss. It then considers the attempts made in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by legislators, landlords and farmers to compensate for this loss by providing labourers with pasture for cows. Attention is particularly focused on the extent to which landlords and farmers in north Lincolnshire provided their labourers with pasture and on the initiatives taken by landlord and agent in Humberston to create cow pastures for poor cottagers at the turn of the eighteenth century.

Common Rights and Enclosure

Common pasture rights were highly valued in the years before enclosure. They were of three kinds: the right to graze animals in the arable fields after the harvest and during the fallow year; to turn stock on to the meadow after hay making; and to pasture cows, sheep and other animals on the common waste (i.e. uncultivated grassland, woodland, fell or marsh). These were not unconditional rights. Local bye-laws usually regulated the times that the fields and waste could be grazed, the sorts of animals that could be pastured there, and often the maximum numbers of animals that each commoner could put into the fields (usually measured in terms of 'cow gates', 'sheep gates' and so on).⁵

For the most part, common pasturage rights went with the ownership or tenancy of land in the open fields. They also belonged to certain cottages in the village, though not necessarily all of them. Typically, the owner, or the tenant, of a cottage with common rights was permitted by the local bye-laws to keep up to two cows and a few sheep at any one time though, in areas such as the Lincolnshire Fens, allowances were sometimes more generous than this.⁶

⁵ C.S. and C.S. Orwin, *The Open Fields* (1938, Oxford, 1967 edn), pp. 57-60, 132-8 and 154-6; Neeson, *Commoners*, pp. 110-57. For bye-laws in north Lincolnshire parishes, see M.W. Barley, 'The Barrow on Humber Town Book', *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers*, 2 (1938), pp. 1-21; M. Chambers (ed.), *Barton on Humber: The Town Book of 1676* (Barton-on-Humber, 1980); and Anon., 'Original document: byelaws of Ulceby, Yarborough Wapentake, 1677', *Lincolnshire Historian*, 2 (1961), pp. 32-42.

⁶ Neeson, *Commoners*, pp. 59-64 and 95; J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming: The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times* (London, 1957), p. 73.

Villagers who enjoyed common rights drew significant benefits from their ability to pasture a cow. Jane Humphries, Jeanette Neeson and Leigh Shaw-Taylor have sought to quantify these benefits.⁷ They estimate that, on average, a healthy cow produced about six quarts of milk a day in 1800. When sold as milk or butter (or used at home) it was worth between 2s.6d and 3s 6d a week or £7 to £10 a year. This was a substantial sum, equivalent to about half a male labourer's wage and up to 40 per cent of a family's total income from wages. Set against this, were the costs of care and feed. But since the cow was generally milked, fed and looked after by the labourer's wife and children, who would not otherwise be fully employed, the labour costs and the lost opportunity costs were small. And since the cow could be let onto the common pastures and the open fields without charge, the feeding costs were generally limited to cutting or buying hay for the winter. The major item of expenditure was the purchase of a cow which cost between £7 and £10 in the 1790s. This was a major capital outlay, and often a prohibitive one. It could, however, be offset to a certain extent by the sale of surplus milk and butter and also of a winter calf each summer for a couple of pounds. In addition to its monetary value, the produce of a cow also made a significant improvement to the labourer's diet and the healthy development of his children. The skimmed milk left over from making butter could also be fed to the pigs.

So, as Shaw-Taylor has pointed out, a labouring household that was able to afford to keep a cow would not starve, especially when one adds to that the benefits to be derived from keeping a pig, tending a vegetable garden, gathering fuel and gleaning the fields after harvest. A labouring household that could afford to keep two cows would have enjoyed substantial independence from wage labour. Cow-keeping was therefore the keystone of the cottage economy.⁸

All of this, however, was threatened by enclosure, especially in the century after 1750 when the pace of Parliamentary enclosure quickened. Under most schemes of enclosure, common lands were parcelled out between the property owners in the parish and common rights were extinguished. Those who rented common-right

⁷ J. Humphries, 'Enclosures, common rights, and women: the proletarianization of families in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', *Journal of Economic History*, 50 (1990), pp 17-42; Neeson, *Commoners*, pp. 310-11; L. Shaw-Taylor, 'Parliamentary enclosure and the emergence of an English agricultural proletariat', *Journal of Economic History*, 61 (2001), pp. 644-7.

⁸ Shaw-Taylor, 'Parliamentary enclosure', p. 644.

cottages rarely received any compensation since the property was not theirs.⁹ Those who owned their cottages, however, were usually awarded land in lieu of common rights. But the lands they received were often only an acre or so in extent and were worth less than the rights they replaced. Furthermore, the costs of enclosure were high and forced many smaller commoners to sell their allotments.¹⁰

The loss of common rights of pasture, as well as rights to gather fuel and exploit other resources, increased the dependence of landless families on wage labour and made them much more vulnerable, therefore, to changes in employment conditions.¹¹ The closing decades of the eighteenth century proved particularly difficult. The real wages of rural labourers declined as prices rose ahead of wages, especially during the period of the French Wars. The level of family income in the south and east of England was also adversely affected by the growth of seasonal unemployment, particularly amongst women, and by the decline of the rural textile industry. As a result, the cost of poor relief rose significantly. Matters were brought to a head by the poor harvests of 1795 and 1800 which created food scarcities and local disturbances in the south of England.¹²

⁹ In some early enclosures, however, parts of the common land were set aside for use by the poor or let out to raise money for their benefit: see, for example, S. Birtles, 'Common land, poor relief and enclosure: the use of manorial resources in fulfilling parish obligations, 1601-1834', *Past and Present*, 165 (1999), pp. 75-106; R. W. Hoyle & C. J. Spencer, 'The Slaidburn poor pasture: changing configurations of popular politics in the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century village', *Social History*, 31 (2006), pp. 182-205; and S. Pinches, 'From common rights to cold charity: enclosure and poor allotments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' in A. Borsay and P. Shapeley (eds), *Medicine, Charity and Mutual Aid: The Consumption of Health and Welfare in Britain, c. 1550-1950* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 35-53.

¹⁰ Neeson, *Commoners*, pp. 221-258; J.V. Beckett, 'The disappearance of the cottager and the squatter from the English countryside' in B.A. Holderness and M. Turner (eds), *Land, Labour and Agriculture, 1700-1920* (London, 1991), pp. 49-68. For an account of the deleterious effects of enclosure on cottagers in Lincolnshire see Anon., *Essays on Agriculture: occasioned by reading Mr Stone's report on the present state of that science in the county of Lincoln. By a native of the county* (London, 1796), pp. 21-4.

¹¹ Snell, *Annals*, pp. 138-227.

¹² A. Armstrong, *Farmworkers: A Social and Economic History, 1770-1980* (London, 1988), pp. 44-60; R. Wells, *Wretched Faces: Famine in Wartime England, 1793-1803* (Gloucester, 1988), pp. 36-9; Snell, *Annals*, pp. 15-66.

As a consequence, a wide range of ideas aimed at improving the condition of the agricultural labourer was produced between 1793 and 1815.¹³ One of the most commonly suggested and energetically pursued was to provide labourers with sufficient pasture to keep a cow. The idea was championed by Arthur Young, the secretary to the Board of Agriculture, and by the earl of Winchilsea, an influential member of the Board. The cause was taken up by the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor (SBCP), which was founded in 1796.¹⁴

It was argued that providing land to labourers would perform a role analogous to that of common rights enjoyed before enclosure, enabling labourers to produce milk and butter that would improve the diet and health of themselves and their families, augmenting wage income through the sale of surplus produce, and increasing employment opportunities for women and children. Some felt it would also improve the moral well-being of the poor by promoting self-help, industry, thrift and sobriety. These advantages would in turn bring benefits to the wider community. Labourers with land would make few demands on the poor rates, would provide a stable and reliable labour force, and would be less inclined to challenge social norms.¹⁵

¹³ J.R. Poynter, *Society and Pauperism: English Ideas on Poor Relief, 1795-1834* (London, 1969), pp. 45-98.

¹⁴ Calls for cottagers to be given three acres for a cow were first articulated by the surveyor Nathaniel Kent in his *Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property* (London, 1775) but it was the publication of *Communications to the Board of Agriculture*, vol. 1, part 2, *Cottages* (London, 1797) which signalled the start of a more active campaign. Arthur Young's contributions to the debate were largely contained in a series of controversial and increasingly radical articles 'On the state of the poor' in *Annals of Agriculture*, 34 (1799), pp. 186-91, *The Question of Scarcity Plainly Stated* (London, 1800) and 'Inquiry into the propriety of applying wastes to the better maintenance of the poor' in *Annals of Agriculture*, 36 (1801), pp. 497-652. See also Poynter, *Society and Pauperism*, pp. 99-104; J. Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793-1873* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 12-14, 24-5, 28-33; and D.C. Barnett, 'Allotments and the problem of rural poverty, 1780-1840' in E.L. Jones and G.E. Mingay, *Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution: Essays Presented to J.D. Chambers* (London, 1967), p. 166.

¹⁵ Earl of Winchilsea, 'The advantages of cottagers renting land' and Lord Brownlow, 'Queries concerning cottages, with the answers', *Communications to the Board of Agriculture*, vol. 1, part 2, *Cottages* (London, 1797), pp. 1-8 and 9-14 respectively; J. Willis, 'On cows for cottagers', *Annals of Agriculture*, 40 (1803), pp. 554-67; Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement*, pp. 15-22, 24-5; Barnett, 'Allotments', pp. 168-74.

Not all, however, were convinced. Some felt that labourers did not have the skill or the time to manage land well or money sufficient to rent the land, buy a cow or build a byre. Farmers, in particular, were said to resent land being taken from farms and were worried that labourers would work less hard for them because they were exhausted by work on their own land or because they were not so dependent on wages. For this reason, many argued that the amount of land given to labourers should be strictly limited.¹⁶ Others had more fundamental objections. They argued, with Bentham, that a nationwide scheme was unaffordable and unworkable and, with Malthus, that giving every man a piece of land would encourage early marriage and larger families and lead to an unsustainable expansion of population.¹⁷

The debate conducted by the Board of Agriculture, the SBCP and their principal members was directed at both legislators and fellow landowners. The campaign to promote or provide cow pastures through legislation lost momentum when harvests generally improved after 1801 (though there was another bad year in 1812-13) and as the revolutionary tensions of the 1790s were eased. There was, in any case, little appetite amongst the propertied classes for Government intervention in local affairs or in matters relating to property rights. The prevailing view, exemplified in the Poor Law report of 1834 and the Report of the Committee on Allotments in 1843, was that arrangements should be left to individual landowners and their cottagers rather than being prescribed by law.¹⁸

The campaign to persuade large landowners to provide labourers with grazing ground on their own estates is said to have been more influential, even though its effectiveness

¹⁶ Poynter, *Society and Pauperism*, p. 101; Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement*, pp. 22-3, 26-7, and 'Rural social relations, 1830-50: opposition to allotments for labourers', *Agricultural History Review*, 45 (1997), pp. 165-175; B. Moselle, 'Allotments, enclosure, and proletarianization in early-nineteenth century southern England', *Economic History Review*, 48 (1995), pp. 494-5. Winchilsea, 'Advantages', p. 8, acknowledged that many farmers sought to have cow pastures converted to farmland but he also knew 'a great many farmers who are convinced of the utility of letting land to labourers, and who have voluntarily given up land to be applied to that purpose'.

¹⁷ Poynter, *Society and Pauperism*, pp. 163-4 and 167; Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement*, pp. 72-3; Barnett, 'Allotments', p. 176.

¹⁸ S.G. and E.O.A. Checkland (eds), *The Poor Law Report of 1834* (London, 1974), pp. 291-4; Poynter, *Society and Pauperism*, pp. 254-7 and 299-300; Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement*, pp. 29-30, 34-5, 51-110; Barnett, 'Allotments', pp. 181-83. The land reform movement gained renewed momentum when the Chartist land plan of the 1840s sought to re-create the virtues of a simple life by placing families in two-, three- or four-acre plots.

probably declined over time.¹⁹ Yet the evidence for this claim is rather slim. As Burchardt has pointed out, most accounts of the movement to provide labourers with land in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century have failed to distinguish between the provision of cow pastures and the creation of allotments and potato grounds. Implicitly or explicitly, it is the movement to create allotments for the labouring poor that figures largely in these accounts.²⁰ The history of the movement to provide cows and create cow pastures for the labouring poor has yet to be written. The following paragraphs attempt to make a small contribution to that endeavour by looking at the evidence that survives for north Lincolnshire and for the parish of Humberston in particular.

Cottagers and Cows in North Lincolnshire

Lincolnshire, and particularly north Lincolnshire, was widely celebrated in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as an area in which agricultural labourers were liberally provided with pasture for cows. When Arthur Young visited the county in 1798, he wrote:

It is impossible to speak too highly in praise of the cottage system of Lincolnshire, where land, gardens, cows, and pigs, are so general in the hands of the poor. ... Wherever this system is found, poor's-rates are low; upon an average of the county, they do not amount to one-third of what is paid in Suffolk.²¹

Under the 'cottage system' that Young described, labourers in enclosed parishes were able to keep cows on land provided by landlords or farmers. In some enclosed parishes, such as Kirton-in-Lindsey, a part of the common had been retained for the use of those with former common rights. Elsewhere, landlords such as the earl of Yarborough, the earl of Scarborough and Sir John Sheffield, provided cottagers with a

¹⁹ Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement*, p. 31.

²⁰ The major contributions have been Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement*; Barnett, 'Allotments' pp. 162-83; Moselle, 'Allotments', pp. 482-500; J.E. Archer, 'The nineteenth-century allotment: half an acre and a row', *Economic History Review*, 50 (1997), pp. 26-36; and J.A. Perkins, 'Allotments in nineteenth-century Lincolnshire', *LHA*, 18 (1983), pp. 21-5. See also C.J. Griffin, 'Parish farms and the poor law: a response to unemployment in rural southern England, c.1815—35', *Agricultural History Review*, 59 (2011), pp. 176-198.

²¹ A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln* (London, 1799), p. 419.

croft or a close of a few acres on which to graze a cow.²² Lincolnshire farmers, too, provided grazing for their labourers' cows. 'It is a general rule', Young wrote, 'for every farmer and grazier [in the Lincolnshire Marsh] to keep cows for his regular labourers, at a low joist; and on the Wolds it is universal, one or two cows, and a pig or two, with a few sheep'.²³ Most labourers managed to buy the cows themselves but, if not, landlords or farmers bought the cows for them and took the calf each year. In some parishes, the overseers or a cow club would seek to replace the cows of poor people when the animal died.²⁴

At the time that Young visited Lincolnshire, he was beginning to have concerns about the unequal benefits of enclosure. He had long been an advocate of enclosure as a necessary adjunct to agricultural improvement but, over time, he came to the conclusion that enclosure, though beneficial to the farmer, was seriously damaging to the poor and that Government needed to act to protect their interests. After seeing the cottage system in Lincolnshire, Young wrote that 'the great object which ought to employ every heart and hand, is to devise the means of rendering the system universal'.²⁵

In 1799, the Board of Agriculture, probably at Young's instigation, commissioned a young Edinburgh graduate called Robert Gourlay to undertake a tour of Lincolnshire and Rutland to examine and report on the state of the cottagers in these counties. Gourlay was an agrarian radical and came to Lincolnshire with a clear agenda – to

²² Young, *General View*, pp. 408-20. See also, regarding the Earl of Scarborough, T. Bernard, 'Extract from a further account of the advantages of cottagers keeping cows', *The Ninth Report of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor* (London, 1799), p. 263n.

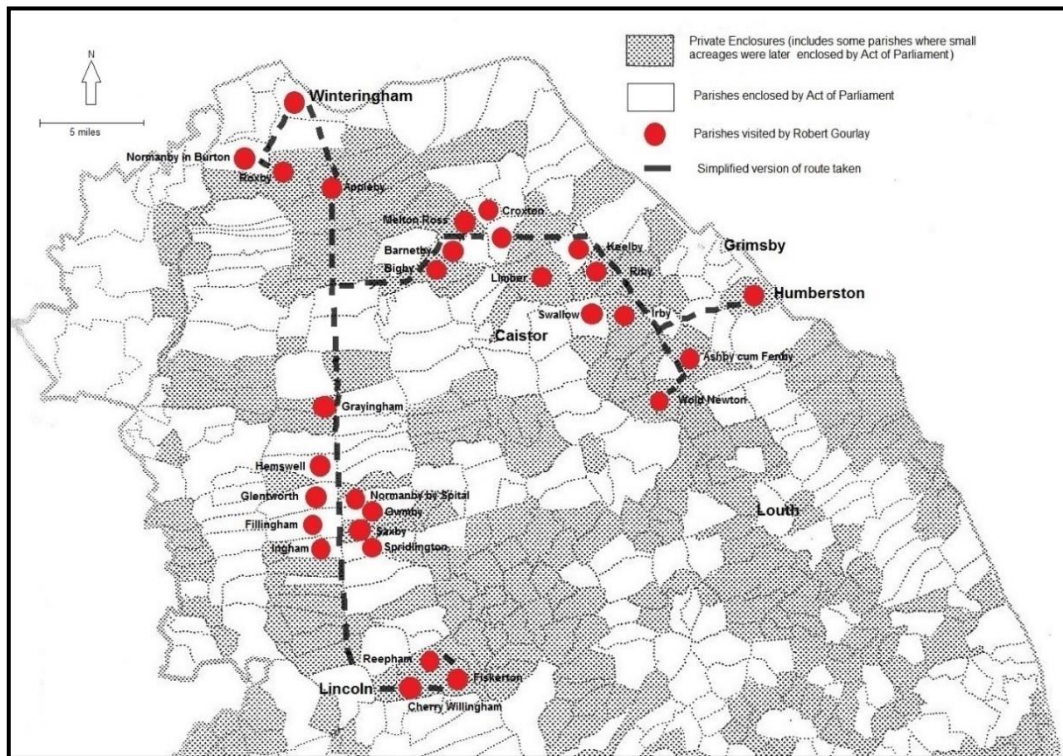
²³ Young, *General View*, p. 415. Thomas Stone, in *A Review of the Corrected Survey of Lincolnshire by Arthur Young* (London, 1800), p. 319, claimed that Young had overstated the extent of 'the cottage system' in Lincolnshire. This was, however, a possibly jaundiced view from one whose own report on Lincolnshire agriculture had been supplanted by Young's. Later in the same work (pp. 399-402), Stone acknowledged that the cottage system had worked well on the estates of the earls of Egremont and Winchelsea and he endorsed Nathaniel Kent's recommendation that a few acres might be parted off from every large farm to create smallholdings with the largest allotments given to those of 'exemplary good conduct, industry, and economy'.

²⁴ Young, *General View*, p. 417.

²⁵ Poynter, *Society and Pauperism*, pp. 99-103; Young, *General View*, p. 419.

demonstrate that when cottagers had a cow they made few demands on poor relief.²⁶ It is to be expected, therefore, that he looked for villages that served his purposes. He seems to have found them in abundance.²⁷ Gourlay visited 29 villages in north Lincolnshire (see Figure 6.1). Of these, 16 were old, privately enclosed parishes, 10 were more recent Parliamentary enclosures, and 3 parishes were still in open fields, though they were enclosed within a few years of his visit.

Figure 6.1 Robert Gourlay's Tour through North Lincolnshire, 1800²⁸



²⁶ S. F. Wise, 'Gourlay, Robert Fleming', http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/gourlay_robert_fleming_9E.html (accessed 2 November 2013); Poynter, *Society and Pauperism*, p. 104. After publishing his work on Lincolnshire, Gourlay produced a series of tracts and petitions between 1809 and 1817 which argued for the poor to be given land and for the commons to be returned to public use: see, for example, R. Gourlay, *The Village System being a Scheme for the Gradual Abolition of Pauperism* (London, 1817). He emigrated to Canada in 1817 but was ejected two years later for sedition and returned to England. During the 1820s he agitated for emigration as a means of relieving distress.

²⁷ R. Gourlay, 'An inquiry into the state of the cottagers in the counties of Lincoln and Rutland', *Annals of Agriculture*, 37 (1801), pp. 514-49 and 577-600; BL: Add. Ms. 35128, f. 177.

²⁸ The base map is from R.C. Russell and S. Bennett, 'Parliamentary and older enclosure in Lincolnshire' in S. and N. Bennett (eds), *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire* (Hull, 1993), p. 83; Gourlay's route is reconstructed from Gourlay, 'An inquiry', pp. 514-49 and 577-600 but has been simplified to improve clarity.

In these 29 villages, Gourlay found 450 families with one or more cows, an average of 15 or 16 families per parish. He gave the number of people in each family, so it is possible to say that these 450 families represented 36 per cent of the local population. The proportions were higher in privately enclosed parishes (42 per cent) than in those enclosed by Act of Parliament (26 per cent), but both figures are impressively high. Each cottager generally kept one or two cows: the average was 1.4 (see Figure 6.2). Most cottagers also kept a pig, and in some parishes a few cottagers kept sheep. Very occasionally, a cottager would also have a horse.

*Figure 6.2 Number of Cottagers and their Livestock by Type of Parish, 1800*²⁹

Type of Parish	No. of Parishes	No. of Cottagers	No. of Persons	% of Population	No. of Cottagers' Livestock				Cows per Cottager
					Cows	Pigs	Sheep	Horses	
Enclosed Privately	16	263	1191	42	403	257	168	15	1.5
Enclosed by Act	10	151	671	26	187	140	188	8	1.2
Not Enclosed	3	36	162	60	53	43	12	2	1.5
All Parishes	29	450	2024	36	643	440	368	25	1.4

Around three quarters of the cottagers who kept cows owned or rented land. The average holding was a little over 5 acres in size. In some parishes this took the form of a small croft or close. However, in twelve parishes cottagers shared a large cow pasture – a piece of land that was set aside for their use, usually at the time of enclosure. The cow pastures ranged in size from 26 to 292 acres and were typically divided between meadow and pasture ground.³⁰

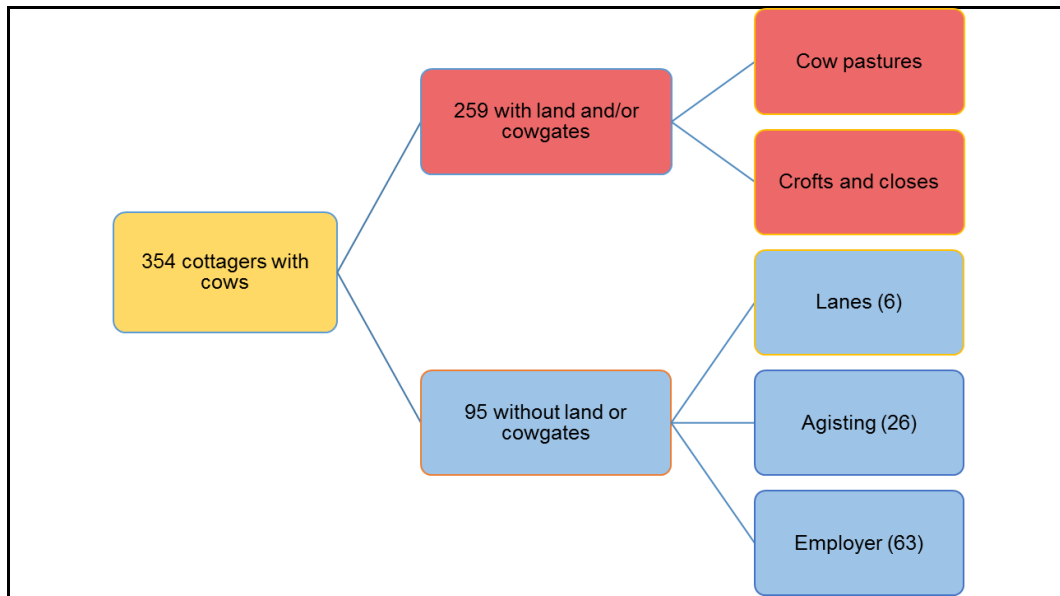
However, not everyone had land, as is evident from Figure 6.3. Nearly one hundred families, about one quarter of all cottagers, held no land but nevertheless kept cows. A few cottagers tethered their cows in the lanes in the summer and bought food for their winter keep. Others put their cows in with a larger herd, a process known as agisting, and paid the farmer for their keep, usually about 2s a week. In the majority of cases,

²⁹ Gourlay, 'An inquiry', pp. 514-49 and 577-600; the sub-division of parishes by type of parish is based principally on Russell and Bennett, 'Parliamentary enclosure', p. 83.

³⁰ Gourlay, 'An inquiry', pp. 577-8.

farmers provided grazing and hay for their labourers' cows as part of their annual contracts – in the same way as they provided them with a rent-free cottage.³¹

Figure 6.3 Number of Cottagers by Type of Keeping, 1800 ³²



It is clear from later enquiries and reports, and from other contemporary evidence, that the 'cottage system' extended far beyond the parishes that Gourlay visited and continued well into the nineteenth century.³³ It was said in 1836, for example, that all the labourers on Lord Yarborough's extensive estates in north Lincolnshire had a house and garden and an average of four to five acres of land on which to keep a cow or two.³⁴ In 1852, when John Clarke surveyed the farming in Lincolnshire, he was pleased to find the cow system continuing in the east of the county, if not elsewhere. He wrote that in the Marsh 'the condition of the labourers is superior to the general average, having many cow cottages' and on the Wolds he found cottages with

³¹ Gourlay, 'An inquiry', pp. 544 and 580.

³² Gourlay, 'An inquiry', pp. 514-49 and 577-600.

³³ J. Parkinson, 'Cottagers land', *Annals of Agriculture*, 36 (1801), pp. 360-3; Miss Hatfield, *The Terra Incognita of Lincolnshire* (1816, London, 1832 edn), p. 38; Board of Agriculture, *Agricultural State of the Kingdom* (London, 1816), pp. 158-66; BPP, *Report of the Select Committee on Labourers Wages*, H.C. 1824 (392), p. 43, and *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, Appendix B1, Answers to Rural Queries, Parts i-v*, H.C. 1834 (44), p. 297b; T.W. Beastall, *A North Country Estate: The Lumleys and Saundersons as Landowners, 1600-1900* (Chichester, 1975), p. 132.

³⁴ BPP, *Second Report on the State of Agriculture*, H.C. 1836 (189), p. 73.

sufficient grass and hay for a cow.³⁵ The evidence of cow clubs – mutual insurance societies which compensated members for the loss of their cows through illness or accident – also suggests that the several arrangements under which landlords and farmers provided pasture for labourers cows continued in many places through much of the nineteenth century. Rex Russell has counted 24 such clubs in north Lincolnshire in the nineteenth century with numbers of members ranging from 12 to 166. He suggests that there were many more than this.³⁶

There is no doubt, however, that during the course of the nineteenth century the cottage system in Lincolnshire was beginning to decline as the allotment movement gathered pace. Already in 1816, it was being complained that an overly-rigorous application of the laws of settlement by local magistrates was making landlords and farmers reluctant to let cottages with land to poor labourers. In the 1830s it was reported that landlords and farmers were taking land from cottages whenever the opportunity arose and were choosing to provide allotments instead of cow pastures.³⁷ In 1852 John Clarke commented that, outside of the Marsh and the Wolds, cottagers' grazing land had been much curtailed and cows were comparatively rare. New houses had been built to accommodate the growing population 'but without a proportion of land being set apart for them sufficient for grazing cows or sheep'.³⁸ In addition, a number of the large communal cow pastures were beginning to disappear as they were taken in hand by landlords and turned over to farmers. The huge cow pasture at Binbrook was enclosed in 1806, the one at Barnetby-le-Wold in 1836, and the cow pastures at Reepham in 1870.³⁹

³⁵ J.A. Clarke, *On the Farming of Lincolnshire* (London, 1852), p. 154.

³⁶ R.C. Russell, *Cottagers and Cows, 1800-1892: The Cow Clubs in Lincolnshire* (Barton-on-Humber, 1987), pp. 16-45.

³⁷ Board of Agriculture, *Agricultural State*, p. 158; BPP, *Second Report on the State of Agriculture*, p. 74, and *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, Appendix B1, Answers to Rural Queries, Parts i-v*, H.C. 1834 (44), pp. 289b-298b; B.A. Holderness, 'Open' and 'close' parishes in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Agricultural History Review*, 20 (1972), pp. 130 and 133; Perkins, 'Allotments', pp. 21-25.

³⁸ Clarke, *Farming of Lincolnshire*, p. 153.

³⁹ T.W. Beastall, *The Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1978), pp. 114-6; Perkins, 'Allotments', pp. 21-5; Clarke, *Farming*, p. 153; Russell, *Cottagers*, pp. 3-4; C.K. Rawding (ed.), *Binbrook in the 19th Century* (Binbrook, 1989), pp. 7-8. Sara Birtles notes that of the 420 enclosure acts in Norfolk between 1720 and 1834, 56 per cent made special provision for the poor inhabitants but

However, not all succumbed so early. At Roxby, where 21 cottagers kept cows on 173 acres, the cow pastures were only given up when the Scunthorpe Co-op started delivering bottled milk to the village.⁴⁰ And at Humberston, on the coast, a cottage economy based on the use of shared pastures and meadow continued until the 1940s, one hundred and fifty years after the enclosure of the parish had been completed.⁴¹

The Humberston cow pastures are of interest for two reasons. First, they are amongst the best documented in Lincolnshire and therefore shed valuable light on the reasons for their creation and for their longevity.⁴² Second, they were owned by Lord Carrington, President of the Board of Agriculture and one-time adversary of Arthur Young, and shed valuable light on their opposing positions, as liberal landlord and radical polemicist, on the provision of cow pastures.

The Cow Pastures in Humberston

As has been noted previously, Robert Smith (1752-1838), the first baron Carrington, bought two estates in north Lincolnshire in the early 1790s, one at Humberston and the other at Winteringham.⁴³ The property at Humberston had been somewhat neglected

the practice began to wane during the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century as high grain prices made the wastes more valuable under the plough than they were off-setting the rates: 'Common land, poor relief and enclosure: the use of manorial resources in fulfilling parish obligations, 1601-1834', *Past and Present*, 165 (1999), pp. 75-106.

⁴⁰ I. Beckwith, *Victorian Village: Roxby, A Lincolnshire Village in the Nineteenth Century* (Roxby, 1967), pp. 15-16.

⁴¹ A.E. Kirkby, *Humberstone: The Story of a Village* (Lincoln, 1953), p. 31. In addition, common pastures survived in Lincoln until 1915, in Gunness until the Second World War, and in Willoughby until at the least the 1950s: W.G. Hoskins and L. Dudley Stamp, *The Common Lands of England and Wales* (London, 1963).

⁴² In addition to Gourlay's report, published accounts of the cottage system at Humberston can be found in Young, *General View*, pp. 414-5; T. Thompson, 'Extract from an account of a provision for cottagers keeping cows at Humberston, in the county of Lincoln', *The Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor*, vol. 2 (London, 1799), pp. 133-8; T. Thompson, 'Reasons for giving lands to cottagers, to enable them to keep cows', *Communications to the Board of Agriculture*, vol. 4 (London, 1805), pp. 422-28; BPP, *Departmental Committee on Small Holdings in Great Britain, Minutes of Evidence, H.C. 1906 [Cd 3278]* pp. 258-64; and Kirkby, *Humberstone*, p. 31.

⁴³ CBS: D-CN 13/1/43-44; T.M. Smith, 'Enclosure and agricultural improvement in North-west Lincolnshire from circa 1600 to 1850' (unpub. D.Phil thesis, University of Nottingham, 2012), p. 281; Winteringham Local History Group, *A History of a Village: Winteringham, 1761-1871* (Hull, 1980), p. 7.

over the previous forty years and Carrington set about its improvement. His first task was to complete the enclosure of the parish which had been planned by Matthew Humberston in 1707, and partly implemented in the 1750s, but remained half completed in the 1790s. Carrington divided the former open fields and most of the meadow and common pasture between the farmers, but he decided that some 68 acres of meadow and pasture should be retained for the use of those 13 Cottagers who had previously held common rights.⁴⁴ In this, he was following the example of his father who had also provided land for labourers on his estates in Nottinghamshire.⁴⁵

The Cottagers' land in Humberston was divided into two plots. One of the plots was kept as summer pasture and the other was cultivated as meadow land, to provide hay for the cows in the winter. The meadow was divided by stakes into smaller areas 'in order that each cottager may know his own land, and have the benefit of improving it by laying his manure upon it'.⁴⁶ Every two or three years, the use to which the two plots was put was reversed so that the pasture could be rested before it was grazed again.

The enclosure had been completed when Arthur Young visited Humberston in 1798. He was much in awe of the new arrangements. Carrington, he said, had given the Cottagers every convenience. He had made the Cottagers tenants of himself so that they were wholly independent of the larger farmers and he had let the cow pasture at a low rent. The poor rate was less than 10d in the pound, and sometimes not more than 6d. 'This is undoubtedly to be attributed', said Young, 'to the attention which has been paid to the poor in various ways, and particularly to the support which they have derived from the small quantities of land which they have occupied.' At Winteringham, too, Young reported that Lord Carrington had 'made all the cottagers tenants to himself, and all have cows and gardens'.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ The progress of enclosure in Humberston can be traced in NELA: 213 (1707); CBS: D-CN 13/1/42, fol. 4 (1717), 13/1/21, pp. 95-133 (1763), and 18/8/4/8, 10 and 13 (1792-99); LAO: TdE C/13/7/5 (1728) and Dixon 19/1/2, fol. 17 (1826); and TNA: Prob 11/8/17, fols. 16-18d (1755).

⁴⁵ Thompson, 'Extract', pp. 137-8.

⁴⁶ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/8.

⁴⁷ Young, *General View*, pp. 414-5.

