

# EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE HEARTH TAX ASSESSMENT

## MICHAELMAS 1672

*by David and Susan Neave*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

This volume comprises the hearth tax returns for the historic East Riding of Yorkshire and the town and county of Hull.<sup>1</sup> The East Riding, the smallest of the three Yorkshire ridings, covers some 750,000 acres (303,750 hectares). It is almost totally bounded by water with the Humber estuary to the south, the North Sea to the east, and the river Ouse to the west and south and river Derwent to the north. The boundary, around 200 miles in length, is only land-based for seven miles between York and Stamford Bridge and eight miles between Binnington Carr and North Cliff, Filey (Map 1).<sup>2</sup> Hull, more correctly Kingston-upon-Hull, stands at the confluence of the river Hull and the Humber estuary.

The riding divides into four main natural regions, the Yorkshire Wolds, Holderness, the Vale of York, and the Vale of Pickering (Map 2). The Yorkshire Wolds, a great crescent of chalk stretching from the Humber to the coast at Flamborough Head, is the most distinctive relief feature of the region. Essentially a high tableland of gently rolling downs dissected by numerous steep-sided dry valleys it reaches a maximum height of around 808 feet (246 metres) above sea-level near Garrowby Hill. At the coast the chalk cliffs rise up to 400 feet (120 metres). Along the western edge of the Wolds are the Jurassic Hills, a narrow band of limestone that broadens out to the north to form an area of distinctive scenery to the south of Malton.

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<sup>1</sup> The present administrative area of the East Riding of Yorkshire Council, a unitary authority established after the break-up of the County of Humberside in 1996, does not cover the whole of the historic, pre-1974, East Riding. The area of the former wapentake of Ouse and Derwent, much of the wapentake of Buckrose and the northern third of the Dickering wapentake are now in the county of North Yorkshire and City of York. The present East Riding administrative area also includes part of the former West Riding around Goole and Snaith. Kingston-upon-Hull was created a city in 1897.

<sup>2</sup> D. Neave, 'The identity of the East Riding of Yorkshire', in *Issues of Regional Identity*, ed. E. Royle (Manchester, 1998), pp. 189-190.

To the east and south east the Wolds slope gradually to the plain of Holderness which lies between the Hull Valley and the North Sea, a gently undulating landscape of boulder clay rising to 50 feet (15 metres) towards the east. At its south-eastern tip is Spurn Head, a gravel spit created by the sea. To the east of Spurn silts and clays deposited along the Humber foreshore were being reclaimed in the seventeenth century, including Sunk Island which consisted of 3,500 acres of sandy ground when leased by the Crown to Col Anthony Gilby in 1669.<sup>3</sup> The towns of Hull and Beverley lie in the alluvial valley of the river Hull, a wetland area included here with Holderness. To the north villages and farms are sited on islands of boulder clay, sand and gravel surrounded by ‘marshy’ peat carrs, whilst to the south the valley, now wider, is covered by marine silts.

The low-lying southern Vale of York occupies the south-western part of the East Riding. An area of sands, clays and alluvium it is ‘watered rather than drained’ by the Ouse and Derwent rivers. The often flooded meadows along the Derwent provided rich grazing land but extensive areas of sand were occupied by poor quality common land. Boulder clay and glacial sand form the ridges of the York and Escrick moraines which cross the Vale providing sites for villages. Along the Humber is a wide band of former salt marsh, to the north of which lay a great area of waterlogged carr land in the seventeenth century. Used as common grazing land it was divided into Wallingfen, Bishopsoil, Holme and Weighton commons and covered some 17,000 acres.

The Vale of Pickering is a northern extension of the Vale of York. Here the broad flat valley of the River Derwent below the northern edge of the Wolds extends for some 30 miles from Malton towards Filey. The valley consists of an extensive area of low-lying peat lands with large areas of sand and gravel to the south.

### **Administrative areas in the seventeenth century**

The East Riding was divided into 12 administrative units (Map 3). Wapentakes had replaced hundreds as the main unit during the twelfth century, and the two largest, Harthill and

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<sup>3</sup> *Victoria County History, Yorkshire, East Riding* [hereafter *VCH, Yorks. ER*], vol. 5. A house was built on the island soon after 1669, but it does not appear in the hearth tax returns. *Ibid.* p. 137.

Holderness, had been subdivided by the late sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The north part of the riding was covered by the wapentakes of Buckrose and Dickering, the west by Ouse and Derwent, the east by the North, Middle and South divisions or bailiwicks of Holderness, and the centre by the Bainton Beacon, Holme Beacon, Hunsley Beacon and Wilton Beacon divisions of Harthill wapentake. The Harthill divisions were named after the locations of the warning beacons set up in the later sixteenth century. The borough of Beverley and its liberties, comprising the townships of Molescroft, Thearne, Tickton, Weel, Woodmansey (with Beverley Parks), and Storkhill, Sandholme and Hull Bridge, although part of Hunsley Beacon division, were treated separately for taxation purposes.<sup>5</sup> Howdenshire, treated as a wapentake from the mid-fourteenth century, comprised those townships west of the river Derwent which were part of the extensive manor of Howden, held by the bishops of Durham from the eleventh century until 1836, except during the Commonwealth. It included the detached townships of Ellerker, Melton and Welton and much of Brantingham and Walkington.<sup>6</sup>

The borough of Hull, established by charter in 1299, became an independent county with the precinct of Myton in 1440. The county was enlarged and extended westwards in 1447 to include the parishes of Hessle, Kirk Ella, comprising the townships of Anlaby, Kirk Ella, West Ella and Willerby, and North Ferriby, covering the townships of North Ferriby and Swanland (part of which was detached).<sup>7</sup> Hullshire, as it became known, remained a separate administrative unit until 1837 and with the borough of Hull had its own quarter sessions, as did the boroughs of Beverley and Hedon. The three boroughs each returned two members of parliament.

## **2. COMMENT ON COVERAGE OF HEARTH TAX RETURNS**

The hearth tax assessment for Michaelmas 1672 which covers the whole of the East Riding was selected for transcription and publication.<sup>8</sup> It does not include the assessment for Hull and Hullshire and this has been transcribed for inclusion from the 1673 assessment.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> M. Rogers, 'Administrative Units', in *An historical atlas of East Yorkshire*, ed. S. Neave and S. Ellis (Hull, 1996), pp. 128, 132

<sup>5</sup> The townships lay within the parish of St John, Beverley – one of the two parishes served from Beverley Minster.

<sup>6</sup> The remaining parts of Brantingham and Walkington were in the Hunsley Beacon Division of Harthill Wapentake.

<sup>7</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. I, pp. 4-5.

<sup>8</sup> TNA, E179/205/504.

<sup>9</sup> TNA, E179/205/505.

The 1672 hearth tax assessment consists of 117 parchment membranes, each some 26 inches long by 5 inches wide, sewn together at the top. The assessment consists of single columns of names written on both sides of the membranes. Within each wapentake the townships are not in alphabetical order.<sup>10</sup>

The list for each township is followed by a statement that it has been viewed by the sub-collector for that area, Robert Leake, and the local constable. At the end of the document is the certification that the foregoing is a true and honest account of the hearths of the East Riding as it was delivered into court at the General Quarter Sessions held at Beverley on Tuesday 8 April 1673 by Ellis Cooper, the Receiver. It is signed by Richard Blanchard, the Clerk of the Peace, and counter-signed by three magistrates, John Vavasour, Richard Robinson and Henry Thompson. The delivery date into the Exchequer is lacking. The order of wapentakes is:

- (a) Beverley and its Liberty, mm. 1-6 (Continuous numbering used throughout for ease of reference; the membranes for each wapentake are numbered separately in the original document.)

At the foot of m. 1 four names are partly missing as a result of a tear, which also obliterates four names at the top of the dorso. Also torn and decayed is m. 5 with the result that 12 names and four numbers of hearths in Saturday Market Ward, Beverley, are completely or partially missing. On the dorso of the same membrane four numbers and nine names are illegible in the Wednesday Market Ward list. The sixth membrane is partly decayed and 13 names in the list of those exempt are illegible.

- (b) Buckrose Wapentake, mm. 7-19

On m. 7 three numbers in the Bugthorpe list are lacking through decay. On the dorso of m. 7 two numbers are missing in the Norton and Welham lists. M. 9 is very faded and most entries are difficult to read and four names are missing through decay in the exempt list for West Heselton. M. 16 is torn at the foot and nine numbers are missing from the Settrington list. At the top of the dorso two numbers are missing. M. 19 is badly decayed at the foot and much of the Scagglethorpe assessment is affected.

- (c) Howdenshire, mm. 20-28

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<sup>10</sup> The description of the document and its condition in this and the following paragraphs is by David Purdy and taken from J. D. Purdy, *Yorkshire hearth tax returns* (Hull, 1991), pp. 31-2.

The bottom of m. 20 is faded and decayed and four numbers and seven names are missing or illegible and at the top of the dorso of m. 20 one number and two names are missing. These are all in the list for Howden. M. 21 is in a similar condition and two numbers and 14 names are illegible in the Knedlington list. M. 22 is also decayed and two numbers and 19 names on the front and five names on the dorso, all in the Barmby Marsh list, are missing or illegible. The bottom of m. 23 is decayed and much of the Cotness list is missing or illegible.

(d) Holme Beacon, mm. 29-36

The membranes covering this wapentake division are in good condition and legible throughout.

(e) Bainton Beacon, mm. 37-44

Good and completely legible.

(f) Hunsley Beacon, mm. 45-55

Good and completely legible.

(g) Ouse and Derwent, mm. 56-65

Good and completely legible

(h) Wilton Beacon, mm. 66-73

Good, with the exception of the bottom of m. 73 which is decayed, so that five names and numbers in the Huggate list are missing.

(i) Holderness, mm. 74-100

M. 88 is badly decayed and much of the Long Preston list is missing or illegible.

(j) Dickering, mm. 101-117

Good condition and legible throughout.

The 1672 assessment includes every township in the East Riding although it has not been possible to determine whether or not households in the extra-parochial township of Little Kelk are included with those of an adjoining township, or if the possible single house in the deserted parish of Argam is included elsewhere. For this reason these small areas are left blank as providing no data, as are the areas of the large commons of Bishopsoil and Wallingfen which were shared by numerous townships.

No exemptions or non-chargeable households are entered in the 1672 assessment for more than a quarter of the townships. This is particularly noticeable in Holderness where 48 per cent of townships have no non-chargeable households listed, Howdenshire and Holme Beacon both 43 per cent of townships, and Hunsley Beacon 37 per cent. This makes the analysis of one-hearth houses and exemptions unsatisfactory. There is no way of knowing if these townships really had no exempt households, but for most this is unlikely and the gaps can be filled by either referring to the 1673-74 assessments as was undertaken by David Purdy or by use of the numerous exemption certificates available for Yorkshire in the National Archives.<sup>11</sup>

The certificates sometimes distinguish between those exempt because they were not liable to pay poor or church rates, or paid no more than £1 annual rent for the house they occupied, or had personal estate worth less than £10, and those who were paupers, that is, in receipt of parish relief. This is especially usefully as there is sometimes no record of the latter in the hearth tax returns. The exemption certificates also occasionally contain references to almshouses, demolished houses or chimneys, and newly-built houses. For one township, Scampston, the destruction of thirteen houses by fire is recorded.

There are 272 exemption certificates covering 269 East Riding townships for 1670, 234 for 265 townships in 1671, 235 for 236 townships in 1672 and 220 for 224 townships in 1674.<sup>12</sup> The certificates were usually signed by the rector, vicar or curate along with one or more churchwardens and, or, overseers of the poor and occasionally a parish constable as well as being certified by two Justices of the Peace.

Settlement	House - Holds	Notes	Settlement	Hous e- Hold s	Notes
HULL	1373	Figure for 1673	Riccall	129	
BEVERLEY	621	Borough only	Hutton Cranswick	128	Bifocal settlement

<sup>11</sup> Purdy, *Yorkshire hearth tax*; TNA, E179/325/349, 350 & 355.

<sup>12</sup> TNA E179/350/1-3; E179/355. The exemption certificates were examined by Duncan Harrington who transcribed those for 1672, reproduced here, and some for 1670 and 1674, and provided totals of names listed for others not transcribed.

BRIDLINGTON	352	Includes Quay	Preston	128	Includes 22 NC for 1674
Cottingham	220	Village only + parish NC*	PATRINGTON	119	
HOWDEN	204		HEDON	117	Includes 25 NC for 1674
Holme on Spalding Moor	177	Includes 28 NC for 1674	Wheldrake	115	
POCKLINGTON	168		SOUTH CAVE	113	
HUNMANBY	167		KILHAM	111	
Gt and Lt Driffield	159	Bifocal settlement	Nafferton	104	Includes Pockthorpe
MARKET WEIGHTON	141		Flamborough	101	

**Table 1 East Riding Townships with over 100 households<sup>13</sup>** (Towns in upper case. NC = Non-chargeable)

### 3. POPULATION

The East Riding of Yorkshire (including Hull) had at least 15,921 households in 1672 which using an accepted multiplier of 4.5 persons per household gives a population of around 71,650.<sup>14</sup> As well as being the smallest in area the East Riding had the fewest households of the three ridings: the West Riding had at least 38,869 households and the North Riding 24,070 households.<sup>15</sup> It was however the most densely populated of the three ridings with over 95 households per 1000 acres, compared with 43 for the West Riding and 57 for the North Riding.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Two settlements with weekly markets, and considered as towns below, had less than 100 households in 1672, Hornsea with 97 and North Frodingham with 85 households.

<sup>14</sup> The population of the East Riding in 1801 was 111,192 including 22,161 for Hull.

<sup>15</sup> Purdy, *Yorkshire hearth tax returns*, pp. 50, 69, 95.

<sup>16</sup> The City of York is not included in these totals.

The largest town in the East Riding was the port of Hull on the Humber estuary with 1,373 households and a population of at least 6,200.<sup>17</sup> It was the second largest town in Yorkshire in the seventeenth century after York which had 2,121 households and a population of around 9,500.<sup>18</sup> Beverley with 621 households and a population of about 2,800 was less than half the size of Hull but considerably larger than Bridlington, comprising the 'Old Town' and the Quay, the third most populous settlement in the East Riding with 352 households.<sup>19</sup> Only two other East Riding settlements had over 200 households, the large village of Cottingham, adjacent to Hull, and the thriving market town Howden towards the south-west corner of the riding.<sup>20</sup> Cottingham had a weekly market from the twelfth century until the early seventeenth century, but it had probably ceased by 1672.<sup>21</sup> The village of Cottingham lay at the centre of a large parish of over 9,563 acres with four outlying hamlets: Eppleworth to the west, Derringham to the south, Hull Bank, on the river Hull, and Newland to the east.<sup>22</sup> As well as giving separate figures for each these hamlets, the assessment divides the entry for Cottingham between its four main streets, Finkle Street, Hallgate, Newgate and Northgate.<sup>23</sup> The figure for non-chargeable households covered the parish as a whole, but it is likely as in the 1665 return that most of the exempt households would be in the village.<sup>24</sup>

There were 15 other settlements in the East Riding assessed with over 100 households ; of these seven were market towns, dealt with below, and eight were large open villages, the most populous of which was Holme on Spalding Moor with 177 households.<sup>25</sup> It was also the largest township or parish in area in the riding covering 11,514 acres. The parish included at least two small hamlets, Bursea and Hasholme, and other isolated farms, but none of these are identified in the list. Holme was unusual, for most townships in the East Riding consisted of nucleated settlements with few having outlying farms and cottages. Outlying farms were more likely in the Vale of York and southern Holderness and were very rare on the Wolds.

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<sup>17</sup> The population was probably much greater - see below.

<sup>18</sup> Purdy, *Yorkshire hearth tax returns*, p. 68.

<sup>19</sup> For a much fuller treatment of Hull, Beverley and Bridlington see below.

<sup>20</sup> For Howden see below.

<sup>21</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 4, p. 75.

<sup>22</sup> Dunswell to the north-east was also in the parish but it was not recorded separately in the hearth tax list. *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 4, p. 61.

<sup>23</sup> A similar division between the main streets was made for Beverley and Howden.

<sup>24</sup> A. H. Stamp, *More Cottingham essays* (Cottingham Local History Society, 1988), p. 49.

<sup>25</sup> This includes the exempt households in 1674. The figure used elsewhere for the maps and tables is 149 without exemptions which were not included in the 1672 assessment.

The average size of an East Riding village was about 40 households, but it varied across the wapentakes from around 30 in Buckrose, Harthill Wilton and Middle Holderness wapentakes, to about 45 in Harthill Hunsley and almost 50 in Ouse and Derwent wapentakes. Wolds villages were likely to have the fewest households but small townships were particularly numerous in Middle Holderness. There were some larger nucleated villages on the Wolds, including Warter with 83 households and Sledmere with 52, but here the parishes or townships were generally more extensive than in the lowlands and lacking outlying farms the area appeared sparsely populated.<sup>26</sup>

Defoe writing in the 1720s noted that the middle of the riding was ‘very thin of towns, and consequently of people, being overspread with Wolds .... But the east and west part is populous and rich, and full of towns, the one lying on the sea coast, and the other upon the River Derwent.’<sup>27</sup> Defoe’s summary of population distribution, if not wealth and towns, was reasonably accurate. The map plotting households per 1000 acres shows that the population density of townships in Holderness, particularly along the coast, was amongst the highest in 1672 along with the townships of the western and southern Vale of York (Map 5). The villages of the Wolds, especially to the north, were ‘so thinly ... peopled’ as the vicar of Weaverthorpe complained in 1764.<sup>28</sup> In addition the eastern dip-slope of the Wolds, to the north and west of Beverley and Hull, and the adjoining western half of the Hull Valley had a spread of more populous parishes. This can be partly explained by the impact of the two large towns and shows a very similar pattern with regard to the number of taxpayers per square mile in 1524-5, when Hunsley Beacon Division of Harthill Wapentake was the most populous area, followed by the rest of the Vale of York, then Holderness.<sup>29</sup>

Of the townships with the highest population density, over 45 households per 1000 acres, six were towns: Hull, Beverley, Bridlington, Howden, Pocklington and Hedon. The high population density for Hedon, as also for Filey, was largely due to the small area of the township, only 321 acres.<sup>30</sup> As noted above the prosperity of the largest towns was a factor leading to a higher than usual population density in nearby townships. Good examples north

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<sup>26</sup> The parish of Warter covers 7,875 acres and Sledmere 7,040 acres.

