



*Fig. 3 Ermine Street, looking north: the former smithy, near left; the pair of No. 2 cottages, second from left (see Fig. 14). Beyond is the area shown on Fig. 1. For the right side, see Fig. 19 (K. Miller)*

19th century survives in good order, sympathetically maintained under the continuing Nelthorpe estate, one pair at least drawn with slight amendment from a pattern-book.<sup>15</sup> Photographic and oral evidence suggests that there was extended reliance upon poorly built field-stone cottages, dating perhaps from 1800. The only public utilities established by landlord interest were the Reading Room (1858) and the school (an 18th century charity, rebuilt 1854 and extended 1876).

Variation in policy towards cottage provision on different estates does not necessarily imply differences in the degree of overt social control exercised by landlords or their agents, although attitudes towards labourers' houses simply as property contrasted widely. Sir Robert Sheffield's attitude early in the century was as much utilitarian as philanthropic; notes on a holding at Burton in 1816 record that 'this Cottage House has a very bad Roof: – it should be taken off, and the walls raised about two feet; the Chamber would then be useful'.<sup>16</sup> The 'air of decency and order about [the labourers] and their cottages' observed there at this time by an outsider<sup>17</sup> arose as much from material care as from other social or spiritual considerations – although the Sheffield's saw to it that only one public house existed in the villages on their estates. The Yarborough rebuilding, dating from the middle of the century, indicates similar degrees of care in management, but at a time when pride in appearance for reasons of taste combined with a new sense of social enlightenment to encourage expensive investment in cottages calculated to improve moral

and aesthetic sensibilities alike; besides, not only had the Yarborough estates become a byword for good management, the family had assumed the leadership of Liberal politics in the north of the county. But failure to build or rebuild never constitutes evidence of a lack of landlord control. Scawby, without coherent rebuilding, retains an oral tradition regarding the Nelthorpes' paternalism, which extended to cottage visiting by the female members of the family and peremptory instructions about domestic details such as the length of girls' hair. Similar oral traditions persist in respect of cottage life at Saxby All Saints, where the Hope-Bartons maintained a strict régime accompanied by thorough control of the fabric and appearance of buildings; the date and manner of cottage improvement here are difficult to make out, but clearly there was addition of a proper first floor to older properties in the 19th century. There were good cottages with attached rights of cow-keeping after 1900 in Saxby, but no family archive survives to allow detailed historical examination of the rebuilding process and its effects.

West of the Ancholme, outstanding examples of later cottage rebuilding survive in good order at Roxby and Appleby. In both villages there was extensive replacement of older structures in the 1870s with well-built and well-designed semi-detached cottages of good proportions, using outstandingly good materials. All can easily bear comparison with contemporary suburban development intended for the middle classes. In both parishes a number of paired cottages were built on