In 1798, Carrington and his agent, Thomas Thompson, created a second cow pasture in Humberston, containing some 23 acres of land in the north of the parish, which was allocated to a further five families. Thompson, wrote that the recipients were:

five or six poor persons of unblemished character, who were deserving of all the kindness that could be shewn to them ... One was a day labourer, another a weaver, another a blacksmith, another a shoemaker, another the schoolmaster,— all very industrious and useful men in the town in their different professions. One had maintained a large family of children, by his daily labour, another had supported an aged mother, when he might have left her to be supported by the parish, and a third had spent a great proportion of his earnings in building a small dwelling-house on a piece of ground belonging to the owner of the parish.⁴⁸

Thompson's evident pleasure at being able to reward these loyal tenants was not shared by others in the village. He had to wait until a tenancy fell in before he could act and, even then, he encountered opposition from tenant farmers who raised objections to the exchange of land and the level of compensation that was offered them. He reflected:

I know how difficult it is to persuade large farmers that it would be in their interest to give up small portions of land to poor persons. It is by no means uncommon for a farmer who holds three or four hundred acres of land to complain, when his landlord interferes to take from him three or four acres for a cottager, that his farm is essentially injured by it, and that some of his best land is taken from him. This unwise conduct, which leads the farmer to regard only the interest of the present moment, and to disregard the state of his poor neighbour, is often punished by its own consequences. Both the price of labour, and the poor-rate are increased by it, and the loss to the farmer is far greater than the loss of profit by three or four acres of land.⁴⁹

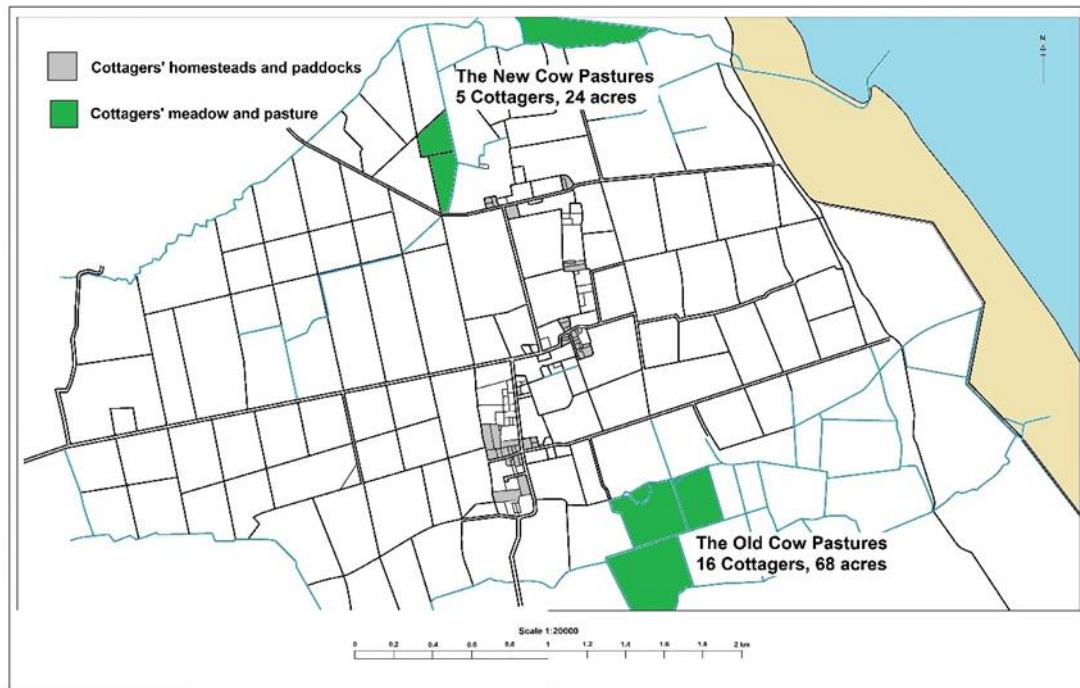
In 1825, Carrington and his steward granted pasturage rights to a further three poor families who had been provided with houses built by the parish but, this time, they awarded them rights within the existing cow pastures rather than enlarging the Cottagers' plots. From this date, twenty-one Cottagers enjoyed grazing and meadow

⁴⁸ Thompson, 'Reasons', p. 423.

⁴⁹ Thompson, 'Reasons', p. 424.

rights in the cow pastures, sharing 22 cow gates and 92 acres of land between them at an average rent of less than £1 an acre (see Figure 6.4). In addition, they had homesteads and paddocks, which contained another 19 acres of land, on which they could overwinter a cow, keep one or more pigs, and grow vegetables. None were in receipt of poor relief.⁵⁰

*Figure 6.4 The Cow Pastures in Humberston, 1825*⁵¹



Thompson stated that the cow pastures had been created through 'The liberality of my noble friend, Lord Carrington, the owner of the estate'. Yet the plan and its execution owed much to Thompson's guiding influence. He wrote that Lord Carrington 'left me at liberty to fulfil his wishes and my own, in any way I thought best' and he reflected more generally that there was 'no description of men who may promote the increase of cottagers in a greater degree than gentlemen's stewards'.⁵²

Carrington was not a radical reformer nor was he an evangelist for the cottage system. In fact, he refused to join with Young and Gourlay in promoting the extension of the system elsewhere. In his capacity as President of the Board of Agriculture, he declined

⁵⁰ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/6; LAO: Humberston Par. 10/2, 1825/6; Gourlay, 'Inquiry', p. 591.

⁵¹ CFA: 5-6.

⁵² Thompson, 'Reasons', p. 425.

to publish the reports that the Board had commissioned from Robert Gourlay on cow pastures in Lincolnshire and Rutland. He told Arthur Young, somewhat dismissively, that Young could publish them in his own journal 'if you think that there is anything in them fit for your Annals'. He similarly refused to publish Young's more controversial 'Inquiry into the Propriety of Applying Wastes to the Better Maintenance of the Poor' which advocated that every labourer in England should be provided with a small holding financed from the parish rates. Carrington objected to the implied element of compulsion and Young was again obliged to publish the article in his own journal, *The Annals of Agriculture*.⁵³

Moreover, Carrington's benevolence was not unqualified. As part of the major improvements he made to the estate in Humberston, Carrington required each of the Cottagers to take out a new letting agreement in which they pledged to give up their share of the furze, or waste, grounds on Lady Day 1793; the land was then enclosed, ploughed up and turned over to one of the large tenant farmers. By this means the Cottagers lost access to 56 acres of rough grazing and furze ground in the north and west of the parish which they had customarily divided between them in 14 roughly equal shares. In addition, they were required to surrender their 24 acres of common grazing land on Milking Hill in exchange for 36 acres of inferior, boggy land in the South Ings, next to the river, albeit at a reduced rent. Milking Hill was then enclosed, split between two existing farms and converted to arable in the following year.⁵⁴

*Table 6.1 Cottagers' Holdings before Enclosure (1788) and after it (1794)*⁵⁵

	Cottagers (No.)	Homestead & Croft (Acres)	Pasture (Acres)	Meadow (Acres)	Furze (Acres)	Total (Acres)
1788	13	15.25	23.75	30.50	56.25	125.75
1794	13	15.25	36.25	31.25	-	82.75

⁵³ M. Betham-Edwards (ed.), *The Autobiography of Arthur Young* (London, 1898), pp. 350-1; Poynter, *Society and Pauperism*, pp. 103-4; Barnett, 'Allotments', pp. 174 and 178; Young, 'Inquiry', pp. 497-652.

⁵⁴ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/8 and 10. In a survey of 1805, Milking Hill (then arable) was valued at 23s or 31s an acre whereas the South Ings were valued at 15s an acre; only the cottagers' previous furze grounds were valued at less than this (14s an acre): CBS: D-CN/18/8/4/3. The South Ings were still subject to flooding in 1910: TNA: IR 58/33917.

⁵⁵ NAS: GD 46/1/12; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/8 and 10.

This redistribution of land in favour of the farmers formed part of a wider plan to bring previously uncultivated land under the plough. This was an understandable response to rising grain prices in the 1790s. Nevertheless, it worked to the detriment of the Cottagers who not only lost access to pasture, furze ground and saltmarsh grazing but also to the opportunities they offered for fishing and fowling. In the opinion of one local writer, the cottager in the Marsh got the best part of his living not from grazing but from 'his superior industry, in fishing, fowling, getting fuel, and a thousand such trifles, which his poverty obliges him to attend to'.⁵⁶

Aside from carefully managed and circumscribed benevolence, Carrington and Thompson were motivated to act by two other considerations. First, as Thompson explained, the cottage system in Humberston provided incentives for labourers and artisans to remain settled in the parish at a time when labour was in short supply. He wrote:

Those labourers, who have no local advantage of situation, no tie of property, nor any appropriate benefit to attach them to a peculiar spot, are inclined to wander up and down a country, without any fixed connexion; and are always ready to change their employer for a trifling advance in their wages; whereas those cottagers, who have the advantages of property, who possess a cow, and rent a little ground, are the persons on whose assistance the farmer may depend in the time of necessity, and on whose honesty and ability he may implicitly rely.⁵⁷

Second, the provision of cow pastures was valued by Carrington and his tenant farmers as a means by which to reduce the burden of parish rates since Cottagers with cows were thought less likely to require poor relief. Thompson, writing of Humberston, said that: 'no person in possession of a cottage and its appendages has, within my knowledge, applied for parochial relief, unless on the loss of a cow, or in consequence of great age and infirmities. In ordinary cases of sickness, the cottager derives from his cow and garden, the means of comfortable support ... with the addition of a few pounds

⁵⁶ Anon., *Essays on Agriculture*, p. 21; see also pp. 24-5.

⁵⁷ Thompson, 'Extract', pp. 135-6.

which he may have saved in health'.⁵⁸ Examination of the vestry minutes and overseers accounts for Humberston for the period up to 1834 bears this out.⁵⁹

There is no doubt that the cow pastures in Humberston brought financial and other benefits to the Cottagers. An account has been given above of the likely costs and benefits of keeping a cow in the period around 1800. A similar calculation is possible for Humberston. On the costs side, the single largest item of recurrent expenditure was the rent payable to Lord Carrington for a share of the cow pasture. In 1805, grazing land in the South Ings was valued at just 15s an acre, the lowest valuation for any pasture in Humberston, and meadow was put at 20s an acre. The additional land created for Cottagers in the North Leys was valued at either 20s or 26s and acre.⁶⁰ A single cottage with a modest garden, one cowgate and a standard share of meadow typically cost £5 a year to rent and occasionally £6 in 1800, depending on the size and condition of the homestead and croft. These were not out of line with rents elsewhere in the Marsh and, though they rose slightly over the years, they do not appear to have increased any more quickly than farm rents in the period up to 1850.⁶¹ The rent, of course, covered the cost of the feed, since the pasture and meadow provided grass and hay for the summer and winter respectively.

The most significant capital item was the cow, which cost between £5 and £10 in Humberston in the early nineteenth century. Though a significant sum for the cottager to find, it was usual to replace the cow only every fourth or fifth year and to take calves in the meantime. A calf bred to replace the cow would therefore represent a significant saving. It cost 5s to have a cow covered by one of the farmers' bulls.⁶²

⁵⁸ Thompson, 'Reasons', p. 424.

⁵⁹ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1 and 10/2.

⁶⁰ CBS: D-CN/18/8/4/3.

⁶¹ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/8; LAO: Humberston Par. 14/1. A house, garden, and 5 acres of meadow and pasture on Lord Brownlow's estate in south Lincolnshire cost £8.14s.0d per annum to rent in 1817: BPP, *Report of the Select Committee on the Poor Laws*, H.C. 1817 (462), p. 166. Cottages with gardens but without pasture were let elsewhere in the Marsh for between £2.10s and £5 in 1834: BPP, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, Appendix B1, Parts i-v*, H.C. 1834 (44), pp. 289b-298b.

⁶² LAO: Humberston Par. 10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1826-7, 1828-8, and 1832-3; Humberston Par. 10/1, Vestry Minutes, 31 March 1829, and 23 November 1838.

Against these costs could be set the value to be derived from a daily supply of milk. During the summer, a single cow would produce a gallon or more of milk a day which could be turned into butter and skimmed milk for domestic use or for sale, and the whey could be fed to pigs. The Humberston overseers reckoned a cow to be worth about 6s a week in the 1820s (equivalent to half of a labourer's weekly wage) since this was the sum they gave to Mary Lidgard each week that her cow was dry. There was also the prospect of producing a calf that could be sold for cash. A calf produced from Mary Lidgard's cow was sold for £3.10s in 1830. Alternatively, a cowgate that was not required for grazing could be rented out for 2 or 3 guineas a year.⁶³

In addition to cows, a number of Cottagers kept sheep and pigs. When Robert Gourlay visited the parish in January 1801, nine of the twelve Cottagers he interviewed had between 1 and 6 sheep each (which presumably were reared for sale and used for manure in the meantime) and eight cottagers had either one or two pigs.⁶⁴

Leaving these aside, the income and expenditure associated with cow-keeping showed a reasonable return on effort. Costs of roughly £7.10s.0d a year (i.e. rent of £5 a year and the cost of a cow amortised over 4 years) could be met by the sale of a calf and by the milk produced over a period of 13 weeks. This would leave sufficient milk for domestic consumption and for rearing a calf. This supports Shaw-Taylor's contention that the produce of a cow constituted the single most important element in the cottage economy and perhaps helps to explain why the cottage system in Humberston proved so enduring.⁶⁵

Indeed, the Cottagers jealously guarded their rights and privileges. With Carrington's consent, Cottagers passed their cottages and associated bits of cow pasture from one generation to the next. Thomas Richardson wrote to Carrington's agent in 1846 asking that his wife, should she survive him, or else his son, should be permitted to succeed him as tenant of the cottage that he, his father and grandfather had successively occupied since about 1730. It was quite usual for widows to take on the lease of the

⁶³ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1, Vestry Minutes, 23 March 1830 and 4 June 1831, and Annual Accounts, 1829-30. Arthur Young also estimated the value of a cow to a family at 5-6s a week in 1801 (cit. Snell, *Annals*, pp. 177-8) and William Cobbett similarly thought that the butter and skim milk obtained from a cow's milk was together equivalent to three day's labourers wages (Cobbett, *Cottage Economy*, p. 96).

⁶⁴ Gourlay, 'Inquiry', p. 591; H.E. Cockburn, 'Notes upon Humberston', *Humberston Church Magazine*, Part 1, October 1929 (NELA 474/1).

⁶⁵ Shaw-Taylor, 'Labourers', pp. 97-8.

cottage after their husband's death.⁶⁶ For example, when Thomas Davy passed away in 1814, his widow successfully petitioned Lord Carrington for permission to occupy the cottage and a cow gate held by her late husband since, as the agent argued on her behalf, it would 'greatly assist her in bringing up her family'.⁶⁷ The cottage passed to her son when she reached 65. Even when the male line died out, sons-in-law often took on the tenancy, as when William Andrew took the lease of his mother-in-law's cottage following her death in 1795. As a consequence, the Cottagers became a constant and stable group – what Keith Snell has termed the 'core inhabitants'.⁶⁸

The group was given additional coherence through the Cottagers' shared responsibility for the cow pastures, which (as in the days of the common fields) required joint decision taking on matters to do with the allocation of parcels of meadow, the organisation and celebration of the hay harvest, and the management and drainage of the fields. Sometimes they acted on instructions from Lord Carrington, as when they sought to improve an area of rough ground by paring and burning and sowing with clover. At other times they acted on their own initiative, as when they planted one part of the cow pasture with osiers to create a shelter for their cows and set another part with potatoes.⁶⁹

In addition, the Cottagers acquired a special place in the village hierarchy. Because they rented their cottages and cow pasture directly from Lord Carrington, rather than from the tenant farmers, they enjoyed what Thomas Thompson described as 'a degree of respectability which they would not otherwise enjoy'.⁷⁰ This was evident at the bi-annual rent days for, though they did not join the agent and the farmers for the rent day dinner, they nevertheless had their own allowance, equivalent to a shilling a head, for food and drink.⁷¹ And in estate papers and parish registers, when it was necessary to record their occupation, they were referred to as 'cottagers' rather than as agricultural

⁶⁶ NELA: 474/1.

⁶⁷ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/2.

⁶⁸ K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 93-104 and 106-7.

⁶⁹ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/5; BPP, *Departmental Committee on Small Holdings in Great Britain, Minutes of Evidence*, H.C. 1906 [Cd 3278], pp. 260-4.

⁷⁰ Young, *General View*, p. 414.

⁷¹ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/2 (1799 onwards).

labourers or tradesmen, implying that they had a recognised status that was quite different from others in the village.⁷² Occasionally, their passing was felt significant enough to be recorded in the county newspaper. James Tuplin, 'a cottager', Alan Hannah, 'an industrious cottager', and David Wilkinson, 'a cottager, advanced in years' appeared in the notices of the *Stamford Mercury* in the middle of the century at a time when the deaths of other agricultural labourers went unrecorded.⁷³

One of the cow cottages, Haverstoe Cottage, still survives in Humberston, close to the church. Its plan and method of construction are typical of many small vernacular buildings in Lincolnshire (see Figure 6.5). It was built of mud and stud in the seventeenth or early eighteenth-century and encased in brick in the late nineteenth century, and has been much altered since. The entrance opened against the side of a chimney stack which heated the central hall and the kitchen to the east. There was an unheated room at the west end, possibly a sleeping parlour. Two first floor rooms were contained within the roof space, probably accessed by separate stairs or narrow ladders between the joists.⁷⁴

The homestead was adjoined on its south side by a one-acre paddock which at one time probably contained a byre and pigsty. From here a cow would have been driven every morning to the Cottagers' pasture in the South Ings where the cottage held the rights to a cowgate and a piece of meadow. Each cottager took his turn in driving the cattle to and from the pasture at the beginning and end of the day and boys would bring the animals back for milking in the afternoon.⁷⁵

The cottage was let for £6.8s.0d a year in 1825 and was occupied by John Marshall, a farm labourer, Elizabeth his wife and their four young children. Elizabeth took on the tenancy when John died in 1836 and she brought up her two youngest children there whilst working as a shopkeeper. In 1851, she shared the cottage with her eldest son Edward, an agricultural labourer, and his wife and daughter. They continued to occupy

⁷² See, for example, LAO: Humberston Par. 1/2, 1827, and 1/5, 1841 and 1846.

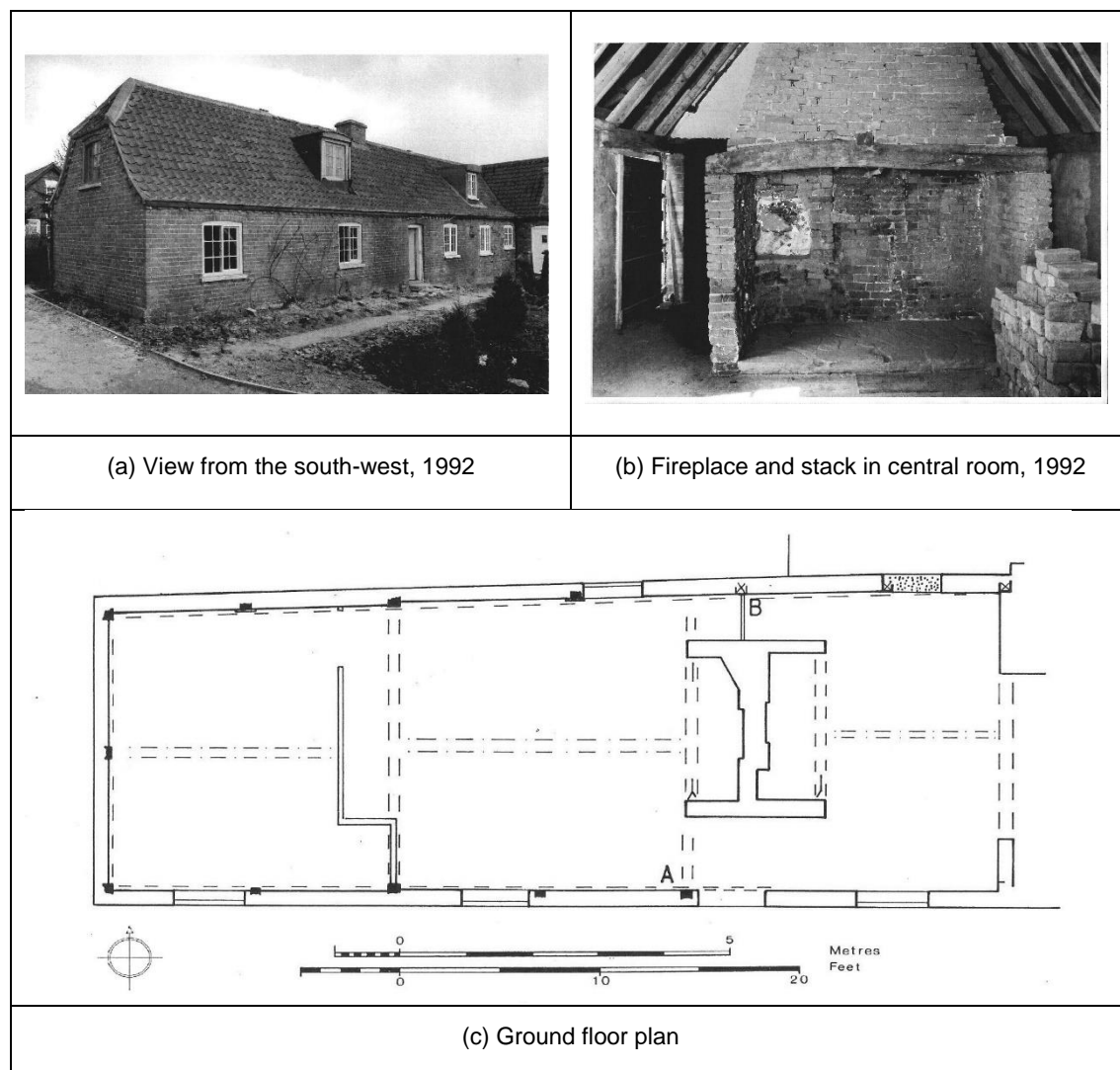
⁷³ *LRS*M, 6 March 1846, p. 3, col. 3, 27 April 1849, p. 3, col. 3, and 7 February 1851, p. 3, col. 3; see also *Hull Packet*, 6 March 1846, p. 8, col. 3, and *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, 2 October 1857, p. 5, col. 3.

⁷⁴ Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *Historic Buildings Report, Haverstoe Cottage, Humberston* (Swindon, 1992).

⁷⁵ Information from Mr Nicholas Marshall, Humberston, December 1973.

the cottage after Elizabeth's death. Edward was still there in 1881, paying the same rent as his father had paid in 1825.⁷⁶

Figure 6.5 Cottager's House: Haverstoe Cottage, Wendover Lane ⁷⁷



The cow pastures in Humberston continued to be used through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. Charles, the third Lord Carrington, who succeeded to the title in 1868, was a progressive Liberal, a lifelong advocate of land reform and an enthusiastic proponent of smallholdings. He not only expanded the number of allotments and smallholdings on his own estates (including at Humberston) but also, as

⁷⁶ CBS: D-CN 18/8/1/5 and 18/8/4/6; CFA: 5-6; LAO: Humberston Par. 14/1; TNA: HO 107/637/15, p. 7, HO 107/637/15, p. 7, and RG 9/2390, p.5.

⁷⁷ (a) and (b) English Heritage: Negative Nos. RCHME BB92/10837 and 10842 respectively; (c) Royal Commission, *Haverstoe Cottage*.

President of the Board of Agriculture from 1905, secured two acts of Parliament, in 1907 and 1908, that obliged county councils to provide allotments to any group of labourers who requested them.⁷⁸ For this reason, *Vanity Fair* nicknamed him 'Small Holdings' when it caricatured him in 1907 (see Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6 'Small Holdings', *The Earl Carrington*, 1907, by Sir Leslie Ward⁷⁹



The third Lord Carrington sold the Humberston estate in September 1920. Four of the Cottagers bought the pastures on behalf of the rest and together they established the Humberston Cottagers' Cow Pastures Limited Company to manage the land and to let it 'for and on behalf of cottagers (i.e. workmen engaged in husbandry) resident in the parish of Humberstone'. The company continued until 1940 when, so few Cottagers

⁷⁸ A. Adonis, 'Aristocracy, agriculture and Liberalism: the politics, finances and estates of the third Lord Carrington', *Historical Journal*, 31 (1988), pp. 871-97, and 'Carrington, Charles Robert Wynn-, marquess of Lincolnshire (1843–1928)', <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37054> (accessed 20 December 2014); C. Barclay, 'Allotments', <http://www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/sn00887.pdf>, p. 2 (accessed 22 December 2014).

⁷⁹ National Portrait Gallery, Australia: <http://www.portrait.gov.au/portraits/2002.59/small-holdings-the-earl-carrington-baron> (accessed 22 December 2014).

being interested, it was wound up and the land was sold.⁸⁰ By this time Humberston had become a prosperous residential area for successful Grimsby trawler owners and fish merchants and there was little demand for cow pastures.

Conclusion

There were significant attempts during the 1790s and the early part of the nineteenth century both to oblige and to persuade landowners to provide landless labourers with grazing sufficient to keep a cow. Though Parliamentary lobbying and legislative action proved to be short-lived and ineffective, the success of the campaign to secure voluntary provision, and the extent and longevity of such provision, remains to be established. This brief survey of the 'cottage system' in north Lincolnshire, and the more detailed account of the cow pastures in Humberston, provides one contribution to this outstanding work.

A number of broad conclusions can be drawn from this analysis. The first, is that many landlords in north Lincolnshire were sympathetic to the plight of the poor and were active in helping them to adjust to the effects of enclosure. Some provided communal cow pastures, others let them small pasture closes. Farmers, too, appear to have been helpful and supportive. This is, perhaps, more surprising because it is often said that farmers were opposed to the notion of labourers keeping cows. Yet in north Lincolnshire they were providing pasture and feed for their labourers' cows, often as part of their annual contracts. Some of this may reflect a humanitarian desire to better the condition of the poor. Yet there was also a harder edge to it. Landlords wished for a tenantry that was able to pay its way. Farmers wished to secure a stable and compliant labour force. Both wanted to keep the poor rates as low as possible.

Cottagers benefitted, too, from these arrangements. The willingness of Lincolnshire landlords to allow rented properties to pass undisturbed from one generation to another gave the Cottagers security of tenure. The ownership of a cow and access to pasture made them relatively secure financially. Cows' milk helped to sustain them and contributed to the health of their children. The sale of calves and surplus milk enabled many Cottagers to accumulate savings and made them independent of poor relief.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Kirkby, *Humberstone*, p. 31.

⁸¹ BPP, *Departmental Committee on Small Holdings in Great Britain, Minutes of Evidence*, H.C. 1906 [Cd 3278], pp. 260-4.

However, there is one other conclusion to be drawn from this account of north Lincolnshire and it is one about nuance. It is too simple to say that between 1750 and 1850 rural England became a three class society consisting of landlord, tenant farmer and wage-dependent labourer. It was, of course, more highly differentiated than this. And one of the ways it was more diverse and more complex is that an important other class existed – of Cottagers with some independent means of support through their access to pasture and their possession of a cow.⁸² Enclosure may have removed the commons from the cottager but it did not necessarily separate the cottager from his cow.

⁸² Adrian Hall has observed the late survival of a similar class of smallholder elsewhere in Lincolnshire in *Fenland Worker Peasants: The Economy of Smallholders at Rippingale, Lincolnshire, 1791-1871*, Agricultural History Review, Supplement Series, 1 (Exeter, 1992). Mick Reed has argued for its persistence more generally in 'The peasantry of nineteenth-century England: a deserted class?', *History Workshop Journal*, 18 (1984), pp. 53-76, 'Nineteenth century rural England: a case for "peasant studies"?', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 14 (1986), pp. 78-99, and "'Gnawing it Out": a new look at economic relations in nineteenth-century rural England', *Rural History*, 1 (1990), pp. 83-94, as has Jeanette Neeson in *Commoners*, pp. 297-300, and Alun Howkins in 'An English peasantry revisited, 1800-1900' in J. Broad (ed.), *A Common Agricultural Heritage? Revising French and British Agricultural Divergence*, Agricultural History Review, Supplement Series, 5, (Exeter, 2009), pp. 55-6.

CHAPTER 7 POVERTY AND POOR RELIEF, 1750-1836

Until 1834, English parishes were responsible for caring for their own poor. The framework within which these obligations were discharged, however, was only loosely defined. This gave rise to a wide diversity of practice between places and over time. Steven King has sought to explain some of this diversity in terms of the economic, social and cultural differences that existed between English regions and sub-regions. He has demonstrated, for example, that the rural counties and market towns of the south and east of England were more generous in their administration of the poor law than communities in the north and west. He has suggested that this may reflect very different welfare cultures in the two macro-regions, the first characterised by a culture of dependency and the other by a culture of self-reliance.¹

Lincolnshire sits roughly on the boundary between these two macro-regions but King was unable to assign it to either one because of a dearth of published material on individual communities within the county.² Only one study of poor relief in Lincolnshire existed at the point that King undertook his analysis – Jim Johnston's study of the poor law in seven parishes in western Lincolnshire.³ Johnston's account describes a well-managed and relatively compassionate system of poor relief that he claims was sensitive and responsive to individual need.⁴ More recently, Richard Dyson, Norman Clarke and Peter Leonard have separately examined the administration of poor relief in other parts of Lincolnshire in the period before 1836.⁵ Dyson has pointed to relatively

¹ S. King, *Poverty and Welfare in England, 1700-1850: A Regional Perspective* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 141-226.

² King, *Poverty*, p. 264. Boyer, on the other hand, placed Lincolnshire roughly midway along the spectrum between the high-spending, grain-producing areas of the south and east and the low-spending, pasture-farming areas of the north and west: see G.R. Boyer, *An Economic History of the English Poor Law, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 111-2, 132 and 218.

³ J. Johnston, 'The management of the poor law in seven parishes of western Lincolnshire, 1790-1834', *East Midland Historian*, 8 (1998), pp. 11-22.

⁴ Johnston, 'Poor law', pp. 13 and 19.

⁵ R. Dyson, 'The experience of poverty in a rural community: Broughton, north Lincolnshire, 1760-1835', *Local Population Studies*, 70 (2003), pp. 11-28; J.N. Clarke, *The Shadow of the Workhouse: Operation of the Poor Laws in the Horncastle District of South-east Lindsey, 1735-1935* (Lincoln, 2006). P. J. Leonard, 'Poor Relief in Stow in Lindsey, 1750 to 1833' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Leicester, 2016).

low levels of dependency compared with some southern counties but to broadly similar rates of support. Clarke has found a number of parishes operating relatively benign regimes in which paupers were humanely treated and well cared for, despite the widespread use of workhouse masters and contractors. Leonard, on the other hand, has concluded that the parish of Stow in the north west of the county was not obviously generous in its treatment of its poor and had more in common with the levels of relief given by parishes in the north than with those of the south and east.

This chapter seeks to broaden the evidence base for Lincolnshire by giving an account of the operation of the poor law in Humberston and in the neighbouring Marshland parishes of north-east Lincolnshire between 1750 and 1836. It begins by outlining the provisions of the old poor law and the ways in which it was implemented in north-east Lincolnshire. It then offers a detailed analysis of the costs of poor relief in Humberston and on the strategies adopted by the vestry for dealing with the hardships created by unemployment and by difficult family and personal circumstances (childhood, the early years of marriage and old age). It concludes by offering an analysis of attitudes to the poor and a view on whether the parish exhibited a culture of dependence or self-reliance.

The Old Poor Law

The 'old poor law' established a legal obligation for parishes to deal with three broad classes of pauper: those unable to work (the 'impotent poor', such as the old and infirm) who were to be given relief; the able-bodied unemployed who were to be set to work; and poor children and orphans who were to be apprenticed. The money required to support the poor of the parish was raised by a local rate levied by the vestry on all occupiers of property and administered and disbursed by a part-time, unpaid official (the overseer of the poor).⁶ Eligibility for relief was limited to those who had a legal entitlement to settlement in the parish – principally those paying parish rates or renting property worth £10 a year, and those who had served an apprenticeship in the parish or undertaken service there for a full year. Married women took their husband's settlement and young children their paternal settlement, until and unless they qualified for a different settlement under one of the other heads. The justices of the peace arbitrated on disputes concerning a pauper's place of settlement and heard complaints

⁶ A. Brundage, *The English Poor Laws, 1700-1930* (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 9-10; J.P. Huzel, 'The labourer and the poor law, 1750-1850' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 6, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 756-60.

about the administration of poor relief, often brought by paupers against overseers.⁷

The decentralisation of poor relief to parish authorities resulted in a great diversity of practice between different parts of the country and also between parishes within the same area. There were variations, first of all, in the treatment of the impotent poor. Parish vestries applied different criteria to determine eligibility for relief and adopted different types and levels of relief (ranging from a weekly cash allowance to benefits in kind such as housing, fuel, clothing, and medical treatment). They also developed different strategies for maintaining the able-bodied poor, including making payments to seasonally unemployed labourers, providing allowances-in-aid of wages (the Speenhamland system and variants of it), offering unemployed labourers to farmers at subsidised rates of pay (the roundsman system), allocating labourers to farmers in proportion to the rateable value of their farms (the labour rate), and placing men and their families in the workhouse. Within parishes, parish officials often tailored relief to suit individual circumstances.⁸

There were differences, too, in the degree to which parishes sought to restrict residence and enforce the Settlement Acts. In 'closed' parishes, where ownership of land and housing was in the hands of one or just a few proprietors, it was possible, if the landowners felt so disposed, to exclude or remove chargeable families from settlement. In 'open' parishes, on the other hand, it was difficult to impose limitations upon settlement because ownership was diffuse and proprietors often had different interests – tradesmen and speculative builders, for example, could profit greatly from an expansion of population in their parishes. Between these two extremes, were a range of other parishes in which ownership was divided and in which parish vestries sought to find a strategy on settlement and poor relief that commanded majority support amongst the ratepayers.⁹

⁷ K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 85-6.

⁸ Brundage, *Poor Laws*, pp. 27-9 and 56-7; D. Eastwood, *Governing Rural England: Tradition and Transformation in Local Government, 1780-1840* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 24-42 and 133-87; G.R. Boyer, *An Economic History of the English Poor Law, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 10-23; J.P. Huzel, 'The labourer and the poor law', pp. 760-69; S.A. Shave, 'The dependent poor? (Re)constructing the lives of individuals "On the Parish" in Rural Dorset, 1800-1832', *Rural History*, 20 (2009), pp 67-97.

⁹ B.A. Holderness, ' 'Open' and 'close' parishes in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Agricultural History Review*, 20 (1972), pp. 126-139; D.R. Mills, *Lord and Peasant in Nineteenth-*

In many cases, different approaches were tried at different times. Before about 1780, parishes adopted strategies that were intended to deal primarily with the hardships of illness and old age and the distress brought on by occasional poor harvests, cold winters and inadequate seasonal employment. After 1780, they also had to deal with a decline in real wages brought on by the inflationary conditions of the French Wars and by years of scarcity in 1795, 1800 and 1812. After 1815, they had to face an increase in unemployment as the demobilisation of the armed forces, the continued growth in population and the economic depression of the post war period led to widespread male unemployment and underemployment. In the arable areas of the south and east of England, family income was further reduced by enclosure, which denied labourers access to commons and waste, and by the decline of cottage industry as textile manufacturing became concentrated in the mill towns of the north. Chronic unemployment, especially in winter, and low wages continued to be a persistent problem in the south and east of England in the final years of the old Poor Law.¹⁰

As a consequence, overseers in many parishes faced mounting demands for poor relief from those who found themselves without work, whether permanently or temporarily, as well as those facing family and personal difficulties, such as single parents and the elderly. Nationally, total expenditure on poor relief in England and Wales rose from £1.5 million in 1776 to £4 million in 1803 and £6.6 million in 1813, after which it fluctuated between £5 and £7 million.¹¹ Overseers were faced, on the one hand, with their legal obligation to assist this growing number of claimants and, on the other hand, with a requirement to keep expenditure within bounds that were judged acceptable by the ratepayers of the parish. Here, as King has indicated, there were differences between parishes and regions in the levels of expenditure they were prepared to commit.

Century Britain (London, 1980), pp. 76-85; B. Short, 'The evolution of contrasting communities within rural England', in B. Short (ed.), *The English Rural Community: Image and Analysis* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 19-43.

¹⁰ Brundage, *Poor Laws*, pp. 23-65; W.A. Armstrong, *Farmworkers: A Social and Economic History, 1770-1980* (London, 1988), pp. 69-70; Huzel, 'The labourer and the poor law', pp. 760-69; D. A. Baugh, 'The cost of poor relief in south-east England, 1790-1834', *Economic History Review*, 28 (1975), pp. 50-68. K.D.M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 15-66; King, *Poverty*, pp. 150-8, 229.

¹¹ Eastwood, *Governing England*, p.135.