<sup>27</sup> *Descriptions of East Yorkshire: Leland to Defoe*, ed. D. Woodward (East Yorkshire Local History Society [hereafter EYLHS], 1985), p. 54.

<sup>28</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 8, p. 22.

<sup>29</sup> J. Sheail, *The regional distribution of wealth in England as indicated in the 1524/5 lay subsidy returns*, ed. R. W. Hoyle (List and Index Society, Special Series, 27, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 184-7. The 1524-5 returns for the East Riding are of limited use for population studies. No lists of taxpayers are available for Buckrose and Dickering wapentakes and the documents are poorly preserved for other areas. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

<sup>30</sup> Filey township covered 833 acres.

of Hull are the narrow township of Stoneferry, along the river Hull, and the extensive parish of Cottingham. Similarly the townships in Howden parish, particularly Knedlington, Asselby and Barmby Marsh, were well populated. As well as their proximity to a thriving market town the location of these townships on good farmland with access along the river Ouse must also have been reasons for their relatively high population. These reasons would also have encouraged higher population density in the nearby townships of Hemingbrough and Riccall. The last with 129 households had the 11<sup>th</sup> highest number in any township in the East Riding and one contributing factor was almost certainly the extent of copyhold property, both houses and land.<sup>31</sup>

Much of the housing in a number of the more populous villages and small market towns of the East Riding was held by copyhold by inheritance which gave a degree of security. This was the case with Patrington (119 households), Preston (117), Hornsea (97), Easington (93), North Frodingham (85), Skipsea (69), Leven (66), and Burton Pidsea (65) in Holderness and Barmby Moor (73) in the Vale of York.<sup>32</sup> Here the presence of numerous copyholders, as with numerous freeholders, in a settlement had the potential to encourage growth. It was noted of Leven in the mid-nineteenth century that ‘the township contains much copyhold property, which facilitates speculation in building cottages’.<sup>33</sup>

The reverse, that is the presence of only one, or one dominant, landowner had the effect of limiting and, in many cases, reducing the population of townships. Most of the townships with under 15 households per 1000 acres that contrast with nearby places with much higher population density, particularly in mid and north Holderness and southern Vale of York, were in the hands of one or two landowners. Examples include Halsham, Rise, Swine and Winestead in Holderness and Wressle and Spaldington in the Vale of York.

The pattern of landownership played a key role in the overall reduction of rural population that took place in the East Riding in the late seventeenth – early eighteenth century. A comparison between the number of households in 1672 and the number of families given in archiepiscopal visitation questionnaires in 1743/1764 suggests that the population of the East

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<sup>31</sup> M. D. Riley, ‘Families and their property in Early Modern England: A study of four communities on the Yorkshire Ouse, 1660-1760’ (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of York, 1990), p. 194.

<sup>32</sup> M. T. Craven, ‘Copyhold tenure and its survival in Holderness, in the East Riding of Yorkshire from c. 1750 to 1925’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Hull, 2002), pp. 156-8, 181-2; *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 3, p. 142. There was evidently very little copyhold on the Wolds.

<sup>33</sup> S. A. Neave, ‘Rural settlement contraction in the East Riding of Yorkshire c. 1660-1760’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Hull, 1990), p. 115.

Riding declined by around 19 per cent, most villages experiencing some reduction.<sup>34</sup> It was in this period that a number of settlements were finally deserted, almost all in single ownership.<sup>35</sup>

Of the 129 East Riding settlements included in a gazetteer of 'deserted medieval villages' by Maurice Beresford and John Hurst in 1971, 30 are listed separately in the hearth tax returns.<sup>36</sup> Of these, seven fall into the category of 'very shrunken' (4 to 6 households), but 19 townships still had 7 or more households, and of these two-thirds had 12 or more households, including Neswick with 25 households and Willerby (in Dickering) with 19.<sup>37</sup> This suggests that in the East Riding a number of 'deserted medieval villages' were still viable communities at the end of the seventeenth century.

There is no way of knowing, even with exemptions included, to what extent the hearth tax returns for individual townships provide a full list of householders. Other evidence suggests that this is often not the case. For example a document of 1667 relating to drainage and land reclamation in South Holderness states that the number of inhabited houses in Ottringham 'as appears by the Easter book' was 98 and that there were 22 'dwelling houses' at Ottringham Marsh.<sup>38</sup> The hearth tax return of 1672 lists 82 householders, including 25 exempt, for Ottringham and 18 householders, one exempt, for Ottringham Marsh. It is possible but unlikely that the number of houses would have decreased by 20 in those five years.

Information provided by exemption certificates also presents evidence that questions the comprehensiveness of household coverage in hearth tax returns. An exemption certificate for Bishop Burton dated 16 November 1670 has 13 people listed under 'houses not liable' and 10 'poore people relived by the towne' including three 'in the hospitall'.<sup>39</sup> The exempt list for the township included in the assessment made less than two years later has just six names, only three of which were named on the exemption certificate. One previously exempted was now paying the tax, but there was no mention of the other 19.

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<sup>34</sup> Neave, 'Rural settlement contraction', pp. 49-52.

<sup>35</sup> For an example see Eastburn below.

<sup>36</sup> M. Beresford and J. Hurst, *Deserted medieval villages* (London, 1971), pp. 207-9; see also S. Neave, 'Deserted Settlements', in *Historical atlas of East Yorks.*, ed. Neave and Ellis, pp. 54-5.

<sup>37</sup> Neave, 'Rural Settlement Contraction', pp. 260-63. Two other later deserted settlements not included in Beresford and Hurst's list were of a respectable size in 1672, Epplsworth in Cottingham parish with 10 households and Ottringham Marsh with 18.

<sup>38</sup> East Riding Archives and Local Studies, Treasure House, Beverley [hereafter ERALS], U DDGE/4/1.

<sup>39</sup> TNA, E179/349/2/287.

There are other such cases, for example there were 36 named on the 1670 certificate for Settrington and 19 returned exempt in 1672, and for Wintringham the numbers were 6 and 12. Sixteen of those names on the certificate at Settrington were exempt in 1672, and four can be identified with tax payers that year but 16 are no longer mentioned. At Wintringham nine of the 12 exempt in 1672 had been listed two years earlier, and of the other 17 on the exemption certificate, four had died, two, of the same name, can be identified with taxpayers and 11 were no longer recorded.<sup>40</sup> The number of exemptions would fluctuate as householders recovered from or fell into poverty, often through old age or the death of the main breadwinner, or move away and the house left empty or demolished, but not to this extent.

#### **4. HEARTH TAX and DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH**

There are great similarities between the distribution of households and hearths per 1000 acres as shown on maps 5 and 6, with the best-hearthed townships located in Holderness, the western and south-western parts of the Vale of York and in a broad band stretching from the river Hull to the western dip slope of the southern Wolds running from the Humber to the north of Beverley. The towns are, as would be expected, the best hearthed with Hull, Beverley, Bridlington, Howden and Hedon in the highest category of 144 hearths per 1000 acres. Pocklington is in the next category along with the well-populated townships on the river Ouse to the west of Howden. The townships of the northern Wolds were the least well hearthed but the extent to which this indicates a greater poverty in this area is not clear although the series maps showing the percentages of hearths per township and exempt households appear to confirm this.

#### **Percentage of households with one hearth houses (Maps 7 – 11)**

The percentage of the households for the East Riding as a whole (not including Hull) with one hearth was 75.3 per cent and as map 7 shows the greater part of the townships had over 70 per cent of their listed households with one hearth. Only along the most southern part of the riding was there a substantial number of townships with less than 70 per cent of their

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<sup>40</sup> *The parish register of Wintringham*, ed. A. J. Cholmley (Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 1922), pp. 98-9.

households with one hearth. The regional differences are best considered by reference to figures for the individual wapentakes and divisions. The wapentakes with the highest percentage of one-hearthed houses were those in the northern half of the riding, where much of their area lay on the higher ground of the Wolds. Here there were many townships with over 90 per cent of their households with only one hearth. The highest percentage of townships with houses with only one hearth was in Buckrose, 86.09 per cent, followed by Harthill Wilton, 85.11 per cent, Harthill Bainton, 84.12 per cent and Dickering, 81.27 per cent. Of the southern wapentakes Harthill Holme with 79.73 per cent and North Holderness, 78.90 per cent, were not that much better hearthed, whilst South Holderness, 73.29 per cent, Ouse and Derwent, 71.50 per cent, Harthill Hunsley, 69.50 per cent, and Middle Holderness, 64.10 per cent, had a percentage of one hearth houses lower than that for the whole East Riding. The figures for the southern wapentakes must be treated with caution because no exempt households were given for so many of the townships there: 22 (61 per cent of townships) in Middle Holderness, 12 (48 per cent) in Howdenshire, 10 (43 per cent) in South Holderness, 10 (37 per cent) in Harthill Hunsley, 10 (36 per cent) in North Holderness and 9 (39 per cent) in Harthill Holme (Maps 9, 11, 12). Only in the Ouse and Derwent wapentake were exemptions provided for almost all townships, 23 out of 25.

There can be no doubt that if exemptions had been included evenly throughout the riding then the overall percentage of one hearth houses would have been markedly higher and that a considerable number more townships would have had over 70 per cent of houses in this category. This can be demonstrated by incorporating the numbers given on the exemption certificates for 1671-2. (See Appendix) For example in 1672 Bewholme and Arram in North Holderness 40 households are listed of which 27 (67.5 per cent) had one hearth, no exempt households were listed but 13 householders with one hearth were exempted by certificate in 1671. If these households are added to the 1672 figures then there were 40 (75.5 per cent) households with one hearth. This can be repeated many times.

## **Exemptions**

The number of exempt households in a township gives a more accurate picture of the extent of poverty than the percentage of one hearth houses, although the over-reliance on

exemptions as a guide to poverty has been challenged.<sup>41</sup> The lists of exempt in the 1672 returns are headed with the words ‘discharged by certificate’ or more often ‘discharged by legal certificate’ but more detail on the reasons for the exemption is provided by the certificates.

Two categories of exempt householders are listed on some, but not all, of the certificates. There were those exempted because they lived in houses where the rent was less than 20 shillings or because their personal property was worth less than £10, and those who were in receipt of poor relief from the parish. The lists for those exempt at Paull in 1670 are headed ‘the poor receiving weekly contribution’ and ‘poor men and women not liable to pay’ and those for Asselby in 1672 cover ‘all of them that have relief’ and ‘all of them that lives in houses under twentie shillings in the year’. The exemption certificate for Marfleet in 1670 lists six people with the rents they paid which ranged from 10 to 16 shillings per year. Matthew Maw of Carnaby was certified as exempt in 1672 because he ‘doth not farm twenty shillings pa. nor is his personal estate worth ten pounds but his wife for the relief of three small children doth bake white bread to sell’. [fn](#)

The maps showing percentage of households with one-hearth houses unpaid and exempt households are of limited use when considering wealth distribution in the southern wapentakes except Ouse and Derwent, because of the extent of the non returns of those discharged from payment (Maps 9, 11, 12). However where exemptions were given in the south the percentage in most of the townships was significantly lower than in the northern wapentakes. Here the highest percentages of exempt households were in Dickering, 34.86 per cent, and Buckrose, 31.10 per cent.

Eighteen of the 19 townships with over 45 per cent of their households exempt were in the north. The one exception was the small township of West Cottingwith on the river Derwent. Most striking is the figure for Filey where 60 (78 per cent) of the 77 households were exempt, which suggests that the fishing industry, the mainstay of the community, was not thriving. Confirmation of this can be sought in the 58 per cent of houses exempt at Flamborough, a township greater in extent and population than Filey, but also having a high proportion of its inhabitants dependent on fishing.

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<sup>41</sup> T. Arkell, ‘Understanding exemption from the hearth tax’, in *Houses and the hearth tax: the later Stuart house and society*, ed. P. S. Barnwell and M. Airs (York, 2006), pp. 18-19.

The more populous townships with a high percentage of exempt houses are chiefly on the Wolds and include Wetwang (58 per cent), Rudston (50 per cent), North Dalton (48 per cent), Burton Fleming (46 per cent) and Sledmere (46 per cent). The last along with Birdsall (56 per cent houses exempt) on the edge of the Jurassic Hills was to have its village swept away by its landlord for emparking in the eighteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

### Wealth and number of hearths – the evidence of probate inventories

Margaret Spufford first demonstrated in Cambridgeshire how the degree to which the numbers of hearths relates to wealth and status can be explored by analysing the probate inventories of those recorded in the hearth tax returns.<sup>43</sup> The table below is based on one produced by Margaret Spufford for Cambridgeshire and an analysis of 103 East Riding inventories for the years 1672-9 that can be linked to householders in the 1672 hearth tax returns.<sup>44</sup>

Moveable Wealth	Number of hearths								No of inventories	
	1		2		3		More than 3		ER	CA
	ERY	CAM*	ER	CA	ER	CA	ER	CAM	Y	M
	*	*	Y	M	Y	M	Y			
Under £10	9	7		2					9	9
£10-£20	6	10	2	3	2				10	13
£20-£30	8	8	1	4		1			9	13
£30-£40	9	5	3	2				1(5h)	12	8
£40-£50	6	3		3		1			6	7
£50-£60	4	1	1	2		2			5	5
£60-£70	5			4		1			5	5
£70-£80	3		1	2					4	2
£80-£90	2		1	2					3	2
£90-£100	5	2	3	2	1	1			9	5

<sup>42</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 8, pp. 176-8; A. E. Alexander, 'Enclosure by agreement in East Yorkshire: four seventeenth-century examples from the wapentake of Buckrose' (unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Hull, 1994), pp. 142-8.

<sup>43</sup> M. Spufford, *Figures in the landscape* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 93.

<sup>44</sup> Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York [hereafter BIA], York Peculiars Probate Collection.

£100-£150	13	2	2	2		2	1 (4h)		16	6
£150-£200	3		1	3	2	2		2(4h)	6	7
£200-£250			1	1	3			1(4h)	4	2
£250-£300			1			1	1 (6h)	3(4,6,8h)	2	4
£300-£350				1		2		1(4h)		4
£350-£400								1(4h)		1
£400-£450			1						1	
£450-£500								2(4,9h)		2
Over £500			1		1	1		5(4,4,5,5,9h)	2	6
<b>TOTAL Inventories</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>Average</b>	£60		£140		£240					
<b>Median</b>	£49		£92		£180					

**Table 2 The relationship between number of hearths and personal wealth**

\*ERY – East Riding of Yorkshire. \*\*CAM - Cambridgeshire

There is a clear correlation between wealth of a householder and the number of hearths in his house but the table illustrates the wide range of personal wealth of those living, or more accurately dying, in one and two hearth houses. It also shows that in the East Riding when compared with Cambridgeshire the level of personal wealth at which a person was likely to remain living in a one-hearth house was significantly higher. There is a surprising similarity between the percentage of the one-hearth households from the probate inventory sample for both the East Riding and Cambridgeshire and the percentage of one-hearth houses in the hearth tax returns for both areas.

Occupations are given for 52 of the 103 East Riding inventories and they reveal an interesting correlation between number of hearths and status in the village community. Fifteen inventories were for yeomen, four of whom had one hearth, seven had two hearths, three had three hearths and one had six hearths. Fourteen of the inventories were for husbandmen, two for grassmen or graziers, and eleven for craftsmen, all of whom had one hearth.

### **Percentage of households with two hearth houses**

The distribution map of households with two-hearth houses as should be expected is the reverse of the map showing the distribution of one-hearth houses (Map 13). Two-hearth houses are most numerous in the southern Vale of York, especially along the River Ouse, in mid-Holderness and in a band to the north and west of Hull and north west of Beverley. In the northern wapentakes or divisions (Buckrose, Dickering, Harthill Bainton and Harthill Wilton) the percentage of two-hearth houses ranges from 7.55 to 9.59, whilst in the southern wapentakes or divisions (North, Middle and South Holderness, Harthill Holme, Harthill Hunsley, Howdenshire and Ouse and Derwent) it ranges from 12.31 in Holme to 19.68 in Howdenshire. As above the figures for all of the southern wapentakes, except the Ouse and Derwent, should take into account the large number of townships where the assessments do not have a return of non-chargeables. Nevertheless the incidence of two-hearth houses is much greater in the south of the riding.

All but one of the ten townships with over 40 per cent of households with two hearths had 17 or fewer households; the only sizeable settlement was Saltmarshe, south-east of Howden, where 16 of the 30 houses had two hearths. There is no obvious reason for this but many other nearby townships, both freeholder communities and those under single ownership, have more than 25 per cent of households with two hearths. In Middle Holderness where almost 19 per cent of the housing had two hearths it may be a result of recent enclosure and provision of new farmhouses. Of the 17 households at Owstwick, enclosed in 1649, eight had two hearths and one had four hearths; similarly seven out of the 30 houses at Rise had two hearths, two had three hearths and one four hearths. Rise was enclosed in 1653-60.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 7, pp. 89, 336.

Hull had around 23 per cent, Hedon, 24 per cent, and Hornsea, 25 per cent of households with two hearths as might be expected in towns, but none of the others had above 20 per cent.<sup>46</sup> Hornsea was much better hearthed than many of the larger market towns (see below).

### **Percentage of households with three and four hearth houses**

The distribution of households with three or four hearths is similar to that for two hearths with much the same emphasis on the south of the riding, and particularly on Middle Holderness and Howdenshire with the same caveat as above relating to the absence of non chargeables (Map 14). Of the 10 townships with over 25 per cent of their households with three or four hearths only two had over 15 households, Marfleet and Hedon, and in both cases no exemptions were returned. If the 25 households exempted by certificate for Hedon in 1674 is added to the 1672 figure, then the percentage of three and four hearth houses is 23 per cent. This is higher than the 21 per cent for Hull, Beverley and Howden and reflects the very urban nature of this small town (see below). Similarly the 15 per cent of three and four hearth houses at Kilham, 13 per cent at Hornsea and 12 per cent at South Cave relates to the presence of a weekly market and associated tradesmen and craftsmen.

The greatest concentration of three and four hearth houses was around Hull and between that town and Beverley. It is noticeable that all the townships surrounding Hull have over 10 per cent of their houses with three and four hearths, including Marfleet, Southcoates, Sculcoates, Drypool and Stoneferry, extramural settlements with a total of 120 households that were just beginning to develop.<sup>47</sup> Industries were being established along the river Hull and tradesmen and others were seeking homes away from the close-built port. Others no doubt settled in the more favourably situated villages to the west such as Cottingham, West Ella, Anlaby, Kirk Ella, Hessle, Melton and Welton all of which had 10 per cent or of houses with three and four hearths.

