

CLIFTON CROFT

A 19TH-CENTURY VILLA ESTATE IN SUBURBAN YORK



(YAYAS EV2754)

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Abstract

This dissertation aims to prove the significance of 19th-century suburban villa estates by conducting a biographical study of Clifton Croft, York. Using archival documents and landscape archaeology to understand the history and development of the Clifton Croft complex and the relationship between the Croft and its ancillary buildings, this project aims to examine the creation and evolution of the complex within a history of suburban development and the nouveau riche of the 19th century. This work also seeks to track the complex into the present day, including a study of the 20th-century dissolution of the estate. Finally, this dissertation will undertake a measured survey on portions of the vernacular Clifton Croft Stable Block to further illuminate the building, which is lacking documentation.

Villas as a building type have received very little scholarly attention, and this is especially true for the smaller Victorian-era suburban villas. These buildings are largely seen as both unoriginal and pedestrian. The villa's flexibility through time gives them a reputation for being inauthentic and unworthy of meaningful study. This dissertation intends to augment the limited scholarly attention received by suburban villa estates of the 19th century.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Defining Villas

This work is an examination of the Clifton Croft complex, a villa estate in suburban Clifton, now within the City of York. Villas of all types, in contrast to agriculturally-dependent estates, have largely been defined by their attachment to and reliance upon the city (Historic England 2017 *Domestic 3*, 6). Other forms of categorization including their location (rural or suburban), time period (from ancient to modern day), architectural style (Palladian or other), and associated status (for the bourgeois elite or the middling classes), have all changed over time, resulting in a rather problematic typology (Arnold 1998b, ix-x). While also traditionally associated with retreat from the city (Ackerman 1990, 9), others maintain that reliance on the retreat narrative is not wholly accurate (Arnold 1998b, ix). It is clear that the study of the villa as a building type is made all the more difficult by its fluctuating characteristics; the study of villas must be hedged by time period, style, location, and their surrounding estate (or lack thereof), due to the sheer number in existence and their vast differences. These complexities and uncertainties may be one reason that suburban villa estates, such as Clifton Croft, have received so little scholarly attention. Negative connotations associated with suburbia may have also steered scholars away from the subject. The suburbs are seen as spaces of the nouveau riche, lacking in culture and originality, and have been derided as being soulless (Whitehand and Carr 2001, 10-14). The suburbs are fundamentally an in-between space, not the city but not the countryside, and the villa, adapted from the places of leisure of the upper classes, is fundamentally an in-between building. It is neither row housing nor the country estate, and can be molded to its surroundings. This flexibility through time gives villas a reputation for being inauthentic. They are buildings that are seen as not original enough for scholars of the vernacular, too middle class for the archaeologist, and not grand or impressive enough for the architectural historian.

Aim of this Work

The aim of this dissertation was to complete a biographical study of the Clifton Croft estate while placing the complex within its landscape in Clifton. This included: understanding the history and development of the Clifton Croft complex and the relationship between the Croft and its ancillary buildings; examining the creation and evolution of the complex within a history of suburban development, the complex's ties to York, and the nouveau riche of the 19th century; and tracking the complex into the present day, including a study of the dissolution of the estate. This

project was completed primarily through analysis of archival documents, but in the case of the Stable Block, a building which was partially accessible and lacking documentation, measured survey was also deployed. A significant benefit to this work was the author's familiarity with the estate and landscape on a day-to-day basis, through the habitation of the Stable Block. By experiencing the complex first hand over the last year, the estate's story became more intimately relatable. This biographical approach, as championed by Shapland (2020), amongst others, brings more humanity to what are essentially places of human identity and fulfillment (Archer 2005, 45). This work is a testament to the complexity and humanity of suburban villa estates.

Introduction to the Clifton Croft Complex

The Clifton Croft complex today consists of three buildings: Clifton Croft, a Grade II listed Neoclassical villa (Figure 1; Historic England n.d.-b); the Gardener's House (now No. 16, Clifton Green) a Grade II listed Gothic Revival building (Figure 2; Historic England n.d.-a); and the Stable Block, an undesignated heritage asset (Figure 3). The Stable Block has been subdivided and now represents three separate properties: Nos. 1, 2, and 3 The Mews (Figure 4). At the height of the estate's development in the mid-19th century, the complex also included a Laborers' Cottage, located at the current site of No. 19 Water End, alongside other ancillary buildings which have since been demolished. The Gardner's House has been separated from the Stable Block and Clifton Croft by an interwar development of detached houses (Figure 5). The complex lies within Clifton, near to the intersection of Clifton Road and Water End. Clifton was formerly an agricultural township and now exists as a neighborhood within the City of York (Figure 6).



Figure 1. Clifton Croft in the 1920s, the earliest known image of the building (CYA Images: y_11571).



Figure 2. The Gardener's House in the spring of 2023.



Figure 3. The Stable Block, now three separate residents. The residences are labeled and red lines indicate divisions between. Spring 2023.

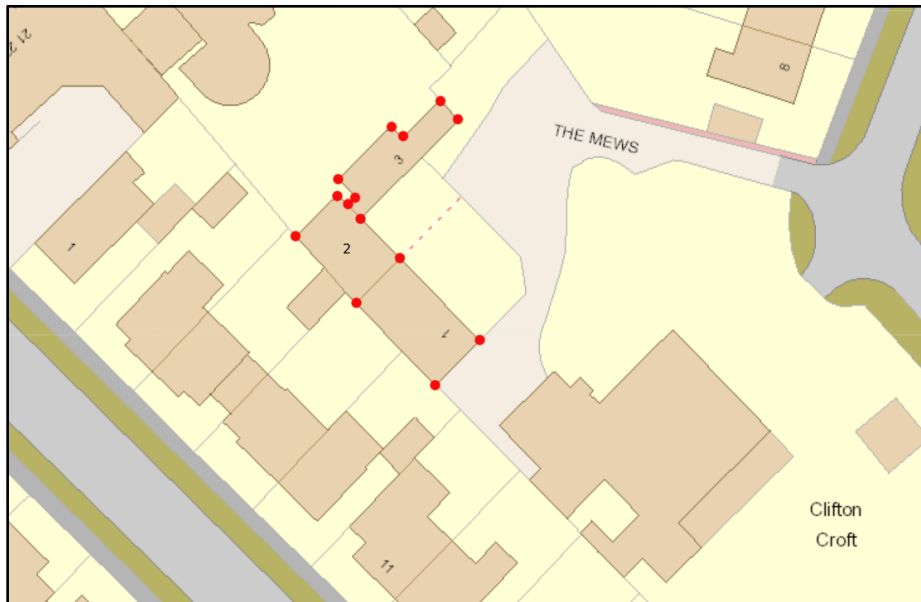


Figure 4. The divided residences within the Stable Block are highlighted in red (City of York Council 2023).



Figure 5. Boundary line of the former Clifton Croft estate (Google Earth 2023a).



Figure 6. Clifton Croft estate within the larger City of York (Google Earth 2023b).

Chapter Two: Research Context

Introduction

This examination of the development and regression of the Clifton Croft complex over time lies at the intersection of many under-investigated fields within the larger study of British built heritage. A suburban estate that came into its full power during the Victorian era, Clifton Croft and its ancillary buildings have been excluded from traditional narratives around villas, with the vast majority of art historical study pertaining to the landed elite of the Georgian period and their associated classical structures, the smaller 19th century villa estates have largely been ignored (Hewlings 1989; Ackerman 1990; Arnold 1998b). At the same time, archaeological study of the 19th and 20th centuries has, to a great degree, focused on the working class, industrial buildings, and related workers' housing in connection to class dynamics and capitalism (Stratton and Trinder 1997; Casella and Symonds 2005; Tarlow 2007; Palmer et al. 2012). This study also aims to investigate the evolution and decline of the Clifton Croft complex through a landscape perspective, despite the fact that landscape archaeology has traditionally been used for periods other than the postmedieval. Within the last 25 years, archaeologists and art historians have urged their colleagues to embrace documentation, biography, and context (landscape) when studying postmedieval buildings (Tarlow and West 1999; Arnold, D. 2002; Hicks 2004; Green and Dixon 2016; Shapland 2020). During this same time period, archaeological investigations of buildings and estates associated with the British elite (usually the domain of art historians) have demonstrated the value of this work, despite its relative unpopularity in the field (Gould 1999; West 1999; Finch and Giles 2007; Finch 2008; Tatlioglu 2010; Finch 2019). Postgraduate students have continued this work through their examinations of postmedieval gentry houses, country house garages, and country house stables (Cooper-Dunn 2017; Noga 2018; Buckley 2019). In particular, Janine Buckley (2019) and Carley Noga (2018) have shown that the study of country houses often includes the separation of the main house from its surrounding ancillary buildings. Art historian Giles Worsley has also demonstrated stables—a key component of many estates—have largely been ignored in the architectural study of buildings (Worsley 2004). This work aims to treat Clifton Croft and its ancillary buildings, including its undesignated Stable Block, as they were designed—in connection with each other within their proper context.

Villas and Georgian Architecture

Within a rather limited field of study, published material on villas in Britain has been dominated by the work of architectural historians with their associated affinity towards Georgian structures and complexes (Hewlings 1989; Ackerman 1990; Arnold 1998b). James Ackerman created perhaps the most comprehensive work on villas from their Roman origins to modern equivalents, however, his work largely skips over the Victorian period, despite including the buildings of more modern architects Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier (Ackerman 1990). This Victorian occlusion is likely due to the “loss” of the villa’s distinct architectural style, Palladianism, in the proliferation of published material and democratization of the villa—reducing the scale of the villa’s surrounding grounds and placing it within the suburban context to increase its appeal to the middle and working classes (Ackerman 1990, 225-226). Ackerman derides John Claudius Loudon, a Scottish author and champion of this democratization process, “Loudon emerges as the most influential of the innumerable authors of villa and cottage books of the early nineteenth century, not because of his theories, which were neither stimulating nor novel, but because he identified, in the middle and working classes, new audiences for model dwellings and gardens, and effective means of attracting them. For better or worse, he altered the face of suburban Britain,” (Ackerman 1990, 227). From the early to mid-19th century, the villa as a rural retreat transformed into detached or semi-detached suburban housing for the middle class. This suburban villa was viewed as less originally-conceived, less individual or architectural, and therefore less worthy of study.

While Ackerman may have characterized changes to the form and location of villas during the 19th century as a detraction, art and urban historian Mireille Galinou has created one of the few works on villa estates which includes the Victorian period (Galinou 2010). Tracing the St John’s Wood development in suburban London from its early origins at the end of the 18th century, she uses biography, archival records, and landscape study to examine the estate’s development into the late 19th century. Galinou’s work demonstrates connection and continuity between the Georgian and Victorian periods which cannot be seen in other works that abruptly end circa 1840.

Villas and the Country House

The general lack of dedicated scholarship on villas seems to be dependent on the idea that there is no differentiation between the villa and the country house—that suburban houses of the

elite and country houses fulfill similar, if not the same roles, and that the study of villas would simply be a re-hashing of already known truths. This idea can be seen in the Historic England (2017) Listing Selection Guide, where suburban and country houses are grouped together, and in Ackerman's (1990) work, which is subtitled *Form and Ideology of Country Houses*. Country houses have seen significantly more scholarly research, especially from architectural historians, with this work including social histories, studies of servants, and theoretical study (Girouard 1971; Girouard 1978; Gerard 1994; Arnold 1998a; Christie 2000). Most pertinent to the Clifton Croft estate, Girouard's (1971) study of Victorian country houses highlights the wealth of information to be gleaned from these structures of the 19th century, a century which saw the beginnings of decline of the country house as a form and lifestyle. Despite earlier focus on Georgian buildings due to pressures from the Georgian Group in the 1930s and 1940s (Saint 1996, 126) and associations of Georgian architecture with British traditionalism (Arnold 1998a, 15), groups such as the Victorian Society, founded in 1958, lobbied for Victorian architecture to be recognized as significant (Victorian Society 2017). It seems likely that the Victorian Society, and larger trends in postwar conservation, influenced Girouard's work on the period.

Although newer on the scene, geographer Heather Clemenson and postmedieval (historical) archaeologists have also researched country houses, investigating social space, biography, and the estate landscape (Clemenson 1982; Tarlow and West 1999; Finch and Giles 2007; Finch 2008; Tatlioglu 2010; Finch 2019). Archaeology offers a more anthropological perspective on the country house in particular, and elite houses in general. Susie West in her examination of social spaces in the country house writes, "...it [the archaeological study of houses] comes out of a tradition of pursuing comparative research questions and explicit production of theory about how cultures operate..." (West 1999, 105). This application of anthropological theory separates archaeological study from art historical study of the same structures and spaces. While postmedieval archaeologists work to justify study of the "modern" period (Tarlow and West 1999; Green and Dixon 2016), art historians such as Arnold have criticized the study of country houses as being too focused on architectural style and individual architects (Arnold 1998a). While these are valid criticisms, the fact that these types of historiographical critiques exist in reference to country houses demonstrates the vast differences in the amount of work and thought surrounding country houses versus villas. No one seems to be thinking much about villas at all, let alone launching critiques of the limited body of work surrounding them. This study aims to demonstrate that villas and their surrounding estates have their own unique stories to tell.

Villas and Landscape Archaeology

With the goal to capture all of the estate and firmly plant it within suburban York, landscape archaeology was deployed in this investigation of Clifton Croft. Landscape archaeology is both a part of archaeology and a way of seeing, or paying attention to, the space beyond singular sites. In essence, landscape archaeology is about seeing space through the human perspective of work and the environment. Although there is some argument otherwise (Fleming 2007), W. G. Hoskins is generally thought to be the originator of much landscape study in Britain with his seminal work, *The Making of the English Landscape* (Hoskins 1955). Matthew Johnson contends that Hoskins' work, and landscape archaeology of the historic period in general, is deeply tied to a romanticization of the countryside and rural life (Johnson 2007). With its origins in this romantic depiction, historic landscape archaeology has generally been used to study the medieval landscape and the vernacular countryside (Penoyre and Penoyre 1978; Bowden 1999; Johnson 2007). More recent work by archaeologists has expanded the field to include estate, urban, and suburban landscapes (Tarlow and West 1999; Finch and Giles 2007; Finch 2019). Susie West's work of incorporating more theoretical elements from prehistoric landscape archaeology, such as phenomenology, in the study of English country houses can be seen in the aforementioned "Social Space and the English Country House," (West 1999). Phenomenology is the process of centering humans in the landscape, and has perhaps been most used by Christopher Tilley, a postprocessual archaeologist, in the study of prehistoric landscapes (Tilley 1994). West uses access analysis to investigate, "...the link between inhabiting a building and inhabiting a body, and the processes of creating social meaning between these two categories," (West 1999, 105). Similarly, Shane Gould in "Planning, Development and Social Archaeology," uses access analysis to study a 19th century villa as part of an industrial estate (Gould 1999). Gould deploys this technique in particular to investigate power/control dynamics between servants and the homeowner (Gould 1999, 148-151). Gould and West demonstrate the effectiveness of these types of analyses in the historic landscape and this work aims to examine the Clifton Croft complex utilizing similar techniques.

An Argument for the Archaeological Study of Villas

Investigations of Victorian villa estates such as Clifton Croft lie within a critically-understudied field of postmedieval archaeology—the archaeological examination of the "lesser" elite. Villas are simultaneously too posh for those studying industrial archaeology (unless

associated with an industrial estate), too suburban for those studying urban domestic structures, too planned for those studying rural vernacular buildings, and too pedestrian for those studying country houses and grand architecture. Their associations with the nouveau riche allow them to be characterized as both unsophisticated and unintentional. Similarly, the buildings themselves exist in a liminal space—are they part of the city or part of the surrounding countryside, are they associated with the elite or the middling classes, do they have a surrounding estate or do they lie on a small plot? The defining characteristics of the villa change depending on the period of study, making broad theories about their existence difficult to form. Furthermore, unlike many country houses which have been opened to the public as a way to generate revenue, villas are often small enough to remain in private hands. While country houses are also more likely to remain within a family or lineage, villas tend to pass through unrelated individuals. The non-public nature of villas makes them harder to access, and their association with non-aristocratic families means records are often scarce. With all of their complexities, 19th-century villa estates offer a unique expression of the interactions between countryside and city, neighborhood and house, and homeowner and servants. Compared to more self-sufficient and isolated country houses, villas are more reliant on the surrounding city, more reflective of local changes, and more susceptible to development pressures. This work exists as evidence of the intricacies of 19th-century suburban villa estates.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

This report began as a hyperlocal study of the renovated Stable Block the author occupied from September 2022 until August 2023. An initial simple curiosity about the building sparked this work when the now-disconnected nature of the estate and unprotected status of the Stable Block (in contrast to the Grade II designated Clifton Croft and Gardener's House), became apparent. Expanding outward from a recording of the accessible portions of the Stable Block, this study aimed to connect "The Mews" to Clifton Croft and its other associated ancillary buildings, the Gardener's House and now-demolished Laborers' Cottage. Treating the villa and ancillary buildings as a complex, this complex could then be connected to Clifton, a former township and now suburb, and the wider City of York.

Record Survey

Work on this project began with a measured survey of Nos. 2 and 3 The Mews, the accessible portions of the Stable Block. Hand survey was chosen because of a lack of fine-grained historic interior features; the interior of the Stable Block was largely created based on the historic shell of the building in the 1990s. No. 3 The Mews was undergoing renovations in anticipation of becoming a rental property, necessitating recording before the property became inaccessible and further changes to the interior occurred. This survey was conducted from the 5th of March until the 1st of May 2023, based on the guidance given in Historic England's *Drawing for Understanding* (Adams 2016) and the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists' *Standard and Guidance for the Archaeological Investigation and Recording of Standing Buildings or Structures* (CIfA 2020). A risk assessment was created prior to this survey. No. 2 The Mews, personally occupied, was recorded at the same time, with a baseline being established in the courtyard between the two connected dwellings. No. 1 The Mews was not accessible from the interior. During the March 5th to May 1st timeline, select photographs were taken of the interiors of Nos. 2 and 3.

Documentary Research

Using the Level 4 survey guidance in Historic England's *Understanding Historic Buildings* (Lane 2016), a variety of primary and secondary sources were consulted. Many days of archival research were conducted in May through August of 2023. York Explore Library and Archive was the primary source of archival documents, directories, and voter registries. The majority of the

archival documents at York Explore were legal documents from the Gray, Dodsworth and Cobb collection, but photographs, plans, and newspaper articles from the archives were also viewed. On-site use of directories and voter registries greatly aided in tracking the Clifton Croft estate over time. The York Herald was accessed through the British Newspapers Archive while census records were accessed through Ancestry's online archive, both sources being free to use at York Explore. Ordnance Survey maps essential to understanding the complex's development were accessed through the National Library of Scotland and Digimap, both online sources. Additional photographs were kindly provided by the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society (YAYAS) through their Evelyn collection. Secondary sources specific to Clifton that aided in this work include Barbara Hutton's *Clifton and Its People in the Nineteenth Century* (1969) and Van Wilson's *The Changing Face of Clifton* (2011). Relevant articles from the journal the *York Historian* were also provided by YAYAS. Finally, informal chats with several neighbors and private archival documents supplied key hints in moments of uncertainty.

Chapter Four: Roman Occupation of Clifton

Roman Roads and Clifton Croft

While the Clifton Croft estate was established relatively recently, boundary lines for the complex can be traced back to the Roman occupation of York, with evidence for these Roman roads and cemeteries in the Clifton area existing since at least the late 17th century. Clifton Road, running northwest from Bootham Bar, lies largely on Roman Road 7 (Figures 7 and 8; RCHME 1962, 3). Road 5, parallel to Road 7, ran through what later became the gateway to St Mary's Abbey, passing between the Roman fortress and the River Ouse to the east (Figures 7 and 8; RCHME 1962, 2). Additionally, Road 6, linking roads 5 and 7, intersected with Road 5, "...near to Clifton Croft," (Figure 7; RCHME 1962, 2). Road 5 later represented a now-obsolete boundary between St Olave and St Michael-le-Belfrey parishes, with this boundary being reflected in the standing brick wall that exists at the southern edge of the Clifton Croft complex (Tillott 1961, 311; RCHME 1962, 2-3). This brick wall currently runs behind the estate from Water End towards the southern end of Greencliffe Drive and forms the southwest portion of the Stable Block and Clifton Croft (Figure 9). Further pictorial evidence for Roman Road 5 running underneath and at the boundary of the Clifton Croft complex can be seen in Figure 10 from 1893. Furthermore, the RCHME states,

S.E. of Water End the road was marked by another parish boundary, now also obsolete and represented by the boundary between the grounds of Clifton Croft and the back gardens of houses in Westminster Road; this continued the original alignment for 175 ft., then, after a slight change of direction at the N. end of the outbuildings of Clifton Croft, it marked the road for another 690 ft to N.G. 593527. (RCHME 1962, 2)

This slight change in direction can still be seen in the form of the Stable Block, connecting the 19th-century building to the area's ancient past (Figures 11 and 12). Roman cemeteries and occupation sites have been found along roads 5, 6, and 7 between Clifton and the western side of York city center (Figure 13; RCHME 1962, 49-65, 67-110). Just southeast of the former property boundary along The Avenue, a possible Roman pit, pottery, human remains, and other occupational material were found (City of York Council 2020, MYO3621; City of York Council 2020, EYO6662). Later developments of the Clifton Croft complex connected Water End to The Avenue through Greencliffe Drive and Westminster Road.

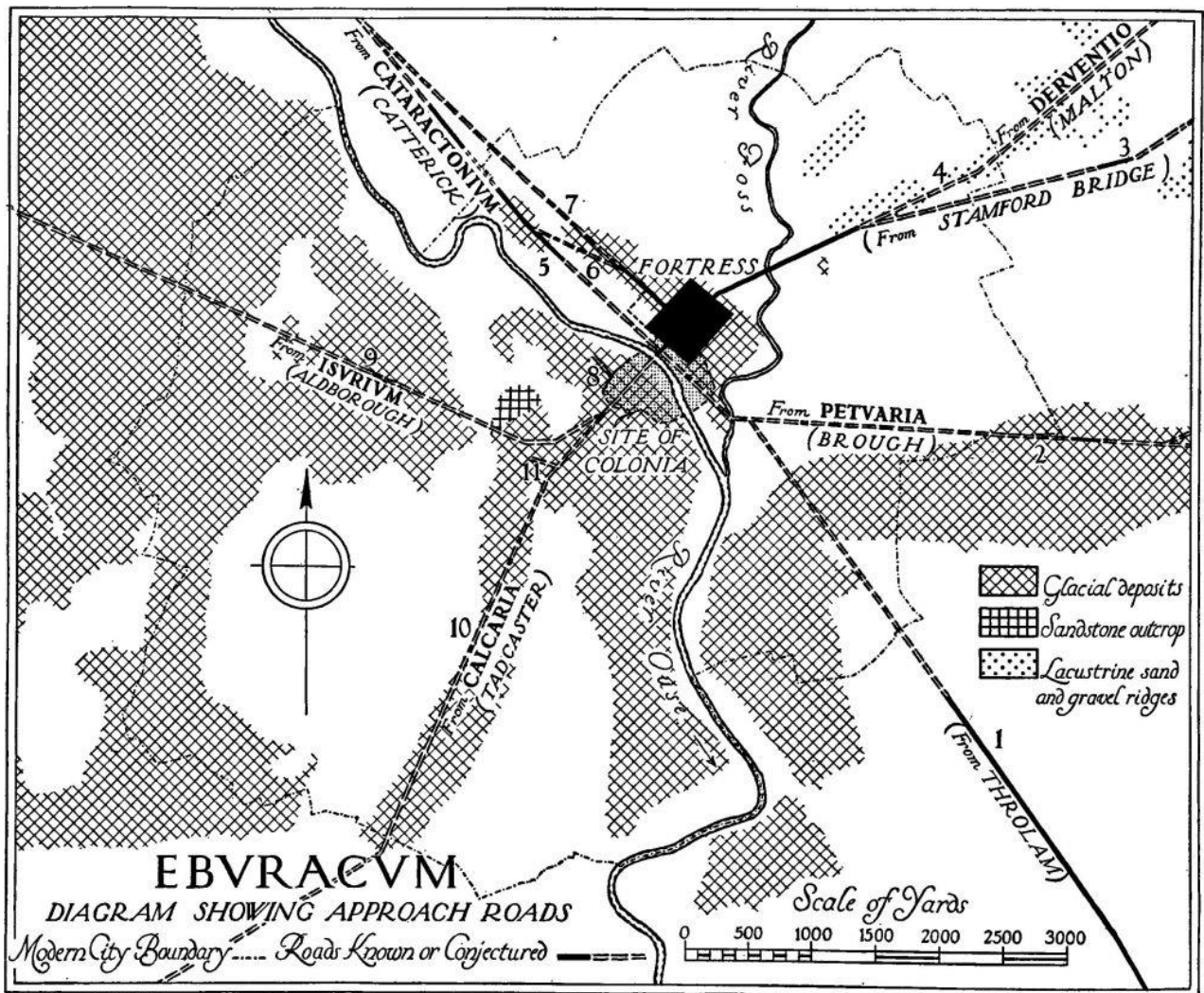


Figure 7. Roman fortress, settlements, and roads in York (RCHME 1962, 1).