The Lincolnshire Marshland

Economic conditions in Lincolnshire in the period after 1780 broadly mirrored the national pattern. Lincolnshire labourers in regular employment experienced a notable fall in their standard of living between 1794 and 1818 as rising prices outstripped the improvement in agricultural earnings and as runs of poor harvests brought considerable distress, notably in 1794, 1795 and 1800. Although the level of real wages improved after 1820, unemployment and under-employment rose as low grain prices and a run of bad harvests between 1826 and 1830 led arable farmers to cut back on their workforce in order to reduce costs. At times, a third of the labour force, or about half the number of day labourers, were out of work in some corn-growing, clayland parishes, thus raising the poor rate there to a level that was twice that found on the Lincolnshire fens, heath, and wolds. Female employment also declined rapidly in the early decades of the nineteenth century, as both the number of women employed, and the number of days that each woman worked, fell dramatically.¹²

The Lincolnshire Marshes were one of the clayland areas that suffered most. In 1834 a number of Marshland parishes reported that, whilst male agricultural labourers were fully employed in summer, many men were without work in winter. They were either set to work on the parish roads or maintained by poor relief. Employment for women and children outside of harvest was also precarious, although some found casual work in gathering stones and weeding corn, and a few were still engaged in spinning and weaving. It was not until the 1840s and 1850s, when the installation of tile drains enabled the extensive cultivation of potatoes and turnips, that opportunities for winter work markedly improved in the Marsh.¹³

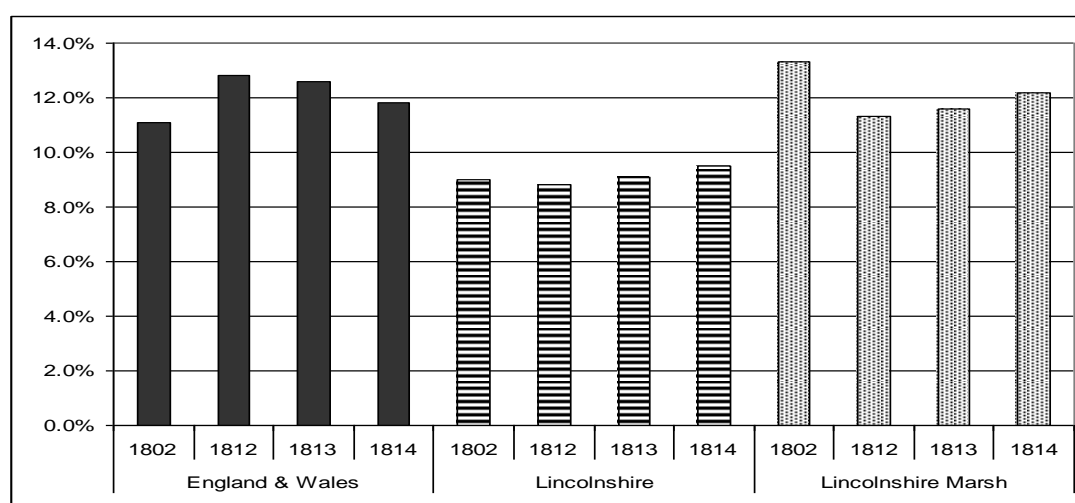
Data on the numbers of those claiming poor relief in Lincolnshire is hard to come by, except for the years 1802/03 and 1812/13-1814/15 when returns were made to two Parliamentary inquiries. The years 1802/03 and 1812/13 were times of high prices and food shortages with the numbers dependent on poor relief higher than usual. The returns reveal that in 1802/3, 9 per cent of the population of Lincolnshire was receiving

¹² T.L. Richardson, 'The agricultural labourers' standard of living in Lincolnshire, 1790-1840: social protest and public order', *Agricultural History Review*, 41 (1993), pp. 1-18; D. J. Ulyatt, 'Female agricultural labour on the Dixon estate, Lincolnshire, 1801-17', *Agricultural History Review*, 54 (2006), pp. 79-92.

¹³ BPP, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, Appendix B1, Answers to Rural Queries, Parts i-v*, H.C. 1834 (44), pp. 189a-198a; D.J. Ulyatt, *Rural Women and Work: Lincolnshire c.1800-1875* (Lincoln, 2005), pp. 156 and 158-60.

help from their parish compared with 11 per cent for England and Wales as whole. The differentials are broadly similar for the later years. Rural parishes in parts of the Lincolnshire Marshland, however, fared much worse than the county as a whole, with some 13 per cent of the population in receipt of relief in 1802/3 and 12 per cent in 1814/15, figures which are much closer to the national average.¹⁴ Figure 7.1 compares the numbers returned from the 22 Marshland parishes of Bradley Haverstoe wapentake (which is centred on Grimsby and includes Humberston) with those for Lincolnshire as a whole and for England and Wales.

*Figure 7.1 Proportion of the Population in Receipt of Poor Relief, 1802/03 and 1812/13-1814/15*¹⁵

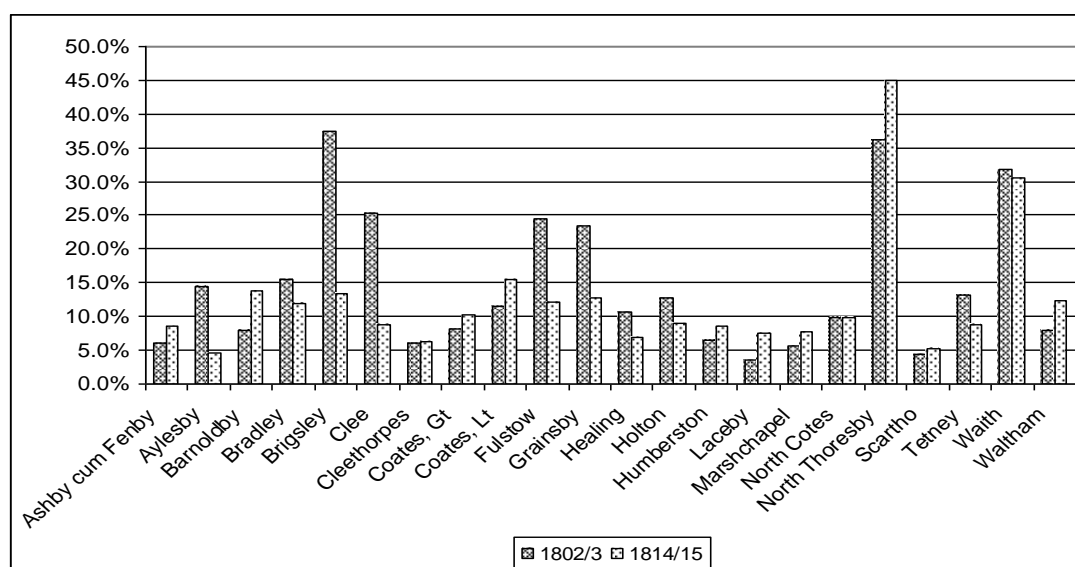


¹⁴ BPP, *Abstract of Returns Relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor*, H.C. 1803-4 (175), pp. 276-7, 290-1, and 715; *Abridgement of Abstract of Returns Relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor*, H.C. 1818 (82), pp. 246-7, 260, and 269. The returns for 1802/3 are not directly comparable with those for 1812/13-1814/15 because the former includes the children of both indoor and outdoor paupers, whereas the latter includes the children of indoor paupers only. The figures given here for outdoor paupers in these later years have therefore been inflated to compensate for this deficiency by applying the same ratio of children to adults as pertained in 1802/3 (i.e. by multiplying the number of adult outdoor paupers by 1.72 for Bradley Haverstoe marshland parishes, 1.80 for Lincolnshire and 1.94 for England and Wales). For this reason, the figures quoted here for England and Wales in these three years are higher than those given in Eastwood, *Governing Rural England*, p. 144. The ratios observed here are close to the multiplier of 1.8 used by Steven King when allowing for the dependents of paupers in four English communities in the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries (King, *Poverty*, p. 115) but considerably below the multipliers of 2.9 and 2.2 established for Campton in Bedfordshire in 1801 and 1811 (Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle*, p. 54).

¹⁵ BPP, *Abstract of Returns*, H.C. 1803-4 (175), pp. 276-7, 290-1, and 715; *Abridgement of Returns*, H.C. 1818 (82), pp. 246-7, 260, and 269; see fn. 14 for notes on data.

As might be expected, there were marked differences even between the 22 rural parishes of the Lincolnshire Marshland. In 1802/3, six parishes reported that more than 25 per cent of the local population were in receipt of poor relief but ten recorded less than 10 per cent (see Figure 7.2). Four parishes stated they were supporting fewer paupers in 1814/15 than they had done in 1802/3 but other places were helping slightly more. Parishes also adopted different strategies for dealing with their poor. One parish (Laceby) consigned most of those requiring permanent relief to a workhouse whereas others employed a mix of indoor, outdoor and occasional relief. Some changed their approach over time. In Tetney, the vestry engaged a contractor to maintain and clothe the poor at a fixed rate per head between 1792 and 1808, reverted to paying the poor directly after 1808, and then joined the Grimsby House of Industry in 1814.¹⁶

*Figure 7.2 Proportion of the Population in Receipt of Poor Relief in the Marshland Parishes of Bradley Haverstoe, 1802/03 and 1814/15*¹⁷



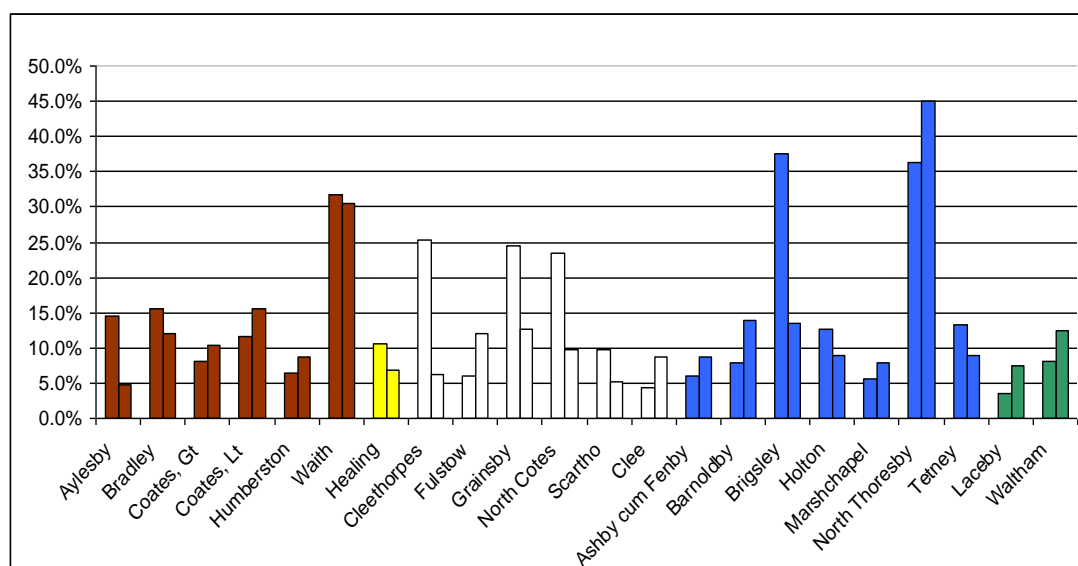
There is no easy way of explaining these changing patterns of expenditure and provision in terms of a single causation. For instance, open and closed parishes did not necessarily conform to type, as Figure 7.3 illustrates. Open and semi-open parishes might be expected to have had larger numbers of paupers than closed and semi-closed parishes but, in fact, they had relatively low proportions of maintained

¹⁶ J. Wild, *Tetney, Lincolnshire: A History* (Grimsby, 1901), pp. 92-100.

¹⁷ BPP, *Abstract of Returns*, pp. 276-7, and *Abridgement of Returns*, pp. 246-7; see also fn. 14 for notes on data.

poor, lower even than many of the closed and semi-closed parishes. Indeed, the small closed parish of Waith had one of the highest proportions of permanent paupers, second only to the semi-open parish of North Thoresby where the large unenclosed commons supported a growing number of people.¹⁸

*Figure 7.3 Proportion of the Population in Receipt of Poor Relief in the Marshland Parishes of Bradley Haverstoe, 1802/03 and 1814/15, by parish type*¹⁹



Key: Brown = closed parishes; yellow = semi-closed parishes; white = intermediate parishes; blue = semi-open parishes; green = open parishes.

This distribution suggests two conclusions. First, the number of paupers in a parish was not necessarily representative of the number of poor in that parish but rather reflected the particular policy that parishes chose to adopt for the management and relief of the poor. Second, the degree to which these policies were either generous or parsimonious was not determined, in these parishes at least, by the extent to which they were open or closed.²⁰ The truth is that relief policy was shaped by a number of

¹⁸ According to the Census Report for 1821, 'persons resort to and settle in North Thoresby as being an uninclosed Lordship': BPP, *Abstract of Answers and Returns ... (Enumeration Abstract)*, 1821, H.C. 1822 (502), p. 178.

¹⁹ BPP, *Abstract of Returns*, H.C. 1803-4 (175), pp. 276-7, and *Abridgement of Returns*, H.C. 1818 (82), pp. 246-7; see also fn. 12 for notes on data and chapter N for definition of parish types.

²⁰ Sarah Banks came to a similar conclusion when she compared poor law expenditure with parish type in west Norfolk, though B.K. Song's study of Oxfordshire revealed a closer correspondence between parish type and poor relief, in that closed parishes were generally more generous than open parishes

different circumstances, interests and traditions that can only be fully uncovered through in-depth investigations of individual parishes. The following account of the administration of poor relief in Humberston explores some of these issues in greater depth.

Humberston

During this period Humberston was a closed parish which was owned by a single non-resident landlord. In these circumstances, as has been explained earlier, the tenant farmers effectively ran the parish. They constituted the vestry, held all the parish offices, kept order in the village, and administered the poor law. They were also the major ratepayers. Between them, the nine tenant farmers contributed at least 95 per cent of the parish rate. The 13 Cottagers contributed the remaining 5 per cent, though they were not always called upon to make a payment. The tenants of the tied cottages, and the servants who lodged with the farmers, paid nothing.²¹ The tenant farmers therefore had the difficult task of balancing the needs of the parish against their own liability to provide the necessary resources.

(a) *The Cost of Poor Relief*

If it was the intention of the vestry members to keep expenditure down in order to reduce the rate burden on themselves, they faced an uphill task. As Figure 7.4 illustrates, the costs of maintaining parish services – keeping the peace, maintaining the church, repairing the roads, and caring for the poor – as well as paying the county rate, caused rates to rise progressively upward after 1790.

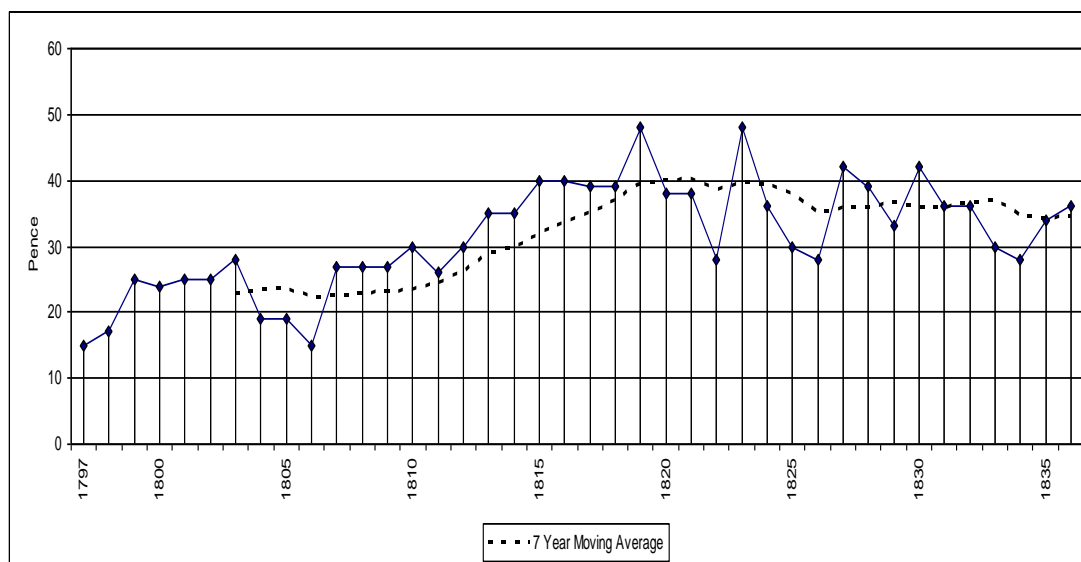
When Arthur Young visited Humberston in about 1797, parish rates were 15d in the pound and the poor rate constituted about half this sum. Over the next twenty years the parish rate rose consistently upward, reaching a peak of 48d (4s.) in the pound in 1819 – a threefold increase in twenty-two years. Though rates fell back to lower levels

in the number of those they relieved and in the amount per head that they spent on poor relief: see S. Banks, 'Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model? A new look at 'open' and 'close' parishes', *Economic History Review*, 41 (1988), pp. 51-73, and B.K. Song, 'Parish typology and the operation of the poor laws in early nineteenth-century Oxfordshire', *Agricultural History Review*, 50 (2002), pp. 203-224. It might be argued in relation to the Lincolnshire Marshland that, at the very extremes, the open parishes were marginally more selective in the number of those they relieved than the closed parishes but a larger sample than this would be needed to establish the point satisfactorily.

²¹ LAO: Humberston Par/13/1.

after this, they remained at more than 30d (2s.6d) in the pound, or at least twice the level attained in 1797, for most of the period up to 1835.²²

*Figure 7.4 Parish Rates in Humberston, 1797-1836 (Pence per Pound)*²³



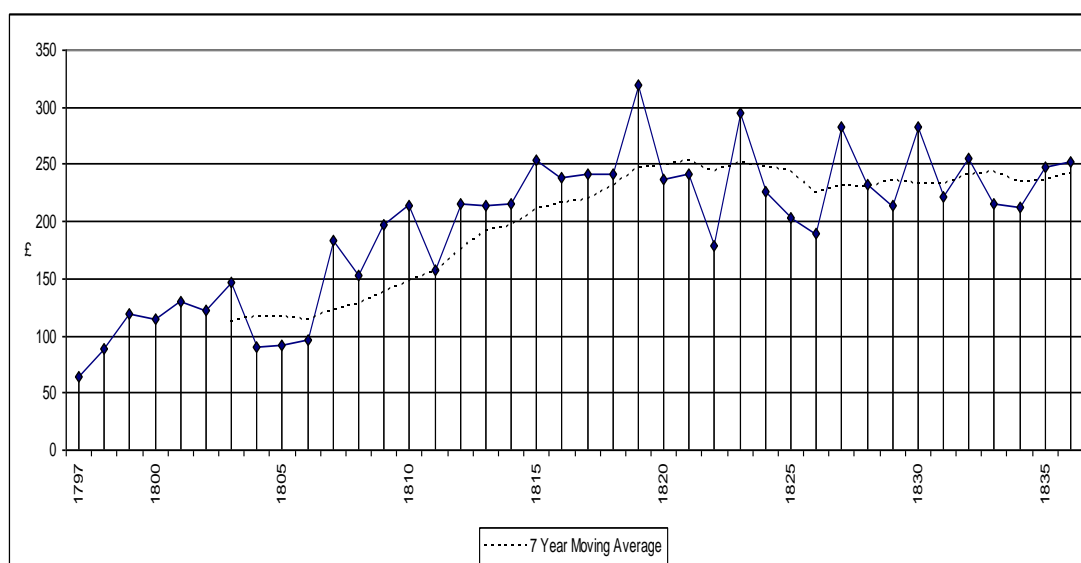
Because rents (upon which rates were assessed) were also rising during this period, the income raised through rates rose proportionately faster than the increase in rates, yielding relatively large sums of money for this small village of 200 people. Between 1797 and 1819, when rates rose threefold, income rose fivefold, from £64 to £319, and it fluctuated at between £200 and £300 per annum for most of the rest of the period (see Figure 7.5). Moreover, after 1806, income increased faster than the cost of living so that, allowing for cost inflation, there was a real terms growth of almost 300 per cent by 1819, falling back to around 200 per cent in the 1820s and 1830s.²⁴

²² A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln* (London, 1795), p. 415; LAO: Humberston Par/10/1 and 10/2, Vestry Minutes and Overseers' Accounts.

²³ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1 and Par 10/2, Vestry Minutes and Overseers Accounts.

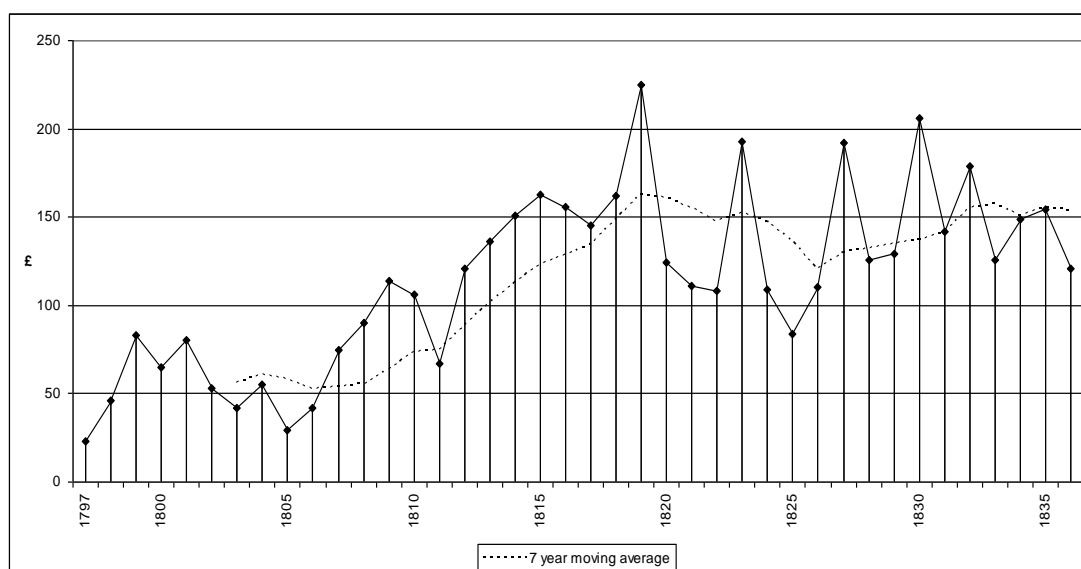
²⁴ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1 and 10/2, Vestry Minutes and Overseers' Accounts; data on prices is drawn from Richardson, 'The agricultural labourers' standard of living', pp. 1-18.

Figure 7.5 *Income from Parish Rates in Humberston, 1797-1836*²⁵



Nearly all this income was spent in the year in which it was raised and most of it was spent on the poor. Indeed, as Figure 7.6 illustrates, the increased income was used to meet the growing cost of poor relief. The graph shows again a rapid, if uneven, rise in expenditure between 1797 and 1819, and a levelling off in the following years.

Figure 7.6 *Overseer's Expenditure on Poor Relief in Humberston, 1797-1836*²⁶

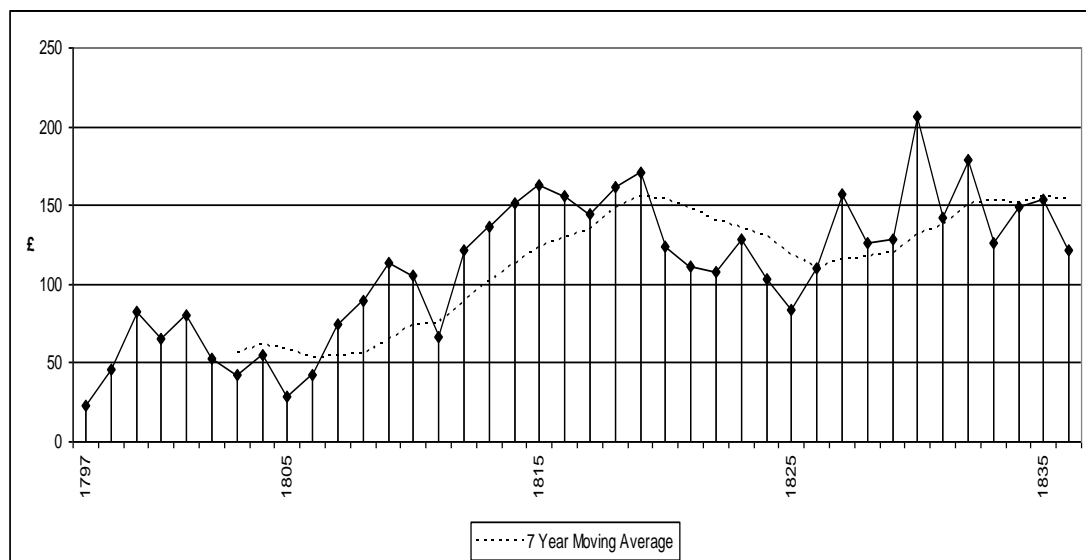


²⁵ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes and Overseers' Accounts.

²⁶ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1 and 10/2, Vestry Minutes and Overseers' Accounts. In this and the following graphs, a number of extraneous costs have been stripped out of the overseers' accounts, including churchwardens' and constables' expenses and the county rate for bridges and jails.

The spikes in the graph during the 1820s represent the costs of building and repairing the poor houses. If these one-off, capital costs are excluded, the annual recurrent cost of poor relief shows a slightly more regular pattern, as Figure 7.7 illustrates. As is evident from this graph, the cost of poor relief rose dramatically during the period under review, from less than £30 a year in the late eighteenth century to £206 in 1830. Most of the increase occurred during the Napoleonic Wars and the agricultural depression that followed them. Annual levels of expenditure fell during the early 1820s as economic conditions in Lincolnshire improved but they rose again after 1825, reaching a peak level of spending of £206 in 1830.

*Figure 7.7 Overseer's Expenditure on Poor Relief, with building costs excluded, 1797-1836*²⁷



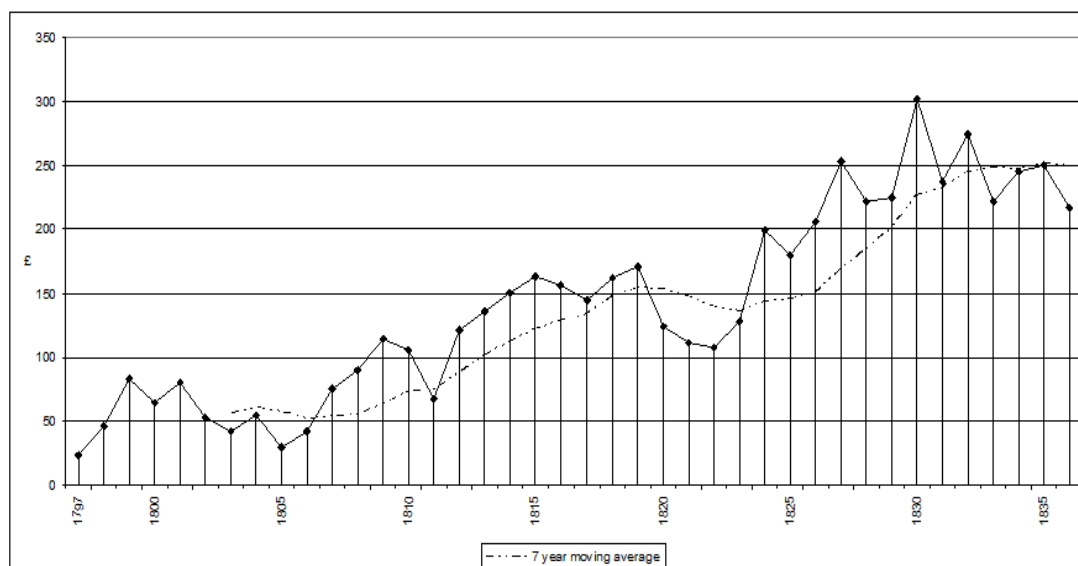
The overseers' accounts, however, provide only part of the story. From 1824, a second and substantial element of poor relief became available in the form of disbursements from the charitable trust set up under the terms of Matthew Humberston's will of 1709 (described more fully below). From that point on, six poor men or women of Humberston were provided with free accommodation in newly constructed almshouses and were given an annual allowance of £16 each, equivalent to just over 6s a week.²⁸ The release of the Humberston Charity monies had the effect of adding £96 per annum to the resources available for the relief of poor people in

²⁷ LAO, Humberston Par/10/1 and 10/2, Vestry Minutes and Overseers' Accounts.

²⁸ TNA: Prob. 11/511/149, ff. 103d-127; BPP, *32nd Report of the Charity Commissioners, Part 4*, H.C. 1839 [194], pp. 425-31.

Humberston. As a consequence, the combined annual expenditure of the overseers and the trustees reached £300 by 1830 (see Figure 7.8 below).

*Figure 7.8 Overseers' and Trustees' Expenditure on Poor Relief, with building costs excluded, 1797-1836*²⁹



Private charity may have added to this total, but not significantly. As has been noted elsewhere, the Carrington's were occasional but not regular contributors to local good causes in Humberston, preferring to focus their charitable giving on Buckinghamshire rather than Lincolnshire.³⁰ Moreover, the habit amongst wealthy residents of leaving bequests to the poor seems to have died out by the 1790s when Ann Lusby, the widowed daughter of Michael Marshall, left 2s.6d to each of the poor widows of Humberston and 1s to each of the poor labourers there.³¹ Hers is the only extant will after 1750 to make any provision for the poor of the parish.

Figure 7.8, which combines parish spending with known charitable giving, therefore presents the most complete picture we have of expenditure on the poor in Humberston in the early nineteenth century. The abrupt fall in spending in the early 1820s, which

²⁹ LAO, Humberston Par/10/1 and 10/2: Overseers' Accounts; BPP, *32nd Report of the Charity Commissioners, Part 4*, p. 431.

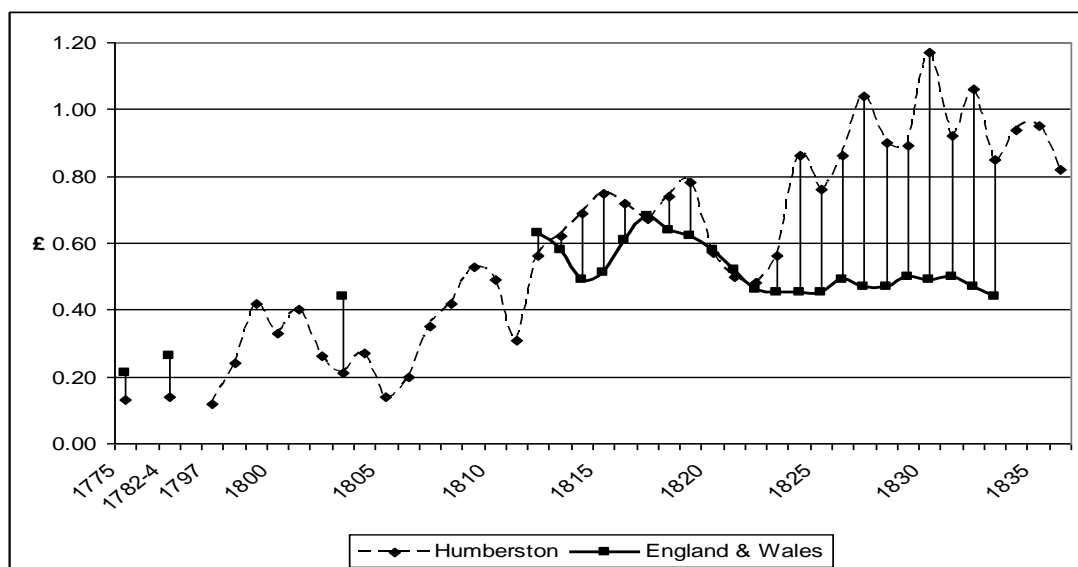
³⁰ The first Lord Carrington gave 5 guineas to a cottager whose outbuildings were destroyed by fire in 1809 (CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/2,4,11). The second Lord Carrington paid for vaccinating poor children against smallpox in 1836 and distributed blankets to the poor in the harsh winter of 1837 (CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/1/2, 18/8/4/7/2).

³¹ LAO: LCC Wills 1810/177.

was a significant feature of Figure 7.7, is still apparent but, that apart, it is evident that throughout the period from 1797 to 1836 the people of Humberston, together with the Charity trustees, were spending more and more on the support of the poor. Indeed, whereas relief expenditure in England and Wales reached a peak in 1818 and declined thereafter, spending in Humberston did not reach its zenith until 1830.³²

The difference between the profile of spending on poor relief in Humberston and in England and Wales as a whole is shown in Figure 7.9 where total expenditure is converted to a sum per head of population. Here it is evident that, after 1824, spending per head of population in Humberston rose steeply at a time when per capita spending in the nation at large first fell and then levelled out. Between 1828 and 1833, the authorities in Humberston were each year spending roughly twice the national average on the relief of the poor. This is surprising for a closed parish which was in a position to control spending and keep it within modest bounds.

*Figure 7.9 Expenditure on Poor Relief per Head of Population in England and Wales and Humberston, 1775 to 1834*³³



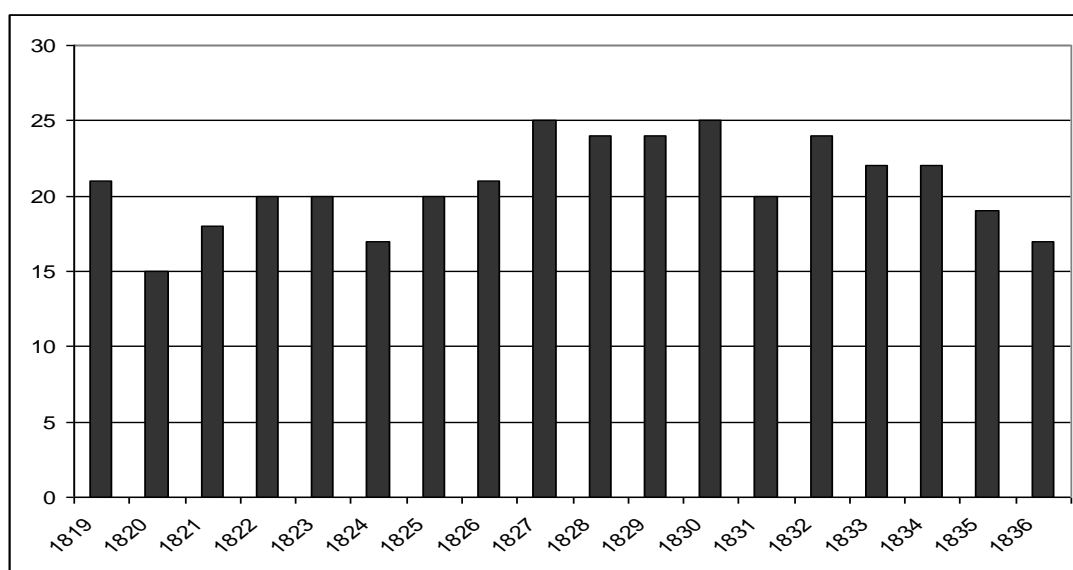
Analysis of the overseers' accounts for Humberston in the years after 1819 reveals some of the reasons for the upsurge in spending after 1824. First, there was an increase in the number of people receiving assistance, as Figure 7.10 demonstrates. It

³² Eastwood, *Governing Rural England*, p. 135; King, *Poverty*, pp. 120-7; Snell, *Annals*, 108-11; Baugh, 'The cost of poor relief', *Economic History Review*, 28 (1975), p. 56.