### **Percentage of households with five to nine hearth houses**

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<sup>46</sup> The percentage for Hedon is calculated with inclusion of a figure for exemptions in 1674 in the total households.

<sup>47</sup> By 1801 these townships had a combined population of around 8,000. *Victoria County History, Yorkshire*, vol. 3, ed. W. Page (London, 1913), pp. 492, 494.

The distribution of five to nine hearth houses appears more evenly spread across the riding but as it only relates to one or two houses in 27 out of the 43 townships with over six per cent of their households in this category there is little information to be learnt about the varying wealth of communities (Map 15). In many cases the houses will be small manor houses such as those at Elmswell, Eske, Knedlington and Portington or clergy houses and the rest will be the farmhouses of yeomen or substantial tenants. There were at least 31 clergy houses with five to nine hearths.<sup>48</sup> There are a handful of villages with three or four houses with five to nine hearths for which there is no obvious explanation, including Kelfield on the River Ouse, a village of 30 houses of which two had six hearths, and one had seven and another nine hearths.

It is in the number and percentage of houses with five to nine hearths that the differences in scale of housing between town and village really stand out. These are the houses of the leading tradesmen, craftsmen, merchants and professionals that make up the urban community. There were 222 houses (16 per cent of the total) in this category in Hull and 89 (14 per cent) in Beverley. Of the smaller towns only Howden 19 and Hedon 11 (both 9 per cent) had a significant number.

### **Percentage of households with ten or more hearth houses**

The greatest concentration of houses with ten or more hearths was in Hull where there were 34; one was the remnant of the medieval manor house, another was an inn, two were in multi-occupancy but the rest were the homes of wealthy merchants and tradesmen. In contrast four of the five largest houses in Beverley were the town houses of East Riding landed families.<sup>49</sup> Of the 78 houses with ten or more hearths outside these two towns 67 have been identified as halls or manor houses, and almost all were the residence of the main landowner in the township. Map 16 provides a good guide to the distribution of the seats of the gentry in the late seventeenth century. They are spread throughout the riding with noticeable clusters in and around Beverley and along the western edge of the Wolds and in the northern part of the Ouse and Derwent wapentake within easy reach of York. These towns, as social and administrative centres, were an obvious attraction for landed families. There was a lack of gentry houses on the northern Wolds and they were scarce in parts of the lowlands, but there

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<sup>48</sup> See Clergy Houses below.

<sup>49</sup> The large houses in these two towns are discussed more fully below.

were plenty of minor gentry still resident in the southern part of the Vale of York and mid-Holderness. They had not yet abandoned their manor houses as many were to do in the eighteenth century; some families died out, others moved to grander houses or settled in towns.<sup>50</sup>

Only three rural townships, Barlby, Bishop Burton and Ganton, had more than one house with ten or more hearths. Barlby on the river Ouse opposite Selby, in the far west of the riding had two eleven-hearth houses, one the hall belonging to Ralph Lodge and the other occupied by a Mrs Pickering, widow of John Pickering, who like Lodge had a small estate at Barlby.<sup>51</sup> At Bishop Burton there was the hall with 20 hearths, and the rectory house of Mrs Hodgson (or Hodson), lay rector, later known as Low Hall, with 10 hearths, and at Ganton the Elizabethan hall of the Legards with 13 hearths and a ten-hearth house of a Mr Thorpe which may have been at Potter Brompton in the parish.<sup>52</sup>

House	Owners	Hearths 1672	Value of East Riding Estate 1662
Burton Constable Hall	Lord Dunbar	40	£2,663
Burton Agnes Hall	Sir Francis Boynton	32	£1,161
North Cave Hall	George Metham, Esq	26	£350
Howsham Hall	Lady Wentworth	24	£225
Scorborough Hall	Sir John Hotham	24	£640
Everingham Hall	Sir Marmaduke Constable	24	£577
Boynton Hall	Sir William Strickland	23	£909
Londesborough Hall	Earl of Burlington	21	£445
Bishop Burton Hall	William Gee, Esq	20	£987
Kilwick on Wolds Hall	Sandford Nevill, Esq	20	£200
Beverley (Bar House)	Michael Warton, Esq	20	£2135
Escrick Hall	Sir Henry Thompson	17	Bought estate in 1664
Norton	Lady Hebblethwaite	17	£549

<sup>50</sup> D. Neave, 'Seats of the Gentry', in *Historical atlas of East Yorks.*, ed. Neave and Ellis, pp. 64-5.

<sup>51</sup> T. Burton, *History and antiquities of the parish of Hemingbrough* (York, 1888), pp. 362-3, 368.

<sup>52</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 4, pp. 5-6; *ibid.*, vol 2. p. 210.

Winestead Hall	Henry Hildyard Esq	17	£769
Metham Hall (Cotness)	George Metham, Esq	16	See N. Cave above
Heslington Hall	Thomas Hesketh, Esq	16	£150
Holme on Spalding Moor Hall	Lord Langdale	16	£671
Watton Priory	Earl of Winchilsea	16	£970
Meaux, Wawne	Mrs Grantham	16	£260
Etton	Mr Eastoft	15	£269
Lowthorpe	Sir Mathew Pearson	15	£709
Lund	Sir Thomas Remington	15	£649
Risby Hall	Mr Cracroft	15	£418
Thoraldby Hall, Skirpenbeck	Sir Watkinson Payler	15	£421
Beswick Hall	Sir Thomas Daniel	15	£250
Langton Hall	Mr Thomas Norcliffe	14	£635
Warter Hall	John Stapleton Esq	14	£500
Spaldington Hall	John Vavasour Esq	14	£555
South Cave West Hall	Mr Thomas Harrison	14	£160
Deighton Hall	Mr [Arthur] Robinson	14	£150
Beverley (St Mary's Manor)	James Moyser, Esq	14	£115
Beverley	Sir Robert Hildyard	14	£528
Rise Hall	Sir Hugh Bethell	13	£843
Grimston Hall, York	Tobias Jenkins Esq	13	£550
Ganton	Sir John Legard	13	£300
Kilwick Percy	Sir Edmund Anderson	13	£320
Swine	Mr William Blunt	13	£174
West Heslerton	Mr William Barnard	13	£110
Bewick Hall, Aldbrough	Mr John Moore	12	£100
Beverley	Sir Henry St Quintin	12	£161
Bishop Wilton	Richard Darley	12	£206

Bridlington	Lady Beaucock	12	£618
Burstwick	Lady Appleyard	12	£177
Ellerton	Walter Bethell Esq	12	£377
Flamborough	Lady Strickland	12	£300

**Table 3 Householders with 12 or more hearths and the value of their estates**

For all but four of the owners of the 47 houses with 12 or more hearths there was a valuation of their estate in 1662.<sup>53</sup>

As might be expected the wealthier the owner the grander his house. The average value of the estates of those with 12-14 hearths was £344 (median £300), 15-17 hearths £507 (£483), and 20 and over hearths £937 (£640). Of the top ten landowners in the East Riding *c.* 1670 in a list compiled by Barbara English seven are in the group owning houses with 20 or more hearths, two have 16-hearth houses and one, the Earl of Northumberland, no longer had a seat in the riding.<sup>54</sup> There is no pattern to the location of the houses with 20 or more hearths, in most cases they are the centre of long established estates and are successors to a medieval manor house on the site (Map 17). At least seven of them are Elizabethan or Jacobean rebuildings and only one, Michael Warton's Bar House, Beverley, is known to have been built after the Civil Wars. The last, and five of the other largest houses are discussed more fully below.

## 5. RURAL ECONOMY

The economy of the rural East Riding in the late seventeenth century was almost entirely based on agriculture. There was little woodland to provide charcoal and no coal nor fast-flowing streams to encourage the growth of industry. The inferior quality of the available stone, particularly the chalk of the Wolds, meant quarrying was limited with only a very local

<sup>53</sup> Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MD3355/Box 57, 'An account of the estates of every perticuler person charged with horse in the East Riding', 1662. Twelve-hearth houses at Kexby, South Frodingham and Westow, for which there is no estate valuation, have been excluded from the above table.

<sup>54</sup> B. English, *The great landowners of East Yorkshire 1530-1910* (Hemel Hempstead, 1990), p. 22. Of the two Percy houses in the East Riding, Leconfield had been demolished in 1608 and Wressle Castle had been reduced to little more than a farmhouse during the Civil Wars. N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Buildings of England, Yorkshire, York and the East Riding* (London, 1995), pp. 595, 766.

market. Except for one or two weavers of hemp or wool in each village there was no textile industry. Outside the main towns there were only the usual tradesmen and craftsmen: blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, joiners, tailors, shoemakers, innkeepers and butchers. Fishing was a significant aspect of the economy of a number of settlements on the coast in the later seventeenth century, especially for Filey and Flamborough, but neither was prosperous in 1672.<sup>55</sup> Erosion, which destroyed the quay at Hornsea Beck ended fishing there in the seventeenth century, but it was carried on in a minor way from Patrington and Paull on the Humber estuary.<sup>56</sup>

The East Riding was primarily a mixed farming area with an emphasis on arable crops, having more in common with the rest of lowland England than the other two Yorkshire ridings. There were however noticeable differences in the agriculture of the natural regions within the riding. On the clay lands of Holderness wheat and beans were the main crops, with some oats and barley and a little rye. Spring-sown crops of barley, beans, peas and oats predominated on the Wolds, with little wheat or rye. These last two were the main corn crops of the Vale of York, with rye doing well on the sandy soils. Hemp was also grown in many places in the Vale. Cattle were particularly important in Holderness, here the herds averaged 15 head in the late seventeenth century, with an average of 12 in the Vale of York and eight on the Wolds. Sheep were more important on the Wolds, where flocks could reach 500, although around 30 was the average, three times the size of flocks in the lowlands.<sup>57</sup>

There were extensive sheep walks on the Wolds and plenty of rough grazing on the steep slopes of the dry valleys, whilst cattle were grazed on the extensive commons in the Vale of York and the summer pastures on the carr lands of the Hull Valley and marshlands of Holderness. The ill-drained carr lands also provided reeds and rushes for thatching, bedding and strewing on cottage floors, peat and brushwood for fuel, and fowl and fish for eating.<sup>58</sup>

Awareness of the benefits of improved drainage highlighted by Vermuyden's achievements in the fens and on Hatfield Chase in the West Riding earlier in the century, may have been the reason for a marked increase in the efficiency of the Court of Sewers for the East Parts of the East Riding from 1660. After years of neglect a full enquiry was made into the drainage

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<sup>55</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 2, pp. 141, 158; for lack of prosperity see above.

<sup>56</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 5, pp. 105, 123; *ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 275, 286.

<sup>57</sup> A. Harris, 'The agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire before the Parliamentary enclosures', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 40 (1962), pp. 119-28; A. Harris, *The rural landscape of the East Riding of Yorkshire 1700-1850* (London, 1961), pp. 14-60.

<sup>58</sup> J. A. Sheppard, *The draining of the Hull Valley* (EYLHS, 1958), p. 11.

of the Hull Valley and a complete record was made of all the banks and drains in the marshlands of the Vale of York, and some action taken to alleviate flooding.<sup>59</sup> It was a London merchant, Sir Joseph Ashe, who, having acquired the manor of Wawne north of Hull in 1651, made the first major attempt to drain the carr lands. This he began in 1675 with the help of settlers from the Low Countries who had worked with Vermuyden.<sup>60</sup>

The farming landscape of the East Riding was far from uniform in the late seventeenth century. On the Wolds the great open arable fields with expanses of rough pasture predominated, whilst in Holderness and Vale of York there was much enclosed land. ‘Open, scarce a bush or tree ... for several miles’ was how the Wolds’ landscape around Wetwang was described in the early eighteenth century. **fn** At that date over 65 per cent of the land on the Wolds was still open and farmed in common, but only 40 per cent of Holderness and the Vale of York. There was great enclosure activity through the middle of Holderness from the Commonwealth period with much of the open arable fields and commons being enclosed at Etherdwick 1648-51, Owstwick 1649, Swine c. 1653-4, Rise 1653-60, Seaton 1657 and North Skirlaugh, 1658.<sup>61</sup> This continued in the area into the 1660s-70s.<sup>62</sup> Another area that was almost totally enclosed by 1700 was the Jurassic Hills, south of Malton where enclosure took place at Langton 1650-1, Settrington, in part, 1666-71, Birdsall 1692-3, and Thorpe Bassett, 1693-5.<sup>63</sup> The enclosure of Eastburn, just off the eastern dip-slope of the Wolds at the head of Hull Valley, is a well-documented example contemporary with the 1672 hearth tax. Eastburn consisted of ‘four husbandmen’s houses and three grassmen’s houses’ when the whole township was purchased by John Heron in two stages in 1664-66, and soon afterwards he pulled down all but three of the houses, and converted the land to sheepwalk.<sup>64</sup>

## 6. TOWNS AND THEIR TRADE

### Hull

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8, 10; J. A. Sheppard *The draining of the marshlands of South Holderness and the Vale of York* (EYLHS, 1966), pp. 17-18.

<sup>60</sup> Sheppard, *Draining of the Hull Valley*, p. 10; *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 7, pp. 183-4, 194; *Wetland heritage of the Hull Valley*, ed. R. Van de Noort and S. Ellis (Hull, 2000), p. 102.

<sup>61</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 7, pp. 19, 87, 112, 159, 369, 636.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 72-3, 285, 354.

<sup>63</sup> Alexander, ‘Enclosure by agreement’, pp. 50-51.

<sup>64</sup> Neave, ‘Rural Settlement Contraction’, pp. 349-51.

Hull, or more correctly Kingston-upon-Hull, was by far the largest town in the East Riding and the second largest in Yorkshire, after York. The population figure for Hull in 1672 of around 6,200 calculated by using an accepted multiplier of 4.5 persons per household will be an underestimate. It includes 261 exempt households but almost certainly not those in receipt of poor relief. The latter totalled 130 adults and 72 children in the 1690s, and there were also the 100 or more residents of the numerous almshouses.<sup>65</sup> To these can be added the transient population of sailors and traders from other ports, foreign or otherwise, and soldiers in the garrison, and their followers, who lived across the River Hull in Drypool but contributed much to the economy and society of the town. During the Anglo-Dutch wars the number of soldiers in the garrison at times reached over 600, but the settled garrison housed in the Hull blockhouse was about 150 in the years 1673-79.<sup>66</sup>

Taking into account those on poor relief, the soldiers, and the ‘alien’ sailors and traders in temporary residence it is likely that the population of Hull in 1673 was near 8,000, a figure comparable with the estimate of 6,000 given in the ‘Compton census’ of 1676, which does not include children.<sup>67</sup> In a ranking of English provincial towns for this period York was placed second nationally and Hull sixteenth, but as regards trade in the 1670s Hull was at the point of overtaking its larger local rival.<sup>68</sup> It was not until the mid-eighteenth century that Hull’s population was greater than that of York, and by that time Leeds was probably the most populous town in Yorkshire.<sup>69</sup>

### ***Economy***

The trade of Hull that had reached a low point in the late fifteenth century underwent a steady revival from the mid-sixteenth century before slowing down in the early seventeenth century. Trade was interrupted at times during the Civil Wars, when the town was a Parliamentary stronghold and twice besieged, but by the 1660s the economy of the port was booming. This was due in part to the Navigation Acts, which from 1651 curtailed the Dutch entrepôt trade,

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<sup>65</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 1, pp. 163, 341-6.

<sup>66</sup> A. Howes and M. Foreman, *Town and Gun: The seventeenth-century defences of Hull* (Hull, 1999), pp. 50-51. The garrison was exempt from the hearth tax but Ensign Wharton who was charged for four hearths and Corporal Emmerson for two hearths may have been soldiers there. The four paying the hearth tax with the title captain may have been soldiers or possibly sea captains.

<sup>67</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 1, p. 158.

<sup>68</sup> W. G. Hoskins, *Local history in England* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, London, 1984), 278.

<sup>69</sup> *Victoria County History, Yorkshire, City of York*, ed. P. M. Tillott (London, 1961), p. 212; *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 1, p. 190.

but mostly to the growth in trade with Scandinavia and the Baltic and the increasing independence and confidence of the Hull merchants.

From the late Middle Ages York merchants had dominated the trade and shipping of Hull, but with the virtual end of the York cloth trade and the rapid rise of the West Riding industry they lost out to those of Hull as the clothiers exported directly through the East Yorkshire port. Similarly with the imports from Scandinavia and the Baltic, iron for Sheffield and the Midlands and timber for shipbuilding and coal pits, little passed through York. Hull's great strength was its extensive hinterland that via the river system made it the port that connected the north of England with northern Europe.<sup>70</sup>

In 1673 Richard Blome wrote of Hull: 'the commodious scituation of this Town, hath made it to be a place very well inhabited, and much resorted unto by Merchants, being furnished with shipping and all sorts of commodities in great plenty, which they have from Foreign parts, as well as from other parts of this Kingdom, being inferior to none in England, except London and Bristol'.<sup>71</sup> In addition it was, as a visitor commented in 1677, 'the great garrison of the North'.<sup>72</sup> Locally Hull was the chief market town for Holderness and the villages immediately to the west, and with its wide range of imported goods and annual fairs it attracted customers and traders from East and South Yorkshire, North Lincolnshire and further afield.

The main occupations in Hull for which freemen were admitted in the later seventeenth century were not surprisingly related to shipping and the distributive trades. Clothing was also significant, and catering and building were on the increase but manufacturing, comprising the metal, leather and textile trades played a minor role in the port's economy.<sup>73</sup> Eleven men were charged for forges in the hearth tax. Eight of them with single hearths were in Whitefriar ward but Edward Andrew with five hearths for his forges was in North Ward. He was probably engaged in the repair, building and fitting out of ships, possibly for the Blaydes family who had a shipyard off the north end of High Street.<sup>74</sup> Fourteen householders charged for ovens were probably bakers. Five of the ovens were in Whitefriar ward and five in Humber ward. Some 20 trade guilds existed in the late seventeenth century and the halls of

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<sup>70</sup> R. Davis, *The trade and shipping of Hull, 1500-1700* (EYLHS, 1964), pp. 26-9; G. Jackson, *Hull in the eighteenth century* (London, 1972), pp. 7-9.

<sup>71</sup> R. Blome, *Britannia* (1673 edition), 254.

<sup>72</sup> *Descriptions*, ed. Woodward, p. 38.