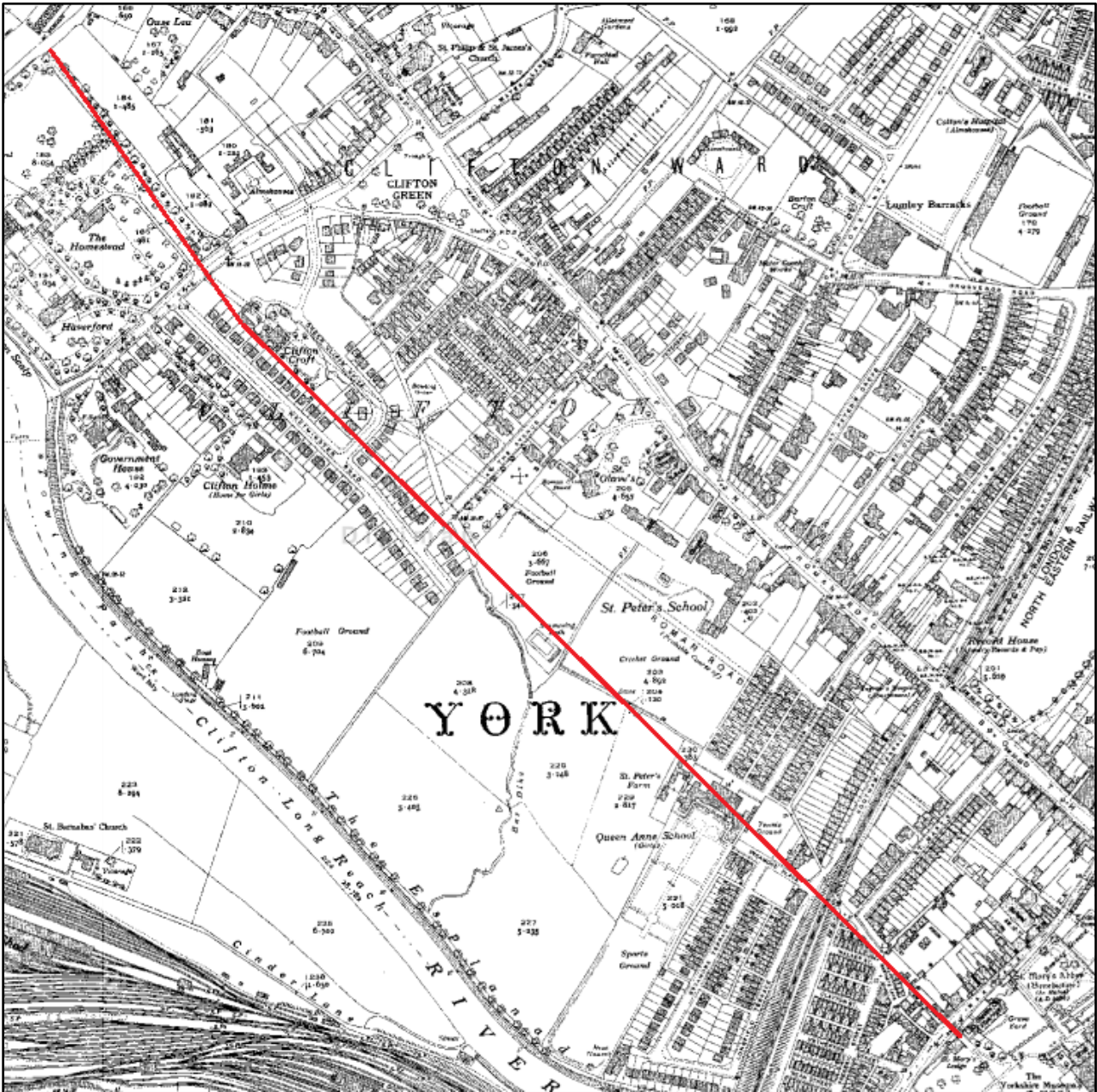


Figure 8. Conjectured course of Roman Road 5 from the entrance to St Mary's Abbey to what is now the boundary of Homestead Park. Based on RCHME description and drawn over the 1937 Ordnance Survey Map (Digimap 2023).

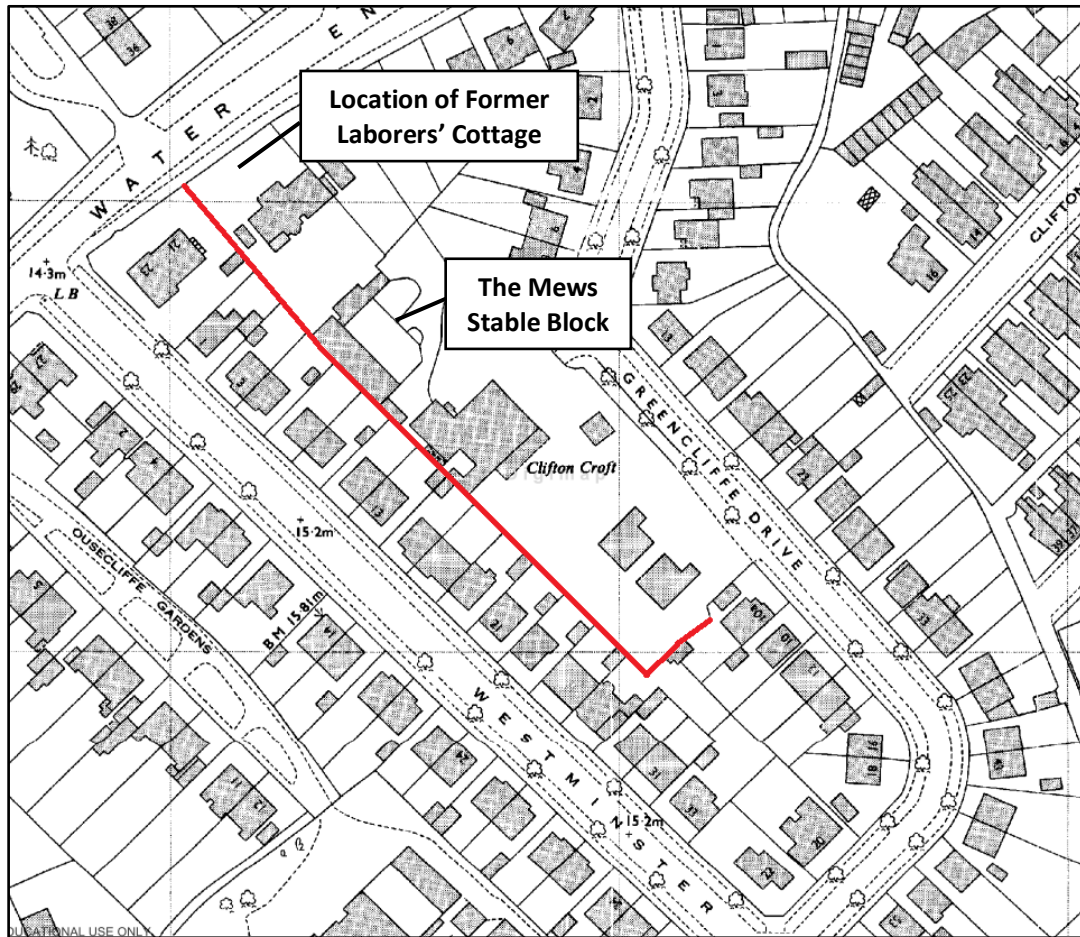


Figure 9. Remaining portions of the brick wall which forms the southern boundary of the Clifton Croft complex in red. Drawn over the 1976 Ordnance Survey Map (Digimap 2023).

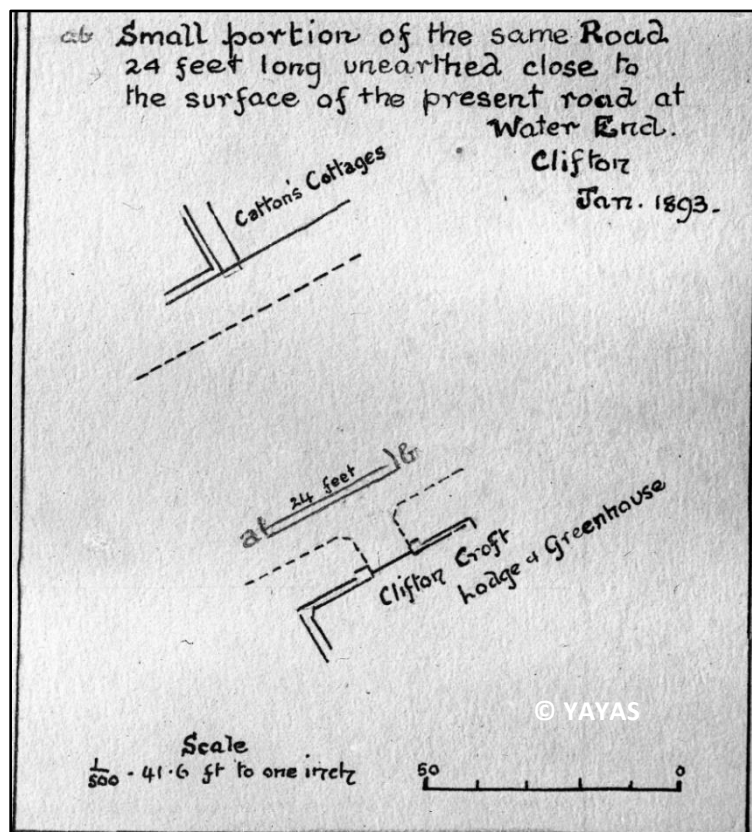


Figure 10. Discovery of Roman Road 5 near the entrance of the Laborers' Cottage in 1893 (YAYAS EV1721).

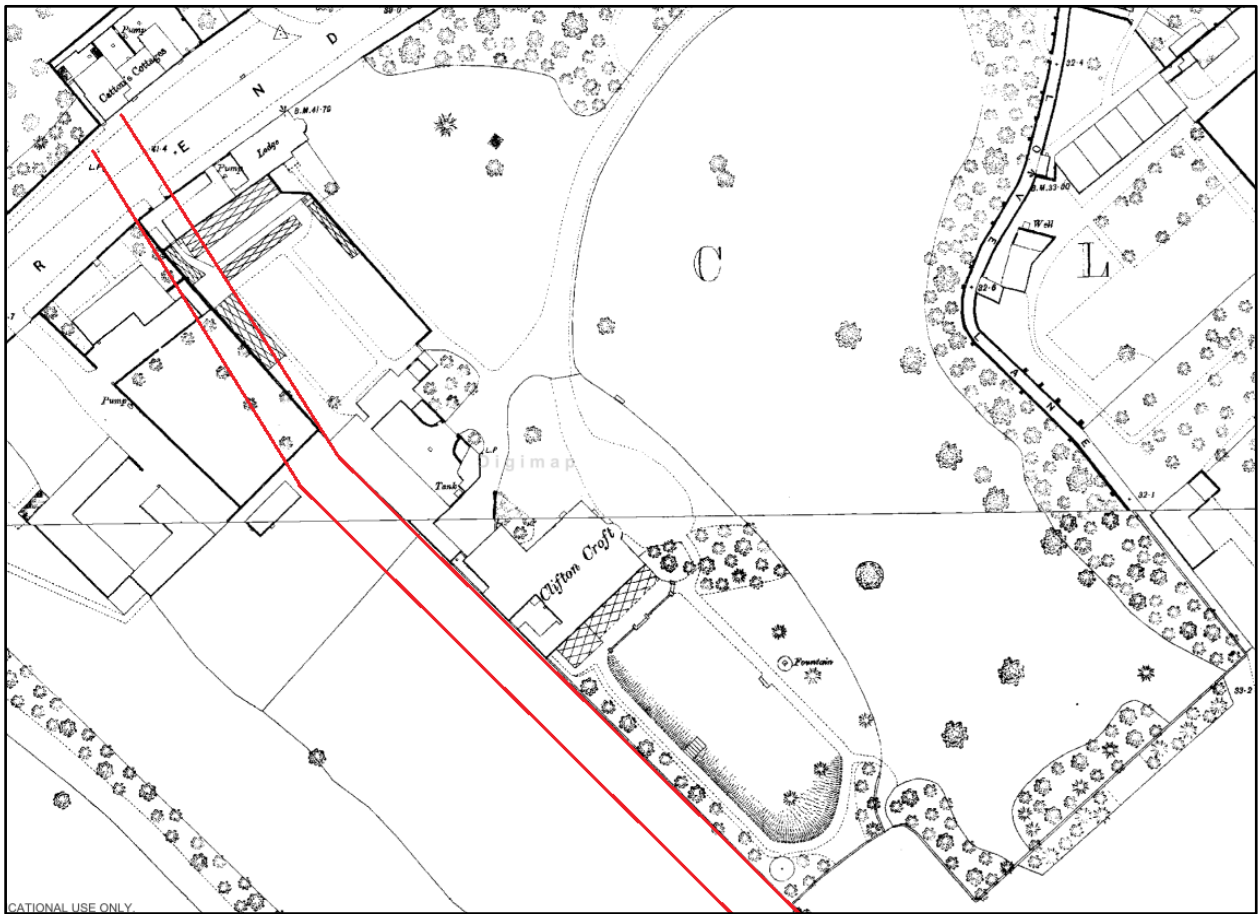


Figure 11. Conjectured course of Roman Road 5 at the southwestern end of the Clifton Croft Complex based on RCHME description. Drawn over the 1891 Ordnance Survey Map (Digimap 2023).

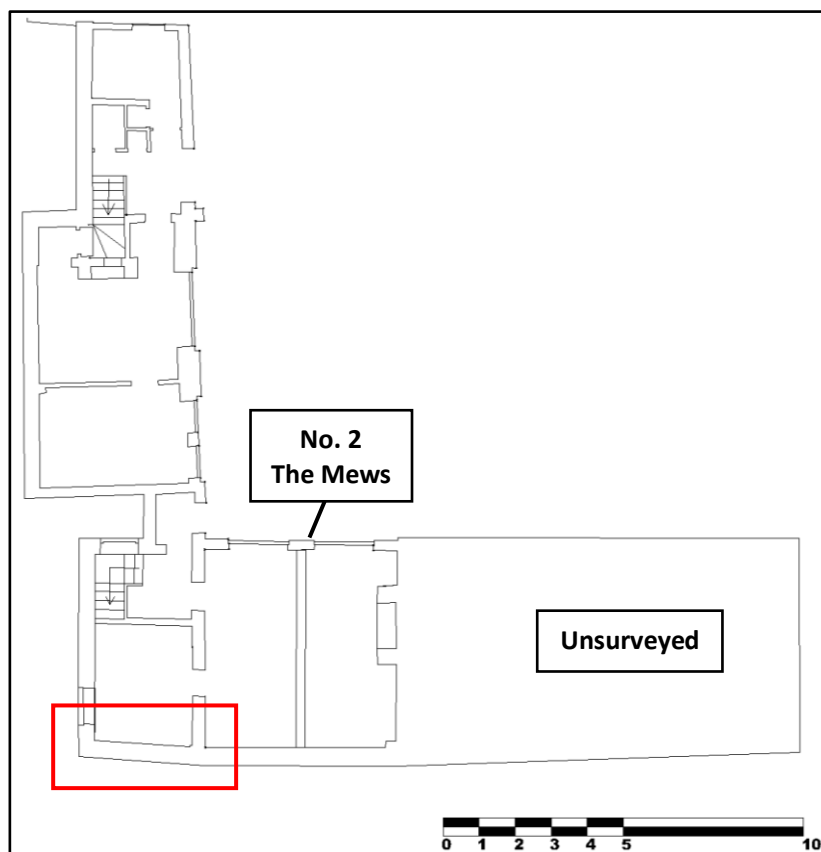


Figure 12. Measured survey of The Mews Stable Block. The turn in direction is outlined in red.

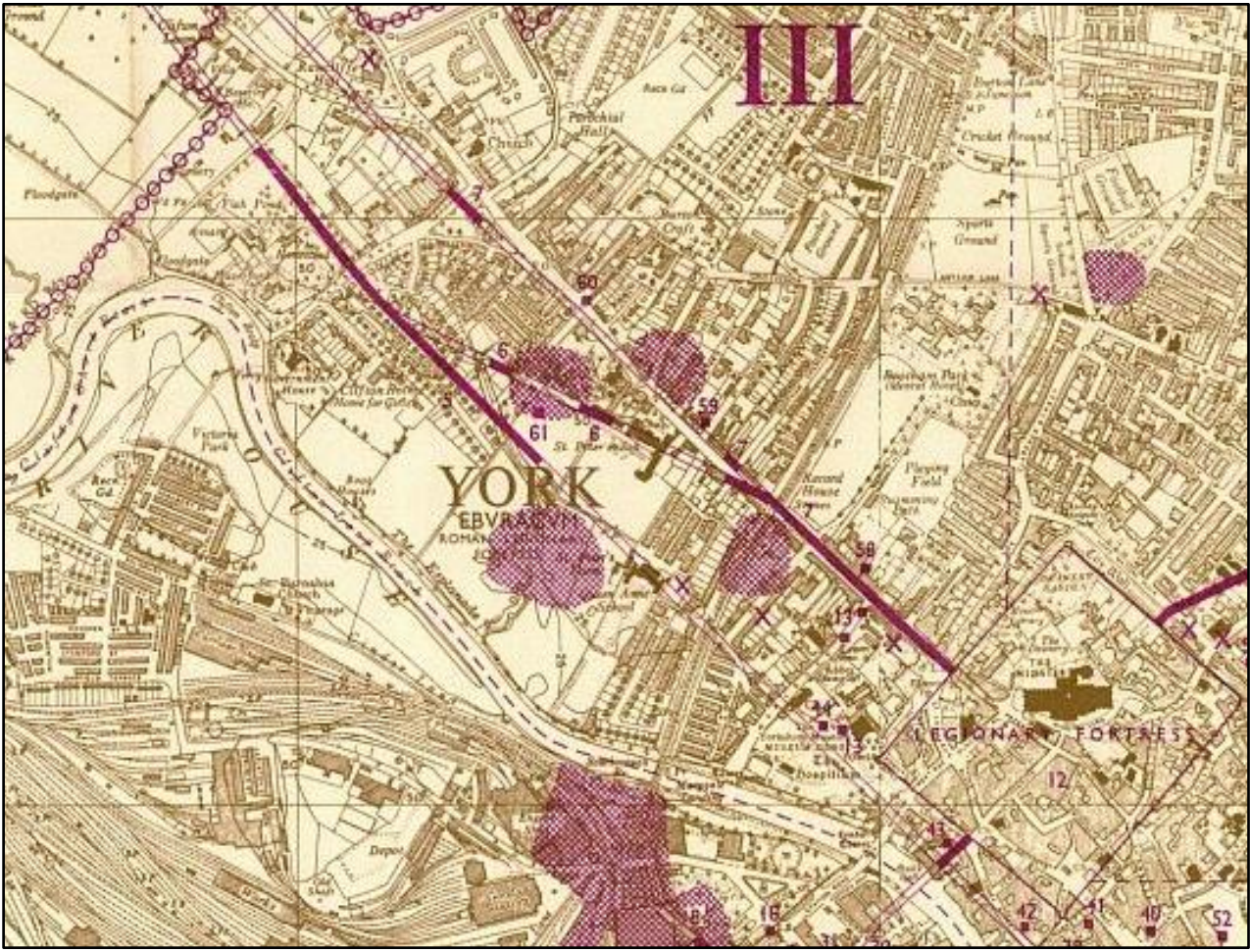


Figure 13. Roman Roads, cemeteries, and occupational evidence in northwest York.
Red hashed areas represent cemeteries (RCHME 1962, Map 1).

Chapter Five: Medieval Clifton

Settlement in Medieval Clifton

While it seems likely that there were post-Roman Anglo-Scandinavian settlements in Clifton due to the Anglo-Saxon origins of its name (referring to the cliff face), no further evidence has been found for settlements of this period (Kaner 1988, 2; City of York Council 2013). Boundaries originally laid out along parish lines and burgage plots can be seen in the Ordnance Survey map of 1852 and within existing property lines, especially those north of Clifton Road. Jennifer Kaner contends that Clifton was settled along the ridge of higher ground that runs in an “L”-shape from the River Ouse to Clifton Road (Figure 14; Kaner 1988, 2). Certainly, at various times, flooding from the Ouse and the Burdyke would (and still does) cause issues to low-lying areas of Clifton including the Green. Despite this flooding, the benefits of living in Clifton must have outweighed potential risk for settlements to continue to the present day.

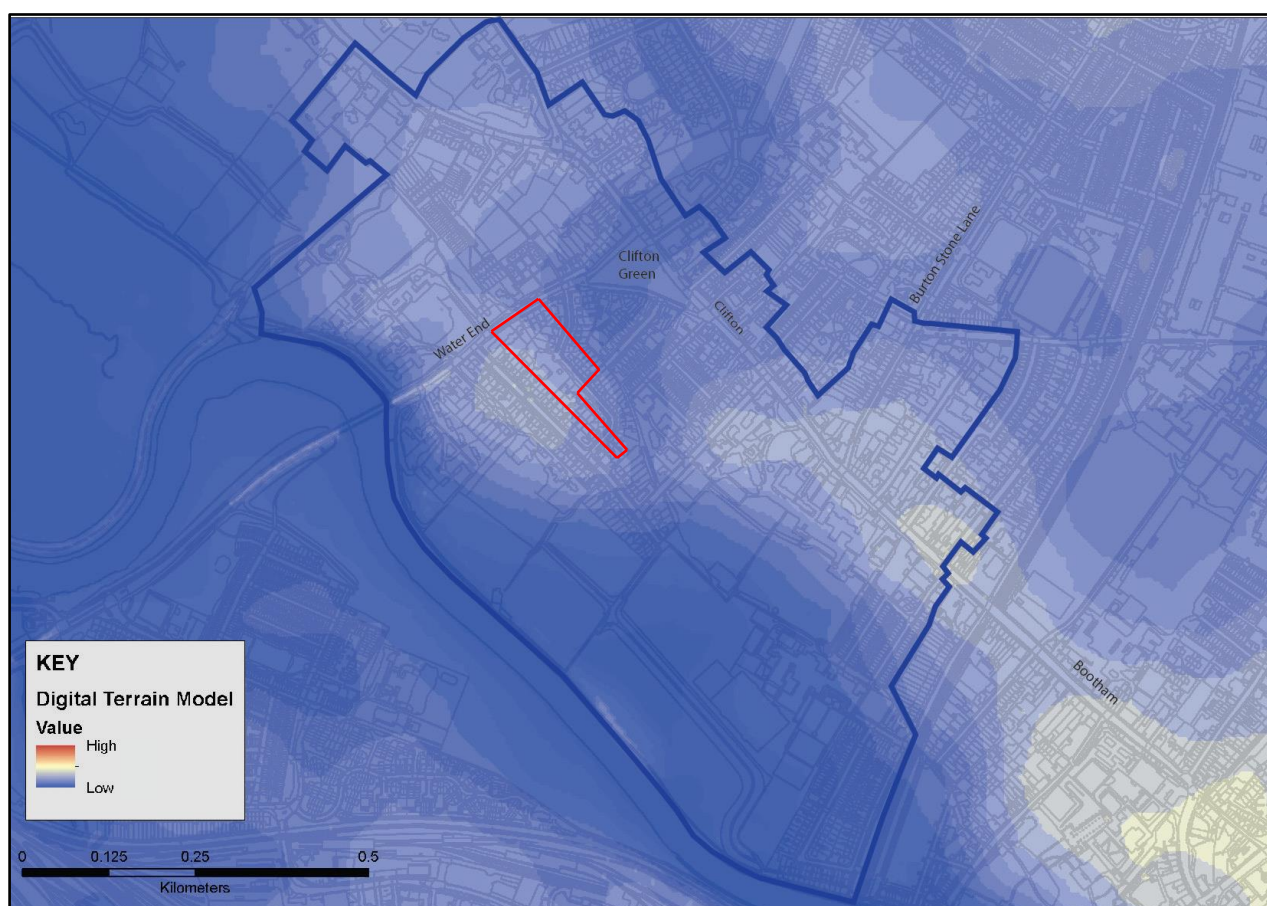


Figure 14. Topography of Character Area 35: Clifton. The ridgeline is indicated by lighter values. The property purchased by John Roper the elder in 1825 is outlined in red (City of York Council 2013).

Clifton Parish Boundaries

Clifton has had a complex history of land ownership beginning in the medieval period. Before the death of Earl Siward of Northumbria in 1055, the township was divided between the Canons of York Minster and Earls of Northumbria (Kaner 1988, 2; St Olave’s Church York 2023). Siward created St Olave’s church, with his lands in Clifton paying tithes towards its creation and upkeep (Kaner 1988, 2). After the Norman Conquest, Count Alan Rufus of Richmond and King William Rufus gifted these lands to St Mary’s Abbey, with the tenants being parishioners of St Olave’s (Knight 1944, 135; Kaner 1988, 2). During this same period, lands held by the Canons of York Minster were, “...divided between the Treasurer of York Minster and the Prebendary of Strensall whose tenants were later parishioners of St Michael-le-Belfrey,” (Kaner 1988, 2). These complexities explain the detached portions of St Michael-le-Belfrey parish within Clifton, including the boundary that is now seen in the brick wall and rear of the Stable Block (Figure 15).