³³ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1 and 10/2, Vestry Minutes and Overseers' Accounts; Eastwood, *Governing Rural England*, p. 135.

was not a consistent year-on-year increase, since the numbers fluctuated over time, but there was nevertheless an overall, long term rise from 15 people in 1820 to 25 in 1830 before numbers tailed off after 1832. If it is assumed that each of these 25 people supported, on average, another 0.8 persons, the total number of people dependent on the overseers and the charity trustees for financial help of some description was about 45, or 18 per cent of the population of the parish. This was a significant step up from the 6.5 per cent recorded in 1802/3.³⁴

Figure 7.10 Number of Paupers in Humberston, 1819-1836³⁵

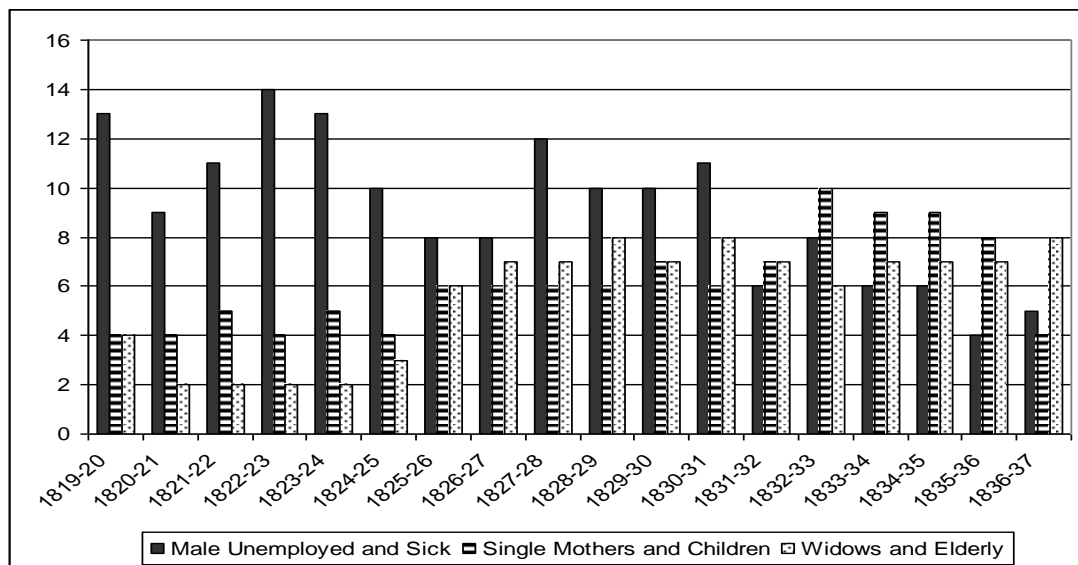


Second, and related to the first point, there was an increase in the number of awards made to single mothers and the elderly and a decline in the number of awards made to the male unemployed and sick, as Figure 7.11 illustrates. The numbers of orphans and single mothers with children receiving help from the overseers more than doubled between 1819 to 1832 and the number of elderly and of younger widows rose after the almshouses were completed in 1824. By contrast, the number of men unable to work through unemployment or illness, and who were supported by the overseers, generally fell from 1823 to 1836, though with some high points in the late 1820s.

³⁴ The rationale for the use of a multiplier of 1.8 is set out in fn. 14. The proportion dependent on parish and charitable relief was also high by contemporary standards: Samantha Williams has calculated that 14.7 per cent of the population of Campton and 10.6 per cent of the population of Shefford in Bedfordshire were dependent on poor relief in 1831 (Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle*, pp. 54-56).

³⁵ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1 and 10/2: Overseers' Accounts.

Figure 7.11 Number of Paupers in Humberston by Category, 1819-1836³⁶

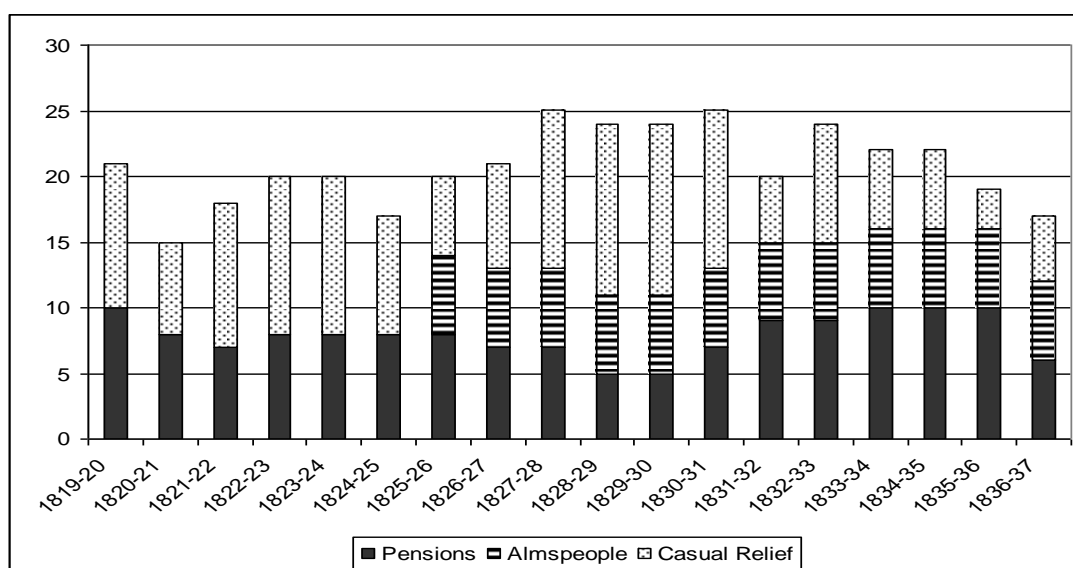


Third, and arising from the second point, there was an increase in the number of people awarded pensions (mainly orphans, single mothers and the elderly) rather than casual relief (typically men of working age but also elderly people not in receipt of pensions), as Figure 7.12 shows. Since the cost of an annual pension was significantly greater than allowances given for short periods, and since for some of those on a pension, poverty was a continuous and semi-permanent state, the costs of relief rose disproportionately as the number of pensions increased. By contrast, for those on casual relief, dependence on the parish was a temporary and sometimes short-lived affair.

In summary, this preliminary analysis of the overseers' accounts for Humberston suggests that the problems caused by unemployment and underemployment, low wages and harvest failures, were beginning to recede after the difficult years of the 1810s and 1820s were past and it was the rising number and cost of pensions for the elderly and for single mothers that was the major driver of the continued growth in expenditure after 1824 and particularly after 1830.

³⁶ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1 and 10/2: Overseers' Accounts.

Figure 7.12 Number of Paupers in Humberston by Form of Relief, 1819-1836³⁷



However, this is only part of the explanation. The overseers of the poor were anything but passive in the face of changing economic, demographic and social conditions. They were proactive and diligent in dealing with the problems of poverty in their parish and they had very clear strategies for dealing with the hardships created by unemployment and the problems thrown up by changes in personal and family circumstances. The following account of the administration of the poor law in Humberston demonstrates the extent to which local officials were able to formulate and apply policies that were suited to the particular circumstances of the parish and to their own principles and views.

(b) Dealing with Male Unemployment

One of the most noticeable and significant features of Figure 7.11 is the overall fall in the number of adults receiving support because of unemployment or sickness, albeit with some short-term fluctuations. It arises in no small measure from the action of the vestry in removing the unemployed from the list of those receiving parish relief.

In Humberston, the vestry and the overseers came to adopt a four-part strategy for limiting unemployment and containing demands for poor relief – they actively managed the size of the resident workforce, they offered work rather than relief to able-bodied labourers who were not fully employed, they gave temporary payments to those who were ill and pensions to those who were permanently incapacitated, and after 1825

³⁷ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1 and 10/2: Overseers' Accounts.

they refused relief to those not domiciled in the parish. This strategy was at no point articulated in a single statement of principles and practices but rather it emerged, and was developed and adjusted, as time went on. It proved remarkably effective in fulfilling the vestry's legal obligations to provide support and yet minimise parish expenditure.

The first part of the strategy was made possible because Humberston was a closed parish. One consequence of this was that the landlord and tenant farmers were able to ensure that the size of the working population was kept broadly in line with local labour requirements – by controlling the housing stock and limiting opportunities for acquiring a settlement in the parish. The effects of this policy can be seen in the census returns for the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1851 it was estimated that the farms employed some 64 labourers. The number of male agricultural workers in the village (farm servants and wage labourers) at that time was also 64. A similar situation pertained in 1861 when there was a surplus of just 4 male labourers and servants. This may have been coincidence or an artifice created by the census enumerator (the very meticulous shopkeeper and assistant schoolmaster, Joseph Richardson) but it may also represent the outcome of a deliberate exercise in workforce planning.³⁸

Further evidence of the vestry's attempts to manage the size of the local workforce is visible in measures to help the poor find work outside the parish at a time when population was rising. In 1826 the Vestry agreed to give assistance to poor persons with large families when their children went out to service. Under this policy, the mothers of young girls not only received money towards clothes when they went off to service but also £1 in cash if their daughters were to 'continue in the said servitude one year or upwards' – in other words, long enough to establish a settlement in the parish in which they were working.³⁹

The overseers were also active in removing from Humberston those who had no settlement there. Lodging houses for tramps were 'surpressed [sic] and discountenanced' and those who passed through the parish (soldiers, sailors and

³⁸ TNA: HO 107/2113, pp. 1-14, and RG 9/2390, pp. 1-14.

³⁹ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes, 2 January 1826, 2 June 1828, and 4 June 1833; and Humberston Par/10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1827/8.

itinerant paupers) were helped on their way with a few shillings.⁴⁰ Pregnant women were a particular risk: the vestry instructed the overseers 'to take immediate steps to prevent the lying in in this parish of women not belonging to it'.⁴¹ And those who did settle in the parish were forcibly evicted when they became chargeable, especially as poor rates began to rise in the late 1820s: five families were removed in the years between 1829 and 1835, often after lengthy battles, in court and out of it, with the overseers of the receiving parishes. It took two years and numerous visits to attorneys in Grimsby to get one family returned to Immingham.⁴² By the same token, the Vestry resisted attempts by overseers elsewhere to repatriate to Humberston those who were said to have a settlement in the parish. On three separate occasions between 1819 and 1835 the Humberston overseers spent more than £21 in legal fees in appealing decisions at Quarter Sessions to remove women to Humberston.⁴³

However, try as they might to secure an optimum balance between the size of the parish workforce and the demands of employers, it was never likely that all adults could be found work throughout the year. There were bound to be years and particularly seasons in which supply exceeded demand and unemployment, albeit temporary in many cases, became an issue to be addressed. Here the vestry adopted the second part of its strategy, which was to offer work rather than relief to unemployed or under-employed persons. The greater part of the agricultural workforce in Humberston was engaged on annual contracts and thus the farmers took responsibility for maintaining them and finding them work throughout the year.⁴⁴ Only the artisans and a few casual labourers (no more than 18 men in total) lived outside this closed system. When there was insufficient work to keep all of them fully employed, the surplus labourers were,

⁴⁰ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes, 25 March 1825; Humberston Par/10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1821/2, 1822/3, and 1825/6 to 1834/5.

⁴¹ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes, 2 January 1837.

⁴² LAO: Humberston Par/10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1829/30 to 1835/6; LAO: PS/Brad.Hav., Minute Book, 15 January, 5 February and 19 February 1833, and 18 February and 18 March 1834.

⁴³ LAO: Humberston Par/10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1819/20, 1823/4 and 1835/6.

⁴⁴ In this respect, employment conditions in Humberston were closer to those pertaining in the pastoral north and west of England, where annual contracts were common, than in the crop-growing south and east, where weekly and even daily contracts were the norm and where agricultural labourers were often laid off for periods during the winter (see M. Blaug, 'The myth of the old poor law and the making of the new', *Journal of Economic History*, 23 (1963), pp. 170-2 and Boyer, *An Economic History*, pp. 85-93 and 101-12.

according to the vestry book, 'equally proportioned upon the lands'.⁴⁵ The method by which this was done is unclear. Lord Carrington's agent stated in 1807 that 'every farm maintains its own poor' suggesting that some form of contracting system extended to all villagers.⁴⁶ The vestry minutes record an agreement in 1825 that John Blanchard should go by 'house-row' and another in 1834 that he should be taken on the 'regular rounds' for a wage of 1s.4d a day, suggesting that some form of labour rate or roundsmen system was in operation. However, there are no other references, either in the vestry minutes or the overseers accounts, to these or different systems being operated and it is possible that they were used only on rare occasions. Moreover, though it was common under such arrangements for wages paid by farmers to be topped up by payments from the overseers, there is no evidence of such a practice being adopted in Humberston. Indeed, the vestry declared on three separate occasions that 'No deficiency of Wages [is] paid to Labourers out of the Poor-Rate'.⁴⁷

This is a significant finding for, in many other rural parishes in the south-east of England, a major function of poor relief was the payment of allowances of various sorts to able-bodied agricultural labourers during the 1790s and 1800s and in the years of depression after 1815.⁴⁸ In Humberston, this was clearly not the case. The unemployed and under-employed were maintained and found work by the tenant farmers and not by the parish. It was an arrangement that was particularly well suited to an area in which livestock farming played a significant role and in which men were required to care for animals throughout the year. It was also a practice well-suited to a small, closed parish where the tenant farmers were also the major ratepayers. Had they chosen not to put the unemployed to productive use, they would have been obliged to pay to keep them idle on the poor rates.

⁴⁵ LAO: Humberston Par/4/1, back of book, copies of replies to House of Commons questionnaires on parish expenditure.

⁴⁶ CBS: D-CN 18/8/1/1.

⁴⁷ LAO: Humberston Par/4/1, back of book, copies of replies to House of Commons questionnaires on parish expenditure; LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes, 7 July and 1 December 1834.

⁴⁸ Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle*, pp. 62-3, Boyer, *An Economic History*, pp. 15-16, 153-5. The authors of the Poor Law Report of 1834 opined that 'The great source of abuse is the out-door relief afforded to the able-bodied' (S.G. and E.O.A Checkland (eds), *The Poor Law Report of 1834* (Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 82.

A different approach was adopted, however, in cases where labourers were unable to work for reasons of poor health. Under this third part of the strategy it was agreed, or at least understood, that if a labourer was unable to work through illness, the parish rather than his employer should maintain him until he was able to return to work. Thus, when John Collinson fell ill in 1819, the parish gave him relief and paid his doctor's bill. When David Wilkinson was taken ill and unable to work for 11 weeks in 1830, the overseers reimbursed his employer, Benjamin Sinderson, for the wages he had paid to Wilkinson during that time.⁴⁹

There were others who were unable to work because they were disabled or otherwise incapacitated and again the parish contributed towards the costs of their maintenance. Some, like William Rack, an illegitimate orphan born with an unspecified disability in 1788, were never able to sustain an independent household or livelihood. Every year the overseers paid William's foster parents a weekly sum of 6s.6d (16 guineas a year) until such time as he went with his foster mother into one of the almshouses. Others became incapacitated later in life. Thomas Cheeseman had suffered five years of ill health when he was finally declared unfit to work in 1831. He was given a weekly pension to look after his young and expanding family as well as additional payments towards the cost of coals and clothes for his children. He remained 'an invalid on this parish' for at least the next thirty years.⁵⁰ George Ellis of Humberston was discharged from the army with a disability and the parish paid his rent and topped up his Chelsea Pension for a number of years.⁵¹

A further element of the strategy was required to deal with those who moved away from Humberston yet retained a settlement in the parish and became unemployed in their new place of residence. This was an important group of people for two reasons. First, these 'outeners' as they were known in Lincolnshire placed heavy demands on the poor rate.⁵² In the period up to 1824, most of the adult males who were receiving assistance from the parish were living elsewhere. Second, the size of the group was

⁴⁹ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Overseers' Accounts, 1819/20 and 1830/1.

⁵⁰ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Overseers' Accounts, 1822/3, and 10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1826/7 to 1836/7; TNA: RG9/2390, pp. 1-9.

⁵¹ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Overseers' Accounts, 1819/20 to 1829/30; TNA: HO107/2113/126, p. 21.

⁵² The term 'outeners' was used by the vicar of Alford in 1834 in a letter to the Royal Commission on the Poor Law: BPP, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, Appendix C, Communications*, H.C. 1834 (44), p. 500c.

difficult to monitor and control because it included people who had acquired a settlement in Humberston through birth, or whilst in service, many years previously. Samuel Brant, for example, was born in Scartho, baptised in Scartho, married in Scartho, lived in Scartho, and had five children baptised (and one buried) there between 1811 and 1822. Nevertheless, he had a settlement in Humberston, presumably because he had worked as a servant there before he got married. Thus, when he fell into financial difficulties in 1819, it was the Humberston overseers and not the Scartho overseers who were called upon for help.⁵³

Before about 1824, the overseers chose to maintain outeners where they lived rather than have them return to Humberston, presumably in the hope or expectation that they would more easily find work in the places where they were domiciled.⁵⁴ So, for example, Samuel Brant continued to live in Scartho after he became chargeable and the Humberston overseers paid his rent there for four years between 1819 and 1823.⁵⁵ The policy carried the risk, however, that the overseers could be locked in to making payments to outeners for extended periods. For example, the Humberston overseers provided Lawrence Benson and his family with regular relief in Hull for much of the period between 1819 and 1825 with sums varying from 9s a week in 1819 to 2s and 3s a week in 1822 and 1823.⁵⁶ They paid the rent of George Parker in Brigg between 1820 and 1825 and also on occasion reimbursed the overseers at Brigg for George's maintenance – £5.12s.0d in 1822/3 and £7.2s.0d in 1824/5.⁵⁷

These were significant payments for which the parish saw no return (and there were others, over and above those cited above). On occasion, therefore, the parish insisted that those receiving out-of-parish relief should return to Humberston if they wished to retain their entitlement. In 1825 the vestry determined to make this a fixed part of their strategy as they sought to repatriate to Humberston all those who had a settlement in

⁵³ LAO: Scartho Par/1/3, 1783; Scartho Par/1/6, 1810; Scartho Par/1/4, 1811; Scartho Par/1/7, 1815, 1817, 1819, and 1822; Humberston Par/10/1, Overseers' Accounts, 1819/20.

⁵⁴ Boyer, *Economic History*, pp. 257-8.

⁵⁵ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Overseers' Accounts, 1819/20 to 1822/3, and 10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1823/4 and 1824/5.

⁵⁶ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Overseers' Accounts, 1819/20, 1820/1, 1822/3, and 10/2, Overseers' Accounts 1822/2 to 1834/5.

⁵⁷ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Overseers' Accounts, 1820/1 to 1822/3, and 10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1823/4 and 1824/5.

the parish but were living elsewhere. They doubtless reasoned that they could then put them to work or at least reduce their payments.⁵⁸ Three new cottages were built in the village to accommodate the soon-to-be-returning poor and the existing poor houses were refurbished.⁵⁹ When six new almshouses were opened in the village in 1824, a number of elderly people were moved from the existing poor houses to the new almshouses to create further space. So, for example, in October 1824, the Vestry agreed that Samuel Brant of Scartho should be brought to Humberston and should take Hugh Fenwick's house, presumably at the point that his widow, Ann Fenwick, was removed to the poorhouse (she was there in 1841 aged 81).⁶⁰ John Blanchard was removed from Tetney to Humberston in 1824 and was put into Thomas Cheeseman's house, presumably when Thomas Cheeseman moved to the almshouses.⁶¹ In November 1824 the Vestry told George Parker's landlord that they would stop paying his rent in Brigg on the following May Day and they discharged the overseers there from making further payments to him. He and William Neal of Binbrook were returned to Humberston in the following year and were each placed in 'a chamber' which the vestry had prepared for them.⁶² Lawrence Benson was given a paid passage from Hull to Grimsby.⁶³

⁵⁸ The parish of Alford in Lincolnshire adopted a similar approach not only because it could find its non-resident poor employment in the village but also because the parish could keep a closer eye on them and prevent 'impositions and deceptions of various kinds, almost universally practised by distant paupers': BPP, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, Appendix C, Communications*, H.C. 1834 (44), p. 500c.

⁵⁹ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Overseers' Accounts, 1819/20, and 10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1823/4, 1824/5, and 1827/8. The three cottages were built at the parish's expense on land provided by Lord Carrington who thereafter levied an annual rent. Parochial involvement in the provision of housing for the poor was common in the Lincolnshire Marsh in the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries as were cost-sharing initiatives between parish and landlord. It has been suggested that this was one way in which farmers could shift the cost of providing labourers' housing onto the poor rates - see J.A. Perkins, 'The parish and the housing of the working class in Lindsey, 1790-1850', *LHA*, 12 (1977), pp. 65-7.

⁶⁰ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes, 6 October 1824.

⁶¹ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes, 3 May 1824.

⁶² LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes, 21 June, 6 October, 1 November and 6 December 1824.

⁶³ LAO: Humberston Par/10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1824/5.

As a result of the various measures outlined above, the members of the Humberston vestry were able to keep the size of the working population within manageable bounds and most able-bodied adults in work, albeit at some personal cost to themselves. The parish supported only those who were unable to work through ill-health and those who were unattached to farms in the village, though even here there was a major attempt to reduce the number of outeners in the mid-1820s. The accounts of the overseers of the poor in Humberston are, therefore, an unreliable indicator of the scale and cost of unemployment in the village – a finding that helps to explain why poor relief and poor rates were relatively low in Humberston and perhaps in other closed parishes that adopted similar strategies.

It is not clear from the evidence that survives whether employers continued to pay their labourers their contracted wage during periods of under-employment and sickness. However, the fact that David Wilkinson continued to receive his weekly wage of 15s for the 11 weeks he was ill, and that Thomas Cheeseman was awarded a pension of 12s a week when he was declared unfit for work, suggests that the vestry was prepared to honour and match local pay rates in at least some circumstances. Equally, however, the overseers were not averse to reducing the allowances given to the unemployed and sick to take account of the earnings of other members of the family. So, although Thomas Cheeseman was awarded a pension of 12s a week in 1831 there were weeks, especially in 1833 and 1834, when he received less than that, presumably because he or his family were able to earn a little on their own account. In September 1833, it was exceptionally agreed that Thomas could retain the harvest earnings of his family without any deductions from his weekly allowance but there were other times when Thomas was given coal and clothes for himself and his children but expected to make a contribution to the cost of both by deductions from his weekly allowance. When Thomas' eldest son became old enough for farm service and was lodged with a local farmer, Thomas saw no part of the boy's wages: the farmer paid the boy £6 but deducted the cost of his new clothes from his wage and gave the balance to the parish.⁶⁴

The vestry did not therefore provide unconditional relief. In the case of those who were too ill or incapacitated to work, it seems to have topped up family earnings to a level broadly comparable to a subsistence wage. It thus provided a residual safety net that

⁶⁴ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Overseers Accounts, 1822/3, Vestry Minutes, 7 December 1829, 2 September and 2 December 1833, 6 January 1834, and 7 November 1836, and Parish Accounts, 5 April 1836; Humberston Par/10/2, Overseers Accounts, 1826/7 to 1836/7.

kept men and their families above absolute levels of destitution. Regular reviews and adjustments to the level of subvention, however, ensured that expenditure was kept within acceptable limits.

(c) Dealing with Life-Cycle Conditions

In many parishes, the allowances paid to single women with children and to the elderly, especially elderly women, exceeded the number, length and cost of payments made to the unemployed. Indeed, it has been said that poor relief was highly gendered (in the sense that it favoured women) and overwhelmingly life-cycle related (in that it was concentrated on three key moments in the life cycle – childhood, early parenthood and old age).⁶⁵ In Humberston, the strategy for dealing with life-cycle conditions was quite clear. The vestry fully accepted its responsibility to support those unable to live independently (the sick and frail, orphans, single mothers and widows) but it looked for contributions from parents and children whenever they were earning a wage.

(i) Childhood: Orphans

The relatively low life expectancy of adults in the early nineteenth century created frequent occasions when children were orphaned early in life. At these times, the vestry looked for foster parents who could look after the children until they were aged about 15, following which they were placed in service. None seem to have been put to an apprenticeship.

It is possible that the overseers first sought to place orphan children with other family members, but only one certain case of this has come to light. This was Elizabeth Lidgard who looked after her orphaned niece for several years and even took her into the almshouse with her later in life.⁶⁶ Otherwise carers came from a variety of backgrounds. Many were elderly couples without other obvious caring responsibilities. Mary Haversham, who was orphaned when just four years old, was brought up by a succession of elderly couples over the next eleven years, all of whom were in their sixties or seventies.⁶⁷ Other carers were tenant farmers with already large households

⁶⁵ Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle*, p. 101.

⁶⁶ LAO: Humberston Par/10/2: Overseers' Accounts, 1831/2 and 1834/5 to 1836/6, and Vestry Minutes, 1 July 1833; TNA: HO107/637/15, p. 3.

⁶⁷ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Overseers' Accounts 1819/20- 1822/3, and 10/2, Overseer's Accounts, 1823/4-1836/7.

of family and servants.⁶⁸ One carer, Thomas Hare, had himself been an orphaned child who had been brought up by foster parents.⁶⁹

The overseers gave each of the foster parents an annual, later a weekly, allowance to cover the child's food and clothes. During the 1780s and 1790s this was usually equivalent to 1s.6d a week but by the 1820s and 1830s this sum had roughly doubled.⁷⁰ On occasion the foster parents also received whatever property the child might have had: when Gervase Brumpton died in 1830 leaving three orphan children, Thomas Hare took over the lease of Gervase's cottage and was given the contents of the house on condition he looked after the youngest child, who was then six; he also received a payment of 2s a week.⁷¹

Once the children reached the age of ten and upwards, the cash sums paid by the parish were gradually scaled back to allow for the fact that the children were able to earn a few pence of their own.⁷² Most entered service when they were about fifteen and at that point they usually became wholly independent of the parish, except perhaps for a week in May when they changed employers.⁷³ If, however, single orphans were unable to secure regular employment, their carers or foster parents continued to receive a weekly payment from the overseers and the parish took whatever wages the young person was able to earn.⁷⁴ No orphan appears to have been furnished with tools or put into an apprenticeship during this period, perhaps confirming Keith Snell's

⁶⁸ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes, 12 May 1765, 12 May 1768, 26 May 1781, 13 April 1784, and 6 April 1790.

⁶⁹ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes, 12 May 1781.

⁷⁰ The average boarding out sum paid in Campton, Bedfordshire, in the 1790s was 2s.8d: Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle*, p. 105.

⁷¹ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes, 2 February 1832.

⁷² LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes, 16 April 1811 and 19 April 1813.

⁷³ LAO: Humberston Par 10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1833/4 (Haversham).

⁷⁴ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes, 1 July 1833 and 25 March 1834 (Brumpton), and 10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1834/5-1836/7 (Haversham).

argument that traditional forms of apprenticeship were in decline in rural areas by the later eighteenth century.⁷⁵

(ii) Parenthood: Single Mothers and Children

Nationally, unmarried mothers became an increasingly prominent group of recipients as illegitimacy rose over the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁷⁶ There were nine illegitimate children baptised in Humberston between 1813 and 1835, which was equivalent to one in every 18 baptisms. At least one other illegitimate child was born in the parish who was not baptised.⁷⁷ All of these received relief from the parish of one sort or another.

The parish's approach to the treatment of illegitimate children followed a standard course. As elsewhere, the first step was to determine whether a pregnant spinster had a settlement in the parish. If she had not, she was removed as soon as she became chargeable. Thus, in October 1832, the Humberston overseers took Mary Smith and her seven-month old baby on a horse and cart to the toll bar at Waltham and put her on the coach to Louth.⁷⁸

If the pregnant, unmarried woman did have a settlement in the parish, the usual procedure was to discover the name of the putative father and to persuade him either to marry the girl (if he was not already married) or formally to assume responsibility for the costs of the child's maintenance. This was no easy process. Some women, such as Jane Smith and Anne Collinson, refused to name the father. In these two cases, the overseers took a hard line and brought the women before a justice at petty sessions. Since both women still refused to identify the father, they were committed to the house of correction at Louth – Jane for six months and Anne for two months hard labour.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Snell, *Annals*, pp. 228-269. Apprenticeships in the Grimsby fishing industry only became prevalent with the expansion of the trawling fleet in the 1850s: M.H. Wilcox, 'Apprenticed Labour in the English Fishing Industry, 1850-1914' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Hull, 2005), p. 46.

⁷⁶ A. Levene, T. Nutt and S. Williams, 'Introduction' in A. Levene, T. Nutt and S. Williams (eds), *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700-1920* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 5-10.

⁷⁷ LAO: Humberston Par/1/2.

⁷⁸ LAO: Humberston Par/10/2, Constable's Accounts, 1832/3.

⁷⁹ LAO: PS/Brad.Hav, Minute Book, 16 October 1832 and 18 March 1834.

Even when single women did name the father of their child, the person so named often denied culpability or refused to pay. In these cases, the overseers again resorted to the local magistrates to obtain or enforce orders of affiliation and bastardy bonds. Thus, in September 1833, they proceeded against Edward Hall, finally named by Anne Collinson as the father of her child, and had him committed to Louth house of correction for 3 months for refusing to pay for the child's maintenance. They proceeded against him twice more when he defaulted in subsequent years.⁸⁰ Similarly, they pursued fathers of illegitimate children who first accepted a responsibility to maintain their children but then absconded. In 1826 the overseers tracked down Robert Wright to Barnetby-le-Wold, a village some twenty miles away, and took him before the magistrates. In the following year they threatened Brian Green with the house of correction unless he paid debts owing for the maintenance of Elizabeth Smith's child.⁸¹

The overseers were, however, prepared to negotiate. They accepted nominal sums from some men when it was clear that they were unlikely to get more and they accepted a lump sum payment of 20 guineas from Robert Wright when he finally accepted financial responsibility for his child. It was a huge sum by the standards of the day (equivalent to a labourer's annual earnings) though it barely covered four years' maintenance costs.⁸²

There were occasions when the vestry's hard line achieved some success. Isaac Hobson married Ann Dunnington, the mother of his two children, shortly after the Humberston overseers apprehended him in Louth. She made no further claims on the parish and they went on to raise a large family in Derby and later in Louth.⁸³ Soon after Jane Smith was committed to Louth house of correction, the father of Jane's child stepped forward and declared his intention to marry her 'as soon as she can be liberated'. The Grimsby magistrates petitioned the Lord Chancellor for Jane's release

⁸⁰ LAO: PS/Brad.Hav, Minute Book, 18 November 1834, 4 August 1835 and 15 December 1835; LAO: Humberston Par/10/2, Overseers Accounts, 1835/6.

⁸¹ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes, 4 September and 2 October 1826, and 7 January 1828.

⁸² LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Vestry Minutes, 30 April and 31 May 1827.

⁸³ LAO: Humberston Par/10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1823/4; *LRS*M, 5 September 1823; TNA: HO107/199/17/25, p. 5, HO107/2111/314, p. 17, and RG/2380/9, p. 11. It is likely that Isaac and Ann were cohabiting in Louth when both their children were born: on the first occasion, Ann arrived in Humberston from Louth with her trunk and then went back again.

and she was married in Barnoldby within the month and made no further claim upon the parish.⁸⁴

In the final resort, however, when paternal payments were not forthcoming or were insufficient, the overseers shouldered the cost of child support. These included, when required, payments during the latter stages of pregnancy and the days immediately after childbirth, the costs of a midwife, doctor and post-natal nurse, and the costs of lodging, bed linen and clothes for the baby. Beyond that, the overseers paid a weekly allowance for the child until it reached the age of 13 or 14. The cumulative cost could be very high. For example, the overseers gave Rebecca Hopper's boy a weekly allowance of 3s a week for the first seven years, 2s.6d for the next three, and 2s for the last three. These were all fairly standard payments and consistent with what was paid elsewhere in north Lincolnshire.⁸⁵ Finally, in 1833, they gave him £2 for clothes, presumably at the point he went into service. The total cost to the parish over these 13 years was £91, an average of almost £7 a year. His absent father contributed about a third of this sum.⁸⁶

It is evident, however, that these payments were intended for the child and not the mother. Mothers, no less than fathers, were expected to contribute towards the cost of care, or at least to maintain themselves independently of the parish. In several cases, the child's allowance was paid to a grandparent or other family member rather than to the mother, suggesting that others were caring for the child while the mother was in service or other paid work.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ TNA: HO17/59/KR39.

⁸⁵ J.A. Perkins, 'Unmarried mothers and the poor law in Lincolnshire, 1800-1850', *LHA*, 20 (1985), p.23.

⁸⁶ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Overseers' Accounts, 1819/20 to 1822/3 and 10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1823/4 to 1836/7.

⁸⁷ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Overseers' Accounts, 1820/21 (Rebecca Hopper and her mother), 1820/1 to 1822/3 (Ann Blackburn and Bonthorp) and 10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1826/6 and 1827/8 (Frances Stark and Robert and Mary Gray), 1827/8, 1828/9 and 1832/3-1835/6 (Elizabeth and John Smith) and 1835/6 and 1836/7 (Ellen and Mary Marshall).

(iii) Parenthood: Widows with Children

The Humberston vestry was more generous towards widows with children than to unmarried mothers. Even so, it expected widows to fend for themselves wherever possible.

The first step in their approach was to provide a basic level of support. Thus, when David Lidgard died in 1828, his widow, Mary, was provided with a cow and a pig to help bring up her young family. She was not given a weekly pension but she was offered support as she needed it. She was helped with rent and rate payments when they fell due, provided with wheat and coal from time to time, and assisted with large and unforeseen bills, such as doctors' bills and vets' bills and the costs of burial when her daughter died. The overseers provided clothes for her children and paid for her daughters to be taught at the local dames school. And when the children were young, the overseers paid others to plant her potatoes, mow and 'cock' her grass, and lead her hay. It appears that the vestry was seeking to provide support that was tailored to her needs without committing to a full pension. However, their help was not unconditional. The quid pro quo was that the overseers made use of Mary's excess hay and unused cow and sheep gates, selling the former and leasing the latter to one of the local farmers. When her cow was put to the bull and produced a calf, the calf was sold and the revenue went to the parish.⁸⁸

The second step was to move beyond this tailored approach and grant a weekly pension. In 1831, for example, the vestry examined Mary Lidgard's income and expenditure and concluded she was unable to make ends meet. She was earning only 2s a week and was faced with weekly outgoings on her cottage of over 4s a week, leaving aside the costs of feeding her family. The vestry agreed to meet the costs of her cottage and to give her 5s a week. They also undertook to give her an extra 6s a week during periods when her cow was dry. Again, however, this help was not unconditional. For a period of 19 weeks Mary's pension was reduced to 2/6 a week, presumably because she could be expected to earn extra money at harvest time.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/2, Overseers Accounts, 1827/8-1831/2, and Vestry Minutes, 30 April 1827 and 23 March 1830.