<sup>73</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 1, pp. 150-51.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 168-9.

two were assessed for the hearth tax. The Coopers' Hall with one hearth stood in White Horse Yard on the east side of Market Place and the Tailors' Hall, formerly the hall of the guild of St John the Baptist, located near St Mary's Church had two hearths.<sup>75</sup>

Hull's great mercantile families emerged in the seventeenth century, and after the Restoration they dominated the corporation and reserved public office for themselves. They demonstrated their position and wealth in 1660s-70s by rebuilding their houses along High Street, founding almshouses, beautifying their exchange, enlarging the guildhall, and building a 'house' for the Greenland trade (whaling).<sup>76</sup>

### ***Topography and administrative divisions***

In the 1670s Hull lay 'round and close compact together' confined within its medieval walls as it is so clearly depicted in the bird's eye view drawn some 30 years before by Wenceslaus Hollar (Plate 1).<sup>77</sup> The walls with their four main gates and interval towers formed the boundaries of the town on the north, west and south sides, the river Hull, the haven for the shipping off the Humber estuary, was the eastern boundary. To the east of the river Hull were the fortifications erected by Henry VIII in the 1540s, with Hull 'Castle' in the centre linked by substantial walls to the North and South Blockhouses.

Within the town walls the buildings were tightly packed along High Street and the lanes running west to Lowgate and the Market Place. The western half of the town was much more open, the most prominent buildings being Holy Trinity church with the Guildhall to the south and the Manor House, with its tall tower, to the north. It is the grounds of the last and those of the former Carmelite Friary (White Friars) that filled much of the north-west area of the town. There were very few buildings outside the walls, the main exception being the Charterhouse Hospital, rebuilt after its destruction early in the Civil Wars.

As explained above, Kingston upon Hull was for most purposes independent of the East Riding and the county of York. From the late thirteenth century the town was divided between two ecclesiastical parishes, Hessle and North Ferriby, and served within the walls by the chapels of Holy Trinity and St Mary respectively. Holy Trinity was separated from Hessle and became a parish church by Act of Parliament in 1661, but it was not until 1868 that St Mary's was officially an independent parish church although it had functioned as such

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168; G. Hadley, *History of Hull* (Hull, 1788), p. 696.

<sup>76</sup> *Descriptions*, ed. Woodward, pp. 42-3.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

since the sixteenth century.<sup>78</sup> The greater part of the town lay in Holy Trinity parish, while the smaller parish of St Mary was largely confined to the northern section comprising St Mary and North wards.<sup>79</sup>

The hearth tax was assessed by ward rather than parish in 1673. The town was divided into six wards from the fifteenth century until 1837. These lay in broad strips stretching east to west from the River Hull to the town wall and were named, from south to north, Humber, Austin, Trinity, Whitefriar, St Mary, and North wards.<sup>80</sup> The ward boundaries to the north and south were quite irregular making identification of the exact location of hearth tax households problematic; High Street, for example, was divided between the six wards. By the use of a range of taxation and other sources Robert Barnard has skilfully identified owners and tenants of properties on High Street from the early seventeenth century to mid-nineteenth century and located the position of many of the households in 1673.<sup>81</sup> Some help with other areas is provided by the detailed study by Rosemary Horrox of the ownership and/or tenancy of medieval plots in the town up to the mid seventeenth century.<sup>82</sup>

Because of the way the wards cut across the town, and in particular the High Street, there is a more even distribution of wealth with better-hearthed houses found in each ward although North and St Mary's wards were the most prosperous and smallest. Holy Trinity was the best hearthed with 11 houses with ten or more hearths. Whitefriar and Humber wards were the poorest and largest with over a quarter of those chargeable having only one hearth and more than two-thirds with one to three hearths.

Names of those not charged are given for the whole town and not linked to wards so it is not possible to identify the poorer areas of the town. The numbers exempted from payment by certificate in 1674 are, however, given by what appears to be parish. There were 146 exempt in St Mary's parish, and 115 in Holy Trinity.<sup>83</sup> If this is so then the smaller St Mary's parish was much the poorest, and would suggest that the St Mary's and North wards were much poorer than the chargeable figures would indicate. There were 41 empty properties in the town in 1673, 3 per cent of the total; they occur in all the wards except St Mary's. Most were in Austin and Humber wards.

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<sup>78</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 1, pp. 287, 294.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2. An account of a perambulation of St Mary's parish in 1685 shows how complex it was. M. E. Ingram, *Our Lady of Hull* (Hull, 1948), pp. 64-5.

<sup>80</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 1, p. 4.

<sup>81</sup> R. Barnard, *High Street properties 1622-1855* (CD, Local History Unit, Hull College, 2003).

<sup>82</sup> R. Horrox, *The changing plan of Hull 1290-1650* (Hull, 1978).

<sup>83</sup> TNA, E179/350/539-542.

## Beverley

‘Beverley, seated on the River Hull, which gives passage into the Humber for boats and barges, for the conveyance of their goods to and fro. It is a large and well-built borough and town-corporate, containing [*sic*] two parish churches, besides its Minster, enjoyeth very large priviledges, sendeth burgesses to Parliament, is governed by a maior, twelve aldermen and other sub-officers; is a place well inhabited by gentry and tradesmen; and its markets, which are on Thursday and Saturdays, are well served with provisions’.<sup>84</sup> Blome’s description of Beverley published in 1673 suggests a prosperous town but it was a shadow of what it had been in the fourteenth century when it was among the top twenty English towns in terms of taxable wealth. The estimated population in 1377 was in excess of 5,000, making it the tenth largest town outside London. The decline of the cloth and wool trade, and the suppression of the collegiate church of St John (Beverley Minster) had a major impact on Beverley’s economy, and in the later sixteenth century and much of the seventeenth it was little more than a local market town. By the late seventeenth century there were signs of a revival paving the way for the town to become firmly established in the eighteenth century as the administrative and social capital of the East Riding.

The population was still around 5,000 in the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century, but in 1672 only 621 households were assessed for hearth tax, suggesting a population of around 2,800. For taxation and other administrative purposes the town was divided into constablewicks or wards. The hearth tax was collected under ten wards named after the principal streets: Beckside and Barleyholme; Flemingate; Keldgate and Minster; Newbegin and Lairgate; Norwood, Hengate and Walkergate; Saturday Market; Toll Gavel; Wednesday Market; Within North Bar; and Without North Bar. The layout of the historic core of the town, with extensive common pastures to the east and west, has changed little since the hearth tax collectors drew up their assessments. Saturday Market, an impressive marketplace lined with inns and shops and with a thriving weekly market, is still the focal point; to the north the broad street known as North Bar Within, with St Mary’s church on its east side, terminates in North Bar, the only one of the town’s four principal medieval gateways that survives. South of Saturday Market, Toll Gavel runs towards Wednesday Market, the smaller but earlier of the two marketplaces, which developed in the shadow of the great Minster church. From the Minster a street called Flemingate leads in an easterly direction to the former industrial

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<sup>84</sup> Blome, *Britannia*, 255. One of the parish churches, St Nicholas, was partially demolished in 1653-5, and the second market was on a Wednesday not a Thursday. *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 6, pp. 218, 241.

suburb of Beckside, which grew up around the head of Beverley Beck, a canalized watercourse that provided a link to the River Hull and the port of Hull.

Almost half (48 per cent) of Beverley households recorded by the hearth tax enumerators in 1672 had only one hearth; of these nearly two-thirds were exempt.<sup>85</sup> The highest concentrations of exempt households were at the south end of the town, in the Keldgate/Minster and Flemingate wards, where in each case almost 47 per cent paid no tax. In sharp contrast only 22 per cent of households were exempt in the more fashionable North Bar Within ward, with its mixture of shops and private houses, and 18 per cent in Saturday Market, the commercial heart of the town. Carpenters, tailors, weavers and shoemakers are among the occupations of householders that can be identified as having only one hearth.

About 30 per cent of households had two or three hearths, a group that included many of the town's 'middling' shopkeepers and craftsmen, representing the trades and crafts common to market towns. George Gossip, a butcher trading in North Bar Within, was assessed on three hearths and in Saturday Market apothecaries Henry Butler and Benjamin Dalton had two hearths apiece. Also in this category were several smiths including Alexander Stones and Thomas Gurley, blacksmiths, with two and three hearths respectively, and Ralph Nicholson, a farrier, with three. In the case of these craftsmen a forge may have accounted for one hearth. Mr William Wilberfosse, mercer and grocer, the great-great-grandfather of William Wilberforce, the emancipator, occupied a three hearth house at the north end of Saturday Market on the west side, an area also known as the Merchant Row.

Close to a quarter of households paid tax on at least four hearths. It was the resident gentry and those engaged in the more prosperous trades and crafts, together with professional men such as doctors and lawyers, who generally occupied the better-hearthed, and often larger, houses. It was from this group too that the leading townsmen, for example those who served as aldermen, were generally drawn. Prominent among the tradesmen were the mercers and woollen drapers, such as Christopher Chappelow, twice mayor of Beverley, whose house in Wednesday Market ward had seven hearths. Francis Cowthorpe, vintner, who lived in the same ward, was also assessed on seven. Another affluent tradesman was John Dymoke, hardwareman, who paid tax on eight hearths for his premises in Saturday Market. He was mayor in 1675—6, and on his death in 1687 left £150 for charitable purposes. Walter 'Pacey' or Parley's eight-hearthed 'house' in North Bar Within, behind which he had recently created

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<sup>85</sup> For a fuller analysis of the hearth tax for Beverley see *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 6, pp. 108-9.

a bowling green, was the Blue Bell inn, later the Beverley Arms, one of the larger inns that provided some of the 182 guest beds said to be available in the town in 1686. The large inns were the centres of the social life of the town, and no doubt a meeting place for the gentry when gathered here for the Quarter Sessions or other ‘county’ business.<sup>86</sup> The presence of a flourishing grammar school with some 50 pupils in 1670 must have contributed to the town’s cultural life.<sup>87</sup>

The dominant industries in the later seventeenth century were centred on the processing of agricultural products, notably tanning, malting and oatmealmaking. Thomas Johnson, tanner, paid tax on four hearths in North Bar Within in 1672; remnants of his timber-framed house survive within the later buildings on the site. The tanyard lay behind, only a stone’s throw from the recently built 14-hearth house then occupied by James Moyser (see below). Later the town’s tanyards were all located at the south end of the town, in the vicinity of Keldgate and Flemingate, away from the more desirable residential areas.

### **Bridlington**

In the late seventeenth century Bridlington encompassed two separate settlements, the market town of Bridlington, now usually referred to as the Old Town, and the port of Bridlington Quay a mile away on the coast. Together in 1672 they formed the third largest settlement in the East Riding with 352 households. The townships were assessed separately for the hearth tax. The Old Town was the most populous with 232 households, of which 96 (41.4 per cent) were exempt, and the Quay had 120 households with 26 (21.7 per cent) exempt.

After the economic setbacks of the Civil Wars, which also saw the landing of Queen Henrietta Maria in February 1643 and her fortnight’s stay at the town, Bridlington was experiencing a golden age in the 1670s. As Blome noted in 1673 it had ‘a safe road for ships to ride on, and a very good and commodious key for ships to lade and unlade at, which hath occasioned it (of late) to be a place of a good trade’.<sup>88</sup> Both coastal and overseas trade was booming with some 60 ships and over 20 merchants involved. Coastwise coal and salt were brought from Newcastle and Sunderland, and malt, barley and wheat sent in return. Overseas

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<sup>86</sup> In the mid-seventeenth century the Quarter Sessions was usually held at Beverley, but not permanently fixed there until the early eighteenth century. G. C. F. Forster, *The East Riding Justices of the Peace in the seventeenth century* (EYLHS, 1973), p. 30; *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 6, p. 112.

<sup>87</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 6, p. 110.

<sup>88</sup> Blome, *Britannia*, p. 255.

trade was chiefly with the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden with cloth from the West Riding as the chief export. Timber was the main import from Scandinavia and a range of goods including linen and wine came from Holland and Flanders. Bridlington Quay was also a major landing place for fishing boats from other ports, especially during the herring season, 'whereby the city of York, Hull, Beverley, and all the country adjacent, is plentifully supplied'.<sup>89</sup>

In 1672 during the third Anglo-Dutch war and just before the hearth tax returns were compiled, the value of Bridlington Bay as a place of refuge for shipping was fully demonstrated. After six weeks of 'bad weather, sickness, shortage of food and a total absence of success', the 70 ships of the English fleet, under the command of the duke of York, the future James II, anchored in the bay in July and August. Between four and five hundred sick men were taken on shore from the fleet and cared for in the town. The French fleet, then engaged jointly with the English against the Dutch, also sought supplies at Bridlington and it was reported that they had 'spent a great deal of money ... buying all provisions with ready money and at good prices, which helps these parts and pleases the country people'.<sup>90</sup>

The separate settlement of Bridlington was a thriving market town 'well furnished with provisions' and serving an extensive area of the north-eastern part of the East Riding. The town was also well supplied with tradesmen, craftsmen and professionals who along with some of the more prosperous merchants lived along High Street, its extension along Westgate, and the Market Place.<sup>91</sup>

## **Market Towns**

In addition to Beverley, Bridlington and Hull there were ten settlements, Hedon, Hornsea, Howden, Hunmanby, Kilham, Market Weighton, North Frodingham, Patrington, Pocklington and South Cave with weekly markets in the East Riding in the later seventeenth century.<sup>92</sup>

The more northern and western areas of the riding were served by markets at York, and Malton and Scarborough in the North Riding and Selby in the West Riding. The residents of Buckrose wapentake, where there was no market town, were most likely to go to Malton

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<sup>89</sup> D. Neave, *Port, resort and market town: A history of Bridlington* (Howden, 2000), p. 103.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91-2.

<sup>91</sup> Until the later seventeenth century the main street was called Westgate for its whole length.

<sup>92</sup> M. Noble, 'Markets and fairs 1500-1928', in *Historical Atlas*, ed. Neave and Ellis, pp. 76-7; *Index Villaris* (1680).

where the Saturday market was considered ‘one of the best in all the county for horses, living cattle, provisions and most country commodities, especially utensils for husbandry’.<sup>93</sup>

The presence of a market made settlements distinctive and led to a better provision of crafts and trades, not least in the number of alehouses, but many were little more than large villages with little urban character. Most of the markets were of only local significance and were generally dismissed by Richard Blome in 1673. He described those at Kilham and Pocklington as ‘mean’, at Market Weighton as ‘little’, and at Hedon as ‘indifferent’. Only that at Howden, which he described as ‘a very great market on Saturdays for cattle, corn, [and] provisions’ was evidently flourishing.<sup>94</sup>

Market Town	Acreage	Households Chargeable	Exempt	Total	Households per 1,000 acres	per cent 1 hearth	per cent 2 hearths	per cent 3 and over hearths
Hedon	321	92	25 in 1674	117	287	43.5	24	32.5
Hornsea	3,160	83	14	97	30.5	59.5	24.5	16
Howden	2,774	157	47	204	73.5	47.5	21	31.5
Hunmanby	7,200	110	57	167	23	84.5	8.5	7
Kilham	7,660	79	31	110	14.5	70	13	17
Market Weighton	5,678	121	20	141	25	74	14	12
North Frodingham	2,880	64	21	85	29.5	80	13	7
Patrington	3,741	75	44	119	32	70	17.5	12.5
Pocklington	2,520	125	43	168	67	74.5	14	11.5
South	4,824	105	7	112	23	69	15	16

<sup>93</sup> Blome, *Britannia*, 250.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

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**Table 4 EAST RIDING: Small Market Towns 1672**

Howden, the fourth ‘largest’ settlement in the East Riding benefited from its location as it served a wide catchment area and had good links by water with the West Riding and Hull. There was a fish shambles in the market place, and occupations recorded in deeds, parish registers and probate records show that Howden had the usual tradesmen and craftsmen to be found in a thriving small town: mercers, woollen drapers, weavers, millers, maltsters, brewers, coopers, skinners, tanners, shoemakers, glovers, feltmakers, cutlers, nailers, tinkers as well as an apothecary.<sup>95</sup> There were numerous inns with 67 guest beds and stabling for 58 horses in 1686.<sup>96</sup> The diarist Abraham de la Pryme visited Howden in 1685 and noted that it was ‘a very pretty town, there being many fine houses in it’.<sup>97</sup> The scale of the housing is borne out by the hearth tax returns. Howden was one of the best-hearthed settlements in the East Riding, with 31.5 per cent of total households with three or more hearths, of which more than half had four or more hearths. For the hearth tax assessment in 1672 the households were entered in four lists headed by the names of the main streets, Market Place, Flatgate, Hailgate and Bridgegate. Market Place, with 75 per cent of houses with three or more hearths, was the best hearthed and Flatgate, with only 18 per cent, the worst.

The small town of Hedon, which served parts of Middle and South Holderness, was as well-hearthed as Howden.<sup>98</sup> A decayed medieval port, it had retained its borough status and still returned two members of parliament. In area Hedon was only 321 acres, with virtually no agricultural land, making tradesmen and craftsmen the dominant group, all factors which gave it an enhanced urban character.<sup>99</sup> The town was said to be flourishing in the late seventeenth century owing to the grant of two fortnightly fairs in 1661.<sup>100</sup> It is probable that the leather trades, especially shoe making, dominated the economy of the town in the late

<sup>95</sup> D. Neave, *Howden Explored* (Georgian Society for East Yorkshire, 1979), 7; Hull History Centre [hereafter HHC], U DDJ/10/17.

<sup>96</sup> TNA, WO 30/48.

<sup>97</sup> *The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme*, ed. C. Jackson (Surtees Society, 54, 1870), p. 7.

<sup>98</sup> See table 4 above.