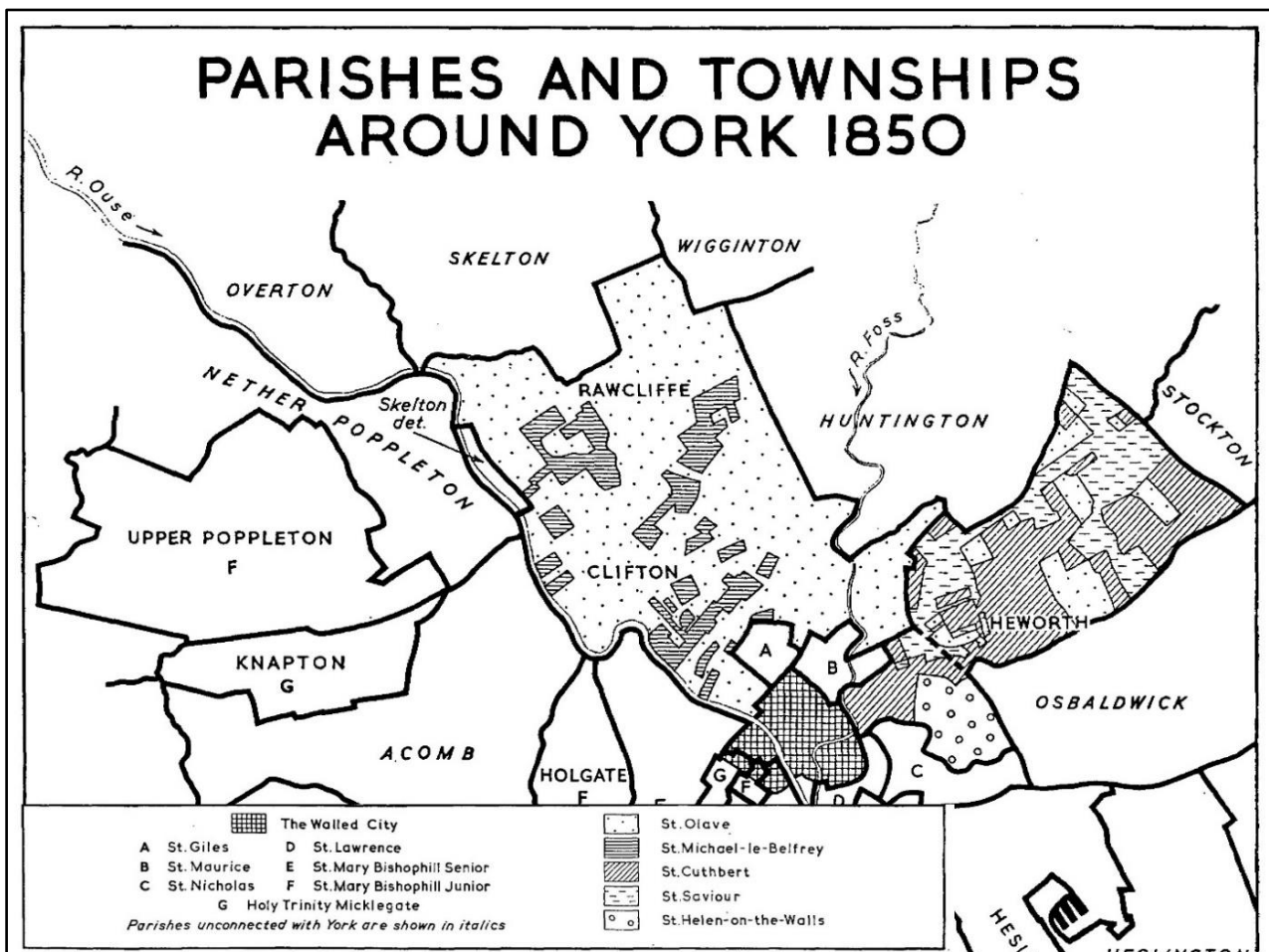


Figure 15. Parishes and townships in York, 1850. Edited from (Tillott 1961, 312).

Wool Trade in Medieval Clifton

The area of Clifton at the intersection of Water End and the River Ouse was leased by the Abbeyes of Byland and Fountains for a large portion of the medieval period. It was around 1190 that Fountains Abbey leased property south of Water End along the River Ouse from the Prebendary of Strensall (Kaner 1988, 3). At the same time, the area north of Water End was initially leased to Jervaulx Abbey from St Mary's before the lease was taken over by Byland Abbey (Figure 16; Kaner 1988, 3). Wool from further afield was transported via the Ouse and held on these properties before being sold to foreign buyers, especially Italian merchants (Tillott 1961, 50; Kaner 1988, 9). Additionally, there is evidence for a large (almost 900m²) building used by Byland Abbey for an assize court and as lodging for important visitors (Kaner 1988, 9). The presence of these Abbeyes within Clifton during the medieval period show Clifton's significance to trade from an early time.

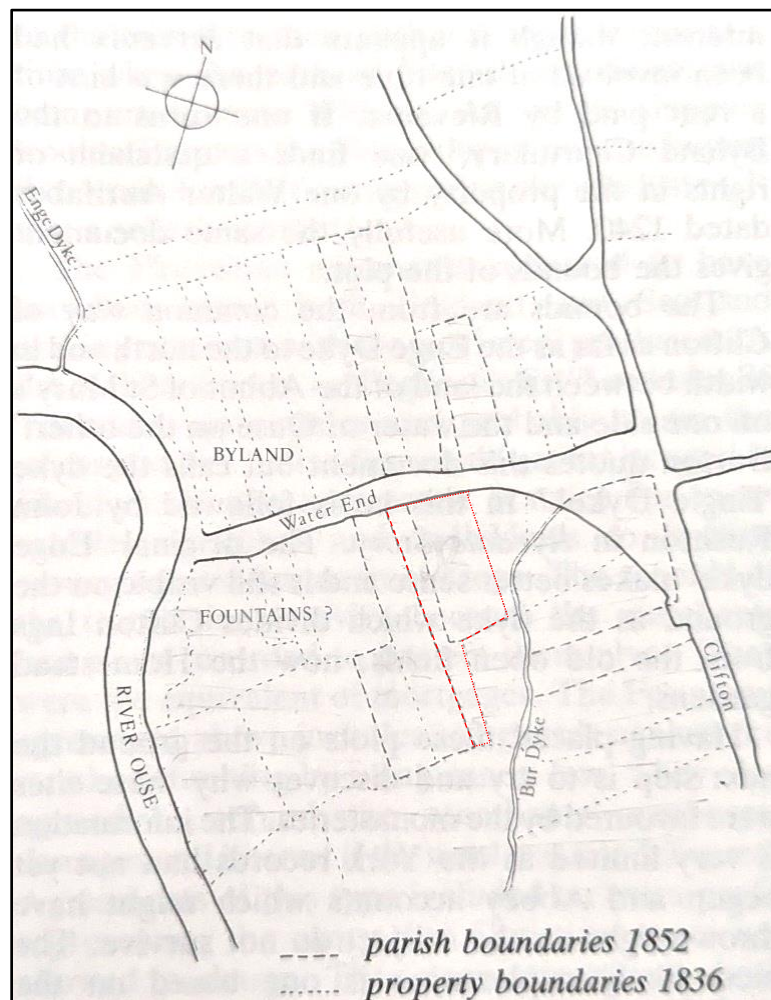


Figure 16. Parish and property boundaries in Clifton showing locations of the Byland and Fountains wool processing sites. Property purchased by John Roper (d.1826) in 1825 outlined in red (Kaner 1988, 3).

Chapter Six: Early Modern Clifton

Timber-Framed Buildings of Early Modern Clifton

While there is a lack of published material on Clifton during the 16th and 17th centuries, certainly the Dissolution of the Abbeys would have had a large effect on the area given Byland and Fountains Abbey's presence during the medieval period. Charles Knight wrote of the development of York, "The extent of the built-up area of the city was probably greater in the reign of Elizabeth than ever before... There was one continuous street of houses on both sides of the way from... Bootham Bar to Clifton..." (Knight 1944, 438). One still-standing example of this development is the building at Nos. 64 and 66 Clifton Road (Figure 17; LEN: 1259226). This Grade II* property contains a 16th-century timber-framed core within a 17th-century brick exterior (RCHME 1975, 64-69). Archival evidence including drawings and photographs demonstrate other timber-framed buildings in Clifton that have since been demolished (Figures 18 to 21). Figures 20 and 21 show the same building as it stood in the 1890s. The building was located, "Between Clifton Croft and Clifton Holme, n[ea]r Clifton Scope," and demolished by architect Arthur Spottiswood Jones sometime between 1898 and 1907 (Figure 22; CYA HMU/P/9/7; CYA HMU/P/18/467; Scottish Architects 2016). A pencil drawing from 1840 by William Moore the younger shows this building alongside outbuildings and other structures on Water End, prior to the construction of the Laborers' Cottage by John Roper the younger (Figure 23).



Figure 17. No. 64 and 66 Clifton Road, a 17th-century building with 16th-century timber-framed structures. Summer 2023.



Figure 18. A timber-framed building in Clifton dated May 4th 1827 by George Nicholson (YAYAS EV899).



Figure 19. A timber-framed building in Clifton dated June 30th 1825 by George Nicholson (YAYAS EV898).



Figure 20. A timber-framed building in Clifton, photograph originally taken in 1898 (CYA HMU/P/9/7).



Figure 21. The same building as Figure 4, a timber-framed building in Clifton photographed in the 1890s (CYA HMU/P/18/467).

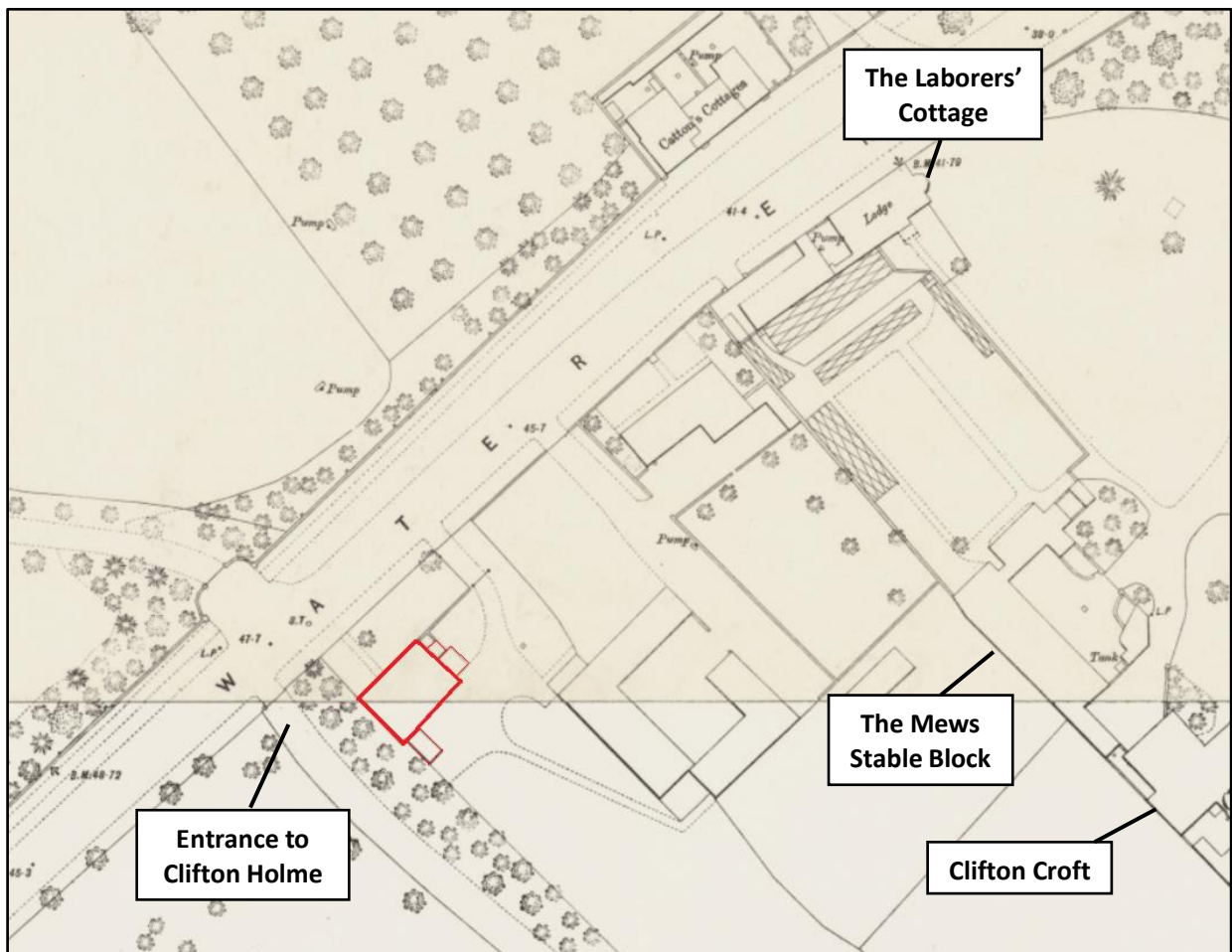


Figure 22. The photographed building in Figures 20 and 21 is outlined in red. Drawn over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1891, the building was demolished by 1907 as seen in the Ordnance Survey Map of 1909 (surveyed 1907) (National Library of Scotland 2023).

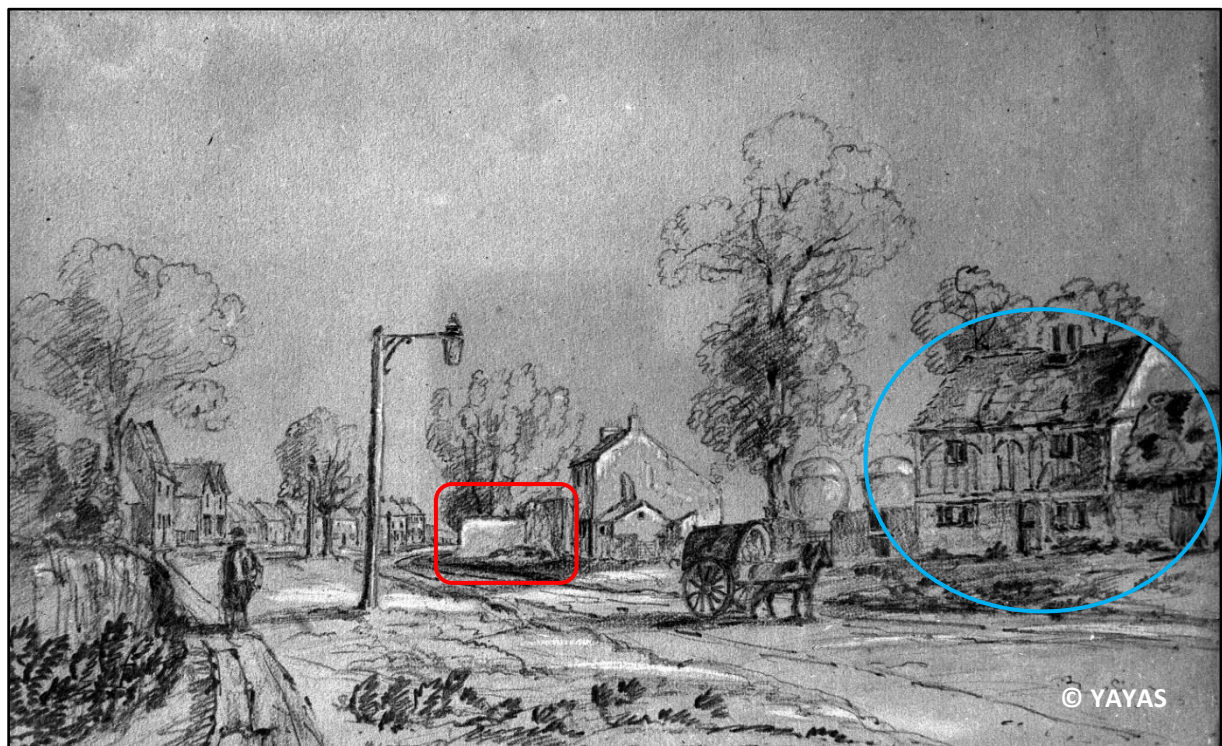


Figure 23. 1840 pencil drawing by William Moore showing Water End with the timber-framed building torn down by Jones circled in blue. The Roper's outbuilding and wall are circled in red (YAYAS EV1853).

Timber-Framed Buildings on the Ropers' Plot

Legal documents from the Roper family indicate that in 1825 John Roper the elder (d.1826) tore down, "...an ancient messuage or dwellinghouse and outbuildings..." on the same parcel that later became the site of the Clifton Croft estate (CYA GDC/280/2). It seems likely that the former "ancient messuage" was a timber-framed building that sat close to Water End like its neighbor (Figures 20 to 23). While it cannot be said for sure that parts of the former estate were incorporated into what was later built, Clifton Croft, the Stable Block, and the outbuildings nearest to Water End all fall within the original burgage plot dimensions despite the plot's wider size when purchased in 1825 (Figure 24; CYA GDC/277/8; CYA GDC/277/10). Further legal documents from the Roper family state, "...the site of an ancient messuage or dwellinghouse and outbuildings together with a garden then belonging to the same messuage or dwellinghouse are now converted into gardens and pleasure grounds..." (CYA GDC/292/2). Reuse of the site may have been a practical move in flood-prone Clifton as the western boundary line represents the highest topographical portion of the plot. It seems most likely that if the older structures were incorporated, they would have been incorporated within the Stable Block due to their proximity to Water End, where the "ancient messuage" and outbuildings are expected to have been located based on the settlement patterns of adjacent plots (Figure 25). Measured survey and record photography of Nos. 2 The Mews indicate the presence of older structures within the Stable Block, but there is no further evidence that these structures pre-date 1825.

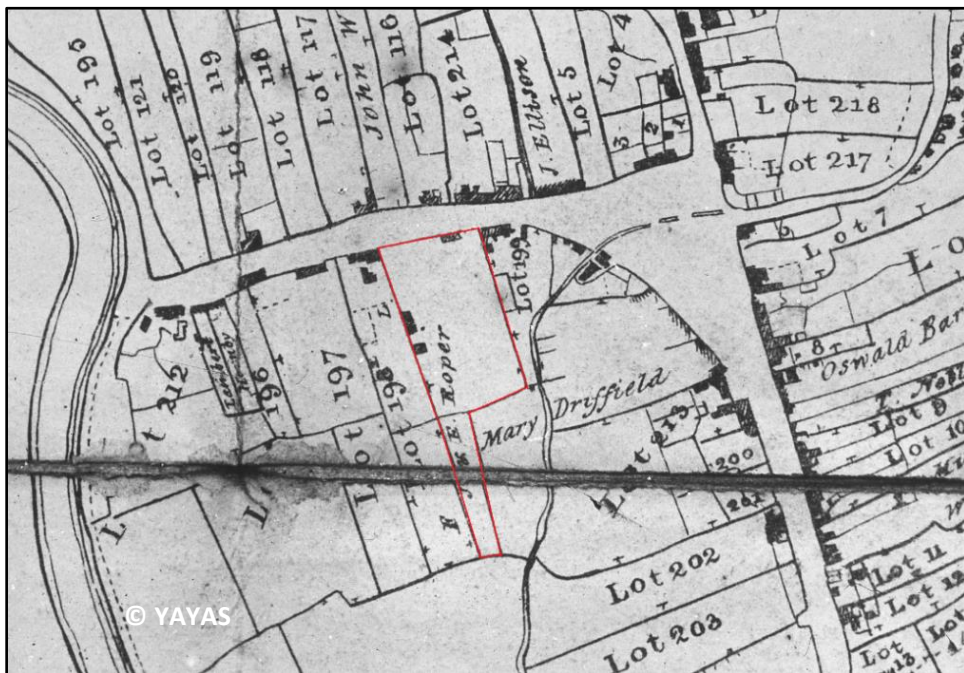


Figure 24. Property ownership and lot numbers during the sale of land by the Earl de Grey in 1836. The parcel as purchased by John Roper the elder in 1825 is outlined in red. Edited from (YAYAS EV2768).

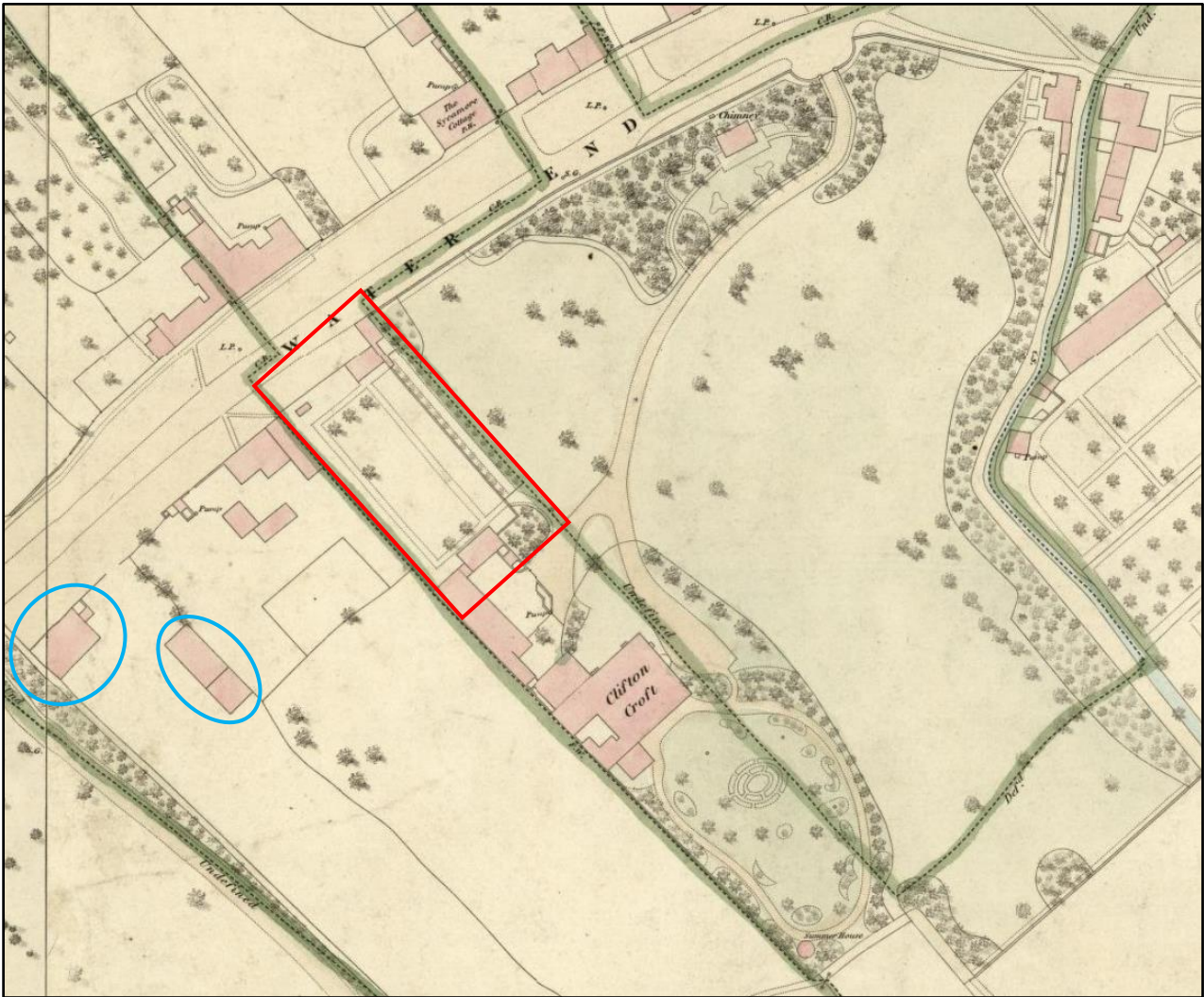


Figure 25. Layout of structures of the Clifton Croft complex as of 1852. Most likely location for the former dwellinghouse and outbuildings in red. Demolished timber-framed house and its outbuildings are circled in blue. Drawn over the 1852 Ordnance Survey Map (David Rumsey Historical Map Collection).

Previous Ownership of the Ropers' Parcel

John Roper the elder's plot, with its "ancient message," which became the core of the Clifton Croft estate, had a history of ownership by those of the middling class. In 1761 the property in Clifton along with a malt kiln and brewhouse were held by Edward Addison, a Merchant Taylor (CYA GDC/277/1). The property in Clifton then passed to his son and daughter-in-law, Edward Addison the younger (also a Merchant Taylor) and Mary Addison née Featherstone (daughter of a brewer in York, Christopher Featherstone), who let the property to James Silburn, a wine cooper (CYA GDC/277/2; CYA GDC/277/3). In 1783, the property was first leased, and then, in 1789, purchased by Thomas Hartley the elder (CYA GDC/277/7; CYA GDC/277/8). Thomas Hartley, an Alderman and common brewer, sold a large number of properties relating to his brewing business to John Roper beginning in 1805 (CYA GDC/287/2; Davison 1992, 32). At the time, Thomas Hartley was one of York's largest producers of beer in what was soon to be a burgeoning field (Davison 1992, 32). After Thomas Hartley's death in 1811, his son, also Thomas Hartley, continued the trend of selling off more of his father's rather extensive estate (CYA GDC/301/3). This selling off culminated with the sale of what became the core of the Clifton Croft complex to John Roper the elder, a common brewer and spirit merchant, in May of 1825 for £790 (CYA GDC/277/10). While there was certainly an association of the plot in Clifton with brewers, it is not clear why or when this association began.