⁸⁹ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/2, Overseers Accounts, 1831/2 and 1832/3, and Vestry Minutes, 4 June 1831. Mary married for a second time in 1833 but her new husband, himself a widower, could not maintain his new family on his own and the overseers continued to pay the rent of their cottage, provide weekly maintenance for Mary's young children and pay for children's clothes, the doctor's bills

(iv) The Elderly

The vestry appears to have adopted a two-fold approach to the care of the elderly. The first was to maintain people in their own homes and provide them with assistance when they needed it. This typically took the form of a weekly pension, the provision of coal and occasionally grain in winter, the payment of medical bills and sometimes the purchase of a cow.⁹⁰ This was not, however, an automatic entitlement, equivalent to an old age pension. Men who were capable of work received nothing, regardless of their age. Thus, Anthony Lidgard, worked as a shepherd until the day he died at the age of 84 and at no point did he receive any poor relief.⁹¹ Only those men who were frail and incapable of work were given pensions. Solomon Lidgard was 83 when he fell ill and was finally granted a weekly pension of 5s.0d a week. He drew it for 5 months before he died.⁹² Women, on the other hand, appear to have been granted pensions soon after they became widowed, presumably in recognition of the fact that they could not command the same level of wages or frequency of paid work as men. Thus, Mary Allen was granted a pension following her husband's death in 1823, even though she was only 52 years of age, and Jane Grimolby received a widow's pension in 1833 at the age of just 44.⁹³ Conversely, Ann Wower, an elderly spinster or widower, had her pension stopped when she married at the age of 63 presumably because it was assumed that her new husband should take responsibility for her maintenance.⁹⁴

The second approach was to move widows and the elderly into poor houses maintained by the parish. It is not clear how many such houses there were in the

and funeral expenses. (LAO: Humberston Par. 1/4, 25 February 1833, Humberston Par. 10/2, Overseers Accounts, 1832/3-1835-6, and Vestry Minutes, 4 June 1833,).

⁹⁰ For the purchase of a cow, see LAO: Humberston Par. 10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1831/2 (Grimolby) and 1838 (Marshall).

⁹¹ *LRS*M, 28 March 1823, p. 3, col. 4.

⁹² LAO: Humberston Par/10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1827/8 and Vestry Minutes, 5 February 1828, and Par/1/6, 5 March 1828.

⁹³ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/2, Overseers' Accounts, 1823/4 and 1833/4. Williamson also notes widows joined the relief rolls of Campton and Shefford, Bedfordshire, at the point they became widowed (Williamson, *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle*, p. 112).

⁹⁴ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Overseers' Accounts, 1822/3, and Par. 1/4, April 1822.

village.⁹⁵ Two were built of mud and thatch in 1819/20 and these, or possibly others, were partially re-thatched five years later and repaired two years after that. Three others were built of brick and tile in 1823/4. These do not appear to have been workhouses: there is nothing in the overseers' accounts to suggest that materials were supplied to inmates or that finished products were sold. Rather they appear to have been cottages where the elderly poor could be housed rent free.⁹⁶

More significant provision for the poor appeared in 1824 when the almshouses were opened. As so often happened in estate villages, a charity to build and maintain almshouses was created and endowed in the will of a former owner of the estate.⁹⁷ In this case, the benefactor was Matthew Humberston who died in 1709. However, the trustees nominated in Matthew Humberston's will refused to act and others were slow to take up the initiative.⁹⁸ The trust monies were transferred to the Court of Chancery in 1750 with instructions to prepare a scheme for carrying the charities into execution but nothing more was done.⁹⁹ Thomas Mackenzie-Humberston commissioned Robert Adam to draw up designs for the almshouses and the charity school in 1780 but his sketches for a grand building with an imposing entrance (see Figure 7.13) were never developed or executed.¹⁰⁰ Lord Carrington reviewed the position in 1804 but another eight years elapsed before he arranged for a petition to be presented to the Court of Chancery for the release of the monies.¹⁰¹ It is difficult to know why the charity monies were allowed to lie dormant for so long and what prompted Carrington to get them

⁹⁵ Charles Brears claims there were five poor houses in the village but gives no authority for his statement: C. Brears, *Lincolnshire in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (London, 1940), p. 105. Nevertheless, references in the vestry minutes (cited above) would appear to substantiate this number.

⁹⁶ LAO: Humberston Par/10/1, Overseers' Accounts, 1819/20 and 1820/21, and Vestry Minutes, 1823/4, and 10/2, Overseers' Accounts 1823/4, 1824/5, and 1827/8.

⁹⁷ L. Crust, *Lincolnshire Almshouses: Nine Centuries of Charitable Housing* (Sleaford, 2002), pp. 22-66.

⁹⁸ NELA: 227/98.

⁹⁹ TNA: C 11/834/8; BPP, *32nd Report of the Charity Commissioners*, Part 4, H.C. 1839 [194], p. 426.

¹⁰⁰ Sir John Soane's Museum, London: Robert Adams Drawings, vol. 42, drawings 16-19; D. King, *The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam and Unbuilt Adam* (1991, Oxford, 2001 edn.), pp. 18 and 56.

¹⁰¹ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/3, Opinion of Mr Steele, 12 January 1804; TNA: C 13/665/5.

released in 1812, except that the parish rates had been climbing steadily upward since 1805 and reached unprecedented heights in 1810.¹⁰²

*Figure 7.13 Part of Robert Adam's Sketches for the Humberston Almshouses*¹⁰³



It took six years for the petition to be granted and another three years for trustees to be appointed but, finally, in July 1823, a pair of almshouses were completed and the first almspeople were admitted late in 1824.¹⁰⁴ It was at this point, as has been noted earlier, that there was a major redistribution of accommodation in Humberston with some of the elderly being moved from the poor houses to the almshouses and all of the non-resident able-bodied poor being brought back to Humberston and allocated housing in the village. Those who were moved into the almshouses were well provided for. They lived in plain but substantial brick dwellings with two rooms upstairs and two downstairs and with a pig sty, coal house and ash pit in the back range (see Figure 7.14).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² See Figure 6.6 above.

¹⁰³ Sir John Soane's Museum, London: Robert Adams Drawings, vol. 42, drawing 18.

¹⁰⁴ TNA: Prob. 11/511/149, ff. 103d-127; BPP, *32nd Report of the Charity Commissioners*, pp. 425-31; CBS: D-CN 18/1/2, p. 6.

¹⁰⁵ CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/4.

Figure 7.14 *The Humberston Almshouses (one of a pair) and New School, c.1910*¹⁰⁶



Note: The inhabitants of the almshouses are in the first waggon preparing for an outing.

Some of the almspeople shared their cottages with a companion (usually a member of the family) or a young servant girl or, in one case, a lodger. Each of them received 5s a week for their subsistence and £3 a year for clothes, which was equivalent to £16 per person per year, a significant advance on the £4 a year that Matthew Humberston had originally stipulated. The almspeople were also to attend the parish church of Humberston once every Sunday, if they were able to do so.¹⁰⁷ It was reported in 1837 that 'The almshouses are occupied by proper objects of charity, and the whole establishment appears to be well regulated and conducted'.¹⁰⁸

The trustees of the almshouses relieved the overseers of a significant cost. The overseers were paying Mary Allen a pension of 7s a week when she transferred to the almshouses in 1824 and, even though she lived until 1845, she received nothing more from the parish after that.¹⁰⁹ The almshouses also provided an alternative to the

¹⁰⁶ LC: H804/268.7 (left) and author's photograph

¹⁰⁷ TNA: HO107/637/15, pp. 3-4 and PROB 11/511/149, fols. 125d-126; BPP, *32nd Report of the Charity Commissioners, Part 4*, H.C. 1839 [194], pp. 425-31; CBS: D-CN 18/8/4/7/13.

¹⁰⁸ BPP, *32nd Report of the Charity Commissioners, Part 4*, p. 431.

¹⁰⁹ LAO: Humberston Par/10/2, Overseers' Accounts 1823/4 and 1824/5 and 10/1, Vestry Minutes, 3 April 1826.

workhouse when the new poor law was introduced in 1836. Four widows and an elderly couple were living there in 1841 and a widower and four widows in 1851.¹¹⁰

Conclusion

Analysis of the poor law records for Humberston reveals a parish vestry that was sympathetic and helpful to those in genuine need and yet rigorous in its desire to limit expenditure to that which was necessary.

On the credit side, the vestry accepted an obligation to provide work for the able-bodied poor and to support those unable to live independently (the sick and frail, orphans, single mothers and widows). This responsibility appears to have been exercised in a fair-handed way without obvious discrimination. For example, all but one of the unmarried mothers who had their illegitimate children baptised in Humberston received poor relief; the one exception had a settlement elsewhere. Moreover, the vestry paid allowances that were generous by contemporary standards. The level of payments varied considerably but, at their best, could be close to agricultural wages. Men who fell ill or became permanently incapacitated could be given as much as 12s a week, which was about what a casual labourer might earn in a week in the 1820s and early 1830s. The median sum was about one-third or a half of the weekly wage. Widows were given pensions of 2s.6d or 3s.6d in the early 1820s and 4s in the late 1820s and early 1830s. Single women with dependent children were usually granted 2s or 2s.6d a week, though they were expected to supplement this with their own earnings. These payments appear to be equivalent to, and sometimes higher than, those paid elsewhere. Steven King has calculated that the mean weekly pension paid in a sample of 14 rural parishes in south and east England in 1821 was 2s.4d (excluding benefits in kind), a figure which broadly accords with the calculations of others. This was equivalent to about a quarter or a third of the average male wage in the south-east.¹¹¹ Though strict comparisons between places are difficult to make – because the purposes for which poor relief were given and the balance between relief given in cash and in kind varied considerably – the allowances paid in Humberston nevertheless appear to be towards the generous, rather than the parsimonious, end of the spectrum.

¹¹⁰ TNA: HO107/637/15, p. 3, and HO107/2113, pp. 1-14.

¹¹¹ King, *Poverty*, pp. 150-4; Snell, *Annals*, p. 131; Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-Cycle*, pp. 64-5, 103-7, and 108-11.

On the other hand, the support that the vestry provided was not unconditional. Vestry members diligently sought to control the size of the resident working population, notably through exclusion and eviction, and to reduce the numbers of chargeable poor living outside the parish, principally through repatriation. Furthermore, they adjusted the allowances paid to widows and the sick to take account of family earnings and they insisted that the parents of illegitimate children took financial responsibility for their offspring, to the extent of pursuing defaulters to distant parishes and having them committed to the house of correction. As a consequence, though the allowances might have been generous by contemporary standards, they were usually well short of a living wage.¹¹²

This careful balancing of compassion and thrift suggests that members of the Humberston vestry were closer in attitude and outlook to their counterparts in the south and east of England than to vestry members in the north and west of England. Keith Snell and Steven King have characterised the old poor law in the south and east as flexible and pragmatic, with wide, generous and relatively certain entitlements, administered with a deep sympathy for and understanding of the poor, yet with an expectation that, wherever possible, other sources of relief would be deployed to offset the cost of communal relief.¹¹³ This seems to epitomise the Humberston vestry. The Humberston vestrymen do not appear to have adopted the 'residualist' approaches that have been ascribed to many communities in the north and west, offering insufficient support too late to only a minority of people. This study therefore stands alongside those of Johnston, Dyson and Clarke in positioning north Lincolnshire within the welfare landscape of south-east England.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Richard Dyson reaches a similar conclusion for Broughton in north Lincolnshire: Dyson, 'The experience of poverty', pp. 21-3.

¹¹³ Snell, *Annals*, pp. 106-7; King, *Poverty*, pp. 141-226 and 257-8.

¹¹⁴ Johnston, 'Poor law'; Dyson, 'The experience of poverty'; Clarke, *The Shadow of the Workhouse*.

CHAPTER 8 POVERTY AND POOR RELIEF, 1836-1850

The arrangements under which poor relief was administered changed with the passage of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. The Act was intended to transfer responsibility for poor relief from parish vestries to local and national boards and to impose a more stringent and uniform approach on the granting of poor relief. In the event, however, the Act was not rigorously applied. Poor law unions came to exercise a fair degree of independence and parishes clawed back a good deal of local control. As a consequence, there was considerable variability between areas and even between parishes in the way in which the poor were treated and cared for. In Humberston, as elsewhere, the vestry sought ways of keeping their poor out of the workhouse and in the parish where they could be maintained more cheaply, more flexibly and more humanely.

The New Poor Law

By 1834, many landowners and legislators had come to the view that the locally-based system of poor relief was being badly managed and needed reform. They believed that farmers had abused their position as vestry members by granting allowances-in-aid-of-wages to able-bodied labourers in order to subsidise their wage bills. Some also believed that magistrates had promoted or accepted such arrangements in order to maintain social order. In their minds, this had produced two unfortunate consequences. The first was that ratepayers had been presented with artificially inflated and ever-increasing bills for poor relief. The second was that workers had become overly dependent on outdoor relief. This, they believed, had made them lazy, undisciplined and resentful and had reduced their productivity. In retrospect, it is clear that the cost of poor relief was already beginning to decline by 1834 and that the practice of granting allowances-in-aid-of-wages had been abandoned in many areas by the 1820s. Nevertheless, old beliefs died hard and there was an appetite for reform, especially in the wake of the moral panic created by the Swing Riots of 1830-1.¹

¹ M. Blaug, 'The myth of the old poor law and the making of the new', *Journal of Economic History*, 23 (1963), pp. 151-84, and 'The Poor Law Report re-examined', *Journal of Economic History*, 24 (1964), pp. 229-45; D. A. Baugh, 'The cost of poor relief in south-east England, 1790-1834', *Economic History Review*, 28 (1975), pp. 50-68; A. Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law: The Politics of Inquiry, Enactment and Implementation, 1832-39* (London, 1978), pp. 182-4, and *The English Poor Laws, 1700-1920* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 65-92; P. Dunkley, *The Crisis of the Old Poor Law in England*,

The Poor Law Amendment Bill of 1834 was intended to remedy the failings of the old poor law in three respects – by creating a central board to control the administration of all the poor laws, by grouping parishes into poor law unions, and by requiring all those seeking help to enter a union-run workhouse. Conditions within the workhouse were intended to be bleak and harsh so as to deter all but the most desperate from seeking relief – the so-called 'workhouse test'. The Bill received significant support from the landowning classes and passed through Parliament with relative ease, albeit with some significant amendments in the Lords. However, the Act met with much opposition in the provinces when it came to be implemented from 1835 onwards.²

Attempts by Assistant Poor Law Commissioners to introduce the new poor law into southern and eastern England were initially supported by many amongst the landed gentry, clergy and large farmers who saw it as a means not only of reducing the cost of poor relief but also of reforming the habits of the labouring poor. They found little support, however, amongst the lower orders who remonstrated against the draconian aspects of the new law – the threatened removal of outdoor relief and the enforced removal of the poor to workhouses. This led to threats, demonstrations and sporadic outbreaks of violence in parts of the south and east of England, and to sustained opposition in Wales and the urban heartlands of industrial England. By the 1840s, many farmers and other employers of labour were also changing their view of the efficacy of the poor law as it became clear that outdoor allowances paid to labourers in their own homes were cheaper and more flexible than indoor relief administered in the union workhouse.³

Over time, unions and parishes found ways of working around the provisions of the new poor law. Most local boards built and used workhouses, albeit with varying degrees of enthusiasm, but they also sought to maintain a system of outdoor relief. Outdoor allowances had not been abolished by the Poor Law Amendment Act but the Poor Law Commissioners had, from the start, issued a series of orders prohibiting their use except in cases of infirmity, sickness or 'sudden and urgent necessity'. During the 1840s, unions and parishes seized on these caveats as a pretext for maintaining their

1795-1834: *An Interpretative Essay* (London 1982); G.R. Boyer, *An Economic History of the English Poor Law, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 146, 193-204.

² Brundage, *The English Poor Laws*, pp. 66-9.

³ Brundage, *The New Poor Law*, pp. 105-79 and 182; A. Digby, *Pauper Palaces* (London, 1978), pp. 3-14 and 54.

poor in the parish rather than consigning them to the workhouse, both because it was cheaper and more humane to do so but also because the able bodied poor thereby remained available for work when seasons or conditions changed. By the mid-1840s, the Poor Law Commissioners were obliged, in the face of this resistance, to move from prohibition to regulation and to allow considerable discretion to boards of guardians in the granting of outdoor relief. By this time, four-fifths of those supported wholly or partly out of the poor rates were on outdoor relief.⁴

Antipathy to the workhouse, and a desire to limit the charges levied by the union, also led some parishes to find ways of maintaining their poor independently of the union. Anne Digby and Keith Snell have drawn attention to cases in which parishes levied private rates or used the highway rate to finance a parish-based system of poor relief that ran alongside the union system.⁵ Though Apfel and Dunkley have doubted, with reference to Bedfordshire, that this was ever a common practice, evidence from Lincolnshire (cited below) suggests that Digby's and Snell's claims may be applicable more widely.⁶

As a result of cost-cutting measures adopted by unions, and also perhaps of acts of rate avoidance by parishes, total poor relief expenditure in England and Wales fell from £6.3 million in 1834 to £4 million by 1837 and did not reach old poor law levels again until the 1860s, despite a rapid growth in population. Similarly, relief expenditure per head of population fell from 8s.10d in 1834 to 5s.5d in 1837 and remained in the range of 5s-7s per head for the remainder of the nineteenth century. However, differences in levels and types of expenditure continued to persist between rural unions in the south of England, which made most use of out-relief, and heavily urbanised unions in the north and west, which made greater use of the workhouse. Indeed, at the union and

⁴ K.D.M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 207-338; Digby, *Pauper Palaces*, pp. 108-14.

⁵ Digby, *Pauper Palaces*, p. 144, and 'The rural poor law' in D. Fraser (ed.), *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1976), pp. 157-8 and 167-8; Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, pp. 314-6. The practice was also reported in BPP, *Report of the Poor Law Commissioners on Local Taxation, Part I*, H.C. 1843 [486], p. 1, and Mick Reed refers to other instances in 'Social change and social conflict in nineteenth-century England: a comment', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 12 (1984), pp. 118-19, repr. in M. Reed and R. Wells (eds), *Class, Conflict and Protest in the English Countryside 1700-1880* (London, 1990), pp. 109-10.

⁶ W. Apfel and P. Dunkley, 'English rural society and the new poor law: Bedfordshire, 1834-47', *Social History*, 10 (1985), pp. 37-68.

parish level, there was almost as much variability in the cost and operation of the new poor law as there had been under the old poor law.⁷

North Lincolnshire

The process by which the new poor law was implemented in Lincolnshire has been examined by Anthony Brundage. He found that, in the south of the county, the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, who was charged with creating the new unions, received significant support from the local gentry and magistrates but he met opposition from a number of poor law guardians who objected to the threatened withdrawal of outdoor relief. Brundage remarked that 'this difficulty did not prevent the rest of Lincolnshire from taking readily to the new law' though he says little about events elsewhere in the county.⁸ In fact, a detailed review of the available evidence for north Lincolnshire suggests a very different conclusion. There was widespread opposition to the proposed withdrawal of outdoor relief, initially from the poor and subsequently from parish authorities. Moreover, there was localised opposition to the drawing of union boundaries in cases where urban centres were brought within the ambit of predominantly rural unions.

The poor initiated disturbances in several villages during the late 1830s. A mob demolished the partly-built workhouse in Gainsborough and new relieving officers were set upon by mobs when they first appeared in Scamblesby, Willoughton and West Butterwick and when they sought to distribute poor quality bread in Alford. The removal of paupers to new workhouses led to threats of incendiarism in Grimsby and to threats of violence elsewhere along the coast. Edward Gulson, the assistant Poor Law Commissioner, warned that 'these marine parishes contain a lawless population and caution will be required in the introduction of a new system amongst them'. In the Isle of Axholme, another notoriously lawless area, the cavalry was called out to quell a mob which was awaiting the arrival of the relieving officer. They intended throwing him into the River Trent.⁹

⁷ Brundage, *English Poor Laws*, pp. 86 and 91; Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, pp. 228-34; S. King, *Poverty and Welfare in England, 1700-1850* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 248-51.

⁸ Brundage, *Making the New Poor Law*, p. 140.

⁹ E. Gillett, *The Humber Region in the 19th Century* (Hull, 1982), pp. 94-6; J.A.H. Brocklebank, 'The new poor law in Lincolnshire', *Lincolnshire Historian*, 2 (1962), pp. 25-6 and 31; B. Painter, *Upon the Parish Rate: The Story of Louth Workhouse and the Paupers of East Lindsey* (Louth, 2000), p. 20.

There was opposition of a different kind in Grimsby where borough officials and ratepayers objected to the eastward extension of the pre-existing Caistor Union to include the town of Grimsby and the Marshland parishes immediately surrounding it, of which Humberston was one (see Figure 8.1). Grimsby's mainly urban population of 4,225 was three times larger than the market town of Caistor and the ship-owners, mariners and tradesmen who made up the borough council resented the interference of the squires and farmers from the Wolds who dominated the Union Board.¹⁰

Arguments broke out between them about rating valuations, under-representation on the board, the appointment of poor rate collectors, the distance of the workhouse, the apprenticing of workhouse boys on the land rather than the sea, and the board's pronouncements about the filthy state of Grimsby's former workhouse and the insanitary condition of the town. It was not until 1890 that a new poor law union was created around Grimsby.¹¹

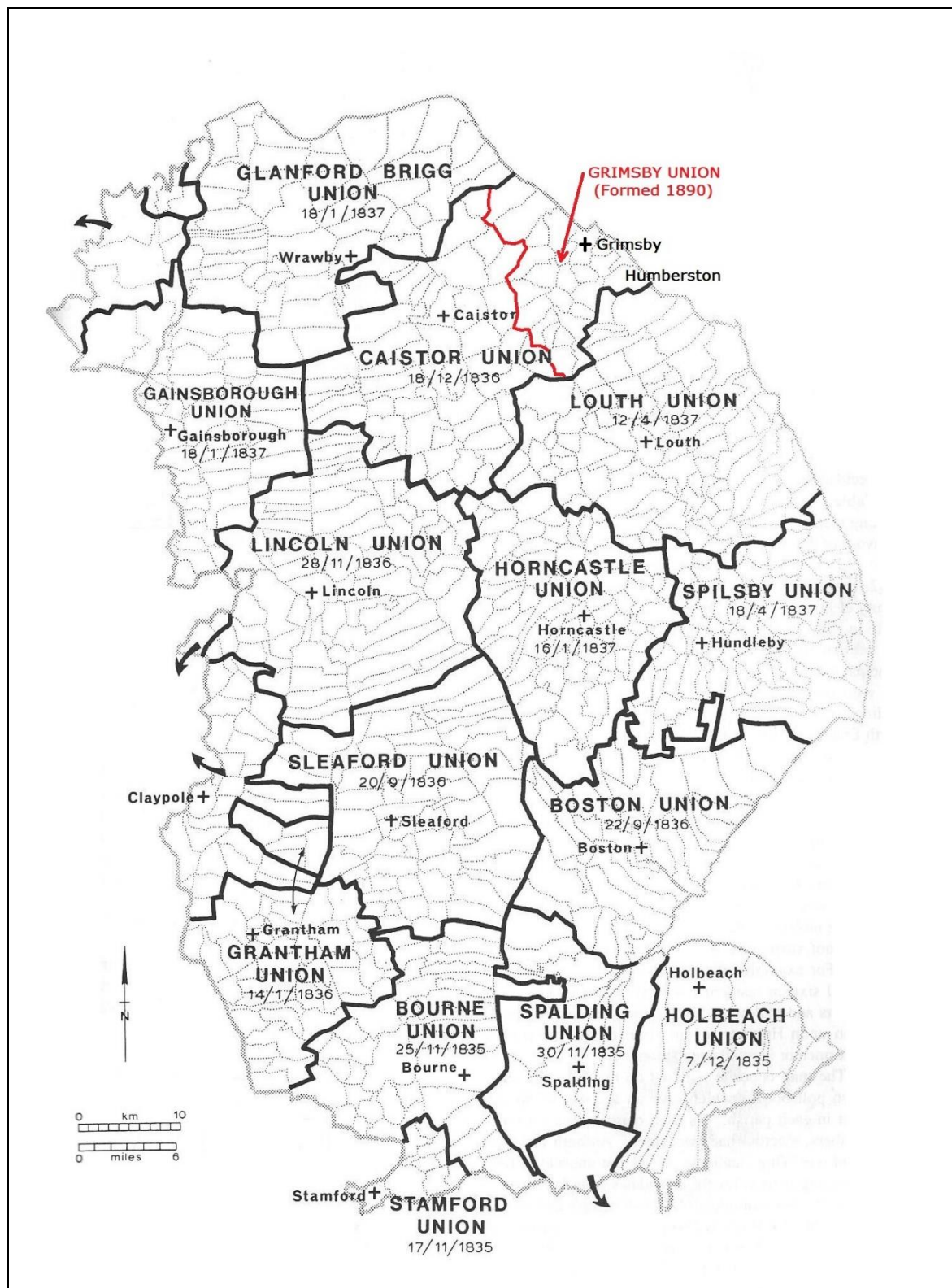
Once the initial disturbances and local rivalries had subsided, there emerged a more significant and long-lasting objection to the imposition of the New Poor Law, which brought an uneasy alliance between rural and urban guardians and ratepayers as they sought to find an acceptable balance between the application of the workhouse test and the maintenance of outdoor relief. The Caistor guardians had from the outset pursued a twin track approach, enlarging the old workhouse in Caistor to accommodate some 200 paupers while at the same time appointing relieving officers to dispense outdoor relief to the elderly and infirm in their own homes. In conformity with the orders of the central Poor Law Commission, the able-bodied poor were to be allowed outdoor relief only if one of the Union's Medical Officers confirmed that they were sick, otherwise they were to be committed to the workhouse.¹²

¹⁰ Two families of minor gentry, the Skipworths and the Dixons, essentially ran the Union between them. George Skipworth, a substantial landowner in and around Caistor, served as Chairman for twenty years from 1837 and was assiduous in attending the fortnightly meetings, as also was his brother and several of his cousins (all Skipworths) who served as guardians of the parishes in which they held land: LAO: PL3/102/1-6.

¹¹ E. Gillett, *A History of Grimsby* (Hull, 1970), pp. 276-8; C.K. Rawding, 'The Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834-1865: a case study of Caistor Poor Law Union', *LHA*, 22 (1987), pp. 15-23.

¹² LAO: PL3/102/1, pp. 4-8, 14, 16 and 18, and PL3/102/4, pp. 4, 10, 14, 18 etc.; at its first two business meetings (23 March and 1 April 1837), the Board agreed weekly pensions of between 2s and 5s to six men and four women.

Figure 8.1 Lincolnshire Poor Law Unions and Their Dates of Formation¹³



¹³ Based on M. Fenton, 'Lincolnshire Poor Law Unions, 1835-1838' in S. and N. Bennett (eds), *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire* (Hull, 1993), p. 100; parishes belonging to Grimsby Poor Law Union are taken from LAO: PL/7.

This new, more rigorous approach appears initially to have been successful in reducing expenditure. The annual cost of maintaining the poor in the Caistor Union, which had averaged £10,439 per annum in the three years prior to unionisation, fell to £6,328 in 1839/40 and to £6,945 in 1840/1. At this point, just 4.6 per cent of the total population of the Union was being relieved compared with some 12 per cent in the Marshland parts of the Union during the difficult years of 1812-1815.¹⁴ Although expenditure rose during the 1840s, reaching £7,775 in 1842/3 and £8,437 in 1846/7, the Union nevertheless remained one of the lowest rated unions in Lincolnshire: in 1847 it was reckoned that parish contributions to the Caistor Union were equivalent to a rate of 10³/₄d. in the pound whereas in most other unions the equivalent rate was at least 1s and often more than 2s.¹⁵

One of the reasons for this low rate was that the Caistor poor law guardians chose to maintain a high proportion of their poor on outdoor relief rather than in the workhouse. In 1841, 115 persons were in the workhouse and 1,139 (or 78 per cent of the total) were being supported outside it.¹⁶ Such a high level of dependency on outdoor relief was inconsistent with the ethos of the new poor law. Edward Gulson, the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner for Lincolnshire, complained in 1838 that the Union was not applying 'the workhouse test' effectively because it had not built sufficient workhouse accommodation and the Poor Law Inspector, presenting the accounts in 1849, strongly recommended to the Board that it apply the workhouse test more rigorously.¹⁷

¹⁴ BPP, *Return of Average Annual Expenditure in Each [Poor Law] Union, 1839-40*, H.C. 1842 (145), p. 6, *Return of Average Annual Expenditure of Parishes in each Union, 1841-3*, H.C. 1844 (241), pp. 12-13, and *Abridgement of Abstract of Returns Relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor*, H.C. 1818 (82), pp. 246-7, 260, and 269. Keith Snell has calculated that, across England as a whole, some 8-10 per cent of the population were in receipt of relief during the 1840s, suggesting that the figures for the Caistor Union were significantly below the national average, although national rates fell to 5% in the 1850s: Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, pp. 215-7.

¹⁵ BPP, *Return of Average Annual Expenditure, 1841-3*, pp. 12-13, and *Return of the Poor Law Unions, 1846-7*, H.C. 1850 (413), p. 2.

¹⁶ BPP, *Return of Average Annual Expenditure, 1841-3*, pp. 12-13; TNA, HO 107/630/7, fol. 62, pp. 1-4. Similar rates were reported in other parts of north Lincolnshire: see J. Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-1875* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 74-5.

¹⁷ TNA: MH 32/28, 17 September 1838 and MH12/6677, 11 September 1849. This position continued into the 1870s. More than three quarters of all relief dispensed in the Caistor Union in 1876 was paid in the form of outdoor relief. In the neighbouring Louth Union, the proportion was over 90% which was amongst the highest in England (Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, pp. 228-30).

However, the Caistor guardians persisted in their approach, not least because it was a financially cheaper strategy: in 1840, the Caistor Union spent an average of £8 per annum in maintaining a pauper in the workhouse, excluding overhead costs, as against just over £3 on those relieved in their own homes (though the period over which support was provided was not necessarily identical).¹⁸

This policy was also supported in the parishes. The workhouses not only proved to be costly to maintain but also inflexible in dealing with temporary distress due to seasonal unemployment or occasional lack of work. In 1842 it was reported that the workhouses were seldom more than half full, 'the parishes finding it more beneficial to maintain their casual paupers at home, than to reduce them to permanent pauperism by sending them to a distant workhouse'.¹⁹ Some closed parishes effectively opted out of the Union altogether. In Brockelsby, the Earl of Yarborough maintained the poor at his own expense and no poor rate was levied.²⁰ Even open parishes sought to operate independently of the Union. In North Thoresby, an open village in the Marsh, a special meeting was convened in April 1838 at which it was agreed that 'there is to be a meeting once a month for the overseers to keep such people from the Union as the parishioners thinks best and we hereby agree that the overseer shall be paid by a rate from the parishioners'.²¹ The village of Keelby, to the north, also ran its own rate and maintained its poor independently of the union because, as they freely acknowledged to the Board, it was cheaper.²²

¹⁸ BPP, *Return of Average Annual Expenditure, 1841-3*, pp. 12-13, and *Return of Average Annual Expenditure in Each Union, 1839-40*, p. 6. The guardians in the neighbouring Louth Union took a similarly flexible approach, frequently providing outdoor relief for able-bodied men and their families or else admitting married men to the workhouse whilst supporting their wives and children on out-relief, and vice versa: Painter, *Upon the Parish Rate*, pp. 39 and 51-2.

¹⁹ W. White, *Directory of Lincolnshire, 1842*, cited Brocklebank, 'New Poor Law in Lincolnshire', p. 32.

²⁰ C. Rawding, *Poor Relief and the Rural Workforce: A Case Study of North Lincolnshire, 1834-1861*, (Sussex, 1986), p. 4. Sir Francis Hill has suggested that landlords and clergy saw it as part of their duty to protect their poor against poor law officials, providing they showed due deference and submission: F. Hill, 'Squire and parson in early Victorian Lincolnshire', *History*, 58 (1973), p. 339.

²¹ R. Bird et al., *Aspects of Life and Work in North Thoresby in the 19th Century* (North Thoresby, 1978), p. 61.

²² Rawding, *Poor Relief*, pp. 5-6.

Other parishes kept some of their able-bodied poor off the poor rates by employing them on the repair and maintenance of the parish roads and by using the highway rate to pay them a weekly wage. Edward Gulson, the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, complained in 1837 that 'in hundreds of instances within my own knowledge, pauperism is still continued by the Overseer under the name of Surveyor' to the extent that some surveyors were making payments to families resident thirty miles away 'as if the man were employed upon the Parish roads'.²³ This arrangement was anathema to Gulson, who saw the new workhouse test 'evaded and set at naught', but it was popular in the parishes because it enabled the vestry to continue to control the rates and support their own poor. The vicar of Winterton, in north Lincolnshire, wrote in 1851 that 'the highway rate has now in reality become in part, a poor's rate'. He continued:

Poor labourers want work and they must not perish. If we sent them all to the Union House, it would not contain them, but the poor's rate would swell beyond belief and shew a great increase. Therefore to deserving poor men work is given on the roads. Thus the highway's rate is increased and the rate for the poor only apparently reduced.²⁴

The Relieving Officer for the Louth District reported some years later that, in the parishes for which he was responsible, those who were 'partially unqualified for labour', by which he presumably meant the ill and the infirm, were employed on the roads for 1s a day (half the average wage of a fully-employed man). He commented that 'a man, of course, receives fair wages in proportion to the work he is able to do, and at the same time it relieves the ratepayers, to a considerable extent, of the expenses of maintenance'.²⁵ Such an approach was also better-suited to periods of seasonal or of temporary unemployment. In January 1841, for example, the Waltham Vestry agreed that all labourers in the parish who were out of work should be employed on the roads

²³ TNA: MH 32/28, 23 January 1837; Gulson later suggested that responsibility for the maintenance of the roads should be placed in the hands of Boards of Guardians since 'the highway purse is made the medium thro' which the labouring classes are pauperised and demoralised' and the abuses of the old poor law system were perpetuated: MH 32/28, 5 May 1838.

²⁴ R.W. Ambler (ed.), *Lincolnshire Returns of the Census of Religious Worship, 1851*, Lincoln Record Society 72, (Lincoln 1979), p. 240.

²⁵ BPP, *Select Committee on the Irremovable Poor, Minutes of Evidence*, H.C. 1860 (520), p. 175.

during 'the present severe weather': able bodied labourers with large families were to receive 2s a day and those with small families or none 1s.8d a day.²⁶

The survival of vestry minutes, rate books and highway accounts for Humberston, as well as the minutes of the Caistor poor law Guardians, allow us to examine how far this approach was adopted in other Marshland parishes.²⁷ The results of this study, which are outlined below, suggest that the parish, like the Union, adopted a twin track approach – using the workhouse when there was advantage in doing so, but otherwise relying on outdoor relief. However, there is evidence that the vestry also used the highway account to keep the able-bodied poor out of the workhouse.

Humberston

The introduction of the new poor law dealt a severe blow to the authority of the Humberston vestry. Matters which had previously been determined by the vestry and the overseers, with oversight from magistrates in Grimsby, were now decided by a board of guardians sitting in Caistor and by their paid officials – the master of the workhouse in Caistor, and the relieving officer and medical officer who operated within the Grimsby District. Humberston appointed its own guardian to represent it at Caistor but, as noted earlier, the proceedings there were dominated by the landlords and gentleman farmers of the Lincolnshire Wolds and much of the business conducted by the Board was largely routine and repetitive, consisting mainly of scrutinising officer's accounts, authorising payments, agreeing the contributions to be levied from parishes, and adjudicating on disputes about settlement.²⁸

Given the composition of the board and the nature of its business, as well as the distance to Caistor, it is perhaps not surprising that the Humberston guardians attended meetings only infrequently. Thomas Mountain, for example, was present at just two of the fortnightly meetings held in 1850. His successor, Revd. Charles

²⁶ C. Brears, 'The history of Waltham, part 13, the vestry', *Waltham Parish Magazine* (August 1944), n.p.. The same practice was reported to have taken place elsewhere in north Lincolnshire: BPP, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, Appendix B1, Answers to Rural Queries, Parts i-v*, H.C. 1834 (44), pp. 289a-298a; Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, p. 315; Gillett, *The Humber Region*, pp. 99-100; and Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society*, p.75.