<sup>99</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 5, pp. 168, 177.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177; *Descriptions*, ed. Woodward, p. 45.

seventeenth century as they did in the early eighteenth century when they accounted for a third of recorded occupations in the burial registers.<sup>101</sup>

Ninety-two households were assessed for payment of the hearth tax in 1672, to which can be added the 25 exempt in 1674 giving a total of 117 and an estimated population of around 525. Quite a number of the houses had probably been rebuilt or repaired following a serious fire in 1657 when 42 (more than a third) were damaged or destroyed.<sup>102</sup>

Twenty-nine (31.5 per cent) of the householders listed in the hearth tax returns for 1672 were accorded the title Mr or Mrs, a far higher proportion than in any other East Riding settlement. This is almost certainly because most of those named were members of the council and were, or had been, aldermen or were the widows of aldermen. Although they usually occupied houses with three or more hearths the aldermen were not necessarily of high standing. A scurrilous pamphlet produced in 1659 said of Robert Ambler (or Ombler), who had four hearths, that he was ‘another of the drunken sort of Aldermen, first a spademan [labourer], but after the death of his uncle, an Alderman and Tanner worth £14 per annum ... by his evil and unjust dealing in his mayoralties, weakened his estate, sold some land, ran into debt by his evil husbandry, in drinking and other vicious courses’. Of Alderman Richard Barne, who had a three-hearth house, the pamphleteer claimed that he was ‘once a blacksmith, but by getting two widows turned a baker, the richest among them, but simple and illiterate, as all the rest are’.<sup>103</sup>

Of the other small market towns Pocklington was the second largest, but evidently less prosperous than Howden. In the mid-seventeenth century the economy and social life of the town owed much to the presence of a well-endowed and well-supported grammar school, which had up to 100 pupils, many of them boarders and the sons of gentlemen. The boarders were lodged in the town, in inns and private houses, and a ‘scholars chamber’ is recorded in more than one inventory. A change of headmaster in 1657 brought decline and with ‘not above eight or nine little boys’ at the school the town was ‘impoverished’.<sup>104</sup> The town also had a sessions house where the Quarter Sessions for the East Riding was occasionally held in the mid seventeenth century.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> ERALS, PE/16/1.

<sup>102</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 5, p. 171.

<sup>103</sup> Robert Raines, *The great and grievous oppression of the subject* (1659).

<sup>104</sup> D. Neave, *Pocklington 1660-1914* (Beverley, 1971), p. 8.

<sup>105</sup> Forster, *East Riding Justices of the Peace*, pp. 30-31.

## 7. HOUSES AND THE HEARTH TAX

### Rural Houses

#### *Large houses*

In 1672 there were eleven houses in the East Riding with twenty or more hearths, of these the halls at Burton Constable, Burton Agnes, Howsham and Boynton, all of the Elizabethan or Jacobean period, survive (Map17).<sup>106</sup> Of the rest we know something about their appearance from surviving drawings with the exception of Michael Warton's Beverley house and George Metham's hall that stood immediately to the east of North Cave church until the later eighteenth century.<sup>107</sup>

Burton Constable, the largest house in the riding, has the remnants of a medieval house in the north tower and north wing. The transformation of this building began in the 1560s soon after Sir John Constable had acquired the lordship of Holderness, and was largely complete by 1610. A painting of c. 1690 shows the house at its greatest extent with an impressive gateway fronting the courtyard and a stable block off to the right (Plate 2). Behind the house and the north and south wings can be seen a great array of brick chimneystacks for the 40 hearths that were recorded in 1672 when it was the chief residence of Robert Constable, 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount Dunbar. Burton Agnes hall was built to the designs of Robert Smythson in 1601-10 by Sir Henry Griffith, soon after he had been appointed to the Council of the North at York. A splendid symmetrical Jacobean house reached through a handsome entrance gateway, it retains much of its original interior (Plate 3).<sup>108</sup> This includes the grandest hearths in the East Riding, in the hall, dining room and state bedchamber, all with richly carved overmantels; three of the 32 hearths in 1672 (Plate 4).<sup>109</sup>

The Elizabethan and Jacobean Boynton Hall, like Burton Constable, has a medieval house at its core. The rebuilding was begun by William Strickland, a sea captain from Marske in the North Riding, soon after he bought the estate in 1549. He and his son had created an H-shaped brick house with gables to the wings and central bay by the early seventeenth century. The house was much altered, externally and internally, in the eighteenth century but it has

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<sup>106</sup> See table 3 above.

<sup>107</sup> D. Neave and E. Waterson, *Lost houses of East Yorkshire* (Georgian Society for East Yorkshire, 1988), pp. 16-17, 36, 42, 53; *Samuel Buck's Yorkshire Sketchbook* (Wakefield, 1979), p. 26; *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 4, p. 24.

<sup>108</sup> Pevsner and Neave, *York and the East Riding*, pp. 366-370.

<sup>109</sup> A. Wells-Cole, *Art and decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven, 1997), pp. 178-84.

retained its diaper patterned brickwork.<sup>110</sup> Boynton Hall had 23 hearths in 1672, one less than Howsham Hall that, unlike the other three, is built of stone, part plundered from Kirkham Abbey a mile to the north (Plate 5). Built c. 1610 and possibly by Robert Smythson it has an impressive east front with large mullioned windows. The end bays are canted and in the centre is a large two-storey porch or frontispiece.<sup>111</sup>

Of the 'lost' large houses Londesborough Hall is the best documented. A print by Kip and Kniff shows the hall c. 1700 after it had been greatly extended by the first Earl of Burlington in the late 1670s (Plate 6).<sup>112</sup> The twenty-one hearth house of 1672 is represented by the three-storey, seven-bay castellated central block. This was built in 1589-92 by Francis Clifford, later 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Cumberland almost certainly using stone, as later, from the ruins of the Augustinian priory at nearby Warter and the quarries at Birdsall, near Malton.<sup>113</sup> It accommodated a household of some 84 servants in 1610, plus five in the family, in the fifty-one private and service rooms that are mentioned in the household accounts.<sup>114</sup> It was a far larger house than the number of hearths assessed in 1672 would suggest.

It was at this house that Lord Burlington entertained the Duke of York, the future king James II, in 1665. The Duke and Duchess were said to have reported that Londesborough was 'a paradise on earth' but it clearly was not thought grand enough by the Burlingtons who were planning to rebuild or extend the house in October 1672.<sup>115</sup> In 1673 they had evidently moved out because the Earl of Burlington is listed at Howsham Hall in that year.<sup>116</sup> The major additions on north and south sides of the Elizabethan house were made 1678-81.<sup>117</sup> Lord Burlington had another house with four hearths at Londesborough, recorded as empty in 1672. This was almost certainly the medieval manor house that was demolished later that year.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Pevsner and Neave, *York and the East Riding*, pp. 334-5; see also forthcoming book on Boynton Hall by R. Marriott, T. Schadla-Hall and A. Green.

<sup>111</sup> R. Alec-Smith, 'Howsham Hall, a Country House Reprieved', *Transactions of the Georgian Society for East Yorkshire*, 3 (2) (1952), pp. 35-44; Pevsner and Neave, *York and the East Riding*, pp. 494-5.

<sup>112</sup> T. C. Barnard, 'Land and the limits of loyalty: the second earl of Cork and first earl of Burlington (1612-98)', in *Lord Burlington: architecture, art and life*, ed. T. C. Barnard and J. Clark (London, 1995), p. 194; D. Neave, *Londesborough* (Londesborough, 1977), pp. 31-3; D. Neave, 'Lord Burlington's Park and Gardens at Londesborough', *Garden History*, 8 (1980), pp. 71-3.

<sup>113</sup> R. T. Spence, *Londesborough House and its community 1590-1643* (EYLHS, 2005), pp. 20-24.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 24, 31-3.

<sup>115</sup> Barnard, 'Land and the limits', pp. 185, 194.

<sup>116</sup> TNA, E179/205/522.

<sup>117</sup> Neave, *Londesborough*, p. 33.

<sup>118</sup> Spence, *Londesborough House*, p. 20.

Fourteen houses in the countryside and four in Hull had between 15-19 hearths in 1672.<sup>119</sup> Of the rural houses only four survive, at least in part; the much altered Heslington Hall, now the administrative centre of the University of York, Watton Priory, Beswick Hall and one range of Low Hall, Etton. Heslington Hall, built 1565-8 by Sir Thomas Eynns, secretary to the Council of the North, had 16 hearths in 1672 when owned by Thomas Hesketh. Watton Priory, also with 16 hearths, was shown in the hearth tax list as belonging to Heneage Finch, earl of Winchilsea, one of the top ten landowners in the East Riding, although in January 1672 he had sold his Watton estate to William Dickinson of the Custom House, London.<sup>120</sup> In 1667 Winchilsea, then representative of the Levant Company in Constantinople, had been planning to make his home at Watton but he proposed adapting one of the former monastic granges on the estate for himself and a 'family of 20 or 30 persons' rather than live in the 16-hearthed abbot's lodgings that was the remaining portion of the priory.<sup>121</sup> Similar re-use of monastic buildings apparently occurred at Meaux in Wawne where the 16-hearthed house occupied by Frances Grantham, widow of Thomas Grantham, was probably on the site of the great Cistercian abbey.<sup>122</sup>

Beswick Hall, in the township adjoining Watton, built around 1600 for William Daniel, had 15 hearths in 1672. A drawing of *c.* 1720 shows a typical multi-gabled late Elizabethan manor house of five bays, two storeys, basement and attics with mullioned windows and decorative diaper patterns in its brickwork.<sup>123</sup> It was altered to form two farmhouses in the mid-nineteenth century when sash windows were introduced, but one bay retains its mullioned windows. A few original features survive of the 15-hearth house of John Estoft in the present Low Hall at Etton. Estoft bought the estate in 1668 and probably built the house soon after.<sup>124</sup> An inventory made on his death in 1694 records the main rooms downstairs as the hall, the parlour, the little hall, the white room and closet, Mr Estoft's study, the court parlour and the other court parlour. Upstairs were the 'green top chamber', the 'great room over the hall', the 'red room', the men servants' room, 'green room' and closet, the 'gray room' and the gallery. The service rooms included the kitchen and closet, the back kitchen, dairy, larder, brew house, wood house, store chamber, wash house and wash house chamber

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<sup>119</sup> For Hull see below.

<sup>120</sup> English, *Great Landowners*, pp. 22-5.

<sup>121</sup> Neave, 'Rural Settlement Contraction', pp. 388-9.

<sup>122</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 7, p. 192.

<sup>123</sup> *Samuel Buck's Yorkshire Sketchbook*, p. 17.

<sup>124</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 4, p. 107.

and garret above. There was also a low cellar and small beer cellar with little cellar adjoining.<sup>125</sup>

Another house that survives in part only is Barmston Hall, an Elizabethan house rebuilt or extended for the Boynton family around 1630 but given up as their main residence in the 1650s when they inherited Burton Agnes Hall. The remnant of Barmston Hall that had 10 hearths in 1672 has two particularly prominent external stacks (Plate 7). Until recently three substantial stacks could be seen on the Old Hall, Elmswell, near Drifffield, celebrated as the home of Henry Best who wrote one of the best known accounts of farming a small estate in the seventeenth century (Plate 8).<sup>126</sup> The house was built by Best around 1635 using bricks made on the estate by a Beverley brickmaker. It had nine hearths in 1672 when occupied by Mrs Sarah Best, widow. A probate inventory of her husband John's goods in 1669 records three main rooms on each floor: parlour, hall and kitchen on the ground floor; parlour chamber, hall chamber and kitchen chamber on the first floor; and east, middle and west garrets on the second floor. There was also a buttery on the ground floor and a closet on the first floor. It is likely that each of the main rooms on the three floors had a hearth, but in the surviving building there are only fireplaces in each room on the ground and first floor. Later alterations probably blocked or removed the hearths in the garrets.<sup>127</sup>

There are other surviving small brick manor houses with fewer than 10 hearths that would have been new-built when the hearth tax assessment was made. These include two with eight hearths and probably built in the 1660s: Eske Manor, near Tickton and Knedlington Old Hall, near Howden, the latter with shaped gables (Plate 9). The date of the building of Portington Hall, near Eastrington is much more certain as it must be Michael Portington's new house recorded as having nine-hearth in 1672 (Plate 10).<sup>128</sup> A series of hearth tax returns appears to confirm the building of Marton Hall, near Bridlington that was said to have been built by Gregory Creyke in or soon after 1672, the year of his marriage.<sup>129</sup> The return for 1670 records that Creyke had two houses at Marton, with one and seven hearths, both empty. In the 1672 list he had only the one hearth house but in 1674 he also had a six-hearth house 'new

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<sup>125</sup> ERALS, DDBE/27/18.

<sup>126</sup> *The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best of Elmswell 1642*, ed. D. Woodward (British Academy Records of Social and Economic History N.S. 8, 1984). Despite a long and vigorous campaign to save this building, it was reduced to a ruin in 2014 and the three stacks removed,

<sup>127</sup> *Farming and Memorandum Books*, ed. Woodward, pp. lii, 242-3.

<sup>128</sup> Pevsner and Neave, *York and the East Riding*, p. 399.

<sup>129</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 2, p. 97.

built'.<sup>130</sup> The building, altered externally in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, retains many internal features of the later seventeenth century.<sup>131</sup>

### *Clergy houses*

The rectory or vicarage house has been identified for 105 places in the 1672 hearth tax returns for the East Riding.<sup>132</sup> In 27 townships the parsonage house is the most-hearthed building and in a further 35 townships the second most-hearthed. Rectory houses, as would be expected, are the best hearthed, ranging from two to nine hearths, at an average of five hearths, whilst vicarage houses have from one to six hearths at an average of three hearths.

The largest rectory houses were at Rowley, Sigglesthorne and Wheldrake with nine hearths, Bainton, Beeford and Escrick, with seven hearths, and Catton, Etton, Kirby Underdale, Nunburnholme, Patrington, and Sutton on Derwent with six hearths. The former rectory at Etton, now known as St Mary's House, is the only one of that survives in part from the late seventeenth century, the rest having been rebuilt in the eighteenth or nineteenth century (Plate 11).<sup>133</sup> A glebe terrier of 1685 describes the house at Etton as having four main rooms on the ground floor; that is a hall, parlour, 'forekitchen' and back kitchen, as well as 'three little office rooms, two buttries, one larder' and 'a room commonly called the coalhouse'. Above were four lodging chambers, one closet, a garret and 'a room over the kitchen called the corn chamber'.<sup>134</sup> A reconstruction based on this and a terrier of 1716, which refers to the 'middle part' and the east and west house, and the present building suggests a hall and cross wings plan.<sup>135</sup> This is the plan suggested by the description in 1685 of the five-hearth rectory house in the adjoining parish of Cherry Burton that had two parlours with chambers over them, a hall without a chamber, a kitchen and a brewhouse.<sup>136</sup>

Although there were a handful of vicarage houses with five or six hearths, such as on the wealthy livings of Burton Agnes, Hunmanby and Holme on Spalding Moor, more than three-quarters had from one to three hearths. The meanest buildings would be no better than the poorest cottages but generally vicarage houses would have been similar to the standard

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<sup>130</sup> TNA, E179/205/504, 514, 521.

<sup>131</sup> Pevsner and Neave, *York and the East Riding*, p. 612.

<sup>132</sup> The clergy have been identified with great help from Catharine Otton-Goulder who generously provided a wealth of information on clergy and parsonage houses from visitation and other records at the Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York.

<sup>133</sup> The Old Rectory at Bainton retains a substantial seventeenth-century or earlier beam in the kitchen.

<sup>134</sup> BIA, TER. I, Etton, 1685.

<sup>135</sup> S. Robson, 'St Mary's: The history of the former rectory of the parish of Etton, East Yorkshire' (unpublished report, 1983), pp. 4-6. Consulted courtesy of Mrs D. V. M. Rambaut.

<sup>136</sup> BIA, TER. I, Cherry Burton, 1685.

farmhouse with two or three rooms on the ground floor, with or without chambers above. In the early eighteenth century the one-hearth vicarage at Garton in Holderness was described as being built of clay and consisting of four 'roomsteads', only one of which was 'chambered above'.<sup>137</sup> The one-hearth vicarage at Kilnwick Percy was probably unchanged by 1687 when a probate inventory records a 'forerroom', parlour, kitchen and milkhouse with two chambers above.<sup>138</sup> More substantial was the two-hearth vicarage at Pocklington where the inventory for the vicar James Hudson, made in 1673, lists, as well as a hall and two parlours and 'chambers', a buttery, brewhouse and library.<sup>139</sup> The vicarage at Thornton with three hearths was probably unaltered by 1691, when an inventory was drawn up for John Fawcett. It had a hall, parlour, kitchen, buttery and library in the study on the ground floor and chambers over hall and kitchen.<sup>140</sup>

No vicarage house from the late seventeenth century is known to survive but the outline plan of the vicarage at Wharram Percy, which in 1672 had two hearths, has been revealed through excavation. The building, probably cruck-framed, was some 16 m. long and 6 m. wide with sandstone footings. Unusually in one corner was a substantial limestone-walled cellar.<sup>141</sup> The Wharram vicarage, as with so many others, was rebuilt in the eighteenth century.<sup>142</sup>

Rebuilding was often a result of necessity owing to neglect. Twenty-two East Riding parsonages were described as in decay or in need of repair in the late seventeenth century, fourteen of these in the 1660s such as the vicarage houses at Aldbrough, in 'great ruin and decay', and Sculcoates, 'miserably ruinouse and ready to fall to the ground'.<sup>143</sup>

Non-residency and pluralism was the cause of much neglect and the 1672 hearth tax returns record the vicarage houses at Howden, North Grimston, Swine and Withernwick as 'empty'. The poor state of the parsonage might be the cause of the incumbent living elsewhere. At Weaverthorpe in 1764 it was said that 'no vicar has lived in the house for more than fourscore years past. The late tenant kept his cow in the winter in the parlour, and usually put

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<sup>137</sup> BIA. TER. H, Garton, 1716

<sup>138</sup> BIA, Deanery Wills, Marmaduke Richardson, 1687. Goods valued at £12.

<sup>139</sup> BIA, Deanery Wills, James Hudson 1673. Goods valued at £92.

<sup>140</sup> BIA, Deanery Wills, John Fawcett, 1691. Goods valued at £55.

<sup>141</sup> C. Harding, E. Marlow-Mann and S. Wrathmell, *Wharram: A study of settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds, XII, The Post-Medieval Farm and Vicarage Sites* (York University Archaeological Publications, 14, 2010), pp. 98-107, 351-2.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 107-117, 353-8.

<sup>143</sup> BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, f.313v (Aldbrough), ER.V/CB. 2 f.69v (Sculcoates).

his pig in the pantry to fatten.’<sup>144</sup> In 1672 the vicar of Weaverthorpe occupied a two-hearth house.