The Roper Family's Move to York

John Roper's (d.1826) initial purchase of dwelling houses, malthouses, a brewery, stabling, carts, and other related materials from Thomas Hartley for £3,500 in 1805 signalled his relocation to York from Middlesex County with his wife Sarah née Fell and their children Mary Ann, Sarah, William Fell, and Anna Louisa (CYA GDC/287/2; CYA HMU/1/46). Further children John, Thomas Alexander, Edmund Horsfall, Jane, and Henry were born after their relocation to York (CYA HMU/1/46). John Roper the elder purchased Hartley's property in 1805 as part of a 10-year partnership with London hops merchant John Bolland (CYA GDC/287/2). During and after this partnership, Roper bought and leased many properties throughout York, including public houses as a way to distribute his beer (CYA GDC/287/3; CYA GDC/287/4; Davison 1992, 34). Perhaps the longest held property by the Ropers in York was their house and brewery on Davygate facing Thursday Market, now known as Melrose House, No. 3 St Sampson's Square (Figures 26 and 27; CYA GDC/301/4). This Grade II listed building (LEN: 1256728) was originally built for Thomas

Hartley the elder, later named for John Roper the younger's business partner James Melrose, and the location of John Roper the elder's death in 1826 (Historic England, n.d.-c; CYA HMU/1/46).



Figure 26. Melrose House, No. 3 St Sampson's Square. Former house and brewery of Thomas Hartley, the Roper family, and James Melrose. Spring 2023.

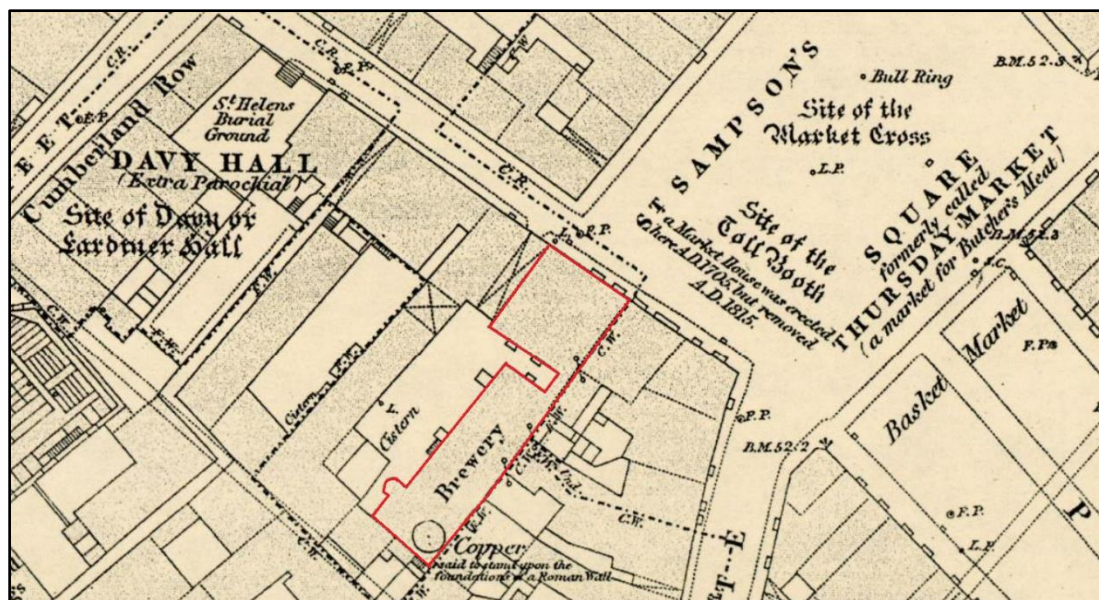


Figure 27. Melrose House in St Sampson's Square as of 1852. The brewery can be see attached at the back of the property. House and brewery are highlighted in red (David Rumsey Historical Map Collection).

Chapter Seven: Occupation and Development by the Ropers

The House of John and Sarah Roper

While John Roper the elder is credited with building a house on the described property in Clifton, his death in April of 1826 less than a year after its purchase certainly puts into doubt the completion of the premises, especially as part of this time was spent clearing the land of the previous “ancient messuage” (CYA GDC/277/10; CYA GDC/280/2; CYA HMU/1/46). Despite this probable lack of completion, there is definite evidence for the erection of a dwellinghouse, at least begun by John Roper the elder, and likely finished by Sarah Roper, his wife. In his will, signed in January of 1826, John Roper the elder indicated that the house had been built at least in part, but was not yet habitable (CYA GDC/287/9). Whether the house became habitable between January and April of 1826 is unknown. At his death, John Roper left his business to his oldest son, William Fell Roper, the “newly erected dwellinghouse” in Clifton to his wife, Sarah Roper, and £26,800 split between the remaining eight children, Mary Ann, Sarah, Anna Louisa, John, Thomas Alexander, Jane, Edmund Horsfall, and Henry (CYA GDC/287/8; CYA GDC/287/9). This was a substantial estate and a certain calibre of house would be expected. Suburban villas of this type were a rather new phenomenon circa 1825, and the purchase of the plot and creation of the house in Clifton demonstrated the Ropers’ understanding of modern styles coming out of London (Fishman 1987, 9). The location of the Ropers’ estate in Clifton was also part of larger patterns in the development of York, with suburban villas of the servant-keeping class popping up in Clifton in the northwest, and The Mount, in the southwest, along major roadways (Nuttgens 1989, 92-93).

While there are no detailed descriptions or images of the house built by John and Sarah Roper, a later plan by John Roper the younger hints to the possible form. In a faint pencil drawing, plans for Clifton Croft are shown next to a sketch of a similarly laid out building (Figure 28). An “alteration” plan within the same documents, dated April of 1843, shows a possible prior form of the building with detached scullery (Figure 29). Additionally, while the plot was originally purchased in 1825 for £790, when John Roper the younger and his brother Edmund Horsfall Roper purchased the same plot from their father’s estate in June of 1835, they paid £3,946, a considerable increase over ten years (CYA GDC/277/10; CYA GDC/280/2). This variety of evidence suggests John Roper the elder and Sarah Roper built a substantial house on the property around 1825 and that this house may still survive in part within the standing building that is Clifton Croft.

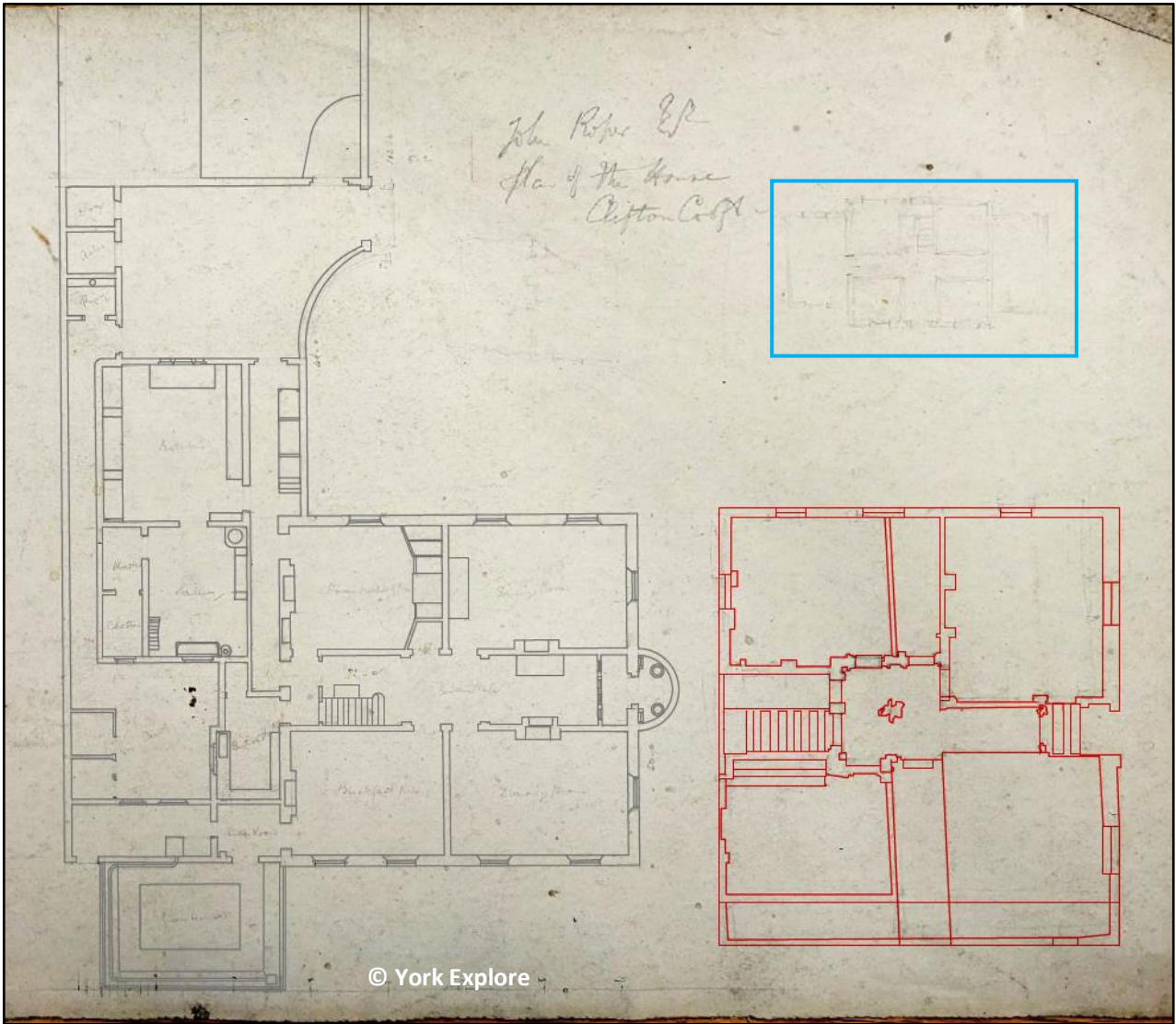


Figure 28. Plan of Clifton Croft for John Roper the younger by Frederick Bell, architect. AutoCAD drawing over the original plans for readability. The possible older building is highlighted in red alongside an additional sketch, outlined in blue (CYA FBE/1/21).

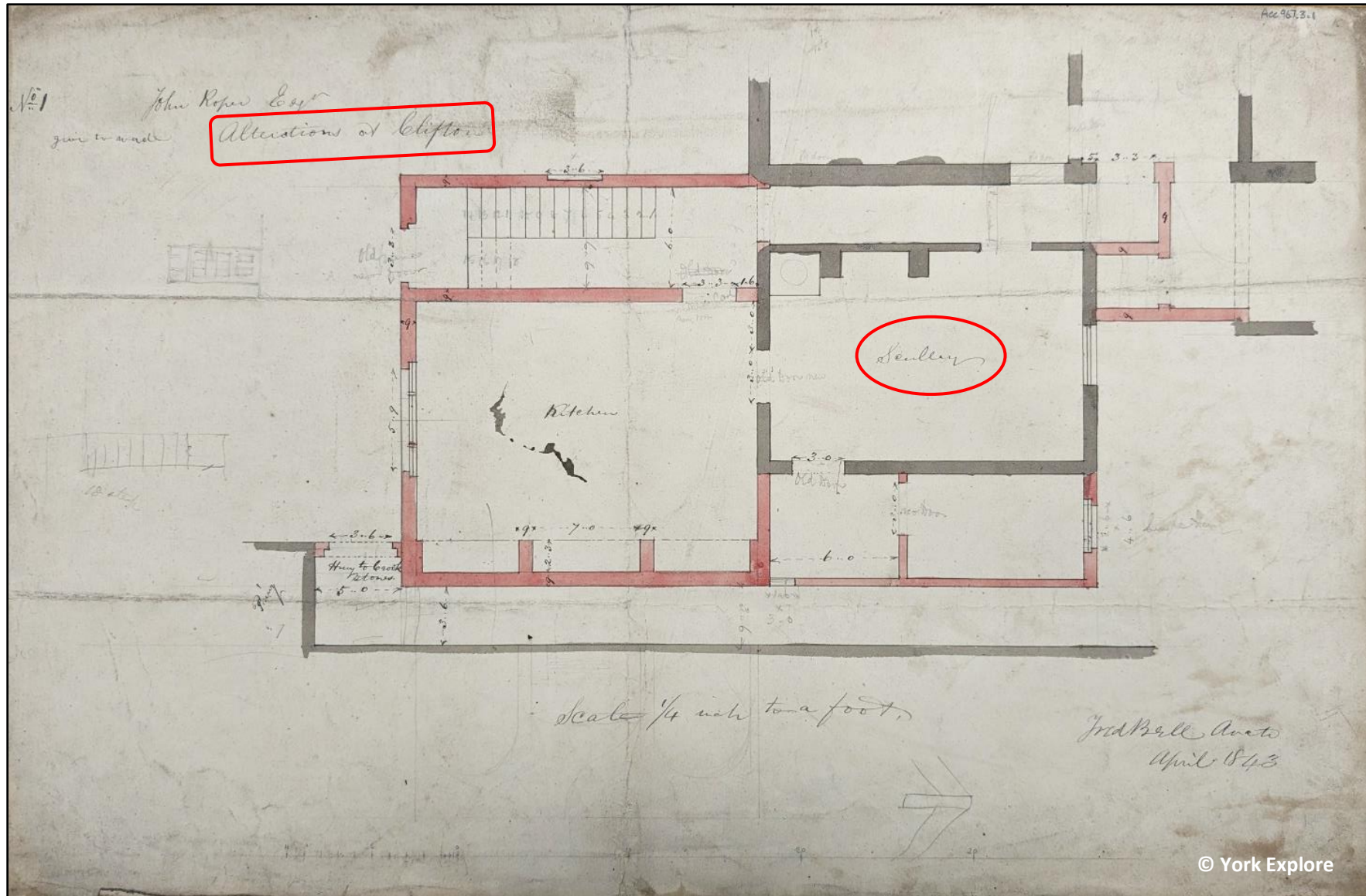


Figure 29. "Alteration at Clifton" plan of Clifton Croft for John Roper the younger by architect Frederick Bell, dated April of 1843. A possible older form of the house can be seen in grey with the new extension in red wash. The detached scullery can also be seen. It is suggested that the building in gray is the house as built by John Roper the elder and Sarah Roper circa 1825 (CYA FBE/1/19).

John and Sarah's Stable Block

Alongside the aforementioned house, legal documents state that "...coach-houses stables and other outbuildings to the same belonging erected by the said John Roper deceased in his lifetime..." sat on the plot within Clifton (CYA GDC/280/2). It seems likely that at least portions of the 1825-1826 coach houses and stables built by John Roper the elder remain within the current-day Stable Block. The entranceways to No. 1 The Mews suggest use as a coach house and those of No. 2 suggest use as a stable, while building breaks point to phased development, meaning these portions would not have been built at the same time (Figure 30). A lack of any further description, images, or maps makes it difficult to say with certainty which portions originated in which periods, however, it seems most likely that the central two-storey portion of No. 1 The Mews is older than the majority of Nos. 2 and 3, and that the structure as currently seen developed from the two-storey portion of No. 1 outwards.

Evidence for this development can be seen in the form of the two-storey portion of No. 1, sitting proud of the rest of the structure, and in the brick, with the single-storey portion of No. 1 (closest to Clifton Croft) and all of Nos. 2 and 3 having a similar brick color and style, suggesting these portions were added at the same time. As mentioned previously, measured survey and record photography of No. 2 The Mews indicates an earlier two-storey building within the current structure, likely refaced in brick when the remainder of No. 2 was created (Figures 31 to 33). If this structure and the two-storey portion of No. 1 The Mews predate the remainder of the building as it currently stands, then the remainder of the building was built as infill and extensions at a later date, most likely when the house underwent major renovations around 1843. Assuming the two-storey portion of No. 1 and the earlier portion within No. 2 were built around or before 1825, the two-storey portion of No. 1 could act as the coach house with the earlier portion within No. 2 acting as a stable. There is also the possibility of the outbuildings closest to Water End acting as a stable or barn. It seems likely that these structures on Water End were either existing from the previous estate, or expanded by John or Sarah Roper during this timeframe based on their location, however, the earliest evidence of these buildings was the drawing by William Moore from 1840. Figure 34 shows the conjectured layout and buildings of the estate circa 1825 based upon the evidence discussed.



Figure 30. The higher doorways here mark the two-storey portion of No. 1 The Mews, likely originally a coach house. The building break between Nos. 1 and 2 is highlighted in red. Summer 2023.

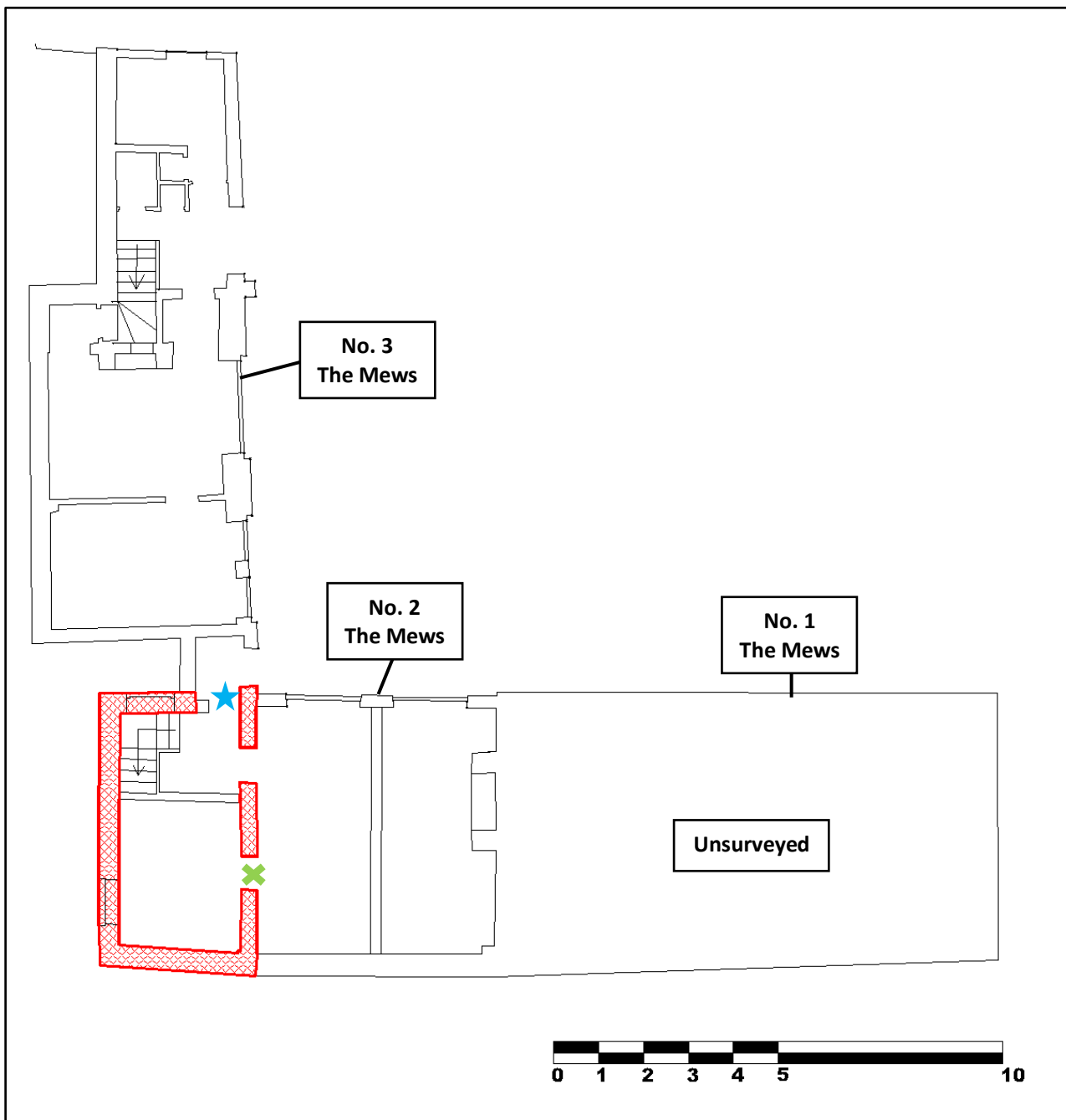


Figure 31. Measured survey of The Mews Stable Block with the earlier structure, now part of No. 2 The Mews, highlighted in red. The location of Figure 32 is marked by a blue star. The location of Figure 33 is marked by a green x.



Figure 32. Doorway from the entranceway into the older structure of No. 2 The Mews. Summer 2023.



Figure 33. Doorway displaying phased development, No. 2 The Mews. Summer 2023.

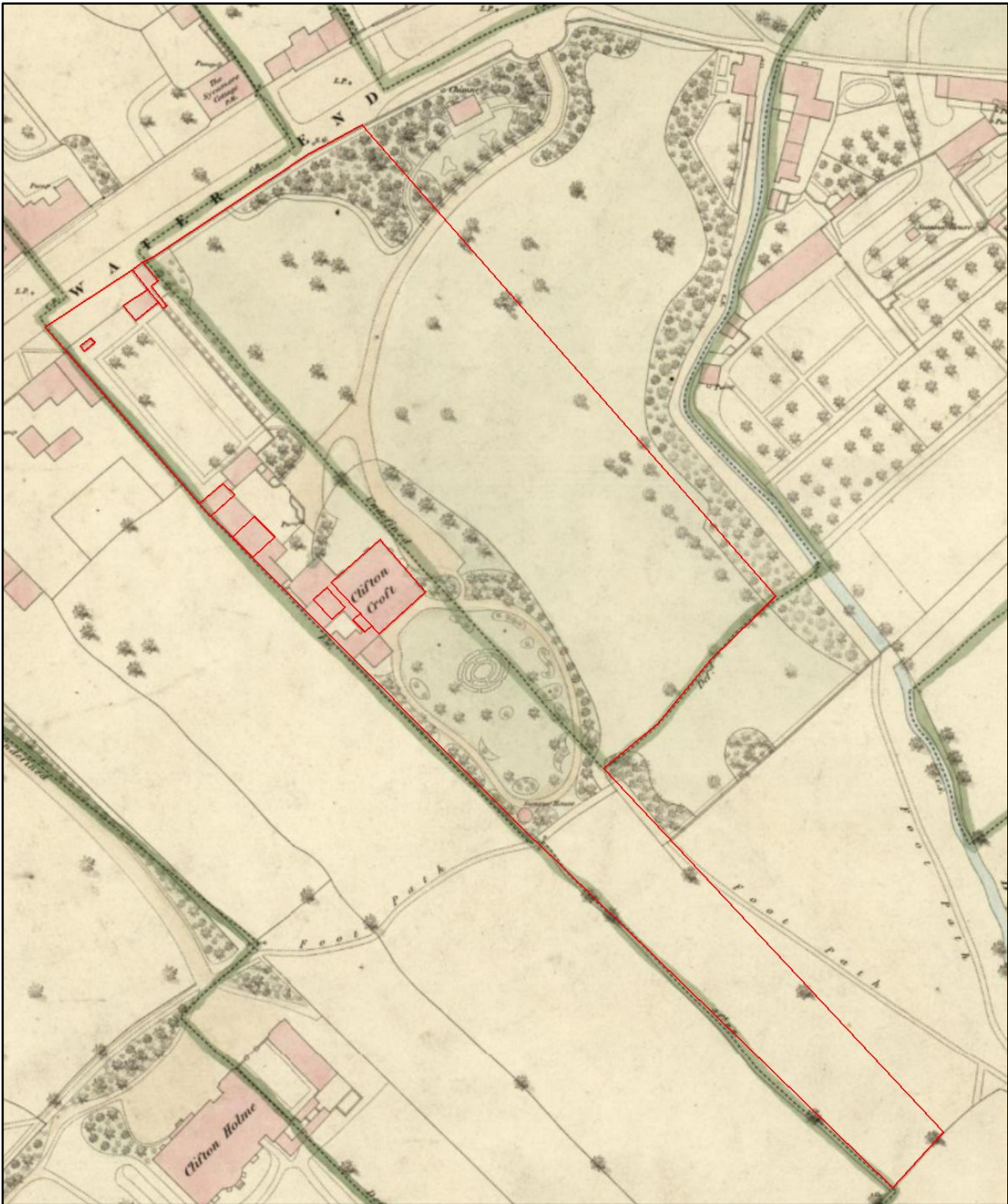


Figure 34. Conjectured c.1825 estate based upon legal descriptions, plans, and standing structures. Buildings and property boundaries in red, drawn over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1852 (David Rumsey Historical Map Collection).

Changes in the Roper Family and Occupation at Clifton

The period of 1825 to 1842 was one of change and loss for the Roper family. The purchase of the aforementioned plot in May of 1825 and the construction of the house shortly thereafter marked the beginning of the family's estate in Clifton, an estate that left its mark on the land to the present day. However, the family also suffered significant losses with the death of John Roper the elder in 1826, followed by the deaths of William Fell Roper in 1829, Anna Louisa Mills née Roper in 1832, Sarah Roper the elder in 1835, and Edmund Horsfall Roper in 1842 (CYA HMU/1/46). While John and Edmund Horsfall took over their father's business of brewing, malting, and spirit trading after the death of their brother William Fell, it is clear that the house in Clifton was left to Sarah Roper for her lifetime use after her husband's death in 1826, and that she lived there with her daughters Mary Ann, Sarah, and Jane until her own death in 1835 (Pigot and Co. 1828; Parson and White 1830; York Herald 1835, 3; CYA GDC/287/11). After Sarah Roper the elder's death, John and Edmund Horsfall Roper purchased the property in Clifton from their father's trust for £3,946, however, a year later, John, Thomas Alexander, and Edmund Horsfall were still registered to vote in St Sampson's Square (York Voting Registry 1836; CYA GDC/280/2). The same year, 1836, John Roper was elected Sheriff of York and in 1839 Edmund Horsfall was also elected to this position, demonstrating the family's prominence within the city (York Voting Registry 1836; York Voting Registry 1839).