²⁷ The parish books for Humberston are in LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1 and 2 and 14/1, and the Union minute books for 1836 onwards are at LAO: PL3/102/1-28.

²⁸ LAO: PL3/102/1-6.

Wildbore, was slightly more committed yet even he attended on only five occasions during 1855. This pattern of attendance was typical of other parishes. During 1850, the median number at guardians' meetings was 13 and in 1855 it was 12.²⁹ The number of parishes eligible to send representatives was 75.³⁰

Within the parish, the Union generally conducted its business through its paid officials rather than through the locally-appointed guardians or overseers. The relieving officer for the Grimsby District called at Humberston every Tuesday afternoon at 3 p.m. to dispense cash and rations and the medical officer, who resided at Waltham, was instructed to visit the sick in his district at least once a week. He was also to attend paupers when there was a medical emergency, though the Humberston overseers were not alone in complaining that he was slow in turning out.³¹

The overseers of the poor retained some residual powers in relation to the welfare of paupers. They could provide lodging and relief in kind (but not cash) to those in 'sudden and urgent necessity', commit paupers to the workhouse or return them to their place of settlement, obtain money from, and proceed against, those who were neglecting to support their relatives or illegitimate children, and arrange for the burial of paupers. They were also required to set a rate to cover the sums required by the poor law union and any additional sums required by the overseers themselves.³² The overseers therefore retained an important and visible, if much reduced, role in the parish. For example, in 1838 the Humberston overseers used parish funds to provide short term relief to one villager, to buy coals for another and even to purchase a cow for a third; they also took a woman with failing sight to see a physician in Hull.³³ In the following year, they got the magistrates to remove a widow and her son to their place of

²⁹ LAO: PL3/102/5 and 6. BPP, *Return of the Poor Law Unions*, 1846-7, p. 2.

³⁰ Geographically, the Caistor Union was one of the largest unions in the East Midlands but the size of its population (27,068 in 1841) was not out of line with others: BPP, *Return of the Poor Law Unions*, 1846-7, p. 2..

³¹ LAO: PL3/102/5, pp. 13-14, 264-5 and 270; also PL3/102/4, pp. 51, 305 and 317-8.

³² Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, pp. 342-54. The bastardy laws were amended from time to time but after 1839 it generally fell on the mothers of illegitimate children, rather than the overseers, to summon putative fathers before Petty Sessions to secure the costs of maintaining their children.

³³ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1, 16 April and 23 November 1838; PL 3/102/1, p. 128.

settlement and prepared for the repatriation to Humberston of a family from Tetney.³⁴ In 1842, they pursued a repeat absconder for deserting his wife and family.³⁵ To meet the costs of this work, the overseers continued to levy a parish rate. It was usually less than £20 a year but was in addition to the £70 or so raised on behalf of the Union (see below).³⁶

The transition from the old to the new poor law had even greater consequences for those in receipt of poor relief. They faced two related difficulties after 1836. First, the amount of money that was expended on their relief was significantly reduced. The Caistor Union spent £79 on the relief of Humberston's poor in 1837/8 and just £59 in 1849-50 whereas the parish had spent an average of £121 per annum in the three years prior to unionisation. Expenditure rose quickly in the middle of the 1850s, reaching a peak of £133 in 1855/6, but a fall in the level of out-relief payments after 1856 suggests that this was a temporary increase and total expenditure probably returned to something close to previous levels by 1860 (see Figure 8.2).³⁷

Second, the able-bodied poor became subject to the workhouse test and several of the parish's poor found themselves despatched to the workhouse in Caistor after 1836, especially during the winter months. In the winter of 1850/1, for example, the parish paid for 237 days of indoor relief and during the winter of 1854/5 it paid for 435 days (see Figure 8.3). This latter figure was equivalent to 4 people being boarded in the workhouse for 16 weeks each. At other times, the number of paupers was smaller than this and the likely length of incarceration much shorter. There were, for instance, no

³⁴ LAO: PL 3/102/2, p. 26, PS/Brad.Hav., 4 June 1839, and Tetney Par. 13/2/27a-27c. In the early days of the Union, those with settlements elsewhere were removed from Humberston as soon as they became chargeable to the poor rate. Later, the costs of their maintenance were charged to the home parish and, from 1849, the costs of the 'irremoveable poor' (those resident in the parish for five years or more, subsequently reduced to three years and then to one) were met by the Union's Common Fund: LAO: PL 3/102/4, p. 54 and PL 3/102/5, pp. 122 and 141; Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, p. 116.

³⁵ LAO: PL3/102/2, p. 280. The absconder, Thomas Richardson, had left home to sell oil which, according to the Relieving Officer, was 'a mere pretence for getting relief for his family in his absence, a practice which he adopted last year'.

³⁶ LAO: Humberston Par.10/2.

³⁷ BPP, *Fourth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, H.C. 1840 (147-II), pp. 39-40, and *Poor Rate Return*, H.C. 1854 (81), pp. 57-8; LAO: PL3/102/5, pp. 40-41, 61-2, 134-7, and 163-6, and PL3/102/4-8.

Figure 8.2 The Costs of Poor Relief in Humberston per Half-year, 1849-1861.³⁸

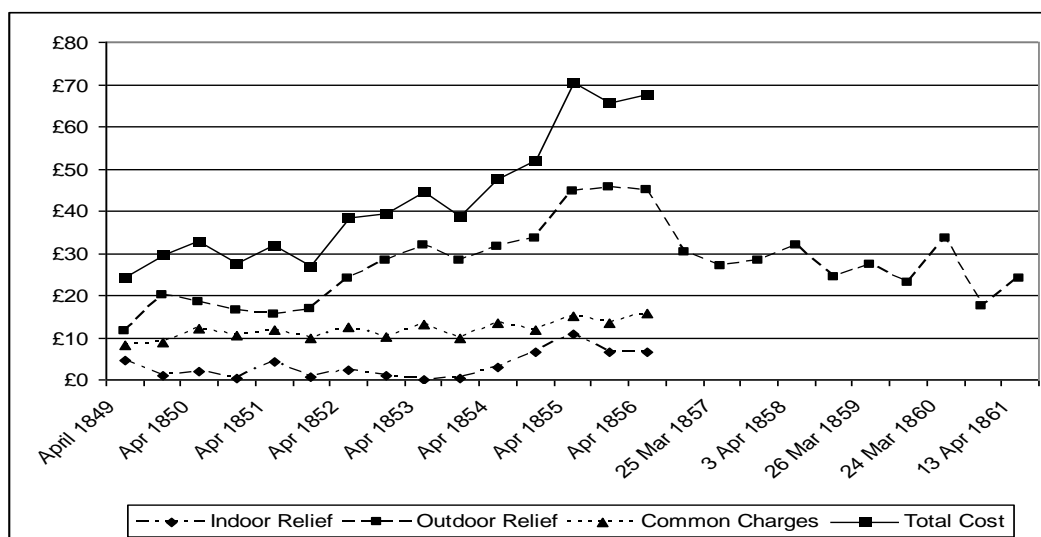
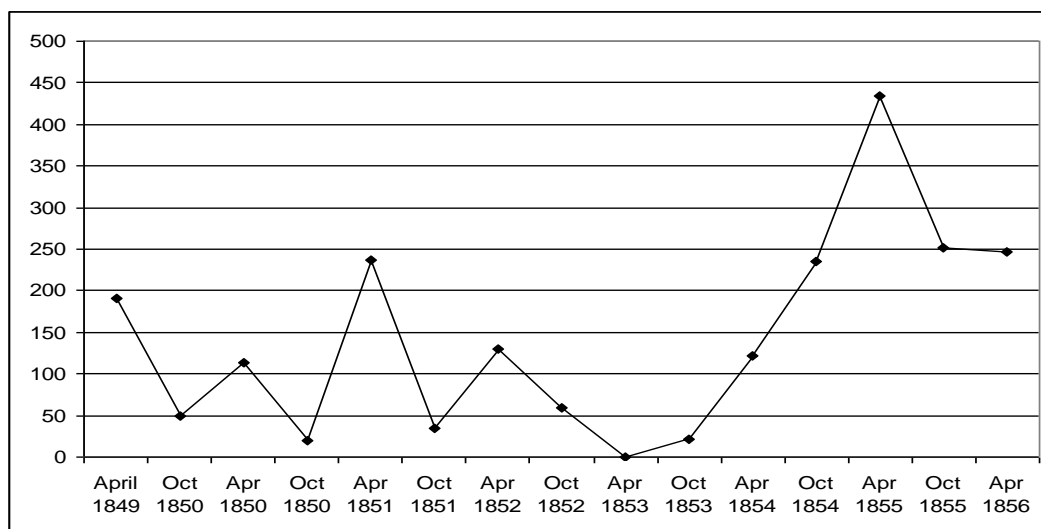


Figure 8.3 Days Spent in the Workhouse by Humberston Residents per Half-year, 1849-1856.³⁹



³⁸ LAO: PL3/102/4, pp. 68-9, 147-57, 232-40, 307-17, and 387-98; PL3/102/5, pp. 40-41, 61-2, 134-7, 163-6, 272-4, 336-8, 350-2, 420, and 437-9; PL3/102/6, pp. 54, 66-8, 145-7, and 158-9; PL3/102/7, pp. 6-7, 111-3, 193-4, 285-6, and 370-3; and PL3/102/8, pp. 4-6, 91-3, 174-5, 256 and 341. Charges for indoor relief were calculated according to use (number of days per parish multiplied by a standard rate per day, usually between 4d and 5d). Charges for outdoor relief (which here include non-resident relief) reflected the actual costs incurred by the parish. The common charges (covering the costs of the workhouse, staff salaries and general expenses) were apportioned amongst the parishes according to the average expenditure of each parish in 1849/50 (previously 1840). Additional, smaller charges were made for lunatics, extra medical fees, vaccination fees, clothing and registration fees where applicable. Parishes were also charged for a share of the repayments to the Workhouse Building Loan and the Exchequer Loan Commissioners.

³⁹ LAO: PL3/102/4-8.

Humberston residents in the workhouse during the winter of 1852/3. These peaks and troughs in the use of indoor relief, which Figure 8.3 amply demonstrates, suggest that confinement in the workhouse was used as a temporary expedient in particular cases rather than as a permanent home for Humberston's poor. In addition to the workhouse, the Union paid for places at the Hull Lunatic Asylum. James Surfleet of Humberston, who suffered from epileptic fits and bouts of insanity, spent a brief period there in 1847.⁴⁰

As is evident from Figure 8.2 it was more usual for the Union to use out-relief payments to maintain Humberston's poor in their own homes. In the winter of 1850/1, payments to those resident in the village totalled £9.12s.0d over six months (equivalent to 7s.5d a week) and payments to those living outside it added another £5.17s. 0d (or 4s.6d a week). These were not large sums, sufficient possibly only to support 3 or 4 people. However, as noted earlier, expenditure rose in the mid-1850s, presumably as the number of those receiving relief increased, though the reasons for the increase are not entirely clear. At the height of this rise, the Union spent over £45 a half-year to provide outdoor relief to the poor of Humberston, a sum which dwarfed the £6 - £10 paid to those in the workhouse. Indeed, for this brief period, spending on poor relief was as high as in the days of the old poor law.⁴¹

The names of those relieved and the reasons for their relief are known only in a few cases. One was Elizabeth Blanchard who, together with her husband, had received payments from the parish at various times in the 1820s and 1830s. Her husband died in the 1840s and she was listed as 'a widow pauper' in the 1851 census for Humberston. Her unmarried daughter and two illegitimate grandchildren were living with her.⁴² Another long-standing recipient of poor relief was Thomas Cheeseman, who was described in 1861 as 'for many years an invalid on parish'. He first drew relief in 1824 when he was 31. In 1851 he, too, was described as a pauper living in Humberston.⁴³ Others in receipt of outdoor relief appear fleetingly in the record. They include aged widows living independently of the almshouses, single mothers with

⁴⁰ LAO: PL3/102/3, pp. 20 and 32.

⁴¹ There was no similar increase in spending in the Union as a whole.

⁴² LAO: Humberston Par. 10/2; TNA: HO 107/2113, p.4.

⁴³ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/2; TNA: HO 107/2113, p. 2, and RG 9/2390, p. 10.

children, and deserted wives.⁴⁴ This corresponds with the position in the county as a whole where the elderly and infirm, and widows with children, were the major recipients of outdoor relief.⁴⁵

Outdoor payments were seldom used to support the able-bodied sick or unemployed. At each of their fortnightly meetings after 1848, the Caistor poor law guardians examined the reports of the medical officers and recorded the cases in which outdoor relief had been granted to able-bodied male persons 'on account of sickness, accident or infirmity'. The list rarely exceeded a dozen names and there were only three occasions in the fourteen years between 1836-60 in which residents of Humberston appeared on it - one for a case of lumbago and two for fever.⁴⁶

If the Guardians' minutes truly reflect the number of instances in which able-bodied poor were granted relief, then the Union officers must have been applying the workhouse test to this class of pauper with remarkable rigour. Yet the workhouse never reached its capacity of 200 people, suggesting either that the able-bodied poor were eking out a living at home with the help of family and friends and/or were receiving assistance from elsewhere. As has been noted above, support often came from the landlord, from a private rate levied by the parish, or from the highway rate.

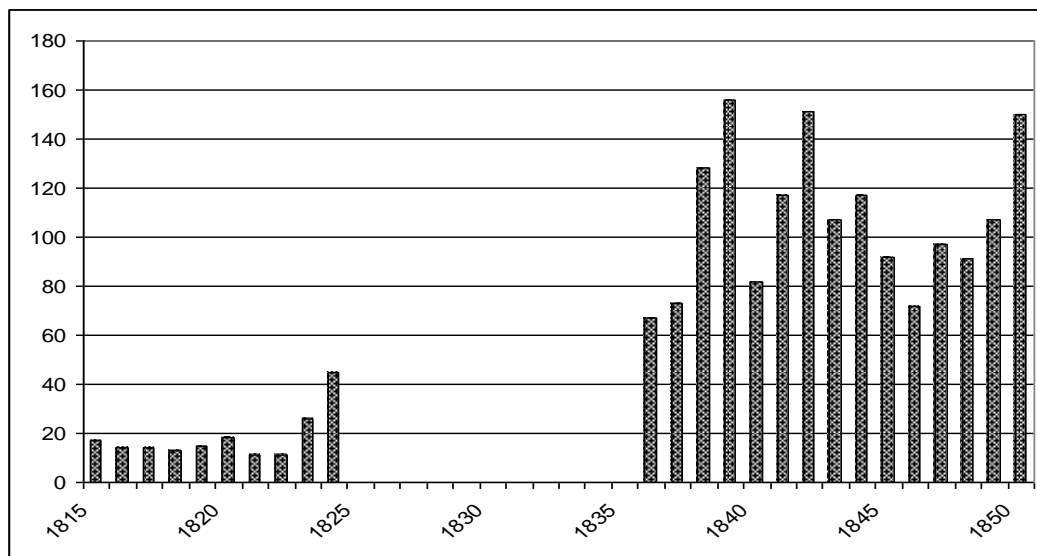
It is possible that Humberston also used the highway rate to maintain some of its able bodied poor, at least during the difficult years of the 1840s. During the early 1820s the parish had spent no more than £45 per annum on the roads, and often much less than this, but expenditure rose to £73 in 1837-8 and then to £128 and £156 in the following two years. It remained above £80 for all but one of the years up to 1850, and often exceeded £90 or £100 (see Figure 8.4).

⁴⁴ LAO: PL 3/102/2, p. 280, and PL 3/102/5, pp. 122, 141 and 264-5.

⁴⁵ BPP, *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, H.C. 1847 [816], pp. 230-41. Up to six elderly parishioners continued to be accommodated in the almshouses and were therefore supported from charity funds rather than from the poor rates: see BPP, *32nd Report of the Charity Commissioners, Part 4*, H.C. 1839 [194], pp. 429-31.

⁴⁶ LAO: PL3/102/6, pp. 369, 387-8, and 403-4.

Figure 8.4 Expenditure on the Parish Roads, Humberston, 1815-50⁴⁷

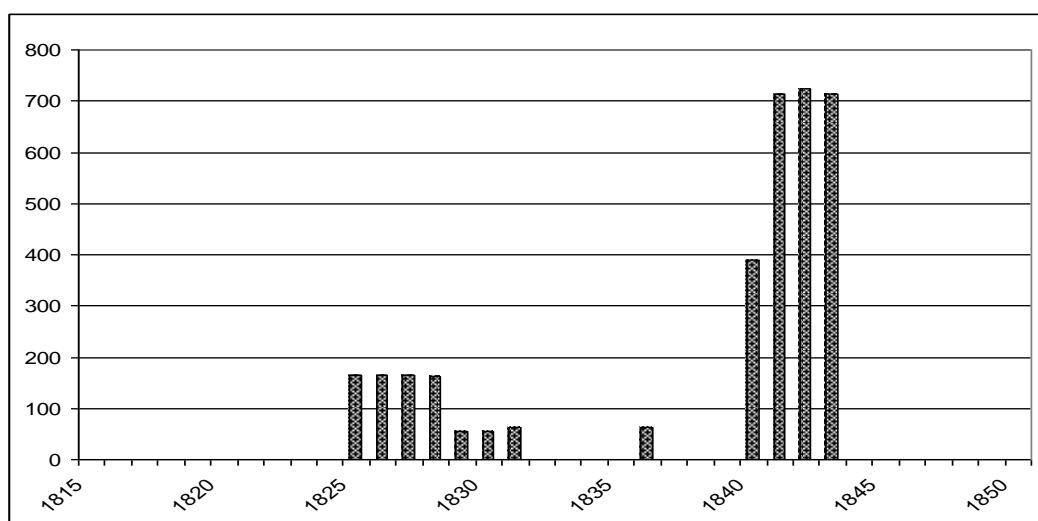


Surveyor's accounts for the years between 1840-1 and 1843-4 provide detail on how this expenditure was made up and on the number of days worked on the roads by named individuals. In these four years, up to 15 male labourers were employed in aggregate for more than 700 days each year. This was in addition to the men who dug the gravel (who were paid piece work) and the waggoners who led the horses (who were supplied by the farmers). In the last five years of the 1820s (when comparable figures are available) the total number of days worked had never exceeded 181 (see Figure 8.5)

It is quite possible that the increase in annual expenditure, and in days worked, after 1837 was caused by a significant redoubling of effort to repair or remake the roads, dykes and sea banks rather than a means of, or a pretext for, finding paid work for unemployed or underemployed men. The effect, however, was much the same: labourers who might otherwise have been unemployed were found work by the parish. One labourer, Robert Gray, was employed for 787 days over these four years (the equivalent of nearly 33 weeks each year), and another, John Smith, was engaged for 425 days over 2 years (an average of 35 weeks per year). A third, James Surfleet, was taken on for 325 days over 2 years (an average of 27 weeks each year) at 1s a

⁴⁷ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1 and 10/2, n.p.; figures are missing for the years between 1826 and 1836 because during this time the vestry substituted payment in kind for payment in cash, with each ratepayer being required to contribute a stated number of days work on the road (known as 'statute days').

Figure 8.5 Days Worked on the Parish Roads, Humberston, 1815-50⁴⁸



day; in the following year, he was employed, as the accounts put it, for '52 weeks on roads' at 2s.6d a week. This looks less like a wage than a pension, albeit a modest one. This was the same James Surfleet who was to be committed to the asylum in Hull three years later (see above).⁴⁹

Those who were employed on the roads included the elderly men of the parish who were not in the almshouses: Robert Gray and John Smith, referred to above, were both Cottagers aged 65 and 70 respectively in 1841; Christopher Ascough, who was paid for 51 weeks work over three years, was also an elderly Cottager who was 75 years old in 1841. The rest were primarily middle-aged men with families. They were paid between 1s and 2s a day. The younger men with families generally received the highest wages.⁵⁰

The evidence is not, of course, conclusive but it does suggest that Humberston may have used a number of different approaches to maintain its able-bodied poor during the 1840s and 1850s – occasional use of the workhouse, intermittent use of outdoor relief during bouts of sickness, and, perhaps most important of all, employment on the roads. If this was the case, it would help to explain why the cost of poor relief fell after 1836 in Humberston – and perhaps in other parishes in which similar strategies were employed. In other words, the introduction of the workhouse test may have led to

⁴⁸ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1 and 14/1.

⁴⁹ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1, 1840/1-1843/4.

⁵⁰ LAO: Humberston Par. 10/1, 1840/1-1843/4; TNA: HO 107/637/15, pp. 1-11.

fewer people claiming poor relief from the Union, but it may have increased the number employed in maintaining the roads.

Conclusion

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was intended to shift power and responsibility for the relief of the poor from local vestries to area boards and national authorities. Parish overseers were stripped of many of their responsibilities, magistrates were obliged to share power with elected guardians, and guardians were expected to abide by a policy that was determined by a central Board. At the same time, discretionary relief was replaced by a universal workhouse test.

Yet, as events in north Lincolnshire and in Humberston indicate, local power and influence proved difficult to suppress. The minor gentry became the active and dominant members of the Caistor Board of Guardians and they were seemingly supported by the large tenant farmers who constituted the dormant but compliant majority on the board of guardians. Between them, they chose to adopt and apply a strategy that essentially rejected the universal workhouse test and instead sought to maintain a more balanced approach in which a high proportion of people continued to be maintained in their own homes.

Moreover, parish vestries continued to take an active interest in the maintenance of their poor, beyond the residual and limited powers that were left to them. Several in north-east Lincolnshire sought to maintain many of the features of the old poor law by running a parallel system of poor relief supported either by a private rate or by the highway rate, or else they adopted locally-administered emergency measures when circumstances turned adverse. The relieving officer was no doubt an important figure of authority in the parish after 1836, but the influence of others was not significantly diminished. The tenant farmers of Humberston continued to be the major employers of agricultural labour. As vestry members, they were also the major employers of labour on the roads and sea banks. One of their number sat on the Board of Guardians. The vicar too, as a clerical magistrate, was one of the Guardians and sat on the bench in petty sessions. The centre of public policy making and control may have been shifting away from the parish in the middle of the nineteenth century, but it was a slow process, not least in closed parishes like Humberston where local elites continued to exercise significant control over jobs, social welfare and housing.

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION

It was argued in chapter 1 that the intensive historical investigation and analysis of a single place, such as Humberston, can help to reveal something of the complexity and reality of everyday life. This is a valuable end in itself. Yet, at its best, micro-analysis can do more than that. It can also reveal new knowledge that adds to our understanding of larger historical events and trends, perhaps even obliging us to rethink and modify our previous assumptions. This account of Humberston has sought to fulfil both of those ambitions, describing life in a single community but also drawing out aspects of a shared experience for wider consideration.

A Single Community

As an account of a single place at a specific point in time, this study has uncovered something of the social structure of a small closed village and the personal relationships that existed there. It has revealed a wide social gulf between landlord and farmworker, but it has also exposed subtle gradations of rank in between.

The owners of this former estate village were absentee landlords – the Humberston Mackenzies became Scottish lairds; the Smiths were bankers who were elevated to the peerage and built up an estate in Buckinghamshire. They visited the parish only occasionally and generally managed their estate through local solicitors and bankers. The vicar was also non-resident until the 1820s but became a force to be reckoned with once installed, marrying into the local gentry and becoming a magistrate and a poor law guardian and chairing the parish vestry. He resented the squire's attempts to constrain his social ambitions and the two of them engaged in a bitter dispute that spread beyond the parish to the civil courts in London.

In the absence of a resident squire and, for much of the period, a resident parson, the farmers constituted the ruling parish elite – an oligarchy of some eight to ten people who, between them, controlled employment, housing and poor relief and sought to impose their moral code on the village. Amongst them were a number of dynastic families, putting down roots in the parish for two or more generations and forming bonds of marriage and friendship with each other. However, they were not a homogeneous group. The farmers differed in status and wealth, knowledge and skills, faith and politics. Despite this, they appear to have worked harmoniously together and to have developed a collaborative and consistent approach to local affairs that treated their neighbours and employees with fairness and compassion.

The smaller farmers graded into the upper echelons of the artisan class and they into the ranks of Cottagers. The Cottagers had access to pasture ground and ownership of a cow and thus a measure of economic independence and social prestige. They counted farmers and artisans amongst their friends and there were occasional ties of marriage and kinship between the groups. They thus stood apart from the confined farmworkers and farm servants who were hired by the year. Few of the farm servants stayed in the parish beyond a year or two. Amongst the confined labourers, however, there were shepherds who stayed in Humberston for most of their working lives, assured of constant employment and free accommodation. At the bottom of the social hierarchy was a small group of day labourers – Cottagers and sons of confined labourers – whose prospects of employment were much more uncertain, being subject to the whims of individual employers, to market forces, and to the vagaries of the seasons and the weather. Their ranks were swelled from time to time by women and children who lived in the village, and from those outside the parish, who were employed as casual labour to help with the harvest or the more menial tasks around the farm.

This was a small, closed community in which everyone would have known each other. Relationships may not have been intimate but people lived and worked closely together. They knew their place in the social hierarchy and, for the most part, they were aware of their respective roles, duties, reciprocal obligations, and ties of dependency. The landlords improved the farmhouses, granted pasture rights to Cottagers, and allowed their tenants to retain their homes from one generation to the next but only so long as they paid their rents and toed the line. The farmers provided employment and accommodation for their farmworkers, paid them a competitive wage and supported them in old age, yet at the same time evicted those without a settlement in the parish as soon as they became eligible to claim poor relief.

It was a community that looked after its own, often to the exclusion of others. Partly this was a legal obligation imposed by the poor laws and the laws of settlement but it was also a product of prevailing and long-standing notions of paternalism, neighbourliness and belonging. As Keith Wrightson has written of an earlier period: 'It [the parish] was in many ways a community, an association of neighbours, a unit of identity and belonging, a primary group – but one perennially defined and redefined by processes of inclusion and exclusion'.¹ As a closed parish, these bonds of exclusion

¹ K. Wrightson, 'The politics of the parish in early modern England', in P. Griffiths, A. Fox, and S. Hindle, *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 10-11.

and belonging were particularly tightly drawn. For this reason above others, the parish of Humberston retained its coherence, relevance and identity, and claimed the loyalty of its inhabitants, throughout the period to 1850 and, indeed, beyond it.²

A Shared Experience

In addition to revealing something of the day-to-day lives of ordinary people, this account of Humberston has also drawn attention to issues which resonate with other studies, or which sometimes appear as unfamiliar or dissonant. The latter may merit further reflection and perhaps investigation in other places and across a broader area.

This study has, first of all, suggested ways in which the open and closed typology of villages might be further elaborated and the characteristics of closed villages with non-resident landlords might be better defined. Some previous studies have used the term 'distance decay' to describe the tendency for estate owners to pay increasingly less attention to the condition of their property and the welfare of their tenants the further they were from their principal seat. The analysis of landlord and tenant relationships in Humberston, set out in chapter 2, has broadly supported that notion. However, it has also suggested two caveats. The first is that, while non-resident proprietors may have been little interested in the physical and cultural landscape of remote parts of their estate, they were nevertheless concerned with the condition and value of those elements of the infrastructure that had income-generating potential. In Humberston, for example, the Carringtons effected significant improvements to the land (by undertaking enclosure and drainage), to the system of farming (by insisting on the adoption of new crops and rotations), and to the quality of the farm buildings (by building new houses to attract good tenants) even though they neglected the condition of less profitable parts of the estate (such as labourers' cottages). The second caveat is that the landlord's agent was likely to have had a greater degree of delegated authority in the administration of outlying properties than in the management of estate villages close to home. In these circumstances, as we have seen in Humberston, the agent might well choose to act in areas where the landlord was negligent, disinterested or tardy, for example in making provision for the poor or in supporting Nonconformity.

² Keith Snell argues this point more generally in *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (Cambridge, 2006), 'Belonging and community: understandings of 'home' and 'friends' among the English poor, 1750-1850', *Economic History Review*, 65 (2012), pp. 1-25, and *Spirits of Community: English Senses of Belonging and Loss, 1750-2000* (London, 2016).

There has also been an assumption in other studies that in closed villages with non-resident landlords the leading tenants took a more active role in the management of the local economy than in estate villages. Chapter 3, which looks at relationships between farmers and farmworkers, has lent substance to that hypothesis. In Humberston, a relatively small group of tenant farmers exercised significant control of employment, housing and poor relief, to the extent that most of the villagers were dependent on one or more of the farmers for a roof over their heads and food on their tables. It has sometimes been claimed that farmers used this authority to further their own interests, rather than to adopt the more paternalistic approach assumed by many aristocratic landlords. This is not obviously the case in Humberston. The Humberston farmers sought to impose their own moral code on the village but this was not significantly at variance with the standards of polite behaviour espoused by other members of the ruling classes and, indeed, by many members of the labouring class. For the most part, farmers managed to combine self-interest with compassion – for example, by keeping the poor out of the workhouse whilst at the same time limiting their own expenditure on poor relief.

It has often been assumed that in most closed parishes, the squire and parson worked closely together to regulate parish affairs, maintain social order and minister to the poor and the sick. A number of studies have demonstrated, however, that this was not always the case. Two issues, in particular, could divide them – religious doctrine and liturgy, and the management of parish affairs. Chapter 4 of this study has revealed a further source of difference, the perceived social standing and aspirations of a new breed of resident clergy who saw themselves as men of power and authority in their neighbourhoods. In Humberston, and in other Lincolnshire Marshland parishes, the more senior clergy aspired to take on the trappings and status of the absent squires whose role they fulfilled as justices of the peace and poor law guardians. This created resentment and friction not only between the absent squire and the parson but also between the parson and many of his parishioners.

Finally, closed parishes are conventionally seen as strongholds of Anglicanism and bulwarks against the encroachment of Methodism. This may be the common experience, yet allowance needs to be made for the many exceptions. There were, as has been noted in chapter 5, landlords who became Methodists, landlords who were not Methodists but nevertheless respected the values of Methodism and allowed Wesleyans (but less frequently Primitive Methodists) to build chapels and schools on their property, and landlords who refused Methodists permission to erect chapels but

nevertheless admitted them as tenants. There were also, as we have seen in Humberston, agents and stewards who were Methodists who were trusted by their employers to select fellow Methodists, as well as Anglicans, as tenants and to provide support to Methodist congregations on their estates. Such plurality did not necessarily lead to division. In north Lincolnshire there were many parishioners who were content to worship at both church and chapel and many parishes, even closed parishes like Humberston, in which Methodist societies grew and flourished alongside revitalised Anglican congregations.

Two other broad themes – independence and dependence – have been explored in this thesis. Much has been written about the movement to grant farmworkers allotments and potato grounds during the nineteenth century but comparatively little has been published about the provision of cow pastures and other arrangements by which labourers were able to keep a cow. In north Lincolnshire, this so-called ‘cottage system’ was widely adopted in the early nineteenth century and accorded labouring families a degree of economic independence even after enclosure had denied them access to commons. Indeed, chapter 6, which examines the position of the Cottager in Humberston, demonstrates not only how ownership of a cow kept poor Cottagers off the poor rate but also how it accorded them a social status that elevated them above others of their class. As has been noted above, enclosure may have removed the commons from the cottager, but it did not necessarily separate the cottager from his cow.

Those who did not enjoy access to cow pastures or other forms of grazing were much more likely to be dependent on farmers for both employment and poor relief. Across the country as a whole, there were variations between parishes in the strategies adopted for the care of the poor and there were differences between regions in the generosity of provision, with the north and west of England being considered more parsimonious than the south and east. It has previously proved difficult, for want of adequate evidence, to place Lincolnshire in either of these mega-regions. However, the evidence gathered here, and set out in chapter 7, suggests that this part of the country had most in common with the south and east where, on the whole there was greater compassion and support for the poor albeit with an expectation that, wherever possible, other sources of relief would be deployed to offset the cost of communal relief. Indeed, this determination to apply the poor law sympathetically but rigorously continued into the mid-nineteenth century despite the imposition of a harsher regime ushered in by the new poor law. Evidence cited in chapter 8 suggests that many

parishes in north Lincolnshire, including Humberston, circumvented the ethos and provisions of the new poor law by keeping their poor out of union workhouses and supporting them from a private rate or by putting them to work on the parish roads.

The Pace of Change

The issues-based approach to historical analysis that has been adopted here has precluded the presentation of a chronological account of life in Humberston. Had one been constructed, it would have described a community undergoing gradual, hesitating change. There were occasional peaks in activity, notably in the 1790s when the Carringtons set about the improvement of the parish, the 1820s when the vestry grappled with rising levels of poor law expenditure, and the 1840s when relations between squire and parson were at their most acrimonious. There is little evidence, however, of radical or revolutionary change. The parish's heavy, undrained soils held back agricultural innovation; poor communications hindered economic development; and tight social control prevented significant demographic change. Major improvements in agricultural output and productivity had to await the arrival of effective under-drainage in the middle of the nineteenth century. The creation of new employment opportunities – in fishing, trade and tourism – were dependent on the arrival of the railways, the docks and the steamships in the 1850s and beyond. The social structure of the village was not materially altered until the early twentieth century when building plots were sold to Grimsby trawler owners, fish merchants and others looking to build villa residences in a rural setting.

This history of slow, faltering evolution is somewhat at odds with the traditional depiction of the century after 1750 as 'an age of improvement', a period in which Britain expanded her economy, undertook an agricultural and industrial revolution, acquired a worldwide empire, and, despite episodes of economic crisis, social dislocation and political unrest, made steady progress towards constitutional reform, religious toleration, and freedom of thought and expression.³ It is much closer to the revisionist version of modern history which depicts the century after 1750 as a period of slow transition, characterised as much by inertia as by progress, in which significant and

³ T.S. Ashton, *An Economic History of England: The 18th Century* (London, 1955), A. Briggs, *The Age of Improvement* (London, 1959), P. Deane and W.A. Cole, *British Economic Growth, 1688-1959* (Cambridge 1967), H. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society* (London, 1969).