### *Farmhouse and cottage*

There are few rural buildings of the level of farmhouse and cottage that survive intact in the East Riding from before the early eighteenth century and we are dependent on documentary and pictorial sources for much of our information about the typical village housing of the 1670s. The general lack of timber and good building stone, except for the limestones and sandstones of the narrow jurassic belt on the west side of the Wolds, contributed to what must have been the insubstantial nature of much rural housing.<sup>145</sup> Other factors including the nature of landholding, the purely agricultural basis of the economy and a culture that shunned conspicuous display also dictated the size and simplicity of the riding’s vernacular architecture.<sup>146</sup>

The hearth tax returns show that 79 per cent of rural housing was one-hearthed and a further 12 per cent had two hearths suggesting over 90 per cent of the houses were of a modest scale. (Table 5)

Wapentake/Division	per cent One Hearth Rural	per cent Two Hearths Rural	per cent One and Two Hearths	Places excluded
Buckrose	86.09	7.62	93.71	
Dickering	84.74	8.21	92.95	Bridlington and Bridlington Quay
Harthill Bainton	84.12	8.09	92.21	
Harthill Holme	80.65	12.02	92.67	Mkt Weighton
Harthill Hunsley	75.19	15.75	90.94	Cottingham

<sup>144</sup> BIA, TER.K. Weaverthorpe, 1764.

<sup>145</sup> Pevsner and Neave, *York and the East Riding*, pp. 23-8.

<sup>146</sup> Neave, ‘The identity of the East Riding’, p. 192.

				and South Cave
Harthill Wilton	87.48	6.06	93.54	Pocklington
Holderness Middle	69.77	17.90	87.67	Hedon
Holderness North	80.66	11.87	92.53	Hornsea
Holderness South	73.78	16.24	90.02	Patrington
Howdenshire	69.40	19.81	89.21	Howden
Ouse and Derwent	71.50	16.76	88.26	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>79.07</b>	<b>12.32</b>	<b>91.39</b>	

**Table 5. Rural East Riding - Percentage of one and two hearth households**

In 38 villages in the northern part of the riding covered by the wapentakes of Buckrose, Dickering and Harthill Bainton and Wilton divisions over 90 per cent of the houses only had one hearth. These would have ranged from labourers' cottages to the farmhouses of husbandmen and yeomen. It cannot be assumed that because there was only one hearth the houses were particularly small. The majority would consist of one or two rooms, with or without chambers above, but the evidence of probate inventories that can be linked with some confidence to houses recorded in the hearth tax returns suggest that one-hearth houses could have as many as six rooms. The following table has been compiled from 165 inventories from the East Riding that almost certainly relate to people who appear in the 1672 hearth tax returns.<sup>147</sup> It is quite possible that in some cases the individual had moved house before the inventory was made or had extended the property but most will be a reliable record of the hearth tax house. The pitfalls of using probate inventories of a later date in conjunction with the hearth tax can be illustrated by the case of Richard Cockrell, saddler, of Bridlington. He had a two-hearth house in 1670, a three-hearth house in 1672, and when a detailed inventory of his possessions was made in 1692 he had iron ranges in the forehouse, parlour and kitchen on the ground floor and in two chambers on the first floor.<sup>148</sup>

Rooms	Hearths				
	One	Two	Three	Four	Total
House	3				3

<sup>147</sup> In addition to the inventories used for table 2 this table uses 62 from the early 1680s.

<sup>148</sup> TNA, E179/205/504, 514; HHC, U DDCV/208/2.

House, parlour	20	4			24 (14.5 per cent)
House, chamber	2				2
House, 2 parlours		1			1
House, parlour, chamber	58	9			67 (61 per cent)
House, parlour, kitchen		2			2
House, parlour, chamber, kitchen	1	2	3		6
House, parlour, 2 chambers	4	2			6
House, parlour, 2 chambers, kitchen	3	1	4	1	9 (5.5 per cent)
House, parlour, 3 chambers, kitchen and back kitchen			1		1
House, 2 parlours, chamber	8	6	1		15 (9 per cent)
House, 2 parlours, 2 chambers	8	2			10 (6 per cent)
House, 2 parlours, 2 chambers, kitchen		3	3	1	7
House, 2 parlours, 3 chambers, kitchen	1	2		1	4
House, 3 parlours, chamber	2	2			4
House, 3 parlours, 2 chambers	1				1
House, 3 parlours, 4 chambers		1			1
House, 3 parlours, 4 chambers, kitchen			2		2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>111</b> <b>(67 per cent)</b>	<b>37</b> <b>(22.5 per cent)</b>	<b>14</b> <b>(8.5 per cent)</b>	<b>3</b> <b>(2 per cent)</b>	<b>165</b>

**Table 6. Number of hearths and rooms recorded in East Riding probate inventories of the 1670s-80s**                      Milk houses, butteries and workshops have not been included

These inventories probably cover the range of house size to be found in a larger village, with the exception of the homes of the poorer sections of the community and the gentry. They show that the standard East Riding village home consisted of either two rooms, single-storey with house and parlour, or three rooms with the addition of a chamber above. The room called the house, hall house or forehouse was the main eating, cooking and living room and here would be the hearth. Adjoining on the ground floor was the parlour, primarily a sleeping room, sometimes also with a hearth. The chamber, possibly little more than a loft or attic in the roof space, reached by a ladder, was used for storage and sleeping. The many variations of this basic layout can be seen in the table above. The most common was the addition of a second parlour, with or without another chamber.

All but one of the 49 households listed in the hearth tax return for Thornton in the Vale of York were one-hearthed; the exception was the three-hearth vicarage (see clergy houses above). Thornton was a closed village in the ownership of Elizabeth Percy, later duchess of Somerset, daughter and heiress of Joceline Percy, earl of Northumberland, who had died in 1670. The land was divided into small farms ranging from under 20 acres to 80 acres.<sup>149</sup> Eleven probate inventories can be linked to one-hearth houses in the hearth tax return for Thornton. The total value of the goods ranged from £12 to £100, averaging £42, with five in the range £29 to £35. Nine of the houses consisted of house, parlour and chamber, three also had milk houses, one a buttery, and one a 'backerend'. Joseph Clarke had the largest house with house, two parlours, a chamber, a buttery and a backer end, whilst only one room, the house, was listed for Robert Sawyer whose goods were valued at £16. The backer end may be the same as the 'low end' or 'nether end' which Barry Harrison suggests may indicate a longhouse plan.<sup>150</sup> The vicarage house at Bugthorpe in 1716 contained 'three bays of building, two of them dwelt in and the third roome called the backer end for a horse and fodder or what other employment the owner pleaseth'.<sup>151</sup>

A bed was only recorded in one of the chambers: all the rest were used for storing goods, including rye, barley, wheat, hempseed, yarn, butter, cheese and spinning wheels. The milk

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<sup>149</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 3, p. 185.

<sup>150</sup> B. Harrison, 'Longhouses in the Vale of York', *Vernacular Architecture*, 22 (1991), pp. 31-9; see Octon below.

<sup>151</sup> BIA, TER. K, Bugthorpe, 1716.

houses and butteries appear to be dairies with butter, cheese, churns and 'cheesefats' and the backerend a general farm storeroom.

No houses of this period survive at Thornton but they are likely to have been timber-framed and thatched. In the years 1580-88, 182 oak trees and 58 ash trees from the park at Catton were delivered to the tenants at Thornton for rebuilding their houses that had been 'spoiled by fyer'.<sup>152</sup> Five timber and thatch cottages stood in the village in 1797, and 14 brick and thatch cottages were described as 'old' or 'very old' and in bad repair.<sup>153</sup>

The large village of Preston in the better-hearthed wapentake of mid Holderness provides a contrast to Thornton. It was an open village with a high proportion of houses copyhold. The hearth tax return for 1672 is badly damaged and it is necessary to use the 1673 return to get a full picture of the community.<sup>154</sup> Adding the 38 exempt in 1672 there were 127 households, of which 80 (63 per cent) had one hearth, 31 (24.5 per cent) two hearths, nine (7 per cent) three hearths, and there were two houses each with four, five and six hearths and one with 11 hearths.

Fourteen probate inventories for the years 1672-82 can be linked to houses in the hearth tax for Preston, and of these five were one-hearthed, seven two-hearthed and two three-hearthed. The average value of the goods of those with one-hearth houses was £32, with two-hearth houses £158, and with three-hearth houses £120. Ten were inventories of husbandmen and two of yeomen. Nine mention milkhouses suggesting an emphasis on dairying, no doubt supplying milk, butter and cheese to the expanding port of Hull only six miles (9 km.) to the west. The one-hearth houses consisted of a hall house and one or two parlours without chambers or a hall house, parlour and chamber, the two-hearth houses in addition to the hall house and chamber had a kitchen or/and a second parlour. The largest of the three-hearth houses belonged to Edward Burnham, yeoman, who had a hall house, two parlours, two chambers and a kitchen. Burnham's house was evidently larger than his inventory suggested, because when his widow's goods were valued little over a month later three parlours and three chambers were listed. The hall and larger parlour each had an iron range and in the kitchen was a hearth with spits, helpfully identifying the location of the three hearths.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> West Sussex Record Office, Petworth House Archives, 1416.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 3075.

<sup>154</sup> TNA, E179/205/520.

<sup>155</sup> BIA, Subdeanery Wills.

No buildings of before the early eighteenth century are known to survive at Preston, but the vernacular houses of Holderness were usually of mud and/or timber-framed. Nearer the coast cobbles gathered from the beach or the fields were used for building. There are a number of cobble-stone cottages in Hornsea that may date from the late seventeenth-early eighteenth century. Cobbles were also used for the foundations or plinth of mud and cruck houses such as the five that stood at Mappleton, south of Hornsea, in the early twentieth century (Plate 12). One of the cottages was only 12 feet square and divided in the middle by a wooden partition.<sup>156</sup> Mud-walled houses with or without the support of a timber frame were common in Holderness and the Hull Valley and were probably the typical village housing in these areas in the seventeenth century.<sup>157</sup> As late as 1797 twenty of the 35 houses at Leconfield in the Hull Valley were built of mud and thatch.<sup>158</sup>

Mud was also used for walling on the Wolds along with chalk that varied in durability. A good description of a Wolds farmhouse of the seventeenth century or earlier, that stood at Fimber until 1905, was provided by the archaeologist J.R. Mortimer, whose birthplace it was. The farmhouse was probably one of four two-hearth houses at Fimber in 1672 and one of the four and five roomed buildings recorded in late seventeenth-century inventories from the village.<sup>159</sup> The farmhouse was 30 yards long and 7 yards wide and constructed on 10 pairs of crucks. The walls were of clay and straw, up to a foot thick, daubed onto oak laths and the roof was thatched.<sup>160</sup> Mortimer described the building as a 'long shed-like building with a continuous roof, couched at both ends'. The plan was that of a longhouse with a barn and stable at the east end and a cowhouse at the west end with the family's accommodation in between. There were two parlours and the house 'a large room in which the whole family, including the servants, lived, dwelt, cooked and took their food'.<sup>161</sup> There were two large 'sleeping-chambers' for servants and children, over the house and parlours, reached by ladders. The farmhouse was entered by a narrow passage, or entry, that ran straight through the building from south to north between the barn and house giving access to both.

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<sup>156</sup> S. O. Addy, *Evolution of the English House* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London, 1933), p. 65.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 61-2; Pevsner and Neave, *York and the East Riding*, p. 26.

<sup>158</sup> West Sussex Record Office, Petworth House Archives, 3075.

<sup>159</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 8, p. 77. The other twelve houses in Fimber were one-hearthed.

<sup>160</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 8, p. 78.

<sup>161</sup> *A Victorian boyhood on the Wolds: The recollections of J. R. Mortimer*, ed. J. Hicks (EYLHS, 1978), pp. 6-7.

A Wolds farmhouse dating from the time of the hearth tax still stands at the hamlet of Octon, near Thwing.<sup>162</sup> Cased in later brick and chalk walling the building retains two pairs of crucks (Plate 13). The cutting down of the oak for the crucks has been dated by dendrochronology to 1670-71 and as the building would have been constructed soon afterwards it should figure in the 1672 hearth tax return. Unfortunately Thwing and Octon are combined in one entry but the way the list is constructed suggests that the first 24 names relate to Thwing, and the following 11 beginning with two two-hearthed houses and one three-hearthed house concern Octon. The house at present has three hearths on the ground floor and none on the first, but the stack at the south end is probably nineteenth century or later. On the first floor can be seen part of the timber and lath and plaster chimney hood. (13) The building is of two storeys with three rooms in a row arranged north-south. The northernmost ground-floor room heated by an end hearth would have been a parlour and the middle room, divided from the last by plank and muntin panelling, would have been the house or living/cooking room. It retains the greater part of a cupboard bed located under the stairs. The main hearth was in this room and it backed onto the third and smallest room at the south end that was likely to have been used for farm storage rather than domestic use. Here there are entrance doors opposite each other creating an open passage behind the main hearth. This layout, termed the through-passage plan, can be seen as a derivation of the longhouse plan, incorporating a store, dairy or other workroom rather than animal accommodation under the same roof.

A similar plan is found in a seventeenth-century box-framed house at South Dalton on the dip edge of the Wolds north of Beverley (Plate 14). The through-passage plan possibly continued as the norm on the Wolds until the end of the seventeenth century but in the Vale of York it appears to have been superseded by the lobby-entry or central stack plan.<sup>163</sup> More houses of the seventeenth century or earlier appear to survive in the Ouse and Derwent wapentake than in any other part of the historic East Riding. There are a number of box-framed buildings, two at Stillingfleet and Wheldrake with framework exposed and others where it survives internally, at least in part, within a later brick skin at Heslington, Naburn, Riccall and Wheldrake.<sup>164</sup> A number of brick houses in Wheldrake that have a large central chimney

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<sup>162</sup> Old Farmhouse, Glebe Farm, Octon was restored by Natural England and York Archaeological Trust in 2013.

<sup>163</sup> Nos. 17-19 Northgate, Hunmanby, originally a single house with through-passage plan, has a datestone of 1694. Yorkshire Vernacular Buildings Study Group survey 969.

<sup>164</sup> Pevsner and Neave, *York and the East Riding*, pp. 462, 617, 655, 712, 753; B. Hutton, 'Timber-framed houses in the Vale of York', *Medieval Archaeology*, 18 (1973), pp. 94-7.

stack have been dated to the mid-late seventeenth on the basis of their plan, some of these retaining timber-framing from an earlier building. Bangram Hill, Riccall is of this type with a lobby entry opening onto a large axial stack with parlour and kitchen on either side and a third room, a second parlour, at the west end. Above are three chambers or bedrooms and at the rear is a single storey outshot in which the remaining timber-framing of the rear wall is revealed.

Rebuilding in brick or stone, with pantile roofs, did not generally get underway in the East Riding until well into the eighteenth century. In some cases it was necessity as at Everingham and Warter where the estate stewards made frequent references to the poor condition of the housing in the 1730s and 40s. At Warter the house of widow Lyons fell down in 1734 'by reason of the excessive wet' and at Everingham in 1739 Harry Harrison's house was so 'very ruinous that he is afraid to ly in it'.<sup>165</sup> Many East Riding villages in the late seventeenth century would have been like Brandesburton which Celia Fiennes described as a 'sad poore thatched place' in 1697, and where three years later a survey revealed that many of the farms and cottages were 'very meane and in bad repaire'.<sup>166</sup>

## **TOWN HOUSES**

### **Hull**

The grandest house in medieval Hull was the Manor House, Lowgate, rebuilt by Michael de la Pole, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Suffolk, in the later 14<sup>th</sup> century. This house that stood on a large plot opposite St Mary's church and had 24 chambers with chimneys as well as a large hall, 'great chamber', and 'great kitchen' in 1538 had evidently been reduced in size by 1673 when 13 hearths are recorded.<sup>167</sup> It was then owned by Henry Hildyard who had been granted the right to hold two annual fairs on the Manor House grounds in 1664.<sup>168</sup>

### **Inns and multi-occupancy**

Amongst the largest properties in the town in 1672 were the inns, including the 11-hearth George Inn kept by Richard Mann. Arranged around a long courtyard it was set back behind, and incorporated, the timber-framed Cloth Hall, a 'great chamber' used for the 'laying of

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<sup>165</sup> HHC, U DDWA/12/1(b); U DDEV/60/88.

<sup>166</sup> *Descriptions*, ed. Woodward, p. 50; London Metropolitan Archives, CLA Emanuel Hospital, Box 3.8.

<sup>167</sup> Horrox, *Changing plan*, pp. 62-3.

<sup>168</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, , vol. 1, p. 412. The Manor House was demolished in stages after 1663. *Ibid.*, 169.

cloth' on the west side of High Street.<sup>169</sup> An inventory compiled in 1657-8 records that the inn had four parlours and fifteen chambers, all with beds, and a 'cook' kitchen, back kitchen, larder, buttery, brewhouse and meal chamber. Nine hearths can be identified with iron ranges in the Great, Merchants, Two Bed, Three Bed and Great Bed Chambers, and in the Great Parlour and Cook Kitchen. There was a pair of tongs and fire shovel in Metcalfe's Chamber and a copper in the brewhouse. The fittings of the hearth in the kitchen were particularly elaborate with an iron range, a gallow-balk and two reckons, a 'roast meat' iron jack with 'half a hundred' iron weight cord, iron chain and turnkey, eight iron spits and a 'treble' spit.<sup>170</sup> Further south on the west side of High Street stood the King's Head, an impressive timber-framed building that was demolished in 1905 (Plate 15).<sup>171</sup> It had 12 hearths in 1673 when it was owned by Mr Boyes.<sup>172</sup> The Cross Keys on the west side of Market Place, later the town's chief coaching inn, had 10 hearths and was kept by Mr [Joseph] Towerson.<sup>173</sup>

Other large houses were in multi-occupancy such as the 15-hearth house of 'Mr John Stevens and tenants', which stood on the east side of High Street and south side of Salthouse Lane. Late seventeenth-century rentals refer to payments by Widow Trotter for a 'chimney room' in this house.<sup>174</sup> There were evidently a number of tenants in Mr Charles Vaux's 16-hearthed house and Samuel Shelton's 15-hearth house. Vaux, who was town clerk 1648-80, also had a house with 11 hearths where he probably lived.<sup>175</sup>

## Merchants' Houses

Most of the larger houses in Hull were owned and occupied by leading merchants, many of whom were also aldermen in 1673. These included Alderman William Ramsden (d. 1680) whose 17-hearth house on High Street was one of the two largest in the town; the other was occupied by Mr Thomas Baumbrough, a cooper. Ramsden, onetime a Deputy of the

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<sup>169</sup> Barnard, *High Street*, p. 125.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 127-9. For a description of the building in the mid-nineteenth century see J. J. Sheahan, *History and description of Kingston upon Hull* (London, 1864), pp. 306-7; D. H. Evans, 'Urban domestic architecture in the Lower Hull Valley in the medieval and early post-medieval periods', in *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum III: Der Hausbau*, ed. M. Gläser (Lubeck, 2001), p. 63.

<sup>171</sup> Evans, 'Urban Domestic Architecture', pp. 63, 65.