Eventually, John Roper the younger moved to the house in Clifton to join his sisters in 1838, but interestingly, his job title is listed as "coach guard," not gentleman or common brewer, as may be expected, while he and Edmund continued to be listed as brewers at No. 3 St Sampson's Square (White 1838; Pigot and Co. 1841). This title may reflect John Roper's work in securing shipments of spirits. John is seen in the 1841 census still living in Clifton with his sisters Mary Ann and Sarah (Jane Roper was married in 1840 and likely moved out at that time), along with male servant Thomas Bedworth, aged 15, and two female servants, Mary Thompson and Mary Stephenson, both aged 20 (CYA HMU/1/46; 1841 Census). No details are given of the specific work of servants Thomas Bedworth, Mary Thompson, and Mary Stephenson. It seems possible that Thomas was a groom or stable hand, with Mary Thompson being the housekeeper and Mary Stephenson a housemaid. Agricultural laborer Ralph Pillmoor (later the gardener for John Roper the younger and resident at the Gardener's House) and his family are listed in the 1841 census at an unspecified separate building within the complex, likely a portion of the Stable Block or the ancillary buildings facing Water End. While John continued to be registered to vote based on his business in St Helen's parish, No. 3 St Sampson's Square, he is listed in the directories as living in Clifton for the

first time in 1843, likely reflecting his renovation of the estate and creation of Clifton Croft as seen today (Williams and Co. 1843; York Voting Registry 1847).

Expansion of the Clifton Estate

Before Edmund Horsfall's death and John Roper the younger's subsequent creation of Clifton Croft, John and Edmund purchased two closes for £640 from Noah Wynn, nephew and executor of Mary Driffield's estate, expanding the complex for the first time in 1840 (CYA GDC/292/1). This property to the southeast of the Ropers' original complex, bounded to the east by the Burdyke, added more open land to the estate (Figure 35). There are mentions of further property acquisitions in Clifton from Mary Driffield's estate, along with two additional closes to the south belonging to David Russell, but no further documents mention these parcels, including a mortgage assigned in 1843, making it unclear if these additional parcels were purchased outright or leased for a short period of time (Figure 35; CYA GDC/292/1; CYA GDC/292/2). At least one of these closes previously owned by Mary Driffield was called "The Croft" and may be the reason John Roper the younger styled his renovated house "Clifton Croft" in 1843. All of the parcels mentioned were open agricultural land, suggesting John Roper and Edmund Horsfall Roper were aiming to create a semi-rural estate on the boundary of the city. This desire to spend their income, acquired through the brewing and trade of alcohol, on the creation of a rather idyllic villa estate is an interesting one, especially if viewed alongside the growing Temperance movement. The "Beer House Act" of 1830, "...allowed any householder with a house worth more than £10 per annum to sell beer on payment of a license fee of two guineas," in an attempt to reduce the number of spirits consumed (Davison 1992, 39). The Ropers, along with other large brewers in York, quickly bought up these licenses, increasing their influence over beer served at public houses (Davison 1992, 39). With the first Temperance Society in England being located in nearby Bradford, it seems likely that John and Edmund Horsfall took measures to keep their good name, such as running for local elections, as mentioned previously, and interest in traditionalist pastimes such as agriculture, horticulture, and livestock rearing. Edmund Horsfall's death in September of 1842 in Whitby at the age of 32 may have temporarily curtailed plans for the Clifton Croft estate, but it is clear that John Roper continued with this trend of acquiring surrounding properties and increasing the complex's agricultural associations. Alongside these acquisitions was the redevelopment of the house, coach house, stables, and outbuildings of his parents' original estate. In the coming years, Clifton Croft's ties to its outbuildings only increased through John Roper the younger's attentions.



Figure 35. The expanded Roper complex including property acquired from Mary Driffield in 1840 is highlighted here in red. The unclear additional parcels are marked (YAYAS EV2768).

John Roper the Younger and Clifton Croft

The greatest amount of change to the structures of the Clifton Croft complex occurred between 1843 and 1860 under the direction of John Roper the younger. John Roper was the primary resident of the estate from 1843 until his death in 1875 and made changes to the complex to suit his tastes and needs. The first of these changes can be seen with the renovation of the primary building of the complex, Clifton Croft. This renovation occurred shortly after Edmund Horsfall Roper's death in which John Roper was granted executorship of Edmund's estate (CYA GDC/292/2). As no records exist of John purchasing the Clifton Croft complex, it seems likely that the house, ancillary buildings, and property was granted to him after his brother's death in 1842. Several pieces of evidence point towards the creation of Clifton Croft as we see it today circa 1843: John Roper's residence being listed in Clifton for the first time in both directories and voting registries (Williams and Co. 1843; York Voting Registry 1843); a mortgage applied for by Roper for £3,000 in December of 1843 (CYA GDC/292/2); and associated drawings by Frederick Bell, although the Clifton Croft plan itself is not dated (CYA FBE/1/19-22). The undated complete plan of Clifton Croft can be seen in Figure 36, while that of the detached scullery's incorporation into the main house (dated 1843) can be seen in Figure 29. Only a ground floor plan exists for the majority of the house, but it is clear that a significant portion of the building as it is seen today was developed during this time period.

Clifton Croft (LEN: 1257669), as existing, is a two-storey three-bay brick building with gault brick to the front and sides, and red brick to the rear (Figures 37 and 38). The house features a hipped Westmoreland slate roof, while the open Tuscan porch can be seen in the Clifton Croft plan and in the current structure (Figures 36 and 37; RCHME 1975, 69; Historic England n.d.-b). The house has a somewhat unusual layout, with the service wing branching off to the north at a 90-degree angle, creating an enclosed courtyard between what was the butler's pantry and outbuildings along the brick wall that marks the boundary line of the property (Figure 36). The service wing or Servants' Quarters attachment to the northwest of the building, facing towards the Stable Block, created a more public area of work, juxtaposed by the private gardens to the southeast of the house. The placement of the house and service wing so close to the boundary line on a rather large plot is likely a meaningful decision; this site could have been chosen to avoid flooding or because the site was the location of a previous structure (i.e., John and Sarah Roper's house).

It seems likely that the choice to build a Neoclassical house during the early Victorian period was tied to class and class aspirations. In reference to country houses of 1810-1914, J.

Mordaunt Crook writes, "The great majority of Victorian and Edwardian millionaire houses... turn out to be Classical... Classicism had urban connotations, and new money was money made in town... By the 1840s, for bourgeois patrons, Italianate had become almost a badge of upwards mobility," (Crook 2000, 42-43). Following in his father's trade of beer brewing and spirit trading, it makes sense that John Roper the younger would continue his parents' development of Clifton Croft in a Neoclassical style. Furthermore, if Thomas J. Maslen's 1843 take on York, "...a small filthily-dirty, confined town..." in need of orchards, air, and promenades (Arnold, H. 2002, 50), was common Improvement-era thought, then the renewal and expansion of Clifton Croft makes sense beyond John Roper the younger's inheritance of the property. It seems John Roper the younger was making his mark on Clifton while conforming to romantic ideals of the picturesque. The Clifton Croft estate was a symbol and embodiment of Improvement-era thought-processes relating to nature, open space, and by association, the suburbs.

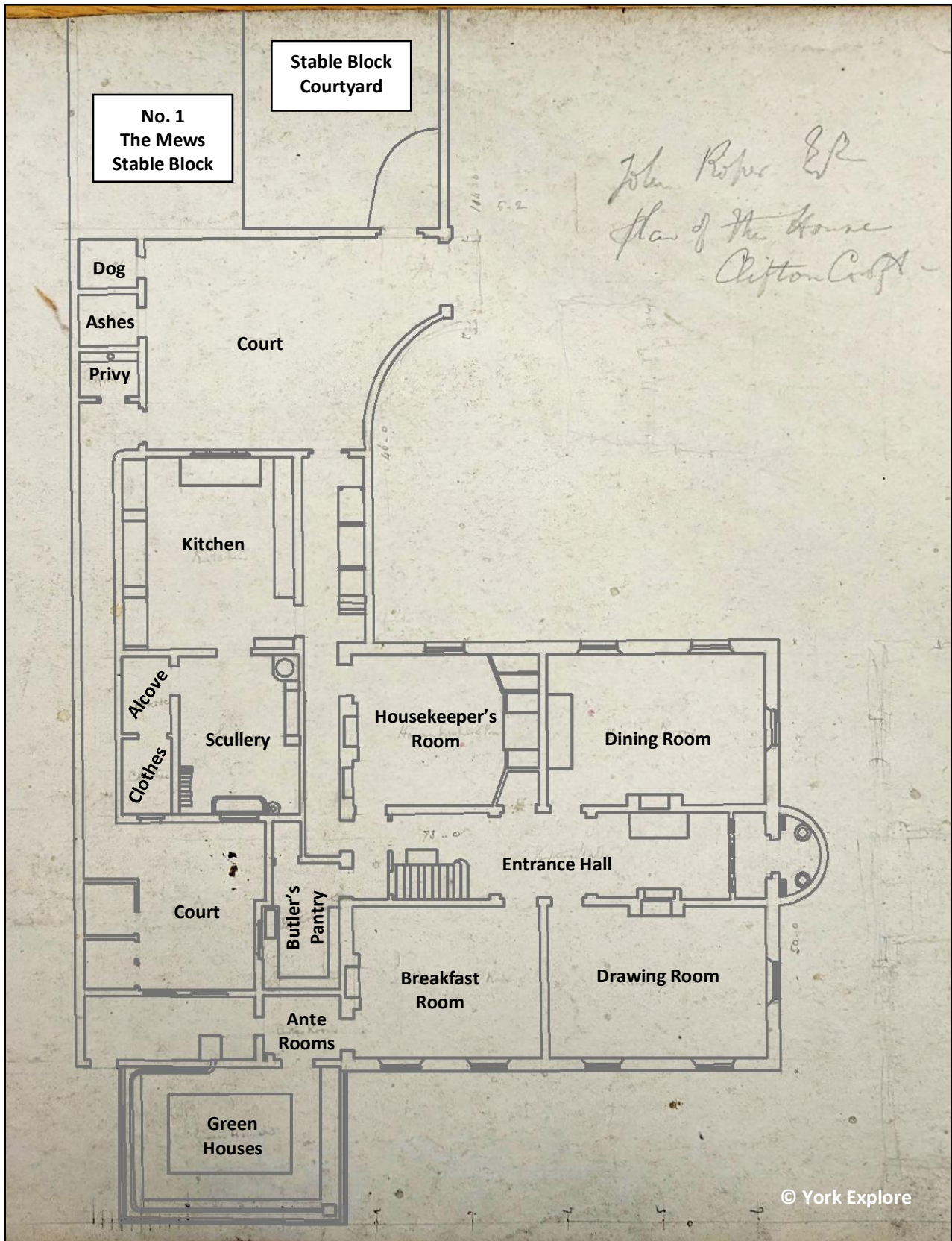


Figure 36. Plan for Clifton Croft by Frederick Bell, architect, for John Roper the younger. Image is undated but alongside similar material dated 1843. Black text represents what is written on the drawing. AutoCAD over original drawing for clarity (CYA FBE/1/21).



Figure 37. Clifton Croft as seen from Greycliffe Drive. Autumn 2022.



Figure 38. The rear of Clifton Croft as seen from between Nos. 13 and 15 Westminster Road. The building's incorporation into the boundary wall and stained-glass stairwell window can be seen. Summer 2023.

John Roper the Younger's Stable Block

The brick boundary wall's role as a connector between Clifton Croft and the Stable Block from at least 1843 is evidenced by the plan for Clifton Croft by Frederick Bell (Figure 36). While there are no plans of the Stable Block itself, the physical structure of the building demonstrates phased construction. If two or more phases of construction occurred before the 1852 Ordnance Survey Map, based upon the physical structure of the building, it seems likely that at least one of these phases occurred during the creation of Clifton Croft by John Roper the younger. Despite Roper's interventions, it is clear that the Stable Block evolved in a rather vernacular manner, with earlier buildings being incorporated into the new structure, and sections being added as needs arose. The Stable Block's disparate architectural style, compared to the Gardener's House and Laborers' Cottage, also suggests its rather unplanned nature. The vernacular character of the Stable Block is especially apparent when compared to other villa estates in Clifton, such as Clifton Holme, now St Hilda's Garth (Figure 39). Clifton Holme was built in 1848 for Joseph Munby, a solicitor, and while the building is also in a Neoclassical style, it is much larger and more architecturally impressive (Figure 40; Historic England n.d.-d). Clifton Holme's stable block, unmentioned in the listing description, matches the style and form of the main house and service wing, highlighting its planned nature compared to Clifton Croft's own Stable Block (Figure 41).

The presence of the southern-most single-storey portion of the Stable Block in the Clifton Croft plan by Frederick Bell implies its creation by 1843 (Figure 36). The creation of this portion (now part of No. 1 The Mews) by or around 1843 fits with the theory that the central two-storey portion of No. 1 The Mews was built circa 1825 and was infilled and extended to something resembling its modern form under John Roper the younger. This infill and extension likely created No. 2 The Mews, and the two-storey portion of No. 3 The Mews (Figure 42). Additional single-storey extensions on No. 3 The Mews were built between 1852 and 1891, with the intersection of the two-storey and single-storey portions visible in the thick interior walls (Figures 43 to 45). The expansion of the Stable Block to the northeast (in what is now the single-storey portion of No. 3 The Mews) incorporated part of the older brick wall, and it seems likely that this extension happened at the same time as the Laborers' Cottage creation (circa 1860) due to the connected nature of the structures (Figure 46). No. 3 The Mews is also shorter with lower door openings and a more barn-like structure, suggesting this portion of the Stable Block was used for livestock such as pigs, which John Roper the younger was known to have raised (Figure 47 and 48; York Herald 1854, 3). Despite the extensions and renovations under John Roper the younger, the Stable Block has seen very little change since the mid-19th century, suggesting a peak in use around that date.

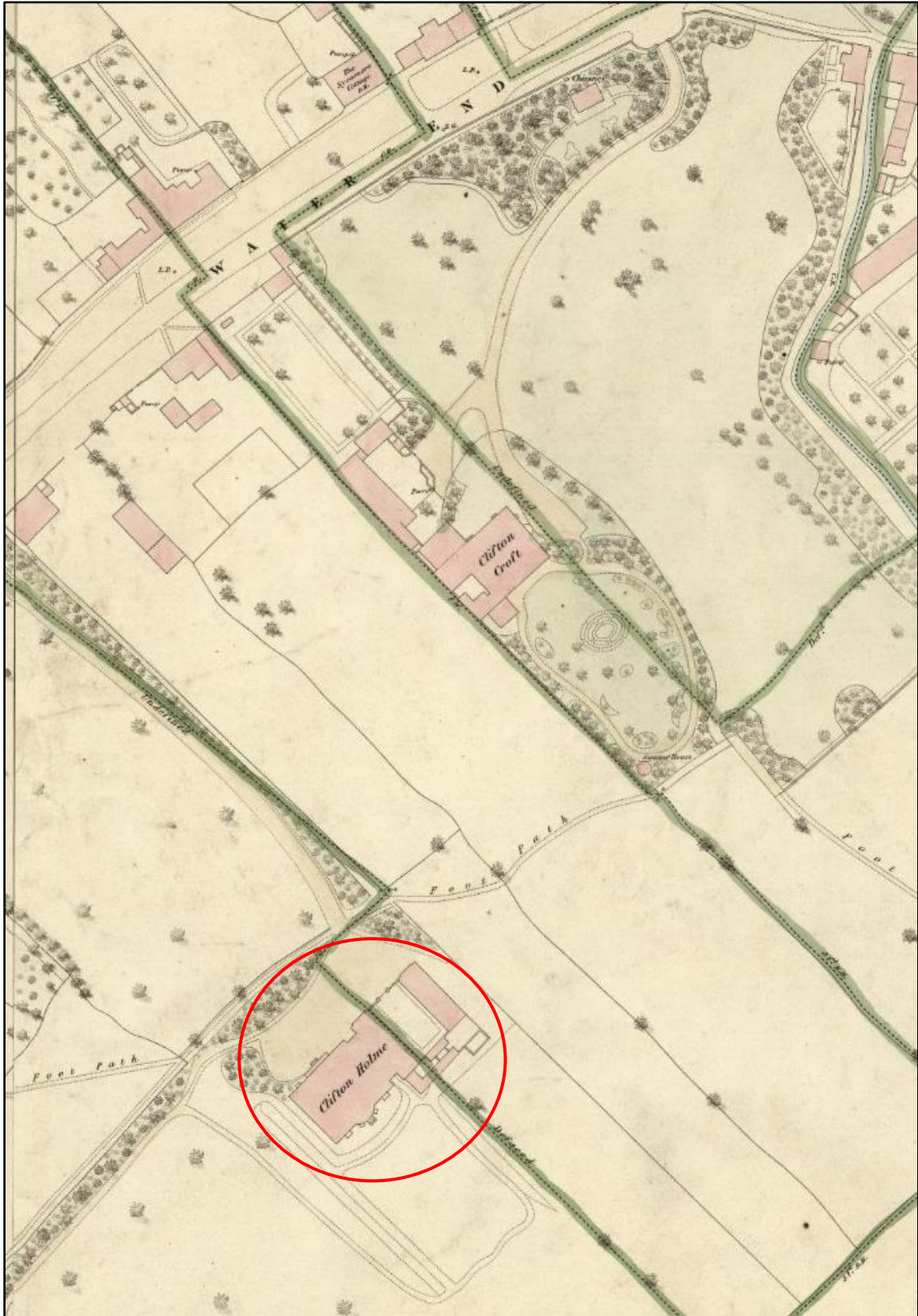


Figure 39. Clifton Holme and its stable block in relation to Clifton Croft. Clifton Holme is circled in red. Drawn over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1852 (David Rumsey Historical Map Collection).



Figure 40. Clifton Holme, now St Hilda's Garth. The attached structure on the left is the service wing. Spring 2023.



Figure 41. Clifton Holme's stable block on the left, with a courtyard visible between the service wing and stable block. It is very architecturally similar to Clifton Holme. Spring 2023.



Figure 42. The more narrow, arching doorways of No. 2 The Mews in the center, with No. 1 to the left and No. 3 to the right. The red dashed line highlights the building break between Nos. 1 and 2. Summer 2023.

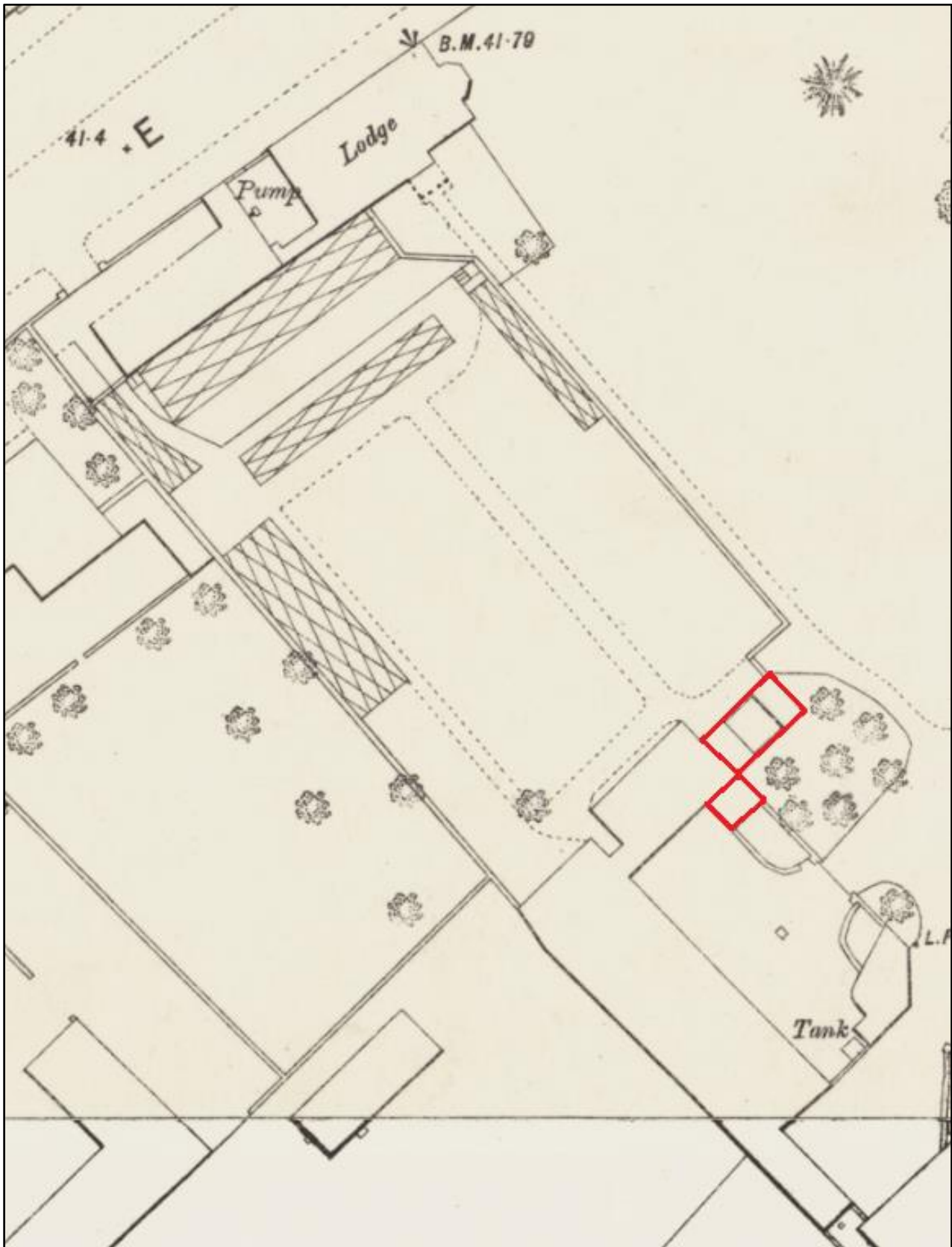


Figure 43. Extensions on the Stable Block outlined in red. Drawn over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1891 (National Library of Scotland 2023).

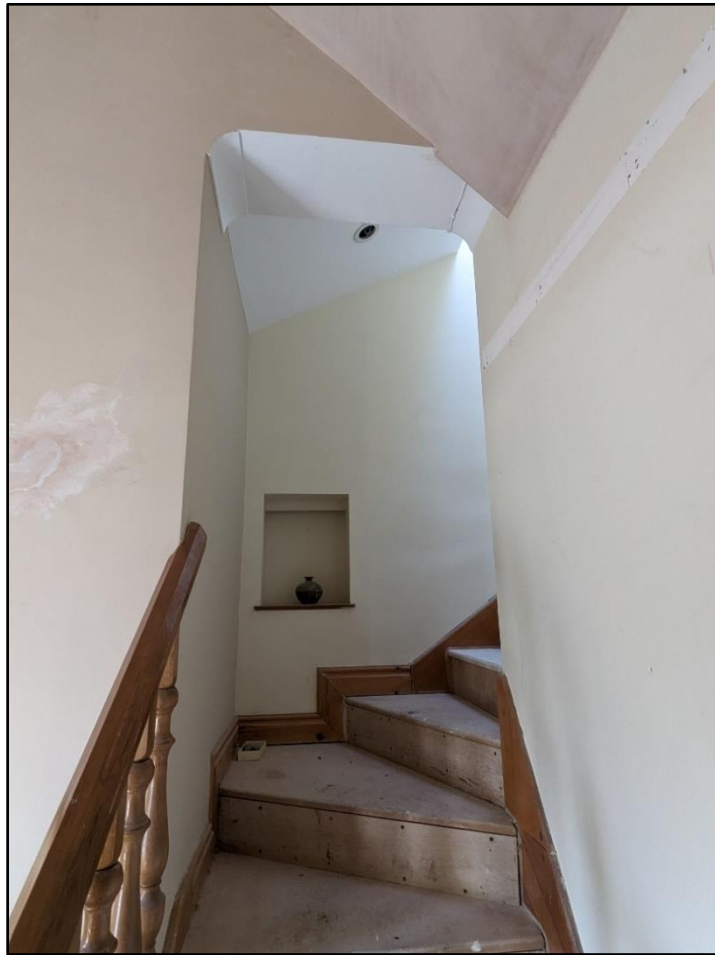


Figure 44. Intersection between the earlier two-storey portion of No. 3 The Mews and the single-storey portion can be seen in the thick interior walls. Spring 2023.