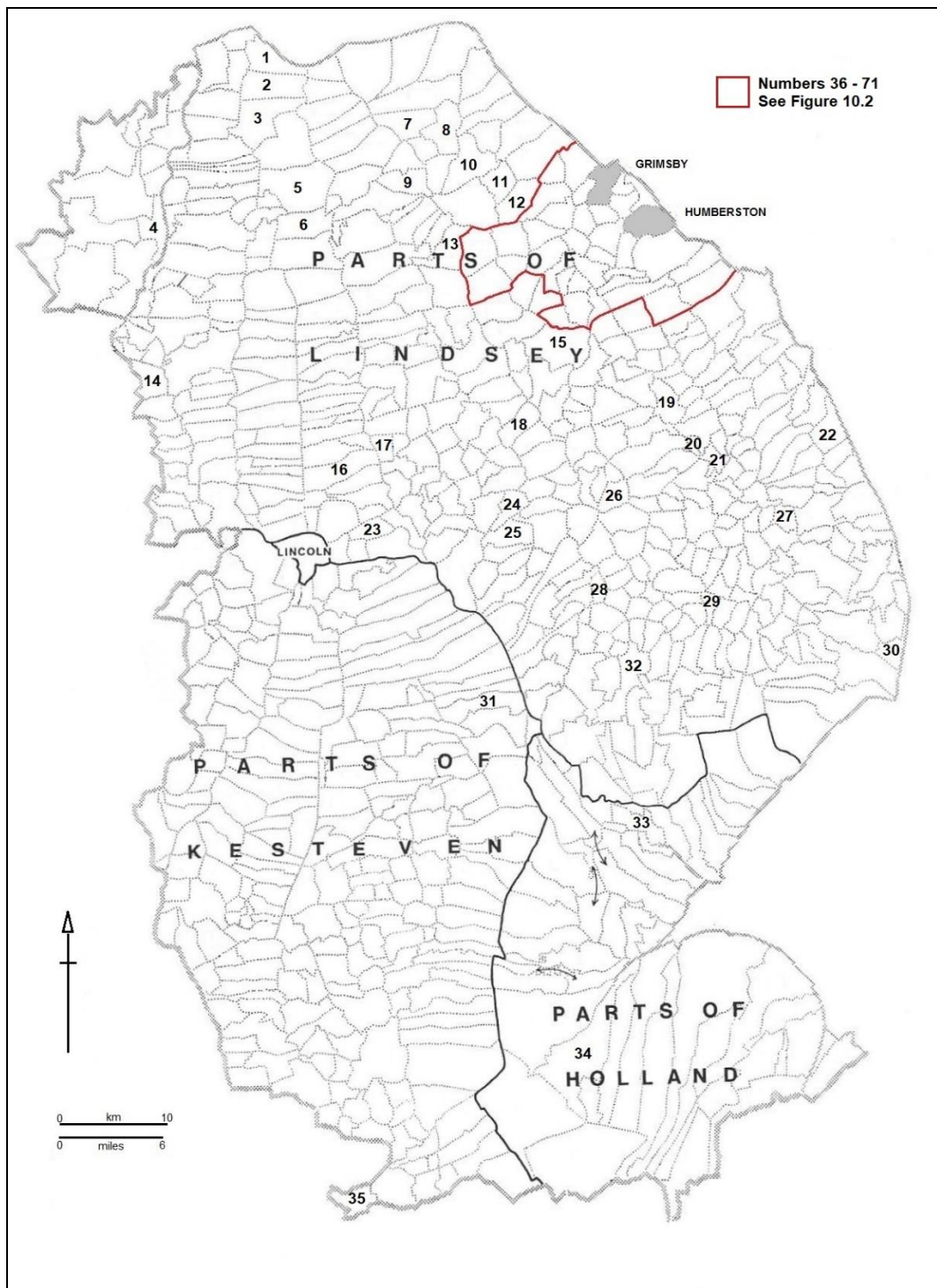
rapid change was selective in its incidence and impact and in many areas gathered pace only after 1830.⁴

It would, of course, be too much to claim that Humberston's story substantiates this revisionist interpretation of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century history. It may nevertheless exemplify it. And it may offer one further reflection. The grand narrative of English history has properly been created by drawing together, and trying to make sense of, the very different experiences of a number of widely scattered places, people and events. Yet changes, when aggregated across a broad area, may appear more pervasive and more significant than when considered from the perspective of a single place. In villages such as Humberston, daily life was often much less eventful and dramatic than the grand narrative of history might sometimes suggest.

⁴ J.C.D. Clark, *English Society, 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime* (1985, Cambridge, 2000 edn); M.J. Daunton, *Progress and Poverty: An Economic and Social History of Britain, 1700-1850* (Oxford, 1995); F. O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History, 1688-1832* (1997, London, 2016 edn.); B. Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England, 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2006); E.A. Wrigley, *Energy and the English Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 2010); G.E. Mingay, 'Conclusion: the progress of agriculture', in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. 4, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 938-971.

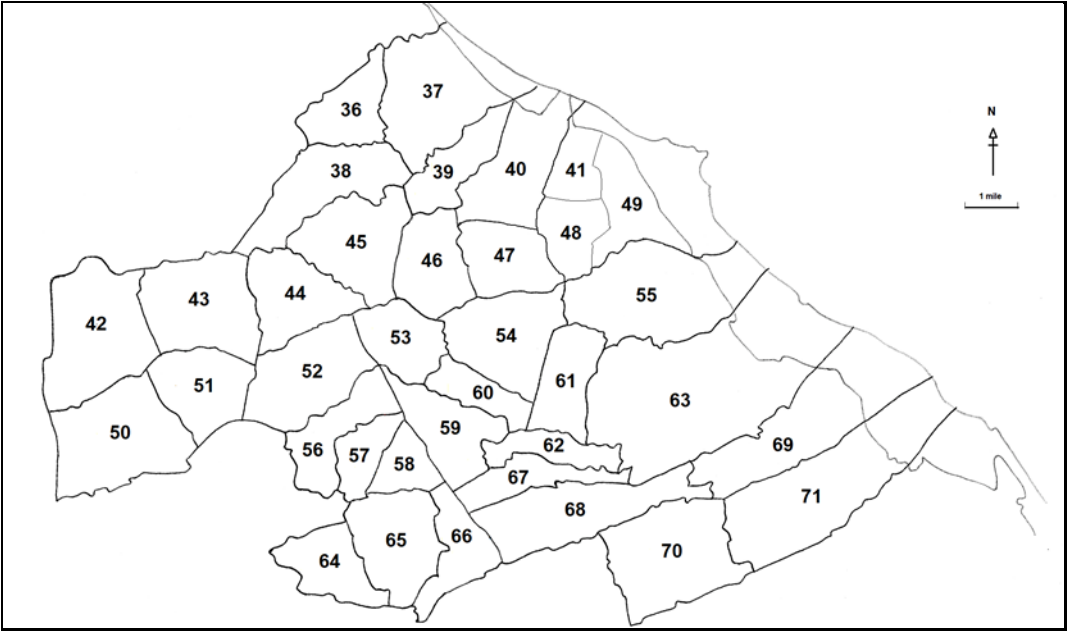
APPENDIX: PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Figure 10.1 Places in Lincolnshire Mentioned in the Text



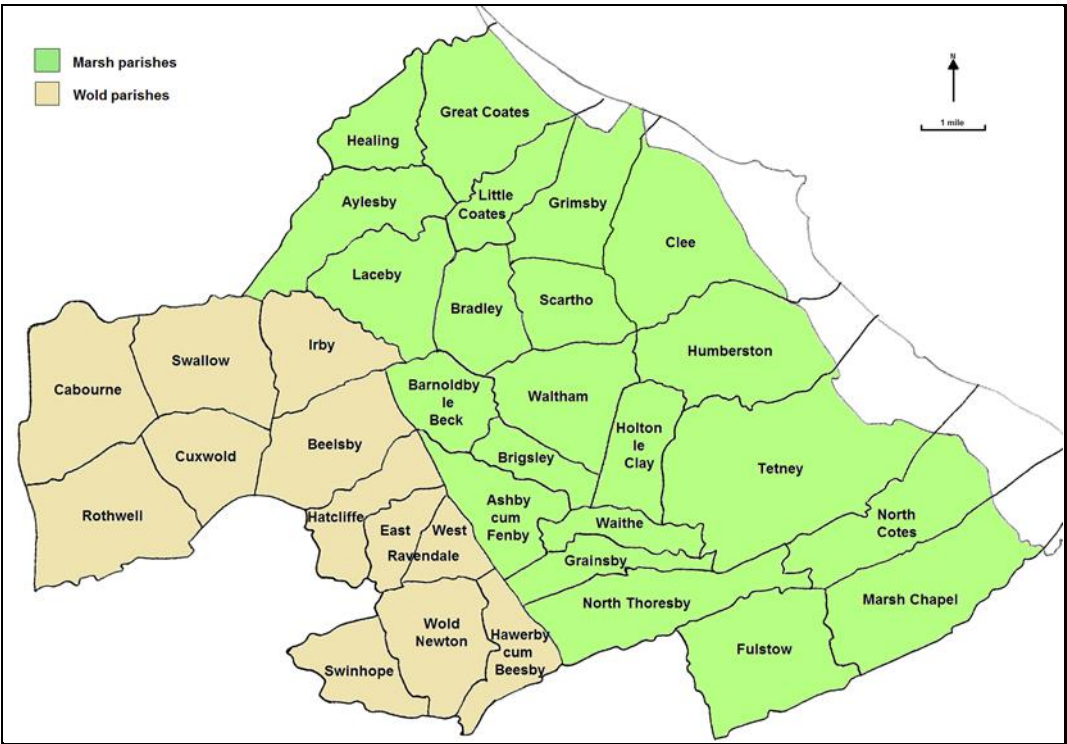
For Key, see below.

Figure 10.2 Places in Lincolnshire Mentioned in the Text (contd)



For Key, see below.

Figure 10.3 Parishes in Bradley Haverstoe Wapentake



Key to Figures 10.1 and 10.2

Place	No.	Place	No.
Alford	27	Louth	19
Ashby-cum-Fenby	59	Mablethorpe	22
Aylesby	38	Marshchapel	71
Barnetby-le-Wold	9	Minting	24
Barnoldby-le-Beck	53	Muckton	21
Beelsby	52	North Coates	69
Binbrook	15	North Thoresby	68
Boston	33	Raithby	29
Bradley	46	Reepham	23
Brigsley	60	Revesby	32
Brocklesby	10	Riby	12
Broughton	5	Rothwell	50
Cabourne	42	Roxby	3
Caistor	13	Scamblesby	26
Clee	41	Scartho	47
Cleethorpes	49	Scawby	6
Cuxwold	51	Snarford	17
East Ravendale	58	Skegness	30
Fulstow	70	Spalding	34
Gainsborough	14	Stamford	35
Grainsby	67	Swallow	43
Great Coates	37	Swinhope	64
Grimsby	40	Tetney	63
Hainton	18	Ulceby	8
Halton	24	Waithe	62
Hatcliffe	56	Walcot	31
Hawerby-cum-Beesby	66	Waltham	54
Healing	36	Weelsby	48
Holton-le-Clay	61	Welton	16
Horncastle	28	West Butterwick	4
Humberston	55	West Ravendale	57
Irby	44	Winteringham	1
Keelby	11	Winterton	2
Laceby	45	Wold Newton	65
Little Cawthorpe	20	Wootton	7
Little Coates	39		

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARCHIVE MATERIALS

British Library (BL)

Letters to Arthur Young from Robert Smith, Baron Carrington, 1800-14, and Thomas Thompson, 1801-15 (Add Ms 35128, vol. 3, Add Ms 35131, vol. 6, and Add Ms 35132, vol. 7).

Carrington Family Archive, Bledlow (CFA)

Survey and plans of the Buckinghamshire and Lincolnshire estates of Lord Carrington, 1881 (with later additions).

Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, Aylesbury (CBS)

Carrington Deposit, Title Deeds: Winteringham (D-CN/11) and Humberston (D-CN/13).

Carrington Deposit, Estate Papers: All Estates (D-CN/18/1); Lincolnshire Estates (D-CN/18/8/1); and Humberston property (D-CN/18/8/4), including surveys and valuations, leases and rentals, cropping books, letter books and correspondence, and Humberston Charity papers.

Carrington Deposit, Family Papers: Wills and Settlements (D-CN/17); Robert, First Lord Carrington (D-CN/20); Robert John, Second Lord Carrington (D-CN/21); and Robert, Third Lord Carrington, Marquis of Lincolnshire (D-CN/22).

English Heritage, National Monuments Record, Swindon

Historic England Archives, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England: Historic Building Report, Haverstoe Cottage, Humberston, 1992 and photos (reference no. BB92/10837-10844).

Grimsby Central Library, Lincolnshire Collection (LC)

Photographs of Humberston (ref. H804).

Skelton Papers, 1824-1859.

House of Lords Record Office

Act for Repairing Humberston Church, 1706-7: Petition of Matthew Humberston and Act (PO/JO/10/6/114/2334 and PO/PB/1/1706/6An74).

Act for the Sale of the Humberston Estate, 1780: Petition of Thomas Frederick McKenzie Humberston and Act (PO/JO/10/7/ 615 and HL/PO/PB/1/1780/20G3n153).

Lincolnshire Archives Office, Lincoln (LAO)

Bradley Haverstoe Petty Sessions: Rough Minute Books 1830-40 and 1840-50; Minute Books 1850-99; Registers 1857-72; Special Sessions Books, 1829-80 (PS/Bradley Haverstoe).

Caistor Poor Law Union: Minutes of the Board, 1836-51 (PL3/102/1-8).

Diocesan Records: Bishop's Transcripts (BT); Presentation Deeds (PD); Churchwardens' Presentments (ChP/L); Specula 1744-61, 1788-92, and 1805 (SPE 3, 4 and 8); Surveys of Bishop's Possessions (BP/Surveys/2); Glebe terriers (Ter); Mortgages under Gilberts Act (MGA 682); Faculty Books and Papers (FB 2 and 4); Bishop's Correspondence (Cor B/5/4); Board of Education Papers (DBE/8/1/219); Dissenters Certificates (Diss 2/1790 and 3/1822).

Dixon Papers: Papers of Thomas Dixon as steward of the Humberston estate, 1780-87 (1-Dixon 8/5-6).

Lincoln Consistory Court: wills, inventories, and administration papers (LCC Wills, Inv, and Admons).

Lindsey Quarter Sessions: Sessions Rolls and Minute Books, 1729-1829 (LQS A/1, A/2 and A9/7) and administration records, including Land Tax assessments, 1782-1832 (LQS Land Tax Assessments/ Bradley Haverstoe).

Methodist Circuit Records and Chapel Records: Grimsby Wesleyan Circuit, 1765-1894 (Meth B/Grimsby W) and Grimsby Primitive Methodist Circuit, 1820-69 (Meth B/Grimsby P).

North Lincolnshire Agricultural Society: minute books, 1836-55 (Stubbs 1/16/1).

Parish Records: Humberston Parish Registers, 1748-1850; Parish Officers' Books, 1747-1849 and 1823-1894; and Rate Assessment Book, 1825-1878 (Humberston Par. 1/1-6, 10/1-3 and 14/1).

Tennyson d'Eyncourt Deposit: Papers of Christopher Clayton and George Tennyson as stewards of the Humberston estate, 1722-44 (TdE C/13/7 and 26) and 1793-6 (TdE D/1, D/2, D/19).

Miscellaneous records: Topographical Dictionary of Lincolnshire, c.1824-31 (Cragg 1/1); Church Notes of General Loft, 1826-1827 (1-Dixon 19/1/2); Act for Rebuilding Humberston Church, 1707 (Monson 7/16/25, 7/11/63 and 7/15/25); papers relating to James Humberston (Reeve 3/6, 4 TdE G/4/2, and Yarb 2/24a); property belonging to Humberston vicarage, 1825 (Field 1/20); properties belonging to Humberston tenant farmers, 1800-61 (1-Dixon 1/j/2/4, 1-Dixon 1/i/3/1-2, Haigh 1/8/10); settlement certificates and maintenance orders (Legbourne 13/SC/3, Caistor 13/3/5, and Market Rasen 13/3/6); hunting journal of the Brocklesby Hunt, 1822-1825 (Misc Don 114); sale particulars and plan of Humberston, 1920 (Misc. Dep. 145/10 and 233/2); and picture postcard of Humberston Avenue, 1907 (44-MLL 1/12).

Lincoln Central Library

Photographs of Humberston (nos. 16766, 17060, 19918 and 23837).

National Archives (TNA)

Chancery: Court proceedings, bills and answers, Gedge v. Lord Carrington and others, 1839-41 (C 13/398/2, C 13/416/22, and C 13/434/23).

Chancery: Plans and designs for Humberston girls school and houses, 1850 (MPA 1/21/4 and 7-12).

Charity Commissioners: Papers relating to the Humberston Charity, 1836-8 (Char 2/157).

General Register Office: Census Enumerators' Returns, Humberston, 1861 and 1871 (RG 9/2390 and RG 10/3415).

General Register Office: Registers of births and baptisms, Grimsby Wesleyans, 1818-37 (RG 4/1639) and Grimsby Primitive Methodists, 1833-37 (RG 4/3956).

Home Office: Criminal Petitions, Humberston, 1832 (HO 17/59/KR39).

Home Office: Crop Returns, Humberston etc., 1801 (HO 67/15).

Home Office: Census Enumerators Returns, Humberston, 1841 and 1851 (HO 107/637/15 and HO 107/2113).

Home Office: Religious Census Returns, Humberston etc., 1851 (HO 129/431, 432).

Inland Revenue: Tithe Commission, Tithe Files, Humberston, 1836-c.1870 (IR 18/5031).

Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries: Agricultural Returns, Humberston etc., 1866-70 (MAF 68/41-2).

Ordnance Survey: Remark Books, Humberston, 1848 (OS 26/5791).

Poor Law Commission: Correspondence with Edward Gulson, Assistant Commissioner for Lincolnshire (MH 32/28).

Prerogative Court of Canterbury: Wills (Prob. 10/7370/5, 11/511, 11/817/120, 11/2040/48, and 11/2255/93).

Treasury Solicitor: Chancery Proceedings, Briefs and Papers, Marshall v. Lord Carrington, 1812-36 (TS 11/422-3).

National Archives of Scotland (NAS)

Seaforth Muniments, Papers of the Mackenzie Family, Earls of Seaforth: Rentals and Sale Particulars for the Manor of Humberston, 1765-66 and 1788 (GD 46/1/12 and 46/1/324).

North-east Lincolnshire Archives Office, Grimsby (NELA)

Humberston Estate: Title Deeds, 1505-1734 (227/1-100).

Humberston Charity: Chancery rolls and proceedings, briefs and affidavits, and other records, 1821-1860 (239/1-101).

Humberston Charity: School records, 1821-91 (166/722).

Humberston Library Collection: diary of Thomas Richardson, 1839; survey book of Thomas Richardson, 1840-47; and account book of Thomas Richardson's shop, 1843-5 (478/1-73).

Marshall papers: Humberston estate map, 1707, and farm account books, 1759-81 and 1857-85 (212, 213, 214).

Kirkby Papers: mss and printed papers, letters, photographs and newspaper cuttings relating to Humberston, 1856-1988 (474/1-4).

Sir John Soane's Museum, London

Sketches for almshouses and a school at Humberston, 1780 (Robert Adams Drawings, vol. 42, drawings 16-19).

Stamford Mercury Archive, Stamford

The Stamford Mercury, 1 July 1796, p. 2, col. 4, 'Humberston feast' [not available on <http://www.britishnewspaperonline.co.uk>].

PRINTED SOURCES: PRIMARY

Ambler, R.W. (ed.), *Lincolnshire Returns of the Census of Religious Worship, 1851*, Lincoln Record Society 72 (Lincoln, 1979).

Ambler, R.W. (ed.), *Lincolnshire Parish Correspondence of John Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln, 1827-53*, Lincoln Record Society 94 (Lincoln, 2006).

Anon., *An Expostulatory Letter to H- H-* [Hugh Hammersley] (London, 1759).

Anon., *Amos Appleyard, Methodist Pioneer, 1750-1813* (Gainsborough, n.d.).

Anon., *Essays on Agriculture: occasioned by reading Mr Stone's report on the present state of that science in the county of Lincoln. By a native of the county* (London, 1796).

Anon., 'Original document: byelaws of Ulceby, Yarborough Wapentake, 1677', *Lincolnshire Historian*, 2 (1961), pp. 32-42.

Anon. (ed.), *The Poll of the Knights of the Shire for Lincolnshire, 25-27 June 1818* (Lincoln, 1818).

Anon. (ed.), *The Poll for the County of Lincoln, 1823* (Lincoln, 1823).

Anon (ed.), *The Poll for the Northern Division of Lincolnshire, 21-22 December 1832* (Lincoln, n.d.).

Anon (ed.), *The Poll for the ... Lindsey Division of Lincolnshire, January 1835* (Stamford, n.d.).

Anon., 'The Right Honourable the Earl of Yarborough', *Farmers Magazine*, 20, 1 (July 1849), p. 5.

Aspinall, A., and Anthony Smith, E. (eds), *English Historical Documents, 1783-1832* (London, 1969).

Belsham, T., *Memoirs of the Late Theophilus Lindsey* (London, 1812).

Bernard, T., 'Extract from a further account of the advantages of cottagers keeping cows', *The Ninth Report of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor* (London, 1799), pp. 244-67; repr. in *The Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor*, vol. 2 (London, 1800), pp. 171-86.

Betham-Edwards, M. (ed.), *The Autobiography of Arthur Young, 1741-80* (London, 1898).

Board of Agriculture, *Communications to the Board of Agriculture, vol. 1, part 2, Cottages* (London, 1797).

Board of Agriculture, *Agricultural State of the Kingdom, 1816* (London, 1816).

British Geological Survey, *Solid and Drift Geology, 1:50,000 Series, Sheet 90/91* (Nottingham, 1990).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Abstract of Answers and Returns ... (Enumeration Abstract), 1801*, H.C. 1801-2 (9).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Abstract of Returns relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor*, H.C. 1803-4 (175).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Report of the Select Committee on the Poor Laws*, H.C. 1817 (462).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Abridgement of Abstract of Returns Relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor in England*, H.C. 1818 (82).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Abstract of Answers and Returns ... (Enumeration Abstract)*, 1821, H.C. 1822 (502).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Report from the Select Committee on Poor Rate Returns, Supplemental Appendix*, H.C. 1822 (556).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Report of the Select Committee on Labourers Wages*, H.C. 1824 (392).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Report from the Select Committee on Poor Rate Returns*, H.C. 1825 (334).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Abstract of Population Returns of Great Britain, 1831, Vol 1 (Enumeration Abstract)*, H.C. 1833 (149).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law*, H.C. 1834 (44).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Report of the Ecclesiastical Revenues Commission*, H.C. 1835 [67].

British Parliamentary Papers, *First Report from the Select Committee on the State of Agriculture*, H.C. 1836 (79); *Second Report etc.*, H.C. 1836 (189); *Third Report etc.*, H.C. 1836 (465).

British Parliamentary Papers, *32nd Report of the Charity Commissioners, Part 4*, H.C. 1839 (194).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Fourth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, H.C. 1840 (147-II).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Return of Average Annual Expenditure in Each [Poor Law] Union, 1839-40*, H.C. 1842 (145).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Report of the Poor Law Commissioners on Local Taxation, Part I*, H.C. 1843 [486].

British Parliamentary Papers, *Reports of Special Assistant Poor Law Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture: Report by Stephen Charles Dennison on Suffolk, Norfolk and Lincolnshire*, H.C. 1843 [510], pp. 215-80.

British Parliamentary Papers, *Return of Average Annual Expenditure of Parishes in each Union, 1841-3*, H.C. 1844 (241).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, H.C. 1847 [816].

British Parliamentary Papers, *Return of the Poor Law Unions*, H.C. 1850 (413)

British Parliamentary Papers, *Poor Rate Return*, H.C. 1854 (81).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Select Committee on the Irremoveable Poor, Minutes of Evidence*, H.C. 1860 (520).

British Parliamentary Papers, *Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, 1867-8, vol. 16*, H.C. 1867-68 [3966-xvi].

British Parliamentary Papers, *Departmental Committee on Small Holdings in Great Britain, Minutes of Evidence*, H.C. 1906 [Cd 3278], pp. 260-4.

Brooke, W. (ed.), *Poll for the County of Lincoln, 1807* (Lincoln, 1803).

Brooke, W. (ed.), *Poll for the County of Lincoln, 1818* (Lincoln, 1818).

Lord Brownlow, 'Queries concerning cottages, with the answers', *Communications to the Board of Agriculture, vol. 1, part 2, Cottages* (London, 1797), pp. 9-14.

Caird, J., *English Agriculture in 1850-51* (London, 1852).

Chambers, M., (ed.), *The Barton-on-Humber Town Book of 1676. Rules and Regulations for the Governance of the Parish* (Barton-on-Humber, 1980).

Checkland, S.G. and E.O.A., (eds), *The Poor Law Report of 1834* (Harmondsworth, 1974).

Clarke, J.A., 'On the farming of Lincolnshire', *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*, 12 (1852), pp. 259-414, repr. as *On the Farming of Lincolnshire* (London, 1852).

Clare, J., ed. E. Robinson, *The Parish: A Satire* (Harmondsworth 1985).

Cobbett, W., *Cottage Economy* (1822, Oxford, 1979 edn.).

Cockburn, H.E., 'Notes upon Humberston, Part 1' and 'Part 2', *Humberston Church Magazine*, October 1929 and November 1929 respectively (copy in NELA: 474/1).

Defoe, D., *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-7, London, 2006 edn).

Drury, J. (ed.), *The Poll Book for the Parts of Lindsey, August 1841* (Lincoln, n.d.).

Fricker, T. (ed.), *The Poll Book of the North Lincolnshire Election, July 1852* (Boston, 1852).

Furness, J., 'Memoir of Mrs Joseph Richardson', *Wesleyan Magazine*, 16 (1819), pp. 596-600.

Gourlay, R., 'An inquiry into the state of the cottagers in the counties of Lincoln and Rutland', *Annals of Agriculture*, 37 and 215 (1801), pp. 514-49 and 577-600 respectively.

Harding, N.S. (ed.), *Bonney's Church Notes, being Notes on the Churches in the Archdeaconry of Lincoln, 1845-1848* (Lincoln, 1937).

Hatfield, Miss, *The Terra Incognita of Lincolnshire* (1816, London, 1832 edn).

Johnson, W., *Advent Letter to Waithe and Grainsby* (n.p., 1872).

Ordnance Survey, *One Inch Survey of England and Wales, Old Series, Sheet 30* (1824 and later editions).

Ordnance Survey, *1:50,000 Landranger Series, Sheets 113 and 122* (1972 and later editions).

Parkinson, J., 'Cottagers land', *Annals of Agriculture*, 36 (1801), pp. 360-3.

Stone, T., *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln* (London, 1794).

Stone, T., *A Review of the Corrected Agricultural Survey of Lincolnshire by Arthur Young esq.* (London, 1800).

Stovin, J., (ed.), *Journals of a Methodist Farmer, 1871-75* (London, 1982).

Thompson, T., 'Extract from an account of a provision for cottagers keeping cows at Humberston, in the county of Lincoln', *Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor*, 2 (London, 1799), pp. 133-8, (repr. London, 1800, pp. 133-8; and London, 1805, 4th edn, pp. 184-92).

Thompson, T., 'Reasons for giving lands to cottagers, to enable them to keep cows', *Communications to the Board of Agriculture*, 4 (London, 1805), pp. 422-28.

Ward, W.R., (ed.), *Early Victorian Methodism: The Correspondence of Jabez Bunting, 1830-1858* (Oxford, 1976).

Weir, G., *An Account of Lincolnshire*, vol. 1 (London, 1828).

Willis, J., 'On cows for cottagers', *Annals of Agriculture*, 40 (1803), pp. 554-67.

Earl of Winchilsea, 'The advantages of cottagers renting land', *Communications to the Board of Agriculture*, vol. 1, part 2, *Cottages* (London, 1797), pp. 1-8.

Young, A., *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincoln* (London, 1799).

Young, A., 'On the state of the poor', *Annals of Agriculture*, 34 (1799), pp. 186-91,

Young, A., *The Question of Scarcity Plainly Stated* (London, 1800).

Young, A., 'Inquiry into the propriety of applying wastes to the better maintenance of the poor', *Annals of Agriculture*, 36 (1801), pp. 497-652.

PRINTED SOURCES: SECONDARY

Adonis, A., 'Aristocracy, agriculture and Liberalism: the politics, finances and estates of the third Lord Carrington', *Historical Journal*, 31 (1988), pp. 871-97.

Allison, K.J., *'Hull Gent. Seeks Country Residence', 1750-1850* (York, 1981).

Ambler, R.W., 'The transformation of harvest celebrations in nineteenth-century Lincolnshire', *Midland History*, 3 (1976), pp. 298-306.

Ambler, R.W., 'The historical development of Grimsby' in S. Ellis and D.R. Crowther (eds), *Humber Perspectives: A Region Through the Ages* (Hull, 1990), pp. 227-49.

Ambler, R.W., *Churches, Chapels and the Parish Communities of Lincolnshire 1660-1900* (Lincoln, 2000).

Ambler, R.W., and Watkinson, B. and L., *Farmers and Fishermen: The Probate Inventories of the Ancient Parish of Cleve, South Humberside, 1536-1742* (Hull, 1987).

Anderson, C.L., *Convicts of Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1988).

Apfel, W., and Dunkley, P., 'English rural society and the new Poor Law: Bedfordshire, 1834-47', *Social History*, 10 (1985), pp. 37-68.

Archer, J.E., "'A fiendish outrage?' A study of animal maiming in East Anglia, 1830-70', *Agricultural History Review*, 33 (1985), pp. 147-57.

Archer, J.E., *By a Flash and a Scare: Incendiarism, Animal Maiming, and Poaching in East Anglia 1815-1870* (Oxford, 1990).

Archer, J.E., 'The nineteenth century allotment: half an acre and a row', *Economic History Review*, 30 (1997), pp. 21-36.

Armstrong, A., *Farmworkers: A Social and Economic History, 1770-1980* (London, 1988).

Ashford, L.J., *The History of the Borough of High Wycombe from Its Origins to 1880* (London, 1960).

Ashton, T.S., *An Economic History of England: The 18th Century* (London, 1955).

Aspinall, P.J., 'Speculative builders and the development of Cleethorpes, 1850-1900', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 11 (1976), pp. 43-52.

Babington Smith, D., 'Ups and downs of church maintenance', in H. Thorold, *Lincolnshire Churches: Their Past and Their Future* (Lincoln, 1976), pp. 25-6.

Baker, F., *The Story of Cleethorpes and the Contribution of Methodism through two hundred years* (Cleethorpes, 1953).

Banks, S., 'Nineteenth century scandal or twentieth-century model? A new look at "open" and "close" parishes', *Economic History Review*, 41 (1988), pp. 51-73.

Barker, J.T., *Congregationalism in Lincolnshire* (London, 1860).

Barley, M.W., 'The Barrow on Humber Town Book', *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers*, 2 (1938), pp. 1-21

Barnett, D.C., 'Allotments and the problem of rural poverty, 1780-1840', in E.L. Jones and G.E. Mingay (eds), *Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution: Essays presented to J.D. Chambers* (London, 1967), pp. 162-83.

Baugh, D., 'The cost of poor relief in south-east England', *Economic History Review*, 28 (1975), pp. 50-68.

Beardmore, C., 'Landowner, tenant and agent on the Marquis of Anglesey's Dorset and Somerset estate, 1814-44', *Rural History*, 26 (2015), pp. 181-199.

Beardmore, C., 'The rural estate through the eyes of the land agent: a community in microcosm, c.1812 - 1844', *Family & Community History*, 19 (2016), pp. 17-33.

Beastall, T.W., *A North Country Estate: The Lumleys and Saundersons as Landowners 1600-1900* (Chichester, 1975).

Beastall, T.W., *The Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1978).

Bebbington, D.W., *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, 1989).

Bebbington, D.W., *Victorian Nonconformity* (1992, Eugene, USA, 2011 edn).

Beckett, J.V., 'Absentee landownership in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries: the case of Cumbria', *Northern History*, 19 (1983) pp. 99-102.

Beckett, J.V., *The Aristocracy in England, 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1986).

Beckett, J.V., 'Landownership and estate management', in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. 4, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 545-640.

Beckett, J.V., *The Agricultural Revolution* (Oxford, 1990),

Beckett, J.V., 'The disappearance of the cottager and the squatter from the English countryside' in B.A. Holderness and M. Turner (eds), *Land, Labour and Agriculture, 1700-1920* (London, 1991), pp. 49-68.

Beckett, J.V., 'What future for the past in local history?', *East Midland Historian*, 4 (1994), pp. 5-15.

Beckwith, I., *Victorian Village: Roxby, A Lincolnshire Village in the 19th Century* (Roxby, 1967).

Bennett, S., *A History of Lincolnshire* (1970, Chichester, 1999 edn).

Bennett, S., 'Landownership and parish type' in S. and N. Bennett (eds), *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire* (Hull, 1993), pp. 94-5.

Bennett, S. and N., (eds), *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire* (Hull, 1993).

Bird, R., et al., *Aspects of Life and Work in North Thoresby in the 19th Century* (North Thoresby, 1978).

Birtles, S., 'Common land, poor relief and enclosure: the use of manorial resources in fulfilling parish obligations, 1601-1834', *Past and Present*, 165 (1999), pp. 75-106.

Blaug, M., 'The myth of the old poor law and the making of the new', *Journal of Economic History*, 23 (1963), pp. 151-184.

Blaug, M., 'The Poor Law Report re-examined', *Journal of Economic History*, 24 (1964), pp. 229-45.

Boyer, G.R., *An Economic History of the English Poor Law, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1990).

Brears, C., *Lincolnshire in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1940).

Brears, C., 'The history of Waltham', Parts 1-18, *Waltham Parish Magazine*, August 1943-February 1945.

Brewer, J., 'Microhistory and the histories of everyday life', *Cultural and Social History*, 7 (2010), pp. 87-109.

Briggs, A., *The Age of Improvement* (London, 1959).

Brocklebank, J.A.H., 'The new poor law in Lincolnshire', *Lincolnshire Historian*, 2 (1962), pp. 21-33.

Brown, D., 'Reassessing the influence of the aristocratic reformer: the example of the fifth Duke of Bedford (1765-1802)', *Agricultural History Review*, 47 (1999), pp. 182-95.

Brown, J., 'Farming practices' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. 4, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 276-96.

Brundage, A., *The Making of the New Poor Law: The Politics of Inquiry, Enactment and Implementation, 1832-39* (London, 1978).

- Brundage, A., *The English Poor Laws, 1700-1930* (Basingstoke, 2002).
- Burchardt, J., 'Rural social relations, 1830-50: opposition to allotments for labourers', *Agricultural History Review*, 45 (1997), pp. 165-175.
- Burchardt, J., *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793-1873* (Woodbridge, 2002).
- Burnette, J., 'The seasonality of English agricultural employment: evidence from farm accounts, 1740-1850' in R. W. Hoyle (ed.), *The Farmer in England, 1650-1980* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 142-51.
- Caunce, S., *Amongst Farm Horses: The Horselads of East Yorkshire* (Stroud, 1991).
- Chadwick, O., *Victorian Miniature* (Cambridge, 1960).
- Chambers, J.D., 'Enclosure and Labour Supply in the Industrial Revolution', *Economic History Review*, New Series, 5 (1953), pp. 319-43.
- Chambers, J.D., and Mingay, G.E., *The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880* (London, 1966).
- Charlesworth, A., 'The development of the English rural proletariat and social protest, 1750-1850: a comment', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 8 (1980), pp. 101-11, repr. in M. Reed and R. Wells (eds), *Class, Conflict and Protest in the English Countryside 1700-1880* (London, 1990), pp. 54-64.
- Charlesworth, A., (ed.), *An Atlas of Rural Protest in Britain, 1548-1900* (London, 1983).
- Charlesworth, A., 'The spatial diffusion of riots: popular disturbances in England and Wales, 1750-1850', *Rural History*, 5 (1994), pp. 1-22.
- Clark, J.C.D., *English Society, 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime* (1985, Cambridge, 2000 edn).
- Clarke, E., *History of the Board of Agriculture, 1793-1822* (London, 1898).
- Clarke, J.N., *The Shadow of the Workhouse: Operation of the Poor Laws in the Horncastle District of South-east Lindsey, 1735-1935* (Lincoln, 2006).
- Clemenson, H.A., *English Country Houses and Landed Estates* (Beckenham, 1982).