<sup>172</sup> Barnard, *High Street*, p. 101.

<sup>173</sup> G. Percival, 'Hull seventeenth century tokens and their issuers', *East Yorkshire Historian*, 6 (2005), p. 53.

<sup>174</sup> Barnard, *High Street*, p. 21.

<sup>175</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 1, p. 125.

Merchant Adventurers Company and Eastland Company, served twice as Mayor of Hull and was MP for the town 1678-80.<sup>176</sup>

In 1673 some of the merchants would have been living in large medieval timber-framed mansions on High Street but others had rebuilt in brick.<sup>177</sup> Brick and tiles were being used in the town by 1300, and Leland commented on how in the fourteenth century the town walls, Holy Trinity church, the Manor House, and ‘most part of the houses of the town’ were made of brick.<sup>178</sup> Although it was used for the foundations and to infill the walls of medieval timber-framed houses it was not until the later seventeenth century that it became usual for all houses to be built completely of brick.<sup>179</sup> It was a matter of note that the ‘very faire and large new house’ that Thomas Swan, a wealthy merchant, built c. 1640 for ‘above £1,000’ just outside the walls of Hull, was of brick. This house was demolished by the Governor in 1643 and a ‘great mount or sconce’ built on the site to defend the town against the Royalists.<sup>180</sup>

By the 1660s merchants were feeling secure and prosperous and there was a boom in house building in the town. Three brick houses erected at this time survive at least in part. Two are on High Street, Wilberforce House and Crowle House, and one off Silver Street, the Old White Hart. All three are in a style termed artisan-mannerist by Sir John Summerson. Artisan-mannerist refers to the unsophisticated use of classical detail by a builder, stonemason, woodworker or other craftsman. The design and construction of these three Hull houses can be attributed with confidence to William Catlyn (1628-1709), a Hull bricklayer.<sup>181</sup>

Catlyn’s father, John Catlyn (d. 1658), was Warden of the Bricklayers Company of Hull in 1628 and five years later he was contracted by the corporation to build a new Council House, of brick with windows of free stone.<sup>182</sup> William Catlyn, who held a number of public offices, also won prime building contracts in the town. He was contracted to rebuild the Charterhouse Hospital and Master’s House in 1663-4, to build the new chapel there in 1673,

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<sup>176</sup> T. Gent, *History of the royal and beautiful town of Kingston-upon-Hull* (York, 1735), p. 40; [www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/members/William Ramsden](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/members/William_Ramsden).

<sup>177</sup> The King’s Head (see above) had almost certainly been originally a merchant’s house. Horrox, *Changing plan*, pp. 38-9.

<sup>178</sup> *Descriptions*, ed. Woodward, pp. 10-11.

<sup>179</sup> Evans, ‘Urban domestic architecture’, pp. 66-71; I. and E. Hall, *Georgian Hull* (York, 1979), pp. 3-4.

<sup>180</sup> J. W. Clay, *Yorkshire royalist composition papers*, vol. 1 (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 15, 1893), pp. 23-30.

<sup>181</sup> D. Neave, ‘Artisan mannerism in North Lincolnshire and East Yorkshire: The work of William Catlyn (1628-1709) of Hull’, in *Lincolnshire people and places*, ed. C. Sturman (Lincoln, 1996), pp. 18-25.

<sup>182</sup> Neave, ‘Artisan mannerism’, p. 22.

to 'beautify' the Guildhall in 1680-81, and oversee the building of the Market Cross in 1682.<sup>183</sup>

Catlyn clearly had skills as an architect and he owned a 'book of architecture of ancient Rome' which he bequeathed to the library of Holy Trinity church, but the distinctive style of the artisan mannerist houses in Hull probably owed much to Hugh Lister, merchant, for whom Wilberforce House was built around 1660. Lister's father, Sir John Lister, had declared in his will made in December 1640 that his fourth son Hugh 'should live two years beyond sea vizt. one year in Holland and one year in France to learn his languages and book-keeping there, and that afterward when he is fit for it, he should live and continue in Hull and follow the course and trade of a merchant'.<sup>184</sup>

It can be assumed that Hugh Lister did go to Holland, for the façade of Wilberforce House exhibits, with its classical references and use of stone details and decoration in the brickwork, the influence of the Netherlands (Plate 16). Hull had long-established trading links with the Netherlands and many of the merchants would have been familiar with buildings there. Building materials, in the form of pantiles, bricks and 'clinkers' (small yellow bricks used for hearths, paths and yards), were imported into Hull from Holland in great quantities in the mid seventeenth century, as were the dark blue 'marble' gravestones that commemorate merchants in the churches of Holy Trinity and St Mary.<sup>185</sup>

The layout of Wilberforce House as built is unclear, but almost certainly it was only one room deep with a wing to the rear. As now, it had a central entrance through the tower porch leading to an entrance hall, possibly wider than at present, with a room on either side, a great parlour to the north and little parlour to the south. The rear wing, since rebuilt, would have contained the kitchen and other service rooms. The original location of the staircase is unknown but it might have been at the rear of the house in a tower reached directly from the entrance hall.<sup>186</sup> On the first floor there would have been two chambers, great and little, directly above the parlours with other chambers in the wing, and on the second floor garrets for servants and storage. Hugh Lister, who records in his will that he built the house 'new from the ground' died in 1666, and it was his widow Jane who appears as householder for

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<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>184</sup> BIA, York Wills, Holderness Feb. 1640-41.

<sup>185</sup> D. Neave, *The Dutch connection: The Anglo-Dutch heritage of Hull and Humberside* (Hull, 1988), pp. 2-4, 12.

<sup>186</sup> Cf. The Toft, High Street, Bridlington, below.

Wilberforce House in the hearth tax list, with 12 hearths.<sup>187</sup> As often the case with surviving buildings it is not possible to identify the location of as many fireplaces as appear in the hearth tax. The grandest with its ornate carved wood overmantel bearing the arms of Hugh Lister is now in the great chamber or so called banqueting room on the first floor (Plate 17). Originally it may have been in the great parlour.

Crowle House, reached along a passage entered through a gate on the right of 41 High Street, is very much in the style of the façade of Wilberforce House (Plate 18). What remains of the late seventeenth-century building appears to be part of a much larger house built at right-angles to the street although it is possible that this elaborate three-bay, three-storey range was all that was built at that time. It is helpfully dated 1664 and bears the initials of George and Esther Crowle. Alderman Crowle recorded with 13 hearths in 1673 was one of the leading merchants in the town and had supplied 8,000 pantiles for the rebuilding of Charterhouse in 1663.<sup>188</sup> During his first mayoralty in 1661 Crowle had founded an almshouse that was built in an artisan-mannerist style attributable to William Catlyn.<sup>189</sup>

The third of the surviving late seventeenth-century houses, the Old White Hart, Silver Street, has a more restrained façade than Wilberforce House and Crowle House, but still artisan-mannerist in style. It was probably built in the 1660s for Alderman William Foxley (d. 1680) the owner and occupier of this eight-hearth house in 1673.<sup>190</sup> Foxley, described as his ‘good and kind friend’, was appointed by Hugh Lister, the builder of Wilberforce House, to be supervisor of his will and adviser to his widow.<sup>191</sup> The Old White Hart, altered externally in the 1880s, has many original internal features including a substantial staircase and an elaborate fireplace on the first floor. A fourth artisan-mannerist house was built on the east side of High Street by Foxley’s son-in-law Alderman William Skinner, merchant, in 1672.<sup>192</sup> Recorded the following year as having 13 hearths the house later known as Etherington House (50 High Street) was demolished after being damaged in the Second World War.<sup>193</sup>

A fuller picture of a seventeenth-century merchant’s house is provided by two inventories relating to buildings that once stood on the east side of High Street and figure in the hearth

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<sup>187</sup> Will of Hugh Lister, made Feb. 1664, in possession of Geoff Percival, Hull.

<sup>188</sup> HHC, WT/6/114-185; for portrait of George Crowle and family *c.* 1665 see D. and S. Neave, *The building of a port city: A history and celebration of Hull* (English Heritage and Hull City Council, 2012), p. 15.

<sup>189</sup> C. Aldridge, *Images of Victorian Hull: F.S. Smith’s drawings of the Old Town* (Cherry Burton, 1989), p. 46.

<sup>190</sup> R. Barnard, ‘The Old White Hart, Hull’, *East Yorkshire Historian*, 6 (2005), pp. 71-4.

<sup>191</sup> Will of Hugh Lister, 1664.

<sup>192</sup> Barnard, *High Street*, p. 45; T. Tindall Wildridge, *Old and new Hull* (Hull, 1889), pp. 125-6, pl. 69.

<sup>193</sup> R. A. Alec-Smith, ‘Two Houses of the Etherington family’, *Transactions of the Georgian Society for East Yorkshire*, 2 (2) (1948), pp. 34-8.

tax returns. Adjoining Crowle House on the north, and located on the south side of Bishop Lane Staith, was a 12-hearth house occupied by Mr Henry Metcalfe, merchant. The property had been owned by Alderman William Dobson, a wealthy merchant who had died in 1666. The inventory of his goods provides a detailed picture of the layout and contents of a large merchant's house. It stood on the east side of High Street; behind was a garth, or yard, then the garden and finally the staith or wharf, where Dobson had a 'study' with a chamber above. Storage was provided by a 'grayne house', a wine cellar and a 'presse seller' with a great cloth press, suggesting that Dobson traded in cloth, corn and probably wine. The arrangement of the rooms in the house is not clear but on the ground floor there were great and little parlours, a counting house where business was conducted, a kitchen, a gallery and a 'great' back kitchen. The last, at the rear of the house, was possibly detached. Above there were six chambers, including great and little, and accommodation for maids and men servants. The parlours were sitting rooms, well provided with chairs, and the chambers were bedrooms. The great chamber also had plenty of chairs suggesting that this was used for more than sleeping.<sup>194</sup>

A little further north, on the site of 37 High Street, was a 13-hearth house occupied in 1673 by Alderman Thomas Johnson, merchant.<sup>195</sup> He was still living there on his death in 1700, when a probate inventory was drawn up.<sup>196</sup> There were five main rooms on the ground floor: fore room, hall, counting house, parlour, and kitchen. The last two rooms and a brew house had hearths. A staircase near the fore room led to nine chambers above, possibly on two floors. A chamber over the 'office', the fore chamber, best chamber, lodging chamber and chamber near the kitchen had hearths mentioned in the inventory, but not the little chamber, blew chamber, maids' chamber and man's chamber. There was a garret over the best chamber and a meal chamber and beer cellar.<sup>197</sup>

In the late seventeenth century most Hull merchants were content to live 'over the shop' on the crowded High Street with all its activity, noise and smells. Some however had moved permanently, or at least for the summer, to villages to the west of the port. In 1667 Alderman Richard Robinson had a nine-hearth house at Hessle, where his fellow villagers from Hull included Dr Henry Corbet, also with nine hearths, and the shipbuilder Mr William Blaydes,

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<sup>194</sup> ERALS, DDHI/58/5/14. There is fine monument to William Dobson, with portrait bust, in St Mary's church, Lowgate, Hull.

<sup>195</sup> Barnard, *High Street*, pp. 34-5.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*; Gent, *History of Kingston-upon-Hull*, p. 33.

<sup>197</sup> BIA, York Wills, Thomas Johnson, 1700.

who had a five-hearth house, possibly near his shipyard.<sup>198</sup> Six years later Alderman Johnson had a four-hearth house at Hessle. When visiting North Ferriby, further west, in 1699 Abraham de la Pryme noted that there were ‘three or four very good and large halls’ at this ‘very pleasant’ village, of which one had been built not long before 1670 on the site of a medieval priory by Mr Lockwood, alderman of Hull, ‘who had retired thither in the summer’.<sup>199</sup> The large village of Cottingham, to the north west of port, had yet to become the favourite residence of Hull merchants although one of them, John Bacchus, built the artisan-mannerist style Southwood Hall on the edge of his native village in the late 1650s (Plate 19).<sup>200</sup>

Below the level of the merchants were the prosperous tradesmen and craftsmen who lived in houses ranging greatly in size, from two to nine hearths. Their houses and shops were spread throughout the town but were most numerous in the three central wards, Trinity, Austin and Whitefriar, on Market Place, Lowgate, Whitefriargate and the narrow lanes leading eastwards to the High Street.<sup>201</sup> One of these, Church Lane, housed a number of specialist metal workers in 1673 including John Baker, pewterer, who lived in a six-hearthed house, Thomas Fowler, cutler, with three hearths, and Edward Mangie, goldsmith with five hearths.<sup>202</sup> Another five-hearthed house in the street, occupied by Ann Stanfield, widow of a master mariner, comprised three rooms on the ground floor and three chambers and two garrets above.<sup>203</sup>

### **Garden houses**

A distinctive feature of the Hull hearth tax lists are the 12 entries for garden houses.<sup>204</sup> Eight of these are listed under Humber ward, and one each for North, St Mary’s, Whitefriar and Trinity wards. The entry for Alderman William Ramsden (see above), who lived on High Street, records his 17-hearth house with a ‘Garden House’. In this case the number of hearths in the garden house is not given, but of the others five have two hearths and six have one

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<sup>198</sup> TNA, E179/205/499.

<sup>199</sup> *Diary of Abraham De La Pryme*, ed. Jackson, p. 197.

<sup>200</sup> Southwood Hall with nine-hearths was occupied by Mr Wilson in 1672, but by ‘Mr Bacchus’ in the 1671 and 1673 hearth tax returns.

<sup>201</sup> Percival, ‘Hull seventeenth century tokens’, p. 47.

<sup>202</sup> A. Bennett, ‘The goldsmiths of Church Lane, Hull: 1527-1784’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 60 (1988), pp. 118-19.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>204</sup> Deeds and other Hull documents have references to garden houses in the seventeenth century. Clay, *Yorkshire royalist composition papers* vol. 1, p. 113; HHC, C D.944, M.657. Eight garden houses are recorded in the 1672 hearth tax list for York: *The hearth tax list for York City parishes and Ainsty wapentake Lady Day 1672* (Ripon, 1992), pp. 2, 14, 18-19.

hearth.<sup>205</sup> They were held by the wealthier section of the community for, in addition to Alderman Ramsden, nine householders with garden houses were accorded the title of ‘Mr’ or ‘Mrs’, including the then mayor John Rogers, and another was Robert Dickinson, compass maker.<sup>206</sup>

What were these garden houses used for and where were they located? A hearth, and especially two hearths, in such a building suggests that it could be lived in, possibly accommodating a gardener or gardeners. Of the 12 garden houses listed eight were noted as empty and may have been more like a summer house or the detached banqueting house of a grand country house. It is most likely they were located in detached gardens, a feature of close built towns such as Hull where many large houses had little or no open space.<sup>207</sup> This would be the case on the east side of the High Street in Hull where the area between the house and the private staith or wharf on the river Hull would be taken up with warehouses and yards where goods were stored. In summer months the wealthier families would set out to spend leisure time in their gardens on the edge of the town where the garden house provided a place to cook, eat and shelter. The presence of a hearth meant the garden houses could be used throughout the year.

Eight of the garden houses were listed separately from the householder’s main house and were seemingly in detached gardens. There was evidently a group of gardens in Humber ward, perhaps on open ground within the wall alongside the Humber. Three householders on the east side of High Street, Mrs Bloom, Mr John Rogers, and Mr John Robinson, with thirteen, eleven and ten hearths respectively, each had a garden house in Humber ward.

Alderman William Ramsden’s garden house was listed with his large High Street house and was probably on the land behind. This was evidently the case with Alderman William Dobson’s garden house that contained two tables and frames, a pair of tables, one chair and four high chairs of Russian leather, a form, 12 little pictures, a ‘hanging glass case’, a copper warming pan, two garden knives, a pair of garden shears and ‘some other odd implements’.

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<sup>205</sup> A number of the garden houses in the 1662 hearth tax returns for Bristol were evidently far more substantial having as many as five hearths. The three-hearthed sumptuously furnished garden house of Robert Jordan on Park Lane, Bristol was on five levels, with cellar, kitchen, dining room, best chamber and garret. R. H. Leech, ‘Bristol: The hearth tax as a decodable street directory’, in *Houses and the Hearth Tax*, ed. Barnwell and Airs, p. 90.

<sup>206</sup> Barnard, *High Street*, p. 73.

<sup>207</sup> J. Harding and A. Taigel, ‘An air of detachment: town gardens in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries’, *Garden History* 24 (2) (1996), p. 237; R. Thomes, ‘Detached gardens and urban allotments in English provincial towns, 1750 to 1950’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2011). There were detached gardens at King’s Lynn where in 1636 a merchant left his wife a garden ‘to bleach and dry clothes, to take herbs, and to recreate herself’: V. Parker, *The Making of King’s Lynn* (Chichester, 1971), p. 44.

<sup>208</sup> In Dobson's garden there was an arbour and beyond, a grass plot with five pairs of bowls and a jack.

A view of Hull c. 1540 shows gardens in a wide band inside the walls and on Hollar's birds-eye view of c. 1640 there is plenty of open ground in the western part of the town and near the walls (Plate 1). Gardens occupying the ground alongside the walls was a feature of other medieval walled towns such as Exeter, Hereford, Sandwich, and Southampton.<sup>209</sup> Dame Elizabeth Lister, who lived in High Street, Hull, leased a garden, stable and garden house called Clubb Hall in Trinity Lane from the corporation in 1644, and Alderman Francis Dewick whose house was on the east side of High Street had a garden and garden house on the south side of Jesus Gate (Robinson Row) in 1652.<sup>210</sup> In the later seventeenth century some of the land of the Manor House off Lowgate was divided into gardens. Robert Scott leased a garden and garden house here in 1683 and Christopher Bayles, merchant, who lived on the east side of High Street, had a garden and garden house in 'the manner' in 1718.<sup>211</sup> Gardens existed outside the walls but these may have been market gardens, such as the 'garden or cabbage garth without Myton Gate near the walls of the town' purchased by Lawrence Prestwood, mercer in 1658.<sup>212</sup>

## BEVERLEY

Around 1540 Leland described Beverley as 'well buildid of wood' and a good proportion of the medieval timber-framed houses to which he was referring would still have been standing in 1672.<sup>213</sup> Most were swept away in the rebuilding of the town during its renaissance in the Georgian period. One building that does survive from 1672 and can be identified in the hearth tax return is the remnant of the medieval Dominican friary, which is built of brick and stone and not timber-framed (Plate 20). Beverley had a flourishing brick and tile industry in the fourteenth-fifteenth century but the brickwork of the west wing of the Friary is more likely to be of the later sixteenth century when the building was converted into a private dwelling by the Warton family, Hull merchants, who leased, then purchased, the manor of

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<sup>208</sup> ERALS, DDHI/58/5/14.