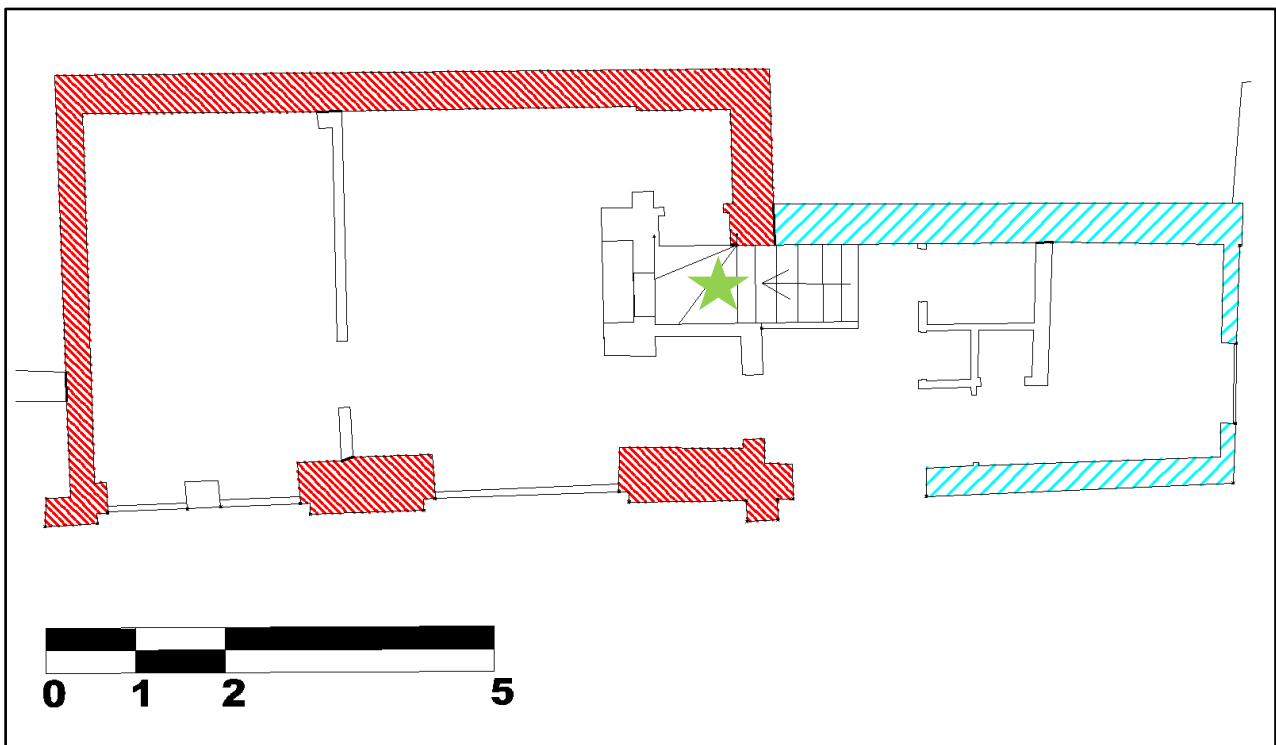


Figure 45. Measured survey of No. 3 The Mews indicates two phases of building development. In red is the likely creation of No. 3 by John Roper the younger circa 1843, and in blue is the likely extension by John Roper the younger circa 1860. The green star marks the location of Figure X.



Figure 46. The single-storey snug extension on the Stable Block can be seen in the center. The gateway into the former enclosed area between the Stable Block and Laborers' Cottage is circled in red. Summer 2023.



Figure 47. Wood beams like this one shown are present throughout the first-floor ceiling of No. 3 The Mews, with the building being lower in height than Nos. 1 and 2. Spring 2023.



Figure 48. The two-storey portion of No. 3 The Mews is shorter than Nos. 1 and 2, with dormers around the first-floor windows. The doorways into this part of the Stable Block are also lower than the doorways of Nos. 1 and 2. The brick scar from the former attached single-storey extension can be seen, circled in red. Summer of 2023.

Property Purchased from the Earl de Grey

After Reformation, properties in Clifton formerly held by the church were acquired by the Crown before being largely amassed by a York merchant family, the Robinsons (Hutton 1969, 3; Kaner 1988, 2-3). Barbara Hutton writes, "William Robinson I bought the manor of Rawcliffe in 1582 and that of Clifton in 1600; he acquired the Rectory of St. Olave's in 1613 with part of its tithes and his son William acquired the rest of the tithes in 1622," (Hutton 1969, 3). The Robinsons were a well-connected family in York; William Robinson the elder and his son, also William Robinson, were both Lord Mayor of York (Hutton 1969, 4). These connections eventually led to Thomas Philip Robinson (1781-1859) becoming the 2nd Earl de Grey in 1833 after the death of his maternal aunt, Amabel Hume-Campbell (Matthew 2009). It was Thomas, the 2nd Earl de Grey, that put 216 parcels of land in Clifton up for sale in 1836 (Hutton 1969, 4). While only 40 of the 216 parcels sold, this sale has been credited as the beginning of the suburbanization of Clifton (Hutton 1969, 3), despite the Ropers' earlier purchase and development of their estate beginning in 1825.

In June of 1846, three years after the likely creation of Clifton Croft as we see it today and ten years after the initial sale of properties, John Roper the younger purchased an adjacent plot for £580 from the 2nd Earl de Grey (Figure 49; CYA GDC/292/4). The Ropers owned a variety of properties in York, including agricultural closes and buildings related to their alcohol brewing and trading business (the Sign of the Sycamore, now the White House on Water End, for one) (CYA GDC/281/1-3). However, this purchase from the 2nd Earl de Grey marked the first expansion of the estate since the brothers acquired the plot formerly owned by Mary Driffield in 1840 (CYA GDC/292/1). This property purchased from the 2nd Earl de Grey sat just east of the Clifton Croft estate and was bounded to the north by Clifton Green and to the east by the Burdyke (Figure 50). The plot included the former residence of farmer Thomas Holgate, which may have been used by John Roper to house agricultural workers (see chimney indicated on the Ordnance Survey Map of 1852), or as an outbuilding (Figure 51; Hutton 1969, 8, 11). The Victorian entrance to the estate, as established with this purchase and seen alongside Holgate's former residence in Figure 51, now marks the intersection between Greencliffe Drive and Water End. The overall boundaries of the Clifton Croft estate, fully formed in 1846, remained intact until 1929, with the purchase of the complex by Robert James Pulleyn.

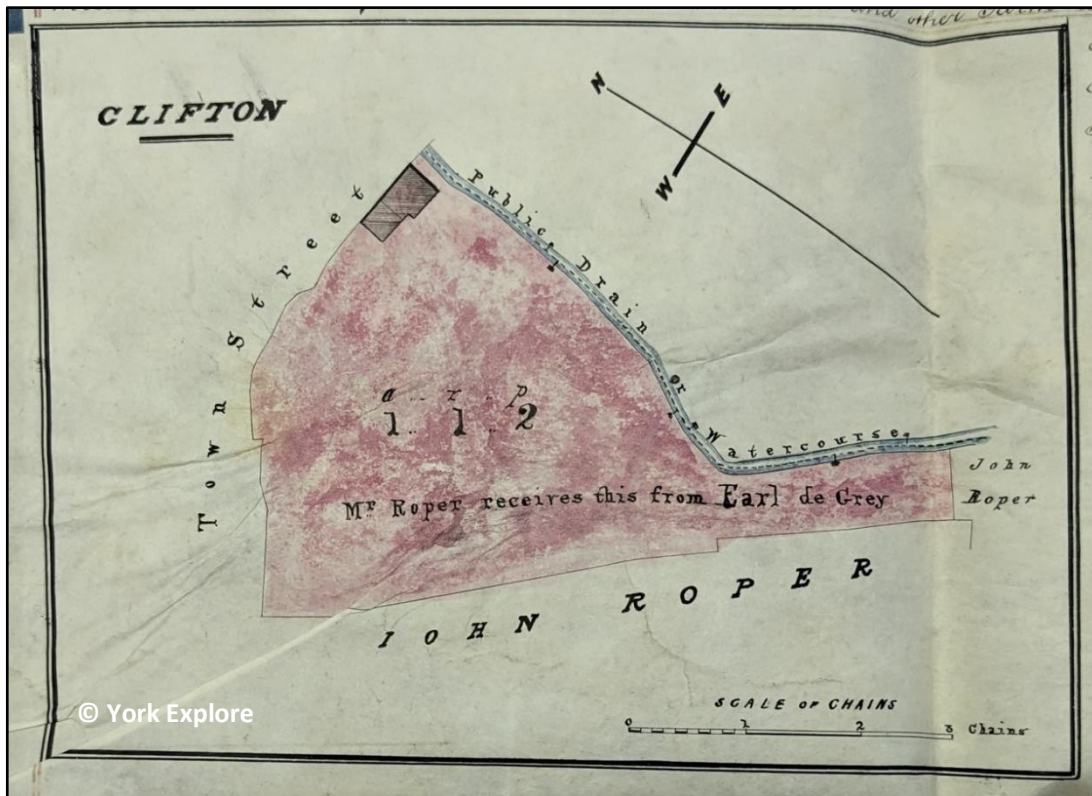


Figure 49. The Parcel conveyed from the 2nd Earl de Grey to John Roper the younger in 1846 (CYA GDC/292/4).



Figure 50. The Clifton Croft complex as of 1846 is outlined here in red, drawn over an earlier 1836 map relating to the sale of parcels by the 2nd Earl de Grey. The parcel purchased in 1846 is marked Lot 199 (YAYAS EV2768).

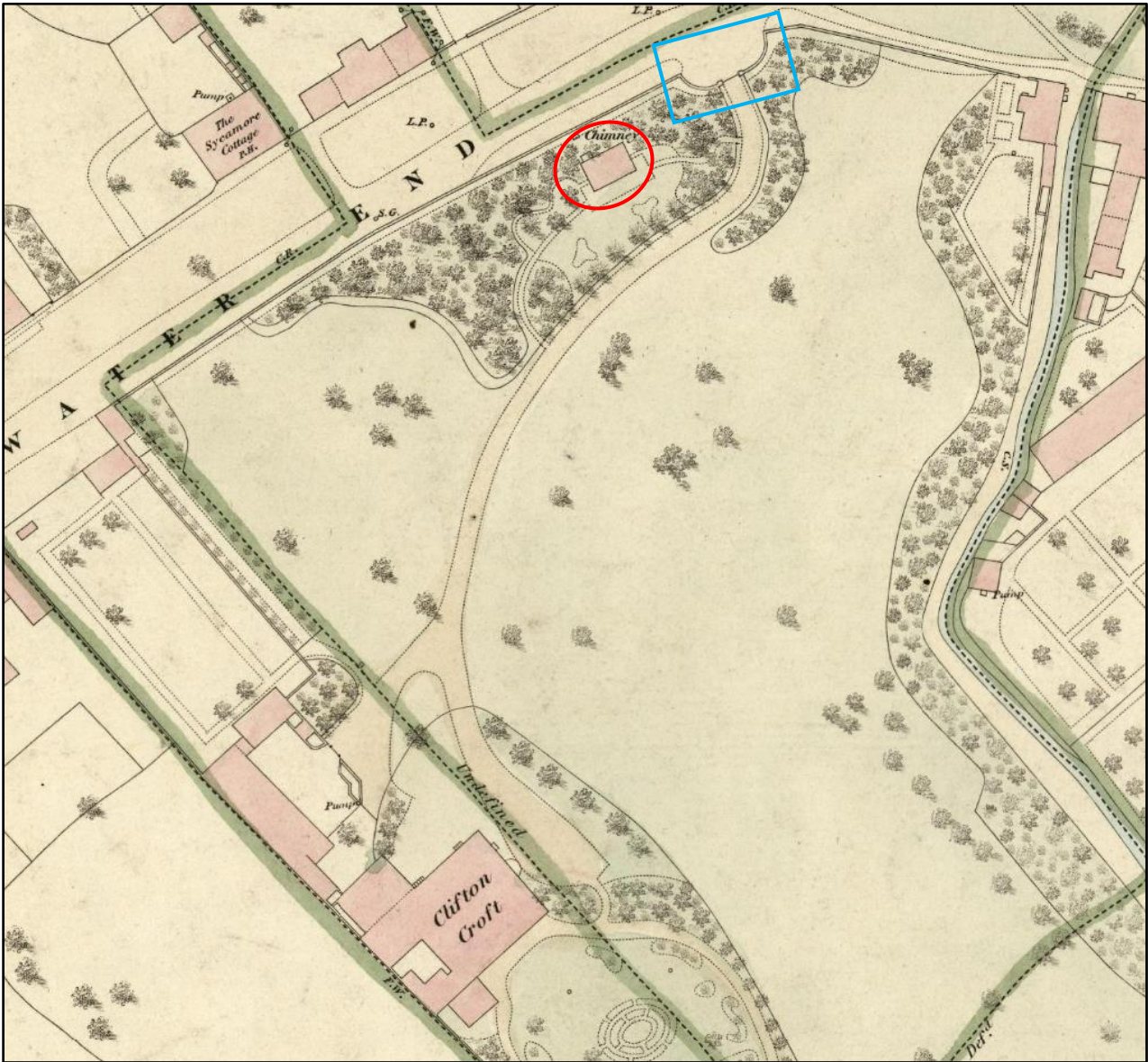


Figure 51. The former residence of Thomas Holgate is circled in red. The entrance to John Roper the younger's estate is marked in blue. Drawn over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1852 (David Rumsey Historical Map Collection).

Creation of the Gardener's House

Shortly after this purchase of property from the 2nd Earl de Grey, according to an embedded datestone, John Roper erected a Gardener's House, now No. 16 Clifton Green on Grey's former plot (LEN: 1259199) (Figure 52). The house lay alongside the Burdyke, and at the intersection of St Olave and St Michael-le-Belfrey parishes (Figures 53 and 54). As built, it was a two-storey asymmetrical Gothic Revival brick building with limestone ashlar dressing, a slate roof, and a distinctive church-like appearance (RCHME 1975, 69; Historic England n.d.-a). A weathervane with IR for John Roper and the Roper family crest on the western elevation visually tie the building to the Clifton Croft estate (Figure 55). While no obvious drawings or plans of the Gardener's House were found in the Frederick Bell collection, a similar-looking building and Roper's patronage of Frederick Bell for Clifton Croft and the later Laborers' Cottage suggests Bell was involved in the design (Figure 56). Roper and Bell may have been influenced by the high church Oxford Movement of the 19th century (Britannica 2020), or newly-formed ideas around piety and the Gothic style, as seen in country houses of the same time period (Girouard 1978, 273). The decision to build in the Gothic style is also quite interesting in contrast to the Neoclassical Clifton Croft, renovated just three years before the creation of the Gardener's House. The placement of the Gardener's House on Clifton Green in a highly visible location may have influenced John Roper the younger's decision to build in the latest fashion.

Certainly, John Roper the younger cultivated a rather pious image. He was a long-term member of St Helen's Church on Stonegate in York, even after his move to Clifton, and donated £600 to the church's restoration at his death (York Herald 1875, 6). Despite not attending Clifton Parish Church, during its establishment in 1867, John Roper the younger paid for the building's bells (Wilson 2011, 104). John Roper the younger's brother, Thomas Alexander, became a reverend and Roper's sister, Jane, married another reverend, John Carter (CYA HMU/1/46). A stained-glass window of St Francis of Assisi is also present in Clifton Croft, which may have been commissioned by John Roper the younger. Frederick Bell, meanwhile, had a deep interest in churches based upon his drawings seen in the City of York Archives (CYA FBE/1). Bell was also the architect during the rebuilding of St Sampson's church in York between 1845 and 1848, the same time period that the Gardener's House was constructed (RCHME 1981, 44-46). Likely because of its architectural merit and highly-visible location on Clifton Green, the Gardener's House is the only ancillary building of the Clifton Croft complex that is both still standing and a designated building.



Figure 52. Date stone as seen on the southern elevation of No. 16 Clifton Green, built as a Gardener's House for John Roper the younger around 1846. The house lies on the boundary of St Olave's Parish, as indicated. Spring 2023.



Figure 53. Walking path that marks the former location of the Burdyke and former eastern boundary of the Clifton Croft complex. Looking northeast towards No. 16 Clifton Green, the Gardener's House. Spring 2023.

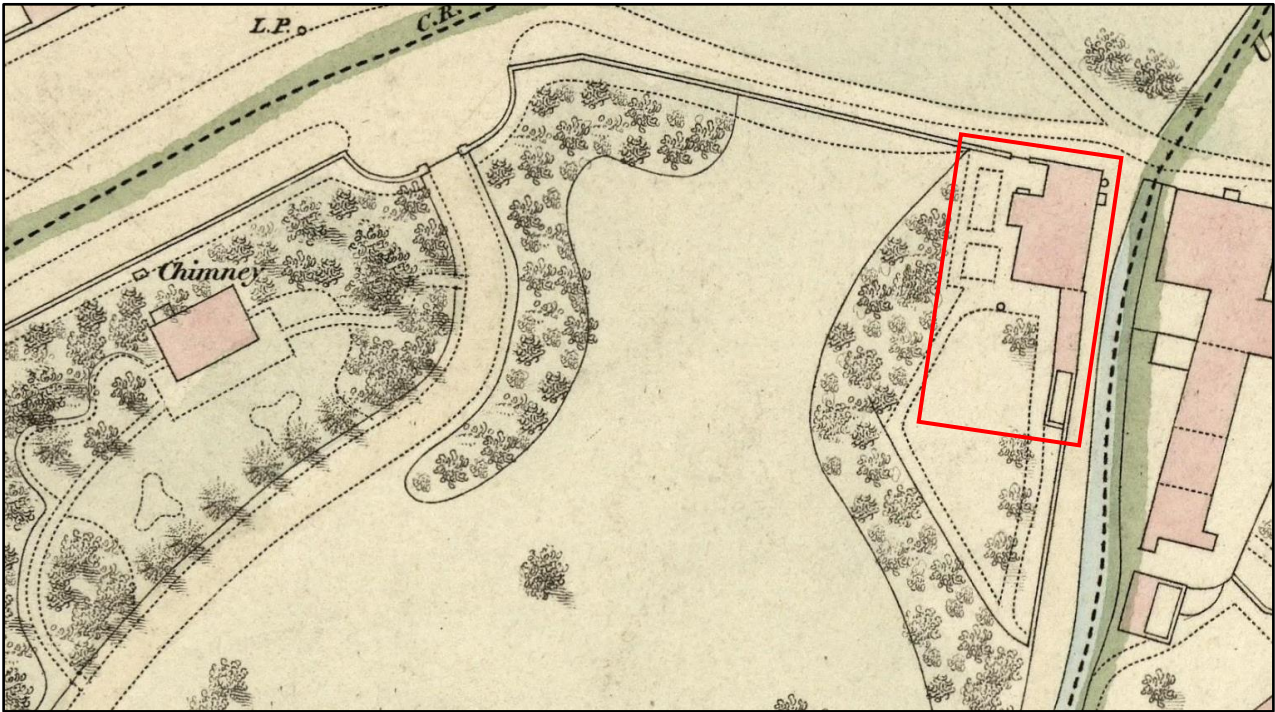
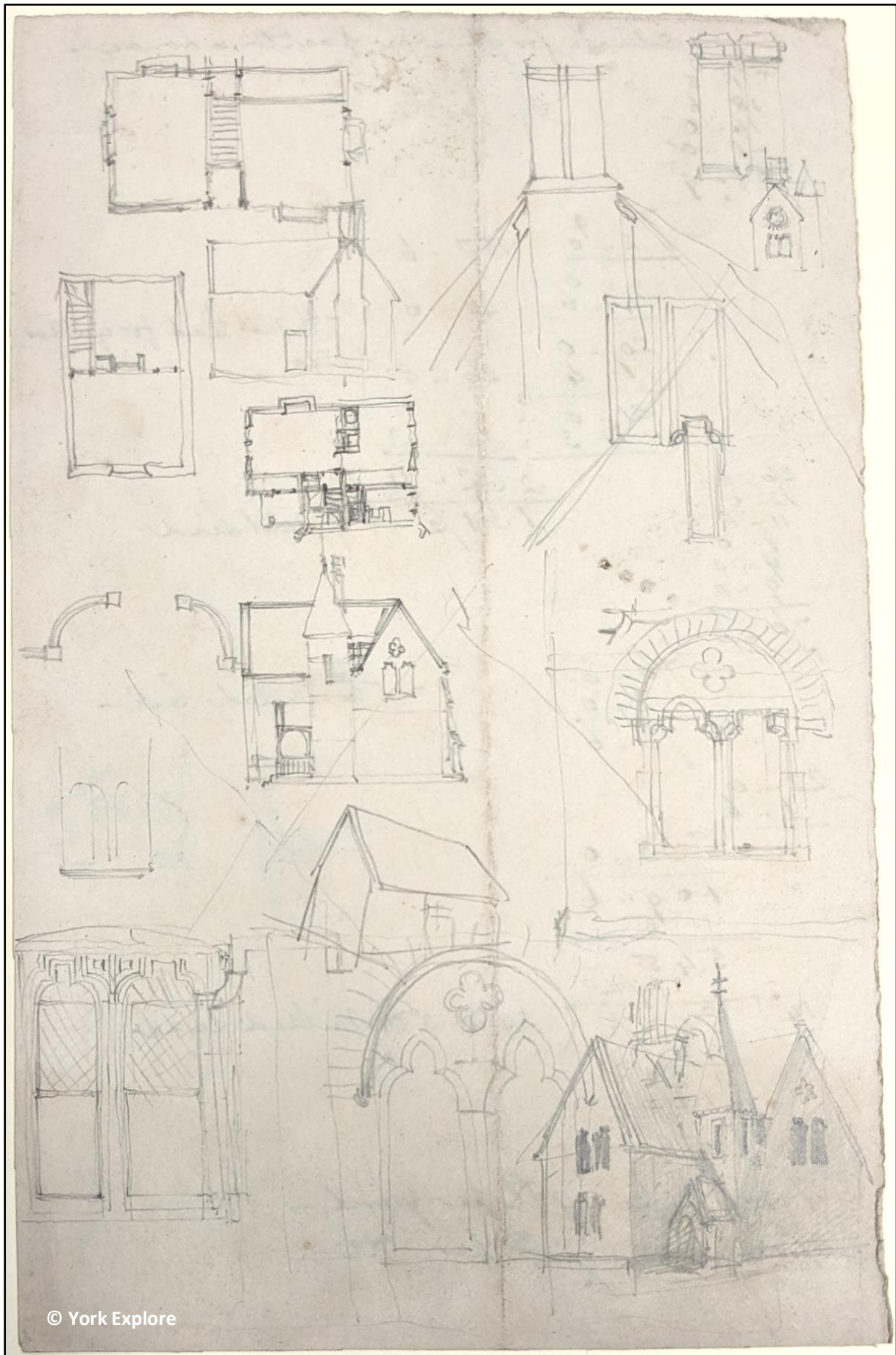


Figure 54. The Gardener's House as seen in the Ordnance Survey Map of 1852. The house acted as the boundary line between the Clifton Croft estate and the Burdyke, and St Olave and St Michael-le-Belfrey parishes (David Rumsey Historical Map Collection).



Figure 55. The Gardener's House, now No. 16 Clifton Green. The Roper's family crest and initialled weathervane can be seen. Summer 2023.



© York Explore

Figure 56. Sketches of similar-looking buildings to John Roper's Gardener's House within the Frederick Bell collection (CYA FBE/1/116).

Creation of the Laborers' Cottage

The final outbuilding to be established as part of the Clifton Croft complex was an attached farm building and Laborers' Cottage facing Water End. This structure was built sometime between 1857 and 1860 based upon a mortgage John Roper was granted for £2,000 in 1857 and a sketch of Water End showing the completed building in 1860 (Figure 57; CYA GDC/292/6). Frederick Bell was again the architect, although his drawing of the building is undated (CYA FBE/1/22). As with the Gardener's House, the Laborers' Cottage was Gothic Revival in style, but perhaps a bit less ostentatious (Figure 58). The Gardener's House was in a more visible location facing Clifton Green while the Laborers' Cottage and farm building faced Water End, at the time a dead-end road, which may explain this difference. The Laborers' Cottage and attached farm building was an interesting structure in that it incorporated parts of the older brick wall, and while the two parts of the building were attached, they were rather inaccessible (Figure 59). The farm building had an entrance facing Water End to the northwest and a passageway to what was an enclosure of some kind towards the southeast (possibly a walled garden). The living area of the Laborers' Cottage was only accessible via a path which ran southeast towards the Stable Block. There was no direct passage from the Laborers' Cottage to the farm building and no direct passage from the Laborers' Cottage to Water End. Instead, the shortest route from the Laborers' Cottage to the farm building was through the Stable Block, making an interesting connection between the two halves of the laborers' building, the Stable Block, and the walled area between (Figure 59).