Cokayne, G.E. et al. (eds), *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom* (1910-1959; repr. in 6 volumes, Gloucester, 2000).

Cook, H., and Williamson, T., (eds), *Water Management in the English Landscape: Field, Marsh and Meadow* (Edinburgh, 1999).

Cousins, R., *Lincolnshire Buildings in the Mud and Stud Tradition* (Sleaford, 2000).

Critchlow, M.J., *The Barnoldby Booklet* (no place of publication, 1985).

Crust, L., *Lincolnshire Almshouses: Nine Centuries of Charitable Housing* (Sleaford, 2002).

Currie, R., 'A micro-theory of Methodist growth', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, 36 (1967), pp. 65-73.

Daunton, M., *Progress and Poverty: An Economic and Social History of Britain, 1700-1850* (Oxford, 1995).

Darby, H.C., 'The Lincolnshire Wolds', *Lincolnshire Historian*, 9 (1952), pp. 315-24.

Davey, B.J., 'Crime and community in the 1830s: a north Lincolnshire example' in D. Tyszka, K. Miller, and G. Bryant (eds), *Land, People and Places: Essays on the History of the Lincolnshire Region written in honour of Rex C. Russell* (Lincoln, 1991), pp. 145-55.

Davey, B.J., *Rural Crime in the Eighteenth Century: North Lincolnshire, 1740-80* (Hull, 1994).

Davey, B.J., and Wheeler, R.C. (eds), *The Country Justice and the Case of the Blackamoor's Head*, Lincoln Record Society 102 (Lincoln, 2012).

Davidoff, L., and Hall, C., *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1750-1850* (London, 1987).

Davies, S., *Quakerism in Lincolnshire: An Informal History* (Lincoln, 1989).

Deane, P., and Cole, W.A., *British Economic Growth, 1688-1959* (Cambridge 1967).

de Vivo, F., 'Prospect or refuge? Microhistory, history on the large scale', *Cultural and Social History*, 7 (2010), pp. 387-397.

Digby, A., 'The rural poor' in D. Fraser (ed.), *The New Poor Law in the 19th Century* (London, 1976).

Digby, A., *Pauper Palaces* (London, 1978).

Ditchfield, G.M., 'The Parliamentary struggle over the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, 1787-90', *English Historical Review*, 89 (1974), pp. 551-77.

Ditchfield, G.M., *The Evangelical Revival* (London, 1998).

Dowling, A., *Humberston Fitties: The Story of a Lincolnshire Plotland* (Cleethorpes, 2001).

Dowling, A., *Cleethorpes: The Creation of a Seaside Resort* (Chichester, 2005).

Dowling, A., *Grimsby: Making the Town, 1800-1914* (Chichester, 2007).

Dunkley, P., *The Crisis of the Old Poor Law in England, 1795-1834: An Interpretative Essay* (London 1982).

Dyson, R., 'The experience of poverty in a rural community: Broughton, North Lincolnshire, 1760-1835', *Local Population Studies*, 70 (2003), pp. 11-28 .

Eason, H.T., *The History of a Banking House (Smith, Payne and Smiths)* (London, 1902).

Eastwood, D., *Governing Rural England: Tradition and Transformation in Local Government, 1780-1840* (Oxford, 1994).

Eastwood, D., *Government and Community in the English Provinces, 1700-1870* (Basingstoke, 1997).

Ellis, S., and Crowther, D.R. (eds), *Humber Perspectives: A Region Through the Ages* (Hull, 1990).

Ellis, S., Fenwick, H., Lillie, M., and Van de Noort, R., (eds), *Wetland Heritage of the Lincolnshire Marsh. An Archaeological Survey* (Hull, 2001).

Everitt, A., *The Pattern of Rural Dissent: The Nineteenth Century* (Leicester, 1972).

Fenwick, H., et al., 'Introduction to the archaeological survey', in S. Ellis, H. Fenwick, M. Lillie, and R. van de Noort (eds), *Wetland Heritage of the Lincolnshire Marsh: An Archaeological Survey* (Hull, 2001), pp. 63-97.

Fenwick, H., 'Medieval salt production and landscape development in the Lincolnshire Marsh', in S. Ellis, H. Fenwick, M. Lillie, and R. van de Noort (eds), *Wetland Heritage of the Lincolnshire Marsh: An Archaeological Survey* (Hull, 2001), pp. 231-41.

Field, C.D., 'The social structure of English Methodism, eighteenth-twentieth centuries', *British Journal of Sociology*, 28 (1977), pp. 199-225.

Fuller, H.A., 'Landownership and the Lindsey landscape', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 66 (1976), pp.14-23.

Gay, J.D., *The Geography of Religion in England* (London, 1971).

Gibson, W., *Church, State and Society, 1760-1850* (Basingstoke, 1994).

Gilbert, A.D., *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914* (London, 1976).

Gilbert, A.D., 'The land and the church' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, vol. 1 (London, 1981), pp. 43-57.

Gilbert, A.D., 'Religion and political stability in early industrial England', in P.K. O'Brien and R.E. Quinault, *The Industrial Revolution and British Society* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 79-99.

Gillett, E., *A History of Grimsby* (Hull, 1970).

Gillett, E., *East Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire, 1660-1688* (Hull, 1981).

Gillett, E., *The Humber Region at War, 1793-1815* (Hull, 1988).

Gillett, E., *The Humber Region in the Nineteenth Century* (Hull, 1982).

Gillett, E., and MacMahon, K.A., *A History of Hull* (Hull, 1980).

Ginzburg, C., trans. Tedeschi, J., and Tedeschi, A.C., *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-century Miller* (1976, London, 1980 edn).

Ginzburg, C., 'Microhistory: two or three things that I know about it', *Critical Inquiry*, 20 (1993), pp. 10-35.

Goldie, M., 'The unacknowledged republic: office holding in early modern England' in T. Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded c. 1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001).

Goose, N., 'Farm service, seasonal unemployment and casual labour in mid-nineteenth century England', *Agricultural History Review*, 54 (2006), pp. 274-303.

Gray, D.M., 'Medieval and post-Medieval salt extraction in north-east Lincolnshire', in R.H. Bewley, *Lincolnshire's Archaeology from the Air* (Lincoln, 1998), pp. 81-95.

Gregory, B.S., 'Is small beautiful? Microhistory and the history of everyday life', *History and Theory*, 38 (1999), pp.100-110.

Griffin, C.J., 'Parish farms and the poor law: a response to unemployment in rural southern England, c.1815–35', *Agricultural History Review*, 59 (2011), pp. 176-198.

Griffin, C.J., "'Some inhuman wretch": animal maiming and the ambivalent relationship between rural workers and animals', *Rural History*, 25 (2014), pp. 133-160.

Griffin, C.J., *Protest, Politics and Work in Rural England, 1700-1850* (Basingstoke, 2014).

Grigg, D., *The Agricultural Revolution in South Lincolnshire* (Cambridge, 1966).

Gritt, A.J., 'The census and the servant: a reassessment of the decline and distribution of farm service in early nineteenth-century England', *Economic History Review*, 53 (2000), pp. 84-106.

Gurnham, R., 'The creation of Skegness as a resort town by the 9th Earl of Scarborough', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 7 (1972), pp. 63-76.

Gutch, Mrs., and Peacock, M. (eds), *County Folklore, vol. 5, Lincolnshire* (London, 1908).

Hall, A., *Fenland Worker-Peasants: The Economy of Smallholders at Rippingale, Lincolnshire, 1791-1871*, *Agricultural History Review, Supplement Series*, 1 (Exeter, 1992).

Hammond, J.L. and B., *The Village Labourer, 1760-1832: A Study in the Government of England before the Reform Bill* (1911, London, 1966 edn).

- Haresign, S.R., 'Small farms and allotments as a cure for rural depopulation on the Lincolnshire Fenland 1870-1914', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 18 (1983), pp. 27-36.
- Hart, A.T., and Carpenter, E., *The Nineteenth Century Country Parson* (Shrewsbury, 1954).
- Havinden, M., *Estate Villages Revisited* (Reading, 1999).
- Hempton, D., *Methodism and Politics in British Society, 1750-1850* (London, 1984).
- Hempton, D., *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland, from the Glorious Revolution to the Decline of Empire* (Cambridge, 1996).
- Hempton, D., *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (London, 2005).
- Hey, D., 'The antiquarian tradition' and 'Local and regional history: modern approaches' in D. Hey (ed.), *Oxford Companion to Family and Local History* (1996, Oxford, 2008).
- Hill, F., 'Squire and parson in early Victorian Lincolnshire', *History*, 58 (1973), pp. 337-49.
- Hill, F., *Victorian Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1975).
- Hilton, B., *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England, 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2006).
- Hindle, S., 'Power, poor relief and social relations in Holland Fen, c.1600-1800', *Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), pp. 67-96.
- Hobsbawm, E.J., and Rude, G., *Captain Swing* (London, 1969).
- Hocken, J., *A Brief History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Grimsby Circuit* (Grimsby, 1839).
- B.A. Holderness, 'Landlords' capital formation in East Anglia, 1750-1870', *Economic History Review*, 25 (1972), pp. 434-447.
- Holderness, B.A., "'Open" and "close" parishes in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Agricultural History Review*, 20 (1972), pp. 126-39.
- Holderness, B.A., 'Aspects of inter-regional land use and agriculture in Lincolnshire, 1600-1850', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 9 (1974), pp. 35-42.

Holderness, B.A., 'The English land market in the eighteenth century: the case of Lincolnshire', *Economic History Review*, 27 (1974), pp. 557-76.

Holderness, B.A., 'The Victorian Farmer' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, vol. 1 (London, 1981), pp. 227-44.

Hoskins, W.G., and Dudley Stamp, L., *The Common Lands of England and Wales* (London, 1963).

Howkins, A., 'An English peasantry revisited, 1800-1900' in J. Broad (ed.), *A Common Agricultural Heritage? Revising French and British Agricultural Divergence*, *Agricultural History Review*, Supplement Series 5 (Exeter, 2009), pp. 55-6.

Howkins, A., and Verdon, N., 'Adaptable and sustainable? Male farm service and the agricultural labour force in midland and southern England, c.1850–1925', *Economic History Review*, 61 (2008), pp. 467–495.

Hoyle, R.W., 'Introduction: recovering the farmer' in R.W. Hoyle (ed.), *The Farmer in England, 1650-1980* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 1-42.

Hudson, P., 'Closeness and distance: a response to Brewer', *Cultural and Social History*, 7 (2010), pp. 375-85.

Humphries, J., 'Enclosures, common rights and women: the proletarianisation of families in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', *Journal of Economic History*, 50 (1990), pp. 17-42.

Huzel, J.P., 'The labourer and the poor law, 1750-1850' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, 6, 1750-1850 (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 755-810.

Jackson, A.J.H., 'The "open-closed" settlement model and the interdisciplinary formulations of Dennis Mills: conceptualising local rural change', *Rural History*, 23 (2012), pp. 121-36.

Jackson, G., *Grimsby and the Haven Company 1796-1846* (Grimsby, 1971).

Jackson, G., *Hull in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Economic and Social History* (Oxford, 1972).

Jackson, G., 'The Claytons of Grimsby: local trade and politics in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 9 (1974), pp. 43-52.

John, A.H., 'Statistical Appendix' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. 6, 1750-1850 (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 972-1155.

Johnston, J., 'The management of the poor law in seven parishes of western Lincolnshire 1790–1834', *East Midlands Historian*, 8 (1998), pp.11–22.

Jones, D., 'Thomas Campbell Foster and the rural labourer; incendiarism in East Anglia in the 1840s', *Social History*, 1 (1976), pp. 5-43.

Jones, D., 'Rural crime and protest' in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, vol. 2 (London, 1981), pp. 566-79.

Kent, J., *Wesley and the Wesleyans: Religion in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Cambridge, 2002).

King, S., *Poverty and Welfare in England, 1700-1850: A Regional Perspective* (Manchester, 2000).

Kirkby, A.E., 'The Benedictine Abbey of Humberstone', *Lincolnshire Magazine*, 4, no. 2 (October 1938), pp. 17-23.

Kirkby, A.E., *Humberstone. The Story of a Village* (Lincoln, 1953).

Kirkby, A.E., 'The Humberstone Foundation School', *Lincolnshire Poacher*, 2, No. 1 (Winter 1954), pp. 36-40.

Kirkby, A.E., *250th Anniversary of Rebuilding St Peters, Humberstone, 1722-1972* (Humberston, typescript, 1972).

Kirkby, A.E., and Tailby, A.R., *Catalogue of Finds from Excavations at Humberstone* (Grimsby, typescript, 1966).

Kirkby, A.E., and Tailby, A.R., *The Abbey of St Mary and St Peter, Humberston, Lincolnshire* (Waltham, typescript, 1974).

Kirkham, B., 'Iron Age and Roman Saltmaking on the Lindsey Coast and Marshland' in T. Lane and E. Morris (eds), *A Millennium of Saltmaking: Prehistoric and Romano-British Salt Production in the Fenland* (Sleaford, 2001), pp. 405-10.

Knight, F., *The Nineteenth-Century Church and English Society* (Cambridge, 1998).

Kusssmaul, A.S., *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1981).

Kussmaul, A.S., 'The ambiguous mobility of farm servants', *Economic History Review*, 34 (1981) pp. 222-35.

Leach, T.R., 'The Preaching Squire: Robert Carr Brackenbury (1752-1818)', *Lincolnshire Historian*, 2 (1964), pp. 25-28.

Leary, W., *Lincolnshire Methodism: Celebrating 250 Years* (Buckingham, 1988).

Lee, R., *Rural Society and the Anglican Clergy, 1815-1914: Encountering and Managing the Poor* (Woodbridge, 2006).

Leighton-Boyce, J.A.S.L., *Smiths the Bankers, 1658-1958* (London, 1958).

Lester, G., *Grimsby Methodism (1743-1889) and the Wesleys in Lincolnshire* (London, 1890).

Levene, A., Nutt, T., and Williams, S., 'Introduction' to A. Levene, T. Nutt, and S. Williams (eds), *Illegitimacy in Britain, 1700-1920* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 1-17.

Levi, G., 'On Microhistory', in P. Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 93-113.

Lincolnshire Archives Committee, *Archivists Report*, vol. 22 (Lincoln, 1971).

Macdonald, S., 'The progress of the early threshing machine', *Agricultural History Review*, 23 (1975), pp. 63-77.

Mackenzie, A., *History of the Mackenzies* (1879, Inverness, 1894 edn).

Madison, A.R. (ed.), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees, Vols. 2 and 3*, Harleian Society Publications 51 and 52 (London, 1903 and 1904).

Magnusson, S.G., and Szijártó, I.M., *What is Microhistory?* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2013).

Mandler, P., (ed.), *Liberty and Authority in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 2006).

May, T., *The Victorian Clergyman* (Oxford, 2006).

McClatchey, D., *Oxfordshire Clergy, 1777-1869: A Study of the Established Church and of the Role of its Clergy in Local Society* (Oxford, 1960).

McKichan, F., 'Lord Seaforth and Highland estate management in the first phase of clearance (1783-1815)', *Scottish Historical Review*, 86 (2007), pp. 50-68.

McKichan, F., 'Lord Seaforth: Highland proprietor, Caribbean governor, and slave owner', *Scottish Historical Review*, 90 (2011), pp. 204-35.

Mills, D.R., 'The poor laws and the distribution of population c.1600-1860, with special reference to Lincolnshire', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 26 (1959), pp. 185-95.

Mills, D.R., 'English villages in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries: a sociological approach, Part 1', *Amateur Historian*, 6 (1965), pp. 271-8.

Mills, D.R., *Lord and Peasant in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London, 1980).

Mills, D.R., 'Peasants and conflict in nineteenth-century England: a comment on two recent articles', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 15 (1988), pp. 394-400, repr. in M. Reed and R. Wells (eds), *Class, Conflict and Protest in the English Countryside, 1700-1880* (London, 1990, pp. 115-20.

Mills, D.R., 'Country seats of the gentry' in S. and N. Bennett (eds), *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire* (Hull, 1993), pp. 106-7.

Mills, D.R., 'Canwick (Lincolnshire) and Melbourn (Cambridgeshire) in comparative perspective within the open-closed village model', *Rural History*, 17 (2006), pp. 1-22.

Mills, D.R., and Short, B.M., 'Social change and social conflict in nineteenth-century England: the use of the open-closed village model', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 10 (1983), pp. 253-62, repr. in M. Reed and R. Wells (eds), *Class, Conflict and Protest in the English Countryside 1700-1880* (London, 1990), pp. 90-99.

Mingay, G.E., *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1963).

Mingay, G.E., 'Conclusion: the progress of agriculture', in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. 4, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 938-971.

Mitchison, R., 'The old Board of Agriculture (1793-1822)', *The English Historical Review*, 74 (1959), pp. 41-69.

- Mitson, A., and Cox, B., 'Victorian estate housing on the Yarborough estate, Lincolnshire', *Rural History*, 6 (1995), pp. 29-45.
- Moselle, B., 'Allotments, enclosure and proletarianization in early nineteenth-century southern England', *Economic History Review*, 48 (1995), pp. 482-500.
- Mosley, C. (ed.), *Burkes Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage, Vol. 1* (Wilmington, USA, 2003).
- Neave, D. (ed.), *Winteringham 1650-1750* (Winteringham, 1984).
- Neeson, J.M., *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700-1820* (Cambridge, 1993).
- Newby, H., Bell, C., Rose, D., and Saunders, P., *Property, Paternalism and Power: Class and Control in Rural England* (London, 1978).
- Obelkevich, J., *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-1875* (Oxford, 1976).
- O'Gorman, F., *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History 1688-1832* (1997, London, 2016 edn).
- Olney, R.J., *Lincolnshire Politics, 1832-1885* (Oxford, 1973).
- Olney, R.J., *Labouring Life on the Lincolnshire Wolds: A Study of Binbrook in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Sleaford, 1975).
- Olney, R.J., *Rural Society and County Government in Nineteenth-Century Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1979).
- Orwin, C.S. and C.S., *The Open Fields* (1938, Oxford, 1967 edn.)
- Overton, M., *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy, 1500-1850* (Cambridge, 1996).
- Owen, A.E.B., 'Coastal erosion in east Lincolnshire', *Lincolnshire Historian*, 9 (1952), pp. 330-41.
- Owen, A.E.B., 'Salt, sea banks and medieval settlement on the Lindsey coast', in F.N. Field and A.J. White (eds), *A Prospect of Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1984), pp. 46-49.

- Owen, A.E.B., *The Medieval Lindsey Marsh: Select Documents*, Lincoln Record Society, 85 (Lincoln, 1996).
- Painter, B., *Upon the Parish Rate: The Story of Louth Workhouse and the Paupers of East Lindsey* (Louth, 2000).
- Perkin, H., *The Origins of Modern English Society* (London, 1969).
- Perkins, J.A., 'Working class housing in Lindsey, 1780-1870', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 10 (1975), pp. 49-55.
- Perkins, J.A., 'The prosperity of farming on the Lindsey uplands, 1813-37', *Agricultural History Review*, 24 (1976), pp. 126-143.
- Perkins, J.A., *Sheep Farming in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Lincolnshire* (Sleaford, 1977).
- Perkins, J.A., 'The parish and the housing of the working class in Lindsey, 1790-1850', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 12 (1977), pp. 65-69.
- Perkins, J.A., 'Harvest technology and labour supply in Lincolnshire and the East Riding of Yorkshire, 1750-1850, Parts 1 and 2', *Tools and Tillage*, 3/1 (1976), pp. 47-58 and 3/2 (1977), pp. 125-135.
- Perkins, J.A., 'Allotments in nineteenth century Lincolnshire', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 18 (1983), pp. 21-25.
- Perkins, J.A., 'Unmarried mothers and the poor law in Lincolnshire, 1800-1850', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 20 (1985), pp. 21-34.
- Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England: Buckinghamshire* (Harmondsworth, 1960).
- Pevsner, N., and Harris, J., rev. N. Antram, *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire* (London, 1989).
- Phillips, A.D.M., 'The landlord and agricultural improvements: underdraining on the Lincolnshire estate of the Earls of Scarborough in the first half of the nineteenth century', *East Midland Geographer*, 7 (1979), pp. 168-77.
- Phillips, A.D.M., *The Underdraining of Farmland in England during the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989).

Phillips, A.D.M., 'Arable land drainage in the nineteenth century' in H. Cook and T. Williamson (eds), *Water Management in the English Landscape: Field, Marsh and Meadow* (Edinburgh, 1999).

Pinches, S., 'From common rights to cold charity: enclosure and poor allotments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' in A. Borsay and P. Shapeley (eds), *Medicine, Charity and Mutual Aid: The Consumption of Health and Welfare in Britain, c. 1550-1950* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 35-53.

Poynter, J.R., *Society and Pauperism: English Ideas on Poor Relief, 1795-1834* (London, 1969).

Rawding, C.K., *Poor Relief and the Rural Workforce: A Case Study of North Lincolnshire, 1834-1861*, University of Sussex Research Paper in Geography 16 (Brighton, 1986).

Rawding, C.K., 'The Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834-65: a case study of Caistor Poor Law Union', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 22 (1987), pp. 15-23.

Rawding, C.K. (ed.), *Binbrook in the 19th Century* (Binbrook, 1989).

Rawding, C.K., 'The iconography of churches: a case study of landownership and power in 19th century north Lincolnshire', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 16 (1990), pp. 157-76.

Rawding, C.K., 'Aristocratic landscapes: Brocklesby and the Yarboroughs', *Lincolnshire Past and Present*, 4 (1991), pp. 19-22.

Rawding, C.K., 'Society and place in nineteenth century north Lincolnshire', *Rural History*, 3 (1992), pp. 59-85.

Rawding, C.K., 'Village type and employment structure: an analysis in the nineteenth century Lincolnshire Wolds', *Local Population Studies*, 53 (1994), pp. 53-68, repr. in D.R. Mills and K. Schurer (eds), *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (Oxford, 1996) .

Rawding, C.K., *The Lincolnshire Wolds in the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln, 2001).

Reay, B., *Microhistories: Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge, 1996).

- Reed, M., 'The peasantry of nineteenth-century England: a deserted class?', *History Workshop Journal*, 18 (1984), pp. 53-76.
- Reed, M., 'Social change and social conflict in nineteenth-century England: a comment', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 12 (1984), pp. 109-21, repr. in M. Reed and R. Wells (eds), *Class, Conflict and Protest in the English Countryside 1700-1880* (London, 1990), pp. 100-14.
- Reed, M., 'Nineteenth century rural England: a case for "peasant studies"?'', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 14 (1986), pp. 78-99.
- Reed, M., 'Gnawing it out: a new look at economic relations in nineteenth century England', *Rural History* (1990).
- Richards, E., 'The land agent' in G. E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside, Vol. 2* (London, 1981), pp. 439-56.
- Richardson, T.L., 'The agricultural labourers' standard of living in Lincolnshire, 1790-1840: social protest and public order', *Agricultural History Review*, 41 (1993), pp. 1-19.
- Rigby, S.H., *Medieval Grimsby: Growth and Decline* (Hull, 1993).
- Roberts, D., *Paternalism in Early Victorian England* (London, 1979).
- Robinson, A.R.B., *The Counting House: Thomas Thompson of Hull, 1754-1828, and his Family* (York, 1992).
- Robinson, D.N., 'Coastal evolution in north-east Lincolnshire', *East Midlands Geographer*, 5 (1970), pp 62-70.
- Robinson, D.N., *The Book of the Lincolnshire Seaside* (Buckingham, 1981).
- Rodell, J., *The Rise of Methodism: A Study of Bedfordshire, 1736-1851*, 92 (Woodbridge, 2014).
- Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *Historic Buildings Report, Haverstoe Cottage, Humberston* (Swindon, 1992).
- Rudkin, E.H., *Lincolnshire Folklore* (1936, Wakefield, 1973 edn).

Rule, J., 'The manifold causes of rural crime: sheep-stealing in England c. 1740–1840', in J. Rule (ed.), *Outside the Law: Studies in Crime and Order 1650–1850* (Exeter, 1982), pp. 102–29.

Russell, R.C., *The Enclosures of Holton-le-Clay 1763-1766, Waltham 1769-1772 and Tetney, 1774-1779* (Waltham, 1972).

R.C. Russell, *Cottagers and Cows, 1800-1892: The Cow Clubs in Lincolnshire* (Barton-on-Humber, 1987).

Russell, R.C., *Three Lincolnshire Labourers' Movements* (Barton-on-Humber, 1994).

Russell, R.C., *From Cock-Fighting to Chapel Building: Changes in Popular Culture in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Lincolnshire* (Sleaford, 2002).

Russell, R.C., and Bennett, S., 'Parliamentary and older enclosure in Lincolnshire' in S. and N. Bennett (eds), *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire* (Hull, 1993), pp. 82-3.

Shave, S.A., 'The dependent poor? (Re)constructing the lives of individuals "On the Parish" in Rural Dorset, 1800–1832', *Rural History*, 20 (2009), pp 67-97.

Shaw-Taylor, L., 'Parliamentary Enclosure and the Emergence of an English Agricultural Proletariat', *Journal of Economic History*, 61 (2001), pp. 640-62.

Shaw-Taylor, L., 'Labourers, cows, common rights and Parliamentary enclosure: the evidence of contemporary comment, c.1760-1810', *Past and Present* (2001), pp. 95-126.

Sheppard, J.A., 'East Yorkshire's agricultural labour force in the mid-nineteenth century', *Agricultural History Review*, 9 (1961), pp. 19-39.

Short, B., 'The evolution of contrasting communities within rural England', in B. Short (ed.), *The English Rural Community: Image and Analysis* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 19-43.

Simon, Z.B., 'Microhistory: in general', *Journal of Social History*, 49 (2015), pp. 237-48.

Snell, K.D.M., *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1985).

Snell, K.D.M., *Church and Chapel in the North Midlands: Religious Observance in the Nineteenth Century* (Leicester, 1991).

- Snell, K.D.M., 'Deferential bitterness: the social outlook of the rural proletariat in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England and Wales', in M.L. Bush (ed.), *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe since 1500: Studies in Social Stratification* (Harlow, 1992), pp. 158-184.
- Snell, K.D.M., *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (Cambridge, 2006).
- Snell, K.D.M., 'Belonging and community: understandings of 'home' and 'friends' among the English poor, 1750–1850', *Economic History Review*, 65 (2012), pp. 1–25.
- Snell, K.D.M., *Spirits of Community: English Senses of Belonging and Loss, 1750-2000* (London, 2016).
- Snell, K.D.M., and Ell, P.S., *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Snoxell, R., 'Robert John Smith, 2nd Baron Carrington, 1796-1868' (typescript, n.d., courtesy of Sarah Charlton).
- Song, B.K., 'Parish typology and the operation of the poor laws in early nineteenth-century Oxfordshire', *Agricultural History Review*, 50 (2002), pp. 203-224.
- Spencer, D., 'Reformulating the "closed" parish thesis: associations, interests and interaction', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26 (2000), pp. 83-98.
- Stamp, L.D. (ed.), *The Land of Britain: The Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain, Parts 76-77, Lincolnshire (parts of Lindsey and Kesteven)* (London, 1942).
- Stead, D.R., 'The mobility of English tenant farmers, c. 1700-1850', *Agricultural History Review*, 51 (2003), pp. 173-189.
- Stevenson, J., *Popular Disturbances in England, 1700-1870* (London, 1979).
- Stewart, G.R., *Pickett's Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Attack at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863* (Boston, 1959).
- Sturman, C.J., 'Salt-making in the Lindsey Marshland in the 16th and early 17th centuries' in F.N. Field and A.J. White (eds), *A Prospect of Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1984), pp. 50-56.

Sturman, C.J., (ed.) *Lincolnshire People and Places: Essays in Memory of Terence R. Leach* (Lincoln, 1996).

Swaby, J.E., *The Marshmen* (London, 1962).

Swinnerton, H.H., and Kent, P.E., *The Geology of Lincolnshire, from the Humber to the Wash* (Lincoln, 1949).

Szijártó I.M., 'Four arguments for microhistory', *Rethinking History*, 6 (2002), pp. 209-15.

Thirsk, J., *English Peasant Farming: The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times* (London, 1957).

Thirsk, J., *England's Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History, 1500-1750* (London, 1987).

Thirsk, J., 'English rural communities: structures, regularities, and change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in B. Short (ed.), *The English Community: Image and Analysis* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 44-61.

Thompson, E.P., *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963, London, 1991 edn).

Thompson, E.P., 'The Patricians and the Plebs' in Thompson, E.P., *Customs in Common* (London, 1991), pp. 16-96.

Thompson, F.M.L., *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963).

Thompson, F.M.L., 'Social control in Victorian Britain', *Economic History Review*, 34 (1981), pp. 189-208.

Thompson, F.M.L., 'Landowners and the rural community', in G.E. Mingay (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside, vol. 2* (London, 1981), pp. 457-74.

Tillyard, F., 'The distribution of the Free Churches in England', *Sociological Review*, 27 (1935), pp. 1-18.

Turner, B., *The Victorian Parson* (Stroud, 2015).

Turner, M.E., Beckett, J.V., and Afton, B., *Agricultural Rent in England, 1690-1914* (Cambridge, 1997).

Turner, M.E., Beckett, J.V., and Afton, B., *Farm production in England, 1700-1914* (Oxford, 2001).

Turner, T., *The Victorian Parson* (Stroud, 2015).

Tyszka, A., et al., *Land, People and Places: Essays on the History of the Lincolnshire Region written in honour of Rex C. Russell* (Lincoln, 1991).

Ulyatt, D.J., *Rural Women and Work: Lincolnshire c.1800-1875* (Lincoln, 2005).

Ulyatt, D.J., 'Female agricultural labour on the Dixon estate, Lincolnshire, 1801-17', *Agricultural History Review*, 54 (2006), pp. 79-92.

Ussher, W.A.E., *The Geology of Parts of North Lincolnshire and South Yorkshire, Memoirs of the Geological Survey* (London, 1890).

Venn, J.A. (ed.), *Alumni Cantabrigiensis, Pt. 2, Vol. 3* (London, 1946).

Virgin, P., *The Church in an Age of Negligence: Ecclesiastical Structure and Problems of Church Reform, 1700-1840* (Cambridge, 1989).

Wade Martins, S., *A Great Estate at Work: The Holkham Estate and its inhabitants in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1980).

Walpole, K.A., *From One Generation to Another: A Panorama of Wycombe Abbey, Buckinghamshire* (Wycombe, n.d., c. 1967).

Ward, W.R., *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge, 1992).

Wasson, E.A., 'A progressive landlord: the third Earl Spencer, 1782-1845' in C.W. Chalklin and J.R. Wordie, *Town and Countryside: The English Landowner in the National Economy, 1660-1860* (London, 1989), pp. 83-101.

Wells, R., *Wretched Faces: Famine in Wartime England, 1793-1803* (Gloucester, 1988).

Wild, J., *Tetney, Lincolnshire: A History* (Grimsby, 1901).

Williams, S., *Poverty, Gender, and Life Cycle under the English Poor Law, 1760-1834* (Woodbridge, 2011).

Williamson, T., *The Transformation of Rural England: Farming and the Landscape, 1700-1870* (Exeter, 2002).

Williamson, T., and Bellamy, L., *Property and Landscape: A Social History of Land Ownership and the English Countryside* (London 1987).

Wilson, C., *Lincolnshire's Farm Animals: A Brief History* (Lincoln, 2012).

Windrum, A., *Lincolnshire Coast and Marshes* (English Nature, East Midlands Team, no place of publication, 1997).

Winteringham Local History Group, *A History of a Village: Winteringham 1761-1871* (Hull, 1980).

Wright, N.R., *Lincolnshire Towns and Industry, 1700-1914* (Lincoln, 1982).

Wrightson, K., 'The politics of the parish in early modern England', in P. Griffiths, A. Fox, and S. Hindle, *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 10-46.

Wrigley, E.A., *Energy and the English Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 2010).

Yelling, J.A., *Common Field and Enclosure in England, 1450-1850* (London, 1977).

INTERNET SOURCES

Anon., 'Robert Smith', <http://heritagearchives.rbs.com/people/list/robert-smith.html>.

Anon., 'Samuel Smith, Brothers & Co',
<http://heritagearchives.rbs.com/companies/list/samuel-smith-brothers-and-co.html>.

Anon., 'Smallholdings, Lord Carrington' [caricature],
<http://www.portrait.gov.au/portraits/2002.59/small-holdings-the-earl-carrington-baron>.

Adonis, A., 'Carrington, Charles Robert Wynn-, marquess of Lincolnshire (1843–1928)',
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37054>.

Barclay, C., 'Allotments', [http:// www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/sn00887.pdf](http://www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/sn00887.pdf), p. 2.

British Parliamentary Papers, <http://parlipapers.proquest.com>.

Gurnham, R., 'The Revd Edward Reginald Mantell',
http://www.louthmuseum.org.uk/stories/ revd_mantell.html.

Historic England, 'The National Heritage List for England',
<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/> [entries for Humberston and Wycombe Abbey]

Hull Packet, 1800 to 1870, <http://www.britishnewspaperonline.co.uk>.

Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, 1784-1865 and 1870,
<http://www.britishnewspaperonline.co.uk>.

Lincolnshire Chronicle, 1837 to 1860, <http://www.britishnewspaperonline.co.uk>.

Louth and North Lincolnshire Advertiser, 1859 to 1867,
<http://www.britishnewspaperonline.co.uk>.

Opie, J., 'Robert Smith, 1st Lord Carrington of Upton' [portrait],
<https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/17131/lot/616>.

Pollard, A.F., 'Smith, Robert, first Baron Carrington (1752–1838)', rev. S.M. Lee,
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/25/101025892>.

Russell, J., 'Thomas Thompson',
<http://www.hullcc.gov.uk/museumcollections/collections/storydetail.php?irn=133>.

Stamford Mercury, 1714-1777, <http://www.britishnewspaperonline.co.uk>.

Symonds, P.A., and Thorne, R.G., 'Smith, Robert (1752-1838)',
<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/smith-robert-1752-1838>.

Taylor, L., 'Thompson, Thomas II (1754-1828), of Cottingham Castle, Yorkshire',
<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/thompson-thomas-ii-1754-1828>.

Tennyson, A., 'The Northern Farmer', <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/alfred-lord-tennysons-the-northern-farmer-with-manuscript-revisions>.

Wise, S.F., 'Gourlay, Robert Fleming', http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/gourlay_robert_fleming_9E.html.

UNPUBLISHED THESES

Brook, A.S., 'The buildings of high farming: Lincolnshire farm buildings 1840-1910' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 2005).

Ayres, M., 'The provision of housing and power relations in rural England, 1834-1914' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2004).

Leonard, P.J., 'Poor Relief in Stow in Lindsey, 1750 to 1833' (Unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Leicester, 2016).

Maybury, T., 'A century of change on the Lindsey Marshland: Marshchapel, 1540 – 1640' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 2011).

Pawley, S.J., 'Lincolnshire coastal villages and the sea, c.1300-c.1600: economy and society' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 1985).

Smith, T.M., 'Enclosure and agricultural improvement in North-West Lincolnshire from circa 1600 to 1850 (Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Nottingham, 2012).

Watkinson, M.A., 'Population change and agrarian development: the parishes of Bradley, Scartho and Humberston, c.1520-c.1730' (Unpublished. M.Phil. thesis, University of Leicester, 1984).

Wilcox, M.H., 'Apprenticed labour in the English fishing industry, 1850-1914' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Hull, 2005).