<sup>209</sup> Thomes, 'Detached gardens', pp. 104-5; H. Clarke, S. Pearson, M. Mate and K. Parfitt, *Sandwich* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 118, 225; Harding and Taigel, 'An air of detachment', p. 237.

<sup>210</sup> HHC, C M.583, Horrox, *Changing plan*, p. 69; ERALS, DDCC/53/2.

<sup>211</sup> HHC, C D.944 (f); ERALS, DDSA/399.

<sup>212</sup> HHC, C D.868. Mrs Prestwood, possibly Lawrence's widow, was charged for an empty two-hearth garden house in 1673.

<sup>213</sup> Evans, 'Urban domestic architecture', pp. 53, 59, 63, 67.

Beverley.<sup>214</sup> In 1672 it was let to Sir Francis Cobb, who was taxed on eight hearths. Cobb was one of the wealthiest landowners in the East Riding with an estate at Ottringham in Holderness and Skirpenbeck in Buckrose that were worth £691 in 1662.<sup>215</sup>

In the 1670s six of the largest houses in Beverley were occupied by landed gentry, including Sir Robert Hildyard, baronet, with a 14-hearth house in Wednesday Market Ward and Sir Edward Barnard with an eight-hearth house in Saturday Market Ward. Sir Henry St Quintin, baronet, was living in a large medieval merchant's house in Newbegin that had belonged to a branch of the Percys, earls of Northumberland. This 12 hearth-house was rebuilt c. 1690, as the present Newbegin House (12-14 Newbegin), by Charles Warton.

The head of the Warton family, Michael Warton, the owner of the East Riding's second most valuable estate, was living at Bar House in North Bar Within, which had twenty hearths, the largest number in the town. Although that house has been rebuilt, much is known about it from a detailed inventory that was drawn up in 1688, following the death of Michael Warton.<sup>216</sup> Also mentioned in this inventory are 'Nurse Ainsworth House' and 'Billops House', neighbouring properties that Warton had recently acquired. Both occur in the hearth tax, when Mary Ainsworth paid tax on three hearths, and William Billop on four. They can be identified as comprising nos. 49—51 North Bar Within, Beverley's best surviving timber-framed building, almost certainly built as one house in the late Middle Ages (Plate 21).

The Warton inventory, which has no valuations, is remarkable in that every item – even a mouse trap - in each room in Bar House was listed. The contents included many items that indicated the presence of a hearth. Thirteen rooms where the family lived, ate and slept were heated. The dining room, for example, contained a chimneypiece, an iron range with four bars, a fender, a pair of tongs, a fire prod, two fire shovels, a pair of bellows, and an iron chimney back. The house also had two kitchens, the smaller with a range, and the larger with an iron grate 'under the beef copper' in addition to a furnace door, an oven door, two gallow balks, eight spits etc. There was also a range in the laundry, and coppers in the wash house and two brewhouses, each of which would have had a hearth of some description. The house also had several unheated garrets and service or storage rooms.

Nothing is known of the appearance or date of Warton's Bar House, although brick pillars on the boundary to the north are of the mid-late seventeenth century. It was probably of a similar

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<sup>214</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 6, p. 210. The Friary is now a Youth Hostel.

<sup>215</sup> Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MD335/Box 57.

<sup>216</sup> *Michael Warton of Beverley: an inventory of his possessions*, ed. E. Hall (Hull, 1986).

date to the 14 hearth-house of James Moyser that stood on the opposite side of North Bar Within. The house, the site of which is now occupied by the early nineteenth-century St Mary's Manor, had been built by Moyser by 1665.<sup>217</sup> The façade of the large seven bay house was divided by full-length pilasters with a small triangular pediment over the centre (Plate 22). Showing the influence of Dutch classicism it was in a much more sophisticated style than the contemporary artisan-mannerism favoured by Hull merchants, of which there are two examples in Beverley. One is a brick range at the rear of the Monk's Walk pub and restaurant (formerly the George and Dragon inn), 19 Highgate, dated 1671 that has Doric pilasters and triangular and segmental pediments. The other, now nos. 56-58 Flemingate, appears to be the remnant of a larger house that had nine hearths in 1672 when it was shared by Mr Johnson and Mr Denton. The left half of the building has triangular pediments to the windows on both floors; that on the first floor is flanked by Doric pilasters. The hearth tax return two years later records the house as divided into two, John Green having a five-hearth house and William Denton one of four hearths.<sup>218</sup>

Probate inventories, of which there are very few from before 1688 for Beverley, and leases for property held from the Minster or St Mary's church, provide clues to the scale, layout and sometimes building materials of the houses of tradesmen and craftsmen. An inventory made in 1694 listing the goods of John Power, dyer, who lived in Saturday Market near the corner of Dyer Lane, may relate to the five-hearth house that he had in 1672. The house consisted of a fore room, a buttery, a fore chamber, a little chamber next to the street and a chamber over the buttery. The three chambers contained beds and the only hearth mentioned was in the fore room. Here the inventory records fully the fittings of the hearth which comprised 'one iron range with clamps, one iron fender, two pair of tongs, two fire shovels, one gallabolke & recon hookes, six iron spits, one iron forke, one iron jack & weights & other iron implements' which were valued at £1 13s. Power also had a shop, a work house with three coppers, two with grates, a 'sheer' chamber and servants' chamber. His goods were valued at £251 6s 8d.<sup>219</sup>

Richard Graburn, a member of a family of prosperous oatmeal makers, leased a property from St Mary's in North Bar Without, beyond the town ditch. When his lease was renewed in 1680 a description was given of his house, which had two low rooms and two chambers

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<sup>217</sup> *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, ed. A. Browning (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London, 1991), pp. xlv, 53.

<sup>218</sup> It was almost certainly the birthplace in 1707 of Green's grandson, John Green, who was to become bishop of Lincoln.

<sup>219</sup> BIA, York Wills, John Power, 1694.

towards the street, covered with tiles, and two parlours with chambers over, at the rear of the house, which were thatched. Outbuildings included a stable, kiln house, kiln and mill house.<sup>220</sup>

Thatched roofs would soon disappear as the town was steadily rebuilt in brick and pantile. In 1695 Beverley was described as ‘much improv’d in its buildings’ and Celia Fiennes, who visited two years later, found Beverley ‘a very fine town for its size’ with buildings that were ‘new and pretty lofty’, indicating that change had begun.<sup>221</sup>

## **BRIDLINGTON**

The prosperity of the port of Bridlington in the late seventeenth century encouraged much building activity both at the Quay and the Old Town. The latter had a great range of housing from substantial late medieval timber-framed buildings and cottages constructed of stones from the demolished Priory to fashionable new brick houses (Plate 23).<sup>222</sup> The largest house in the Old Town had 12 hearths and stood on the north side of the High Street. It was probably built in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century by William Hustler, woollen draper, who ‘from a mean fortune attained a vast estate’ and was Bridlington’s wealthiest resident and benefactor for over 50 years until his death in 1644.<sup>223</sup> In 1672 the house was owned by his widow ‘Lady Boocock’ who had remarried a Dr Edward Beaucock of York. The second largest house in the town with seven hearths belonging to George Fairbank, apothecary, was on south side of Westgate. It was largely rebuilt in brick in 1682 with artisan-mannerist details (now 7-9 Westgate)

When the hearth tax return was made in 1673 five houses were recorded as in process of being built including a new house for William Hudson, woollen draper, merchant and Chief Lord of the manor of Bridlington. His house, now known as the Toft stands on the south side of High Street. Although re-fronted in the 1840s it retains both its original plan and a remarkable interior with sumptuous late seventeenth-century provincial woodwork, comprising a whole series of elaborate doorcases, each different, and an ornate carved chimneypiece (Plate 24). The house is one-room deep, L-shaped in plan with a rear service wing. In the angle is a staircase tower once topped by an octagonal glazed lantern with ogee

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<sup>220</sup> ERALS, PE1/262.

<sup>221</sup> *Descriptions*, ed. Woodward, pp. 41, 48.

<sup>222</sup> D. and S. Neave *Bridlington: an introduction to its history and buildings* (Otley, 2000), pp. 15, 17, 106.

<sup>223</sup> Hustler paved the town and founded the grammar school. Neave, *Port, resort and market town*, pp. 76-8.

dome.<sup>224</sup> From the lantern William Hudson could look towards the Quay and see his ships coming into the port.

One hundred of the 120 houses at the Quay were one or two hearthed and five were three hearthed, probably occupied by the families of seamen, fishermen and tradesmen such as sailmakers, ropemakers, ship's carpenters and anchorsmiths. The fifteen larger houses with four or more hearths were chiefly the homes of merchants and master mariners. The four wealthiest merchants were accorded the title 'Mr', as was Thomas Aslaby the collector of customs who had a five-hearth house. During the years 1672-78 Aslaby sent letters almost every week to government officials in London with news of the port and the comings and goings of ships from the continent. Previously these letters had been written by John Bower, who was the resident Samuel Pepys consulted when the Admiralty wanted something dealt with at Bridlington. Bower lived in an 11-hearth house, the largest at the Quay, which stood on the south side of Prince Street.<sup>225</sup>

Until the 1660s the Quay consisted of one street, a much longer version of the present Prince Street, which was being steadily eroded by the sea at its eastern end. Under the terms of the town deed of 1636 the Lords Feoffees of the Manor of Bridlington granted land on the common adjoining the Quay on long leases for the erection of houses to any whose cottage had decayed or fallen to ruin 'by reason of the wearing or washing away of the sea'.<sup>226</sup> This led to the laying out of King Street with parallel backstreets, now Chapel Street and Queen Street, to the north and south. In 1663 a master mariner, Bartholomew Anderson, was granted land on King Street where he built his six-hearth house.<sup>227</sup> There are numerous references in wills to new built houses or additions at the Quay in the 1670s-80s.<sup>228</sup> Timothy Robinson, master mariner, assessed for three hearths in 1670 and six in 1672 had evidently extended his property by building in the yard behind. His will made in January 1672 refers to his cottage where he lived at the Quay, part of which was occupied by his mother, and to the 'kitching,

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<sup>224</sup> F. F. Johnson, 'The Toft, Bridlington', *Transactions of the Georgian Society for East Yorkshire*, 2, (4) (1950), pp. 33-45.

<sup>225</sup> Neave, *Port, resort and market town*, p. 112. Bower's house later became the Ship Inn, which after the addition of an assembly room was the main social centre of the emerging seaside resort in the mid-eighteenth century. *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>226</sup> Neave and Neave, *Bridlington*, p. 117.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>228</sup> Neave, *Port, resort and market town*, p. 116.

parlour or what else' built between the old house and the new south house. The 'forefront' of the last he left to his son Timothy with 'all the rooms and conveniences herein'.<sup>229</sup>

Robinson was a nephew of the merchants John and Thomas Rickaby, who lived in six and four-hearth houses, respectively, at the Quay. John Rickaby's house was on the north side of Prince Street and probably had changed little by the time of his death in 1701. His probate inventory records a ten-roomed house on three floors. On the ground floor were a parlour, kitchen and back kitchen, on the first floor the 'Great Chamber', the 'Green Chamber' and the 'Red Chamber', all sleeping rooms, and on the second floor four garrets. There were evidently hearths in the rooms on the first two floors. The order in which the rooms are listed suggests that the house had a narrow frontage to the street and was one room wide and three rooms deep.<sup>230</sup>

As brickmaking was well established at Bridlington by the 1670s these new houses at the Quay would have been brick built and possibly roofed in pantiles that were imported here in large numbers from Holland. No houses of this period survive at the Quay but a drawing by Francis Place around 1720 shows a group of one and two-storey houses. A couple of these appear to be timber-framed and thatched but most look brick built, some with substantial chimneys and four with shaped gables that suggests Dutch influence.<sup>231</sup>

## FUEL

In 1598 Lord Burghley was informed that the Yorkshire Wolds were 'so scarce of wood and fuell of any kind to burne as their husbandmen use straw for fier and candelles'.<sup>232</sup> The severe lack of readily available fuel was still common to most of the East Riding in the later seventeenth century and may partly explain the preponderance of single-hearth households. If acquiring fuel for one hearth was difficult this could be a deterrent to having additional hearths.

The archaeologist J.R. Mortimer recalled that in the early nineteenth century 'the cottagers of Fimber and the adjoining wold villages were often in great straits for fuel, and at times were constrained to burn the dried excrements of the cows. This kind of fuel was called 'cassons',

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<sup>229</sup> BIA, York Wills, Vol. 54, f. 185.

<sup>230</sup> Neave, *Port, resort and market town*, pp. 118-119. Rickaby's son rebuilt the house c. 1710.

<sup>231</sup> Neave and Neave, *Bridlington*, pp. 24-5.

<sup>232</sup> A.Harris, 'Gorse in the East Riding of Yorkshire', *Folk Life*, 30 (1991-2), p. 18.

and was burned in a somewhat similar manner to peat. It was gathered from the lanes and pasture lands after it had been baked by the sun into cake-shaped pieces. Besides these ready-made cassons, others were often prepared by the cottagers collecting or gathering the soft excreta and dabbing them in lumps on the sunny side walls of their cottages, and when sufficiently dried, they were taken off and others again stuck on.’<sup>233</sup> Cassons are recorded in early seventeenth-century probate inventories from South Cave, partly in the Vale of York and on the western edge of Wolds, and later in the century from Weaverthorpe in the Great Wold Valley.<sup>234</sup> They were said to be a ‘common article of fuel’ in Holderness.<sup>235</sup>

Gorse, called whin or furze in the East Riding, flourishing on sheep walks, pastures and rough common land was a fuel much used throughout the region. Inventories occasionally mention whins such as the ‘one hundred of whins’ valued at 4s. that belonged to John Browne of Welwick in Holderness in 1690.<sup>236</sup>

Blocks of peat, known as turves, were the most common fuel recorded in sixteenth and seventeenth-century inventories for the large market village of South Cave.<sup>237</sup> Here the villagers had rights to dig turves on the large common of Wallingfen. Elsewhere in the Vale of York and in South Holderness turves are the main fuel recorded in late seventeenth-century inventories. The Cliffords acquired great quantities of peat from Thorne Moor, east of Doncaster, to feed the many hearths in Londesborough Hall on the Wolds in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The turves were carried by river to Bubwith on the river Derwent, or Broomfleet or Brough on the Humber then taken by cart some 15 miles to Londesborough. Even greater expense was incurred in the carriage of considerable amounts of coal from Newcastle by ship to Brough where the Cliffords rented a house as a coal store from where it was carted by tenants to Londesborough.<sup>238</sup>

Only the wealthier of those villagers who lived some distance from the coast or a navigable river would have been able to afford coal in the later seventeenth century. Henry Best of Elmswell near Driffield, regularly obtained coal from Bridlington, 12 miles away in the 1630s-40s and William Taylor, a substantial farmer at Towthorpe on the Wolds had half ‘a

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<sup>233</sup> *Victorian Boyhood*, ed. Hicks, p. 5.

<sup>234</sup> “*Goods and Chattels*” 1552-1642: *wills, farm and household inventories from the parish of South Cave in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. J. Kaner (Hull, 1994), pp. 245, 250, 257; BIA, Dean and Chapter Wills, William Halliday, 1650, Robert Simpson, 1661 and Hugh Halliday, 1665.

<sup>235</sup> W. Marshall, *The rural economy of Yorkshire* vol. 2 (London, 1788), p. 321.

<sup>236</sup> Harris, ‘Gorse’, p. 19.

<sup>237</sup> “*Goods and Chattels*”, ed. Kaner, *passim*.

<sup>238</sup> Spence, *Londesborough House*, pp. 56-8.

chaulder of coles' along with 'whinnes and straw' and 'other fewell for the fire' in 1668.<sup>239</sup> Coal was readily available to the residents of Hull where it was the main coastal import.<sup>240</sup> In November 1672 when colliers were prevented from reaching Hull by Dutch privateers it was feared that the coal stock for the town and the garrison would be exhausted before Christmas.<sup>241</sup>

The difficulty of obtaining fuel on the Wolds led Joseph Pennington the owner of Warter to employ 'north country colliers' in 1711-16 on a long, fruitless search for coal on his estate.<sup>242</sup>

## CHIMNEYS

Chimneys were not universal in the seventeenth century. It was ordered at Beverley in 1607 that fires were not to be kept without chimneys, and around 1710 Ann Richardson of Wheldrake petitioned the East Riding justices for a chimney to be made in the tenement provided for her.<sup>243</sup>

Chimneys of timber studs and laths, plastered with mud would have been usual in the East Riding countryside in the late seventeenth century (Plate 25). One such chimney with its hood 'receding like a cone from three sides' to the roof in a mud building at Great Hatfield near Hornsea was described at the end of the nineteenth century and a section of a similar timber-framed hood survives in the late seventeenth-century cruckhouse at Octon (Plate 13).<sup>244</sup> Timber framed and mud chimneys were still being built in Holderness in the eighteenth century for in 1758 the overseers of the poor at Withernsea paid for wood to make a chimney and for its daubing.<sup>245</sup> The frequent demolition of chimneys, as recorded in exemption certificates, suggests that they were insubstantial timber and mud constructions.<sup>246</sup>

Brick chimneys would have been more common in the larger towns. In 1648 the Warden and Brotherhood of Bricklayers of Hull complained about James Hudson an English bricklayer 'dwelling at Amsterdam' who had been 'deluding diverse' inhabitants of Hull by telling them

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<sup>239</sup> *Farming and memorandum books*, ed. Woodward, p. 121; Harris, 'Gorse', p. 19.

<sup>240</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 1, p. 140

<sup>241</sup> E. Gillett, *East Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire 1660-1688* (Hull, 1981), p. 3.

<sup>242</sup> D. Neave, 'The search for coal in the East Riding in the eighteenth century', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 45 (1973), pp. 194-7.

<sup>243</sup> *VCH Yorks. ER*, vol. 6, p. 111; ERALS, QSP/111.

<sup>244</sup> Addy, *Evolution of the English House*, pp. 62, 128. For Octon cruckhouse see above.

<sup>245</sup> G. Miles and W. R. Richardson, *History of Withernsea* (Hull, 1911), p. 27.

<sup>246</sup> See appendix \* [Exemption certificates].

that their chimneys were poorly made and that he could 'amend'. Instead he made them worse.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> HHC, C M.189.