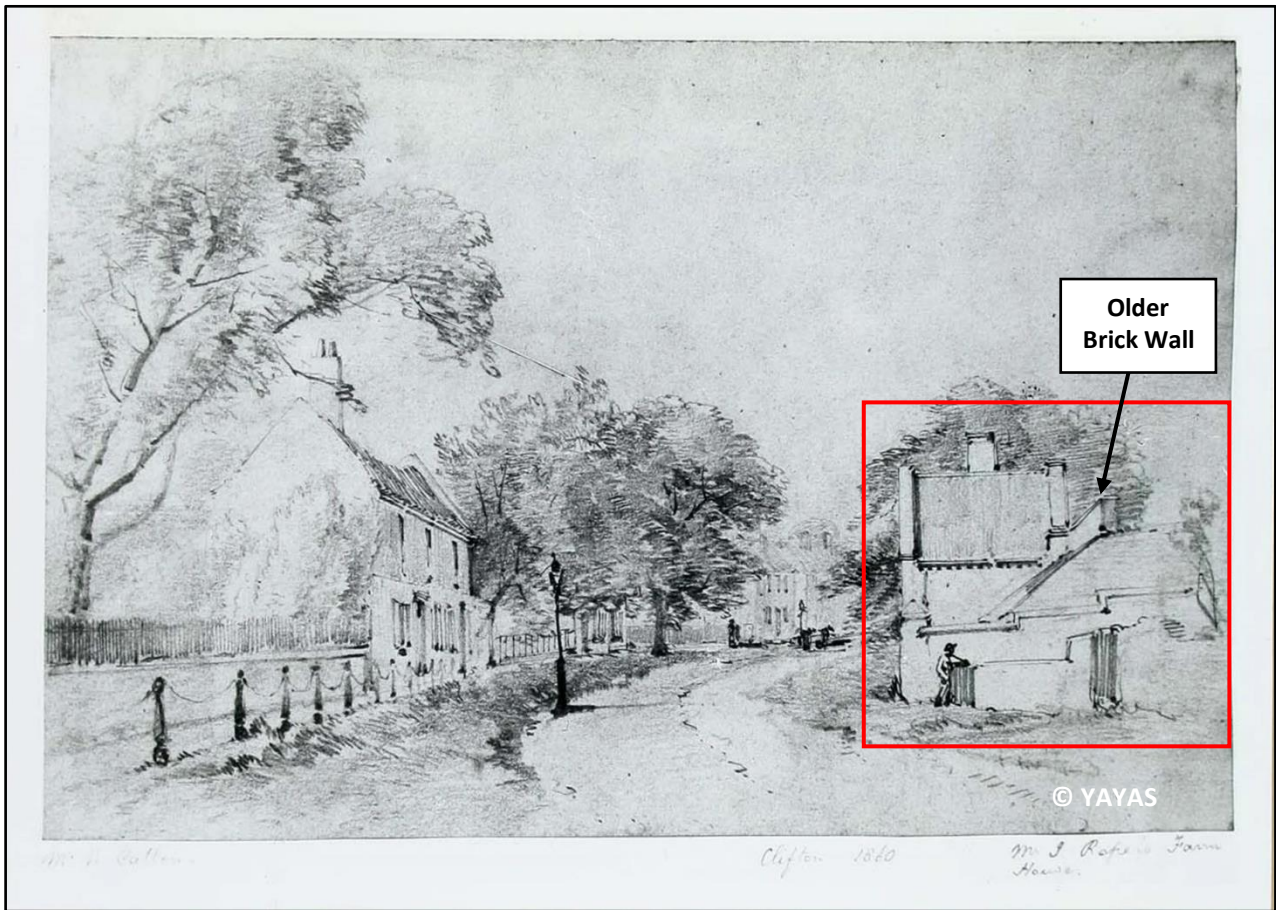


Figure 57. Sketch of Water End in 1860 by Hudson. John Roper the younger's Laborers' Cottage and farm building is seen on the right-hand side of the drawing, outlined in red (YAYAS EV1011).

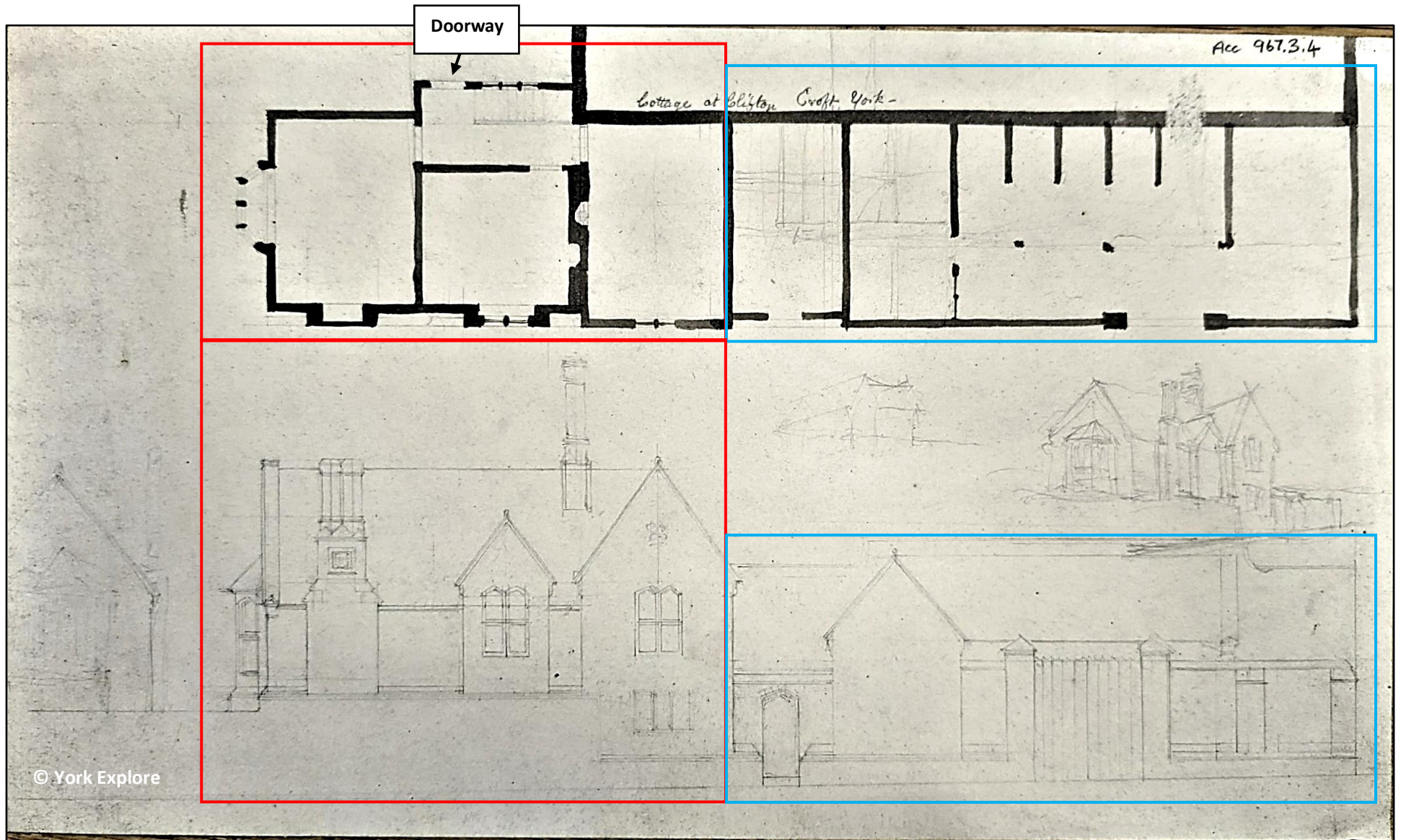


Figure 58. John Roper's Laborers' Cottage as designed by Frederick Bell, undated. The northwestern elevation shown at the bottom faced Water End. The residence is marked red and the agricultural building is marked blue. The sole doorway out of the Laborers' Cottage is labeled (CYA FBE/1/22).

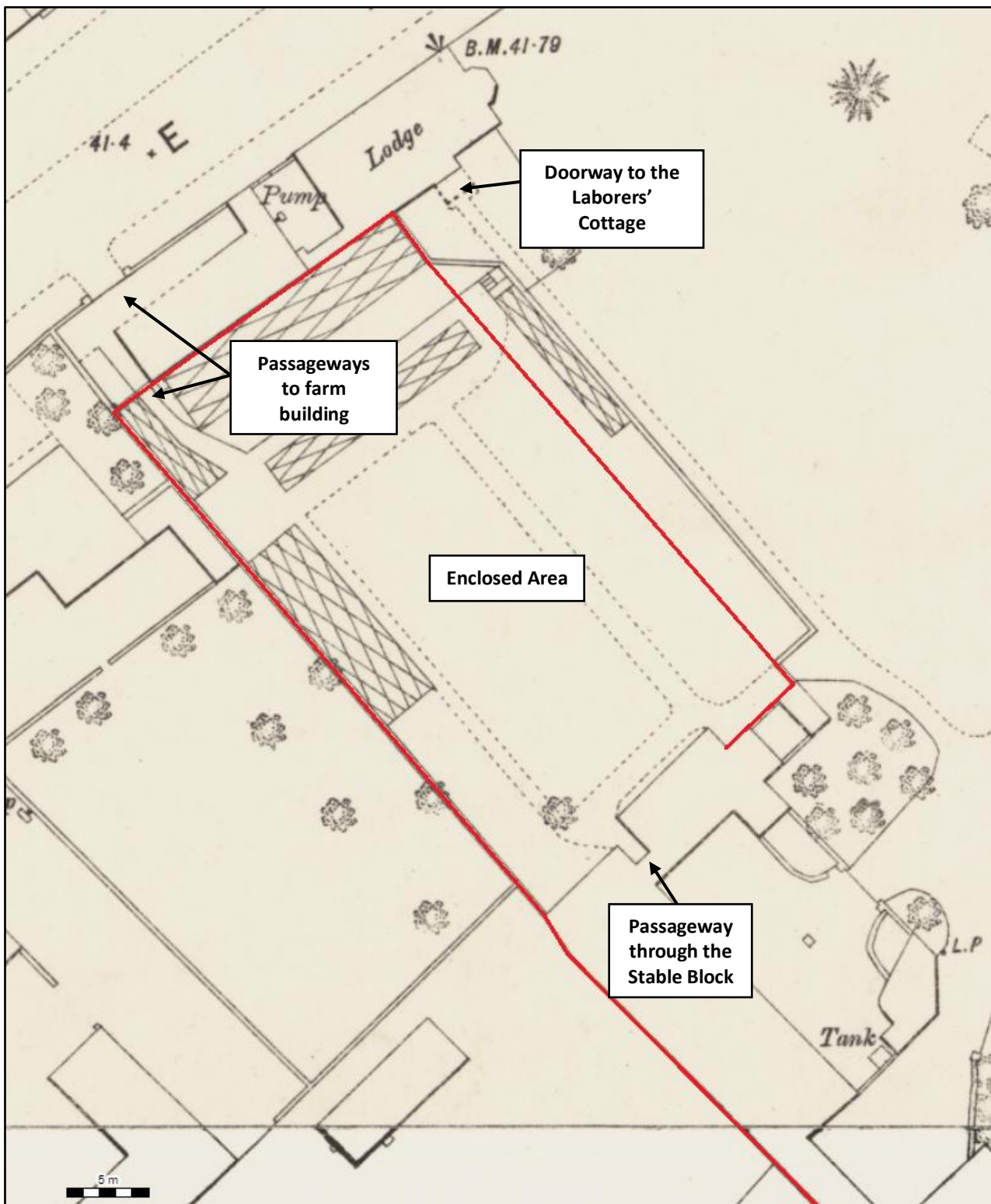


Figure 59. The Laborers' Cottage and attached farm building as seen in the Ordnance Survey Map of 1891. The drawn red line marks the older brick wall as seen in the Ordnance Survey Map of 1852. Other features including the sole doorway to the Laborers' Cottage are labeled (National Library of Scotland 2023).

John Roper the Younger, Clifton Croft Estate, and Cultural Capital

The Laborers' Cottage and other outbuildings of John Roper the younger were indirectly referenced in a newspaper article from 1861 which states, "During the past year Mr. Roper has made extensive improvements in his pleasure-grounds, which have been laid out in most exquisite taste," (York Herald 1861, 5). Matching the timeframe of construction for the Laborers' Cottage and farm building, already established between 1857 and 1860, this article ties the construction of the building and changes made to the property to Roper's proclivity to host others on the grounds of Clifton Croft. This occasion was a pre-party for 120 guests relating to the York Cup and Roper's position as chairman of the Race Committee. The article also mentions, "...two sheaves of wheat reaped on Mr. Roper's farm..." highlighting the agricultural nature of Roper's land holdings (York Herald 1861, 5). Roper reportedly raised pigs and cattle, and grew wheat and potatoes on the Clifton Croft estate and his other land holdings in Clifton (York Herald 1854, 3; York Herald 1861, 5; York Herald 1874a, 2; Hutton 1969, 25). Portions of the Stable Block and the farm buildings on Water End may have been used for animal husbandry and agricultural purposes.

Additional articles from the mid-19th century all highlight John Roper the younger's place as a bourgeois "Lord" of Clifton: Roper held fetes and shows for up to 1,000 people as part of the York Horticultural Society, of which he was president for at least 1853 (York Herald 1853, 5; York Herald 1858, 10; York Herald 1859, 10); acted as a council member for the Yorkshire Agricultural Society (York Herald 1874b, 7); was president of the Gimcrack (horse racing) Club (York Herald 1870, 9); and was active in the York Pig and Poultry Show (York Herald 1854, 3). It seems John Roper the younger was fulfilling a role similar to the landed gentry, or perhaps was acting in imitation of this role, whether he was conscious of the parallels or not. Being active in animal husbandry, farming, and horticultural and agricultural societies; the fetes and parties for select groups and the community of Clifton; and, essentially, a (relatively) miniaturized version of the country estate with the grand Neoclassical residence and associated outbuildings and gardens all increased his status as someone of culture as well as means (Bourdieu 1986). Furthermore, John Roper the younger's ability to play this role was dependent on Clifton Croft and its ancillary buildings' location within suburban York. While discussing one of the fetes hosted by Roper, the York Herald states, "The landscape seen from it... was fresh and beautiful as ever—with its undulating ground, its rich meadows and green pastures, shaded with lofty trees and enlivened with grazing cattle, while here and there glimpses of the city remind the beholder— 'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,'" (York Herald 1858, 10). These romantic notions of the suburbs and Clifton Croft's location within them granted John Roper the younger additional status.

Workers and the Clifton Croft Estate Under John Roper the Younger

Census records from 1851 to 1871 illuminate the individuals who made up the Clifton Croft complex under John Roper the younger. Ralph Pillmoor, gardener for Roper, and his wife, Martha, can be seen in the 1851, 1861, and 1871 census as residing in an adjacent house to Roper, most obviously the Gardener's House (1851 Census; York Herald 1858, 10; 1861 Census; 1871 Census). The couple's children John, Elizabeth, Thomas, and Joseph, are also seen in the 1851 census but had moved on by 1861. Interestingly, John Pillmoor, aged 19, was listed as a book keeper in a newspaper office and Thomas Pillmoor, aged 13, was listed as an office boy (1851 Census). These positions suggest the young men were regularly commuting to York.

Other individuals in the 1851 census include housekeeper Mary Thompson (also seen in 1841), butler William Edgar, house servant Mary Jewitt, housemaid Ann Farnley, and kitchen maid Jane Butler, all residing within Clifton Croft (1851 Census). While John Roper the younger does have one visitor listed, Edward Bell, this is a significant increase in staff from the three servants seen in 1841 caring for three family members (John, Mary Ann, and Sarah Roper) (1841 Census). This increase is likely connected to the construction of Clifton Croft's Servants' Quarters and the building's associated size and status. A plan for the kitchen range drawn by Frederick Bell shows a fireplace in the room above the kitchen, likely the bedroom of one of the female servants (Figure 60). With housekeeper Mary Thompson's room being located on the ground floor and no butler's room indicated, it is not clear how or to what degree butler William Edgar was separated from the remaining female servants. Plans for Clifton Croft indicate a separate servants' staircase to access the floor above the kitchen and scullery, but unlike in larger Victorian country houses (Girouard 1978, 279, 285), there is no indication of separate stairways based upon gender, or access from the servants' stair to the owner's bedrooms (Figure 61).

Thomas Marshall, footman, his wife, Frances, and their daughter, Frances Turner, are also associated with the Clifton Croft complex in 1851 (1851 Census). As this was before the creation of the Laborers' Cottage, it is not clear which building within the estate that the Marshalls resided, but it seems most likely either within the Stable Block, in the outbuildings at Water End, or in the former premises of Thomas Holgate (Figure 62). It is also interesting to note that John Roper is himself listed as a "landed proprietor" in the 1851 census, despite his continuing brewery and alcohol trading business (1851 Census).

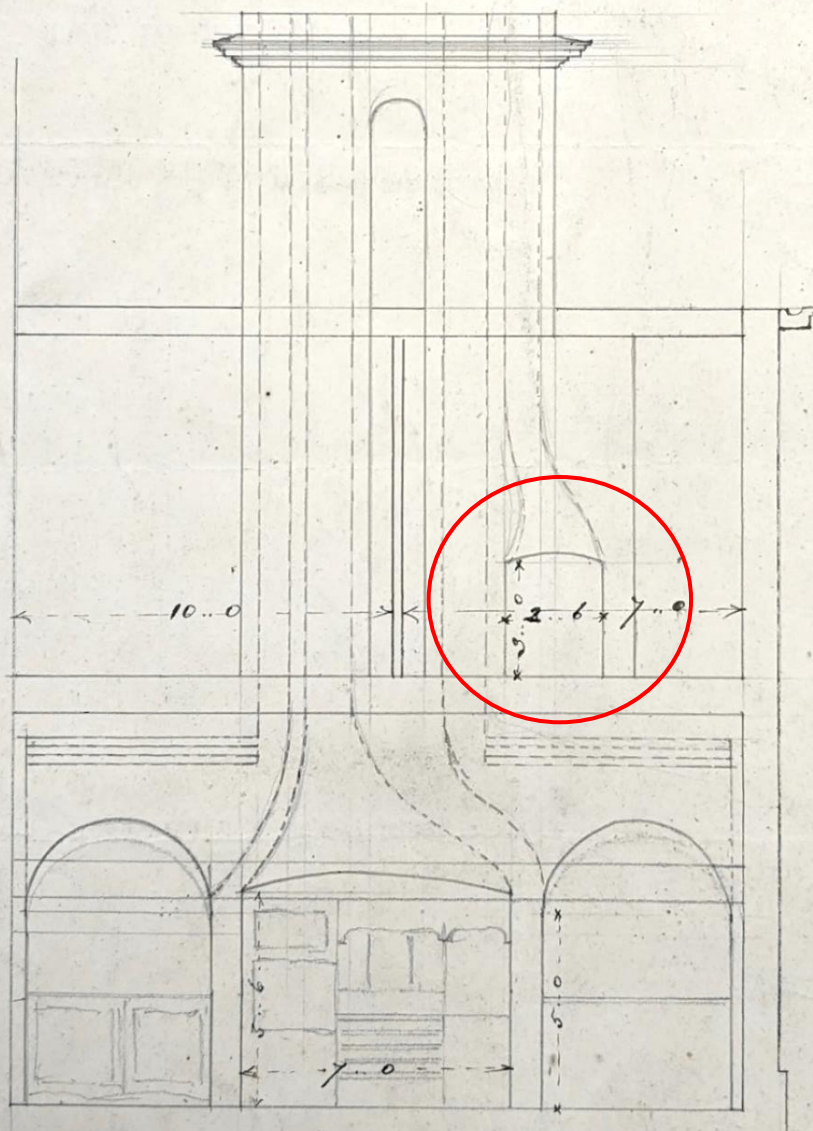
By 1861, John Roper, listed as a gentleman, was living in Clifton Croft with his nephew, Charles Jewith, housekeeper Elizabeth Cook, housemaid Mary Gray, kitchen maid Ann Scott, groom William Lindale, footman George Coucher, and farm servant George Thompson (1861

Census). Likely at the Laborers' Cottage were Thomas Wells, a farm laborer, his wife, Ann, and their children Elizabeth, Mary Ann, and Thomas, alongside coachman Richard Lindale and laborer William Clark (1861 Census). The number of individuals related to one another (assumedly, from their surnames) working within the complex suggests that John Roper the younger employed those from the surrounding area. While there are no known changes to the Stable Block from 1851 to 1861, the increase in servants related to horse work suggests an increase in use of carriages or number of horses within the estate.

In the final census before John Roper's death in 1875, George Coucher, footman, his wife Ann, and their daughter Emma, along with boarder Francis Chapman, a farm servant, likely resided at the Laborers' Cottage in 1871 (1871 Census). John Roper, listed as a brewer and spirit merchant, his nephew Charles Jewitt, listed as a farmer, housekeeper Catherine Dale, housemaid Mary Gray, famer's man George Thompson, footman Richard Thompson, and kitchen maid Lavinia Longbones resided within the main house of Clifton Croft (1871 Census). The lack of significant change in occupation of the Clifton Croft complex between the 1861 and 1871 censuses reinforces the idea that the estate stabilized after the construction of the Laborers' Cottage around 1860.

John Roger Esq

Kitchens at Clifton Croft



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Figure 60. Plan of the kitchen fireplace and chimney at Clifton Croft by Frederick Bell. An additional fireplace can be seen in the room above the kitchen, circled in red (CYA FBE/1/20).

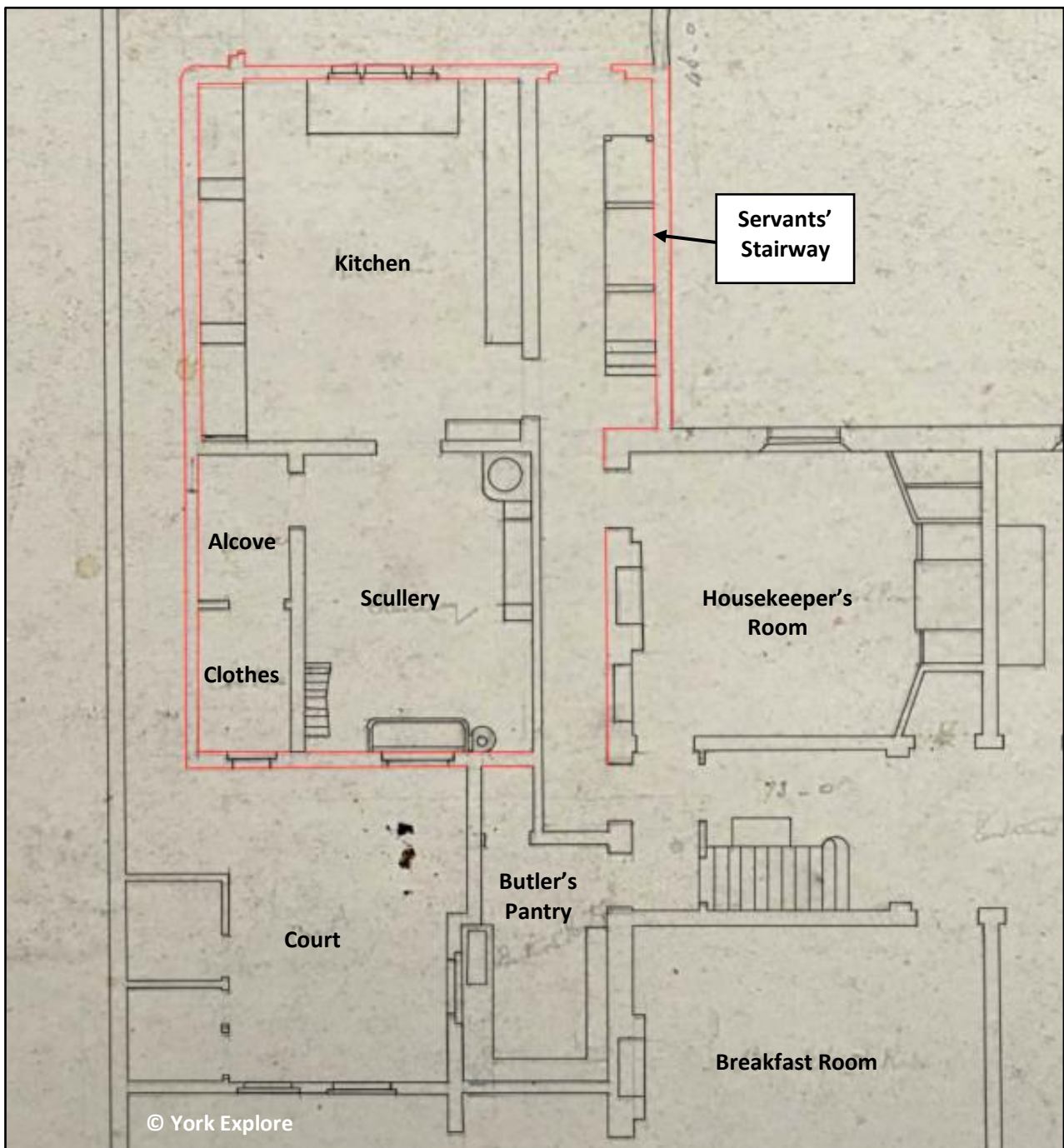


Figure 61. Portion of the plan for Clifton Croft by Frederick Bell, architect, for John Roper the younger. Image is undated but alongside similar material dated 1843. The Servants' Quarters are highlighted in red, and the separate servants' stairway is indicated (CYA FBE/1/21).

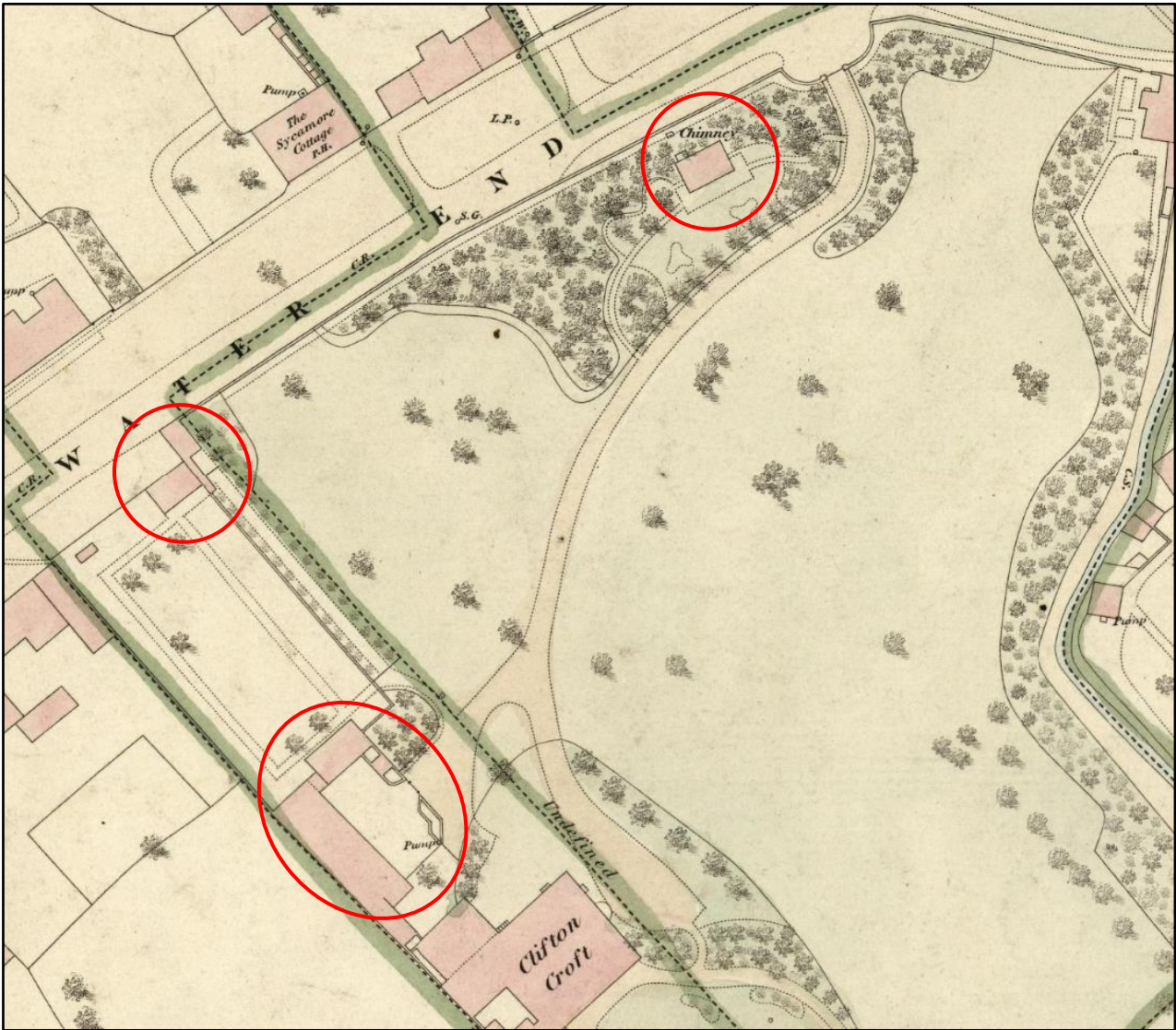


Figure 62. Possible locations of the Marshalls in 1851 in red. Drawn over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1852 (David Rumsey Historical Map Collection).

John Roper the Younger and James Melrose

Eight years before John Roper the younger's death in 1875, Roper entered into a partnership with James Melrose after the death of his previous partner, Richard Nelson (CYA GDC/420/69). At the time, in 1867, James Melrose was a land surveyor in Beverley with connections to beer brewing through his father-in-law, and while the partnership was to last for 14 years, Melrose had to pay £3,000 towards one-fourth of John Roper's brewing and alcohol trade business (CYA CUT/2/65; CYA GDC/420/69). From the beginning of their partnership in 1867 until John Roper's death in 1875, James Melrose resided at Roper's house at No. 3 St Sampson Square, likely where it acquired the name Melrose house. This partnership was cut short by Roper's death but gave James Melrose first right to purchase, for £30,000, Roper's business, "...the whole of my brewery premises in Saint Sampson's Square in the City of York with the dwellinghouse there now occupied by the said James Melrose and all my malthouses public houses messuages lands tenements hereditaments and real estate of every tenure..." plus related part shares and stocks (CYA GDC/414/2). For an additional £5,692, James Melrose was able to purchase Clifton Croft and owned the property in Clifton for the next 54 years, until his own death in 1929 (Abstract of Title 1939).

Chapter Eight: James Melrose and the Clifton Croft Estate

Stability Under James Melrose

After years of transformation and change—from the purchase of the plot in Clifton in 1825 to the creation of Clifton Croft and its ancillary buildings from 1843 to 1860—the period of 1876 until 1929 was one of stability under the tenure of James Melrose. There is evidence for only minor changes made to the estate during its fifty-plus years of ownership by James Melrose, with this lack of change possibly being tied to Melrose’s reverence for John Roper and the Roper family in general. A son, John Melrose, was born to James and Elizabeth Melrose in 1870, three years after the partnership with John Roper began (1871 Census; CYA GDC/420/69). John is obviously a common name and this may have been pure coincidence, but a further son was born in 1873 and named Henry Roper Melrose, most likely after John Roper the younger’s brother, Henry Roper (1881 Census; CYA CUT/2/65; CYA HMU/1/46). Additionally, after John Roper’s death in 1875, James Melrose erected a memorial window in the Clifton Parish Church and donated £500 to the “deserving poor” in his honor (Wilson 2011, 104).

James Melrose also followed Roper’s example through his involvement in specific activities and societies, including with his interest in horticulture and as his time as chairman of the York Race Committee (CYA CUT/2/65). Surpassing Roper politically, Melrose was Lord Mayor of York for the 1876-1877 term, an Alderman of the City for twelve years, and a Conservative member of the City Council for eighteen years in total (CYA CUT/2/65). As John Roper’s former partner, James Melrose continued in brewing and spirit trading until, in 1879, he sold off some of the brewery-related business. This sale was more of a pivot due to the conglomeration of breweries in York than a wholesale abandonment of the alcohol trade, as Melrose and his sons, John and Charles James, continued in spirit and wine trading through the name C. J. Melrose and Co. (Davison 1992, 40-42; CYA CUT/2/65). It is interesting to note that at his death in 1929, James Melrose was described, “In appearance he resembled a typical country squire; in manner he was one of ‘Nature’s gentlemen,’” (Figure 63; CYA CUT/2/65). John Roper the younger had himself been styled a suburban “country” gentleman, interested in traditionalist Conservative activities associated with the aristocracy and living on his own country estate on the outskirts of the city. It seems James Melrose embodied these same characteristics and, in some ways, continued John Roper the younger’s legacy.

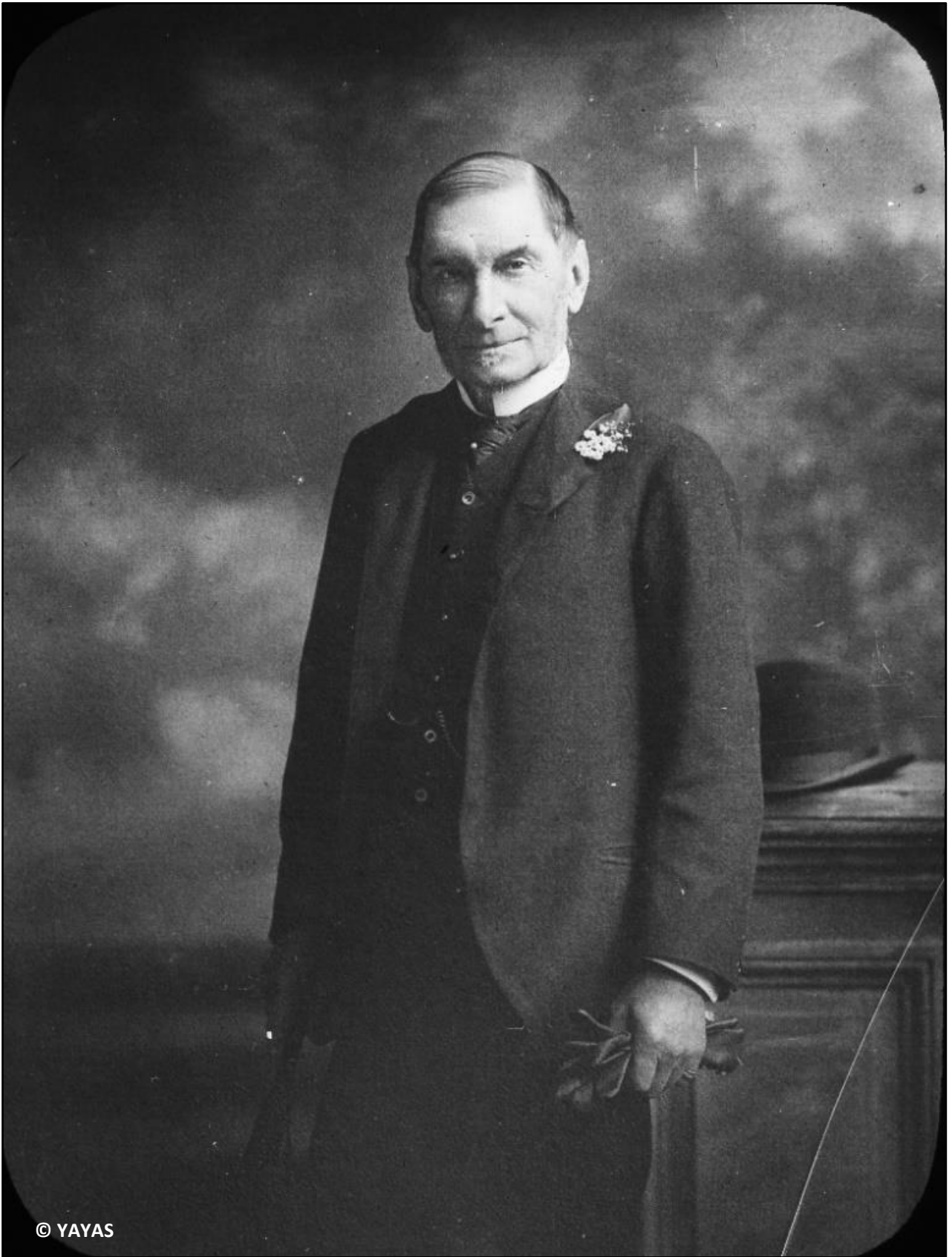


Figure 63. James Melrose in an undated photograph (YAYAS EV2296).

Workers at the Clifton Croft Estate Under James Melrose

Between 1881 and 1921, Clifton Croft hosted a variety of the Melrose family: James Melrose; his wife, Elizabeth; and their children Charles James, Jessie, Arthur, Walter, Helen, John, William Ernest, and Henry Roper Melrose (1881 Census; 1891 Census; 1911 Census; 1921 Census). Alongside the family were the ever-present household servants, gardeners, and coachmen. In 1881, the household servants were waiting maid Emily A Hudson, kitchen maid Anne Hall, and housemaid Annie Farrell (1881 Census). John Roper also consistently had three to four female household servants, and this trend continued until the last available census record in 1921 (1921 Census). In 1881, George Lee, gardener, his wife Louisa, and children John and Charles resided at the Gardener's House on Clifton Green (1881 Census). Also in 1881, coachman Charles Shaw, his wife Hannah, and their children John, Annie, Emily, Edith, James, and Joseph were all likely living in the Laborers' Cottage on Water End with boarder and railway laborer Squire Ellis (1881 Census).

In 1891, Charles and Hannah Shaw were again at the Laborers' Cottage with Charles' occupation being listed as a laborer and additional children Thomas, Lilly, Edwin, and Ada (1891 Census). At the Gardener's House in 1891 were gardener John William Richardson, his wife, Ann, and their children Herbert and Frank (1891 Census). Esther Nelson, Eugenie Robson, and Beatrice Annie Broadley were the domestic servants for Clifton Croft in 1891, although their specific duties were not listed (1891 Census). It is interesting to note the occupations of some of the Melrose children; by 1891, Charles James had taken over his father's spirit and wine trading business, Walter was a banker's clerk, John was a student of law, and William Ernest was a cloth manufacturer apprentice (1891 Census). While only Charles James continued as a merchant, the other men of the family had decidedly middle-class occupations, befitting their status.

By 1911, James Melrose, now a widower, was living in Clifton Croft solely with cook Elizabeth Dale, housemaid Florence Bertha Woodhouse, and kitchen maid Beatrice Lazenby (1911 Census). The number of individuals in the Laborers' Cottage was also significantly reduced by 1911, with only coachman Joseph Wearmouth, his wife, Mary Ellen, and their daughter, Ellen, being present (1911 Census). An interesting development can be seen in the 1911 occupation of the Gardener's House by Frederick William Farr, Mary Jane, his wife, and their children. All of the daughters of the family, Annie Kathleen, 22, Dorothy Linda, 19, and Rosalie Mary, 15, were chocolate packers while son, Archie Thomas, 17, was a gardener journeyman (1911 Census). The young women's work in chocolate manufacturing coincided with the movement of several members of the Rowntree family to houses in Clifton, including The Homestead and Clifton Lodge (Tillott 1961, 287; Wilson 2011, 48-72).

Finally, by 1921 James Melrose again lived with three female domestic servants, Elizabeth Dale, Alice Lambert, and Doris Cundall (1921 Census). Joseph Wearmouth, Mary Ellen, and Ellen still resided at the Laborers' Cottage on Water End, with Joseph continuing to be employed by James Melrose as a coachman while Ellen, his daughter, aged 16, worked as a cream packer at the Rowntree's Cocoa Works on Haxby Road in York (1921 Census). Beatrice Annie Ripley, aged 15, was also employed by the Rowntree's at the chocolate works while she and her father, gardener William Ripley, and aunt Kate Mary Shepley resided at the Gardener's House (1921 Census). These census records highlight the changing economic model in York in the early 20th century and the Rowntree's reliance on young female workers as part of the chocolate manufacturing process, with more than half of all workers at confectionery plants at this time being women and girls (Tillott 1961, 293).

Changes in Clifton at the Turn of the Century

In regard to the Clifton Croft estate, the small amount of evidenced change that occurred was related to the ancillary buildings of the complex. Evidenced change to the structures of the Clifton Croft estate can be seen in the Ordnance Survey Map of 1909, with the former residence of Thomas Holgate being demolished sometime between 1891 and 1909 (Figure 64). This timeframe is similar to that of the demolition of the nearby timber-framed house facing Water End, and may be evidence of a trend in the removal of timber-framed structures in Clifton. Certainly, the Ordnance Survey Map of 1909 shows substantial development in Clifton at the turn of the century, including newly-built terraced housing on adjacent parcels to the Clifton Croft estate (Figure 65). The Homestead, built for chocolatier Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree by his cousin, architect Fred Rowntree, can also be seen on the 1909 Ordnance Survey Map, adjacent to the Clifton Croft estate, just north of Water End (Figure 65; Wilson 2011, 59). The Rowntree's relocation to Clifton at the beginning of the 20th century was part of the larger suburban movement begun in York in the 19th century (Nuttgens 1989, 97). This period of development foreshadowed the later development of the Clifton Croft grounds in the decade following James Melrose's death.

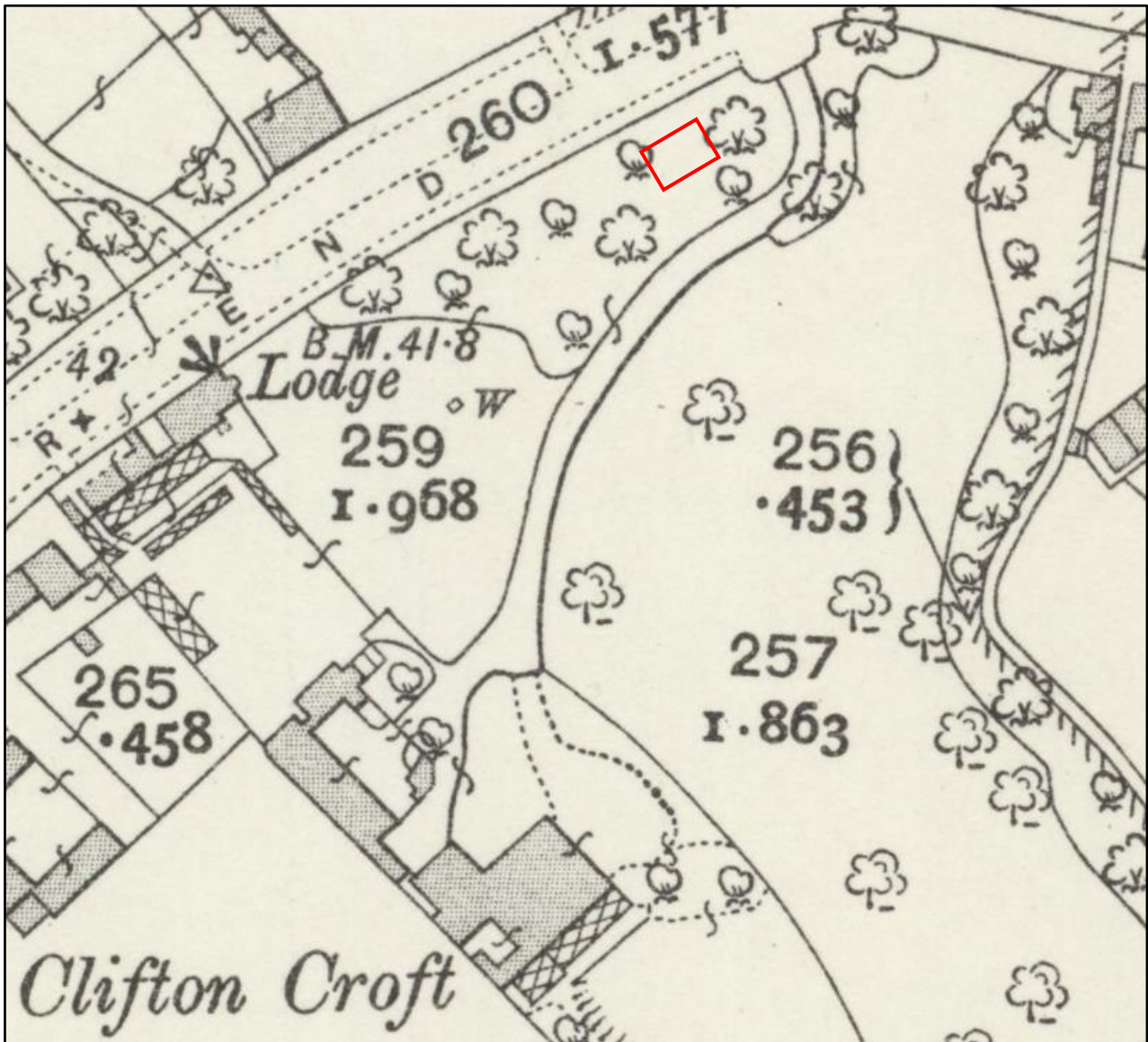


Figure 64. Approximate location of the former residence of Thomas Holgate drawn in red over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1909 (National Library of Scotland 2023).

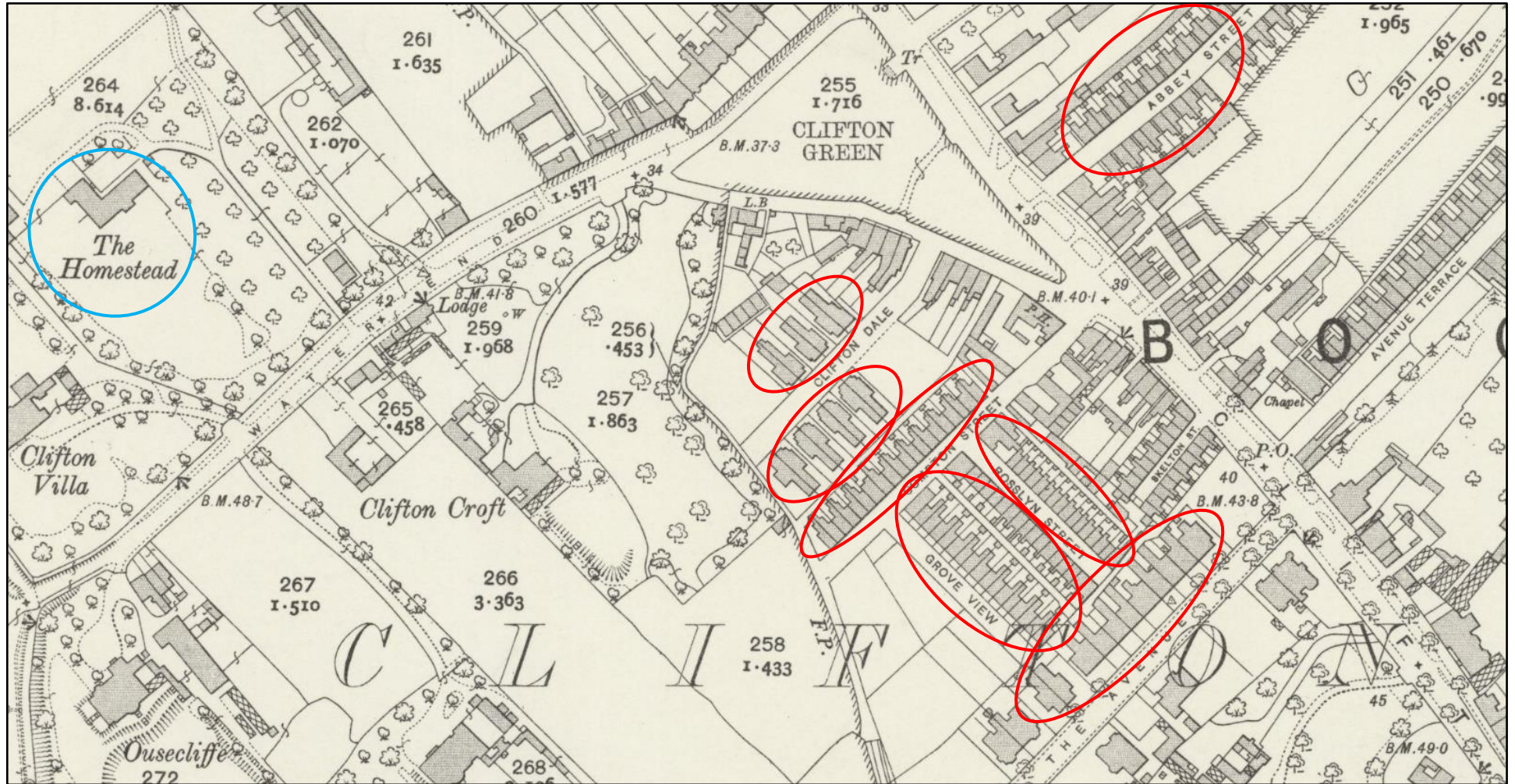


Figure 65. An abundance of new developments occurred in Clifton between 1891 and 1909. The Homestead is circled in blue. Other new developments are circled in red over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1909 (National Library of Scotland 2023).

Chapter Nine: “Reg” Pulleyn and Interwar Developments

Interwar Housing Clearances and Developments

The decade after James Melrose’s death in February of 1929 was one of substantial change for the Clifton Croft complex; a decade which would see the previous boundaries of the estate fundamentally eroded and the Croft itself separated from all of its ancillary buildings excepting the Stable Block. It was not until August of 1931, over two years after James Melrose’s death, that his sons and executors Walter, John, and William Ernest Melrose were able to sell the Clifton Croft complex (Abstract of Title 1939). The purchaser of the property was builder and contractor Robert James Pulleyn, who bought the estate for only £5,000, £692 less than what James Melrose had paid for the same property in 1876 (Abstract of Title 1939). Low land prices at the time may have been a lingering result of the Agricultural Depression of the previous century (Historic England 2017, 5; Yorke 2021, 24) or population declines in York during the 1920s (Tillott 1961, 256). Certainly, the interwar period was one of slum clearances and rapid housing development (usually in the suburbs or outskirts of the city), and this was true for York as well as the country in general (Tillott 1961, 297-298; Yorke 2021, 23). In York, “Between 1919 and 1939 the demolition of 1,908 houses and the movement of 6,507 persons was approved. To accommodate these and other persons, 4,702 municipal houses were completed by December 1938,” (Tillott 1961, 297-298). Specifically in the Clifton area, between 1934 and 1939, Baker’s Yard and Hudson’s Yard were cleared due to the poor state of the buildings and lack of indoor toilets (CYA Y/PPT/2/1/8/14; CYA Y/PPT/2/1/8/15). The 4,702 houses mentioned were only those built by the Corporation (City of York government) and there must have been many others that were privately developed around this time, including those houses built on the former estate of Clifton Croft.

Beginnings of Development

Robert James Pulleyn’s purchase of the Clifton Croft complex in 1931 was accompanied by his purchase of an adjacent parcel to the west (Abstract of Title 1939). Pulleyn must have also purchased a portion of the land to the south (labeled “The Trustees of the late J.S. Walker”), although the details of this are not included in the Abstract of Title (Figure 66). These purchases allowed Pulleyn, by 1933, to create Greycliffe Drive and Westminster Road between the already-existing Ousecliffe Gardens and The Avenue (Figure 67; Watson 1933). The same year as Pulleyn’s purchase, in April of 1931, the Corporation indicated its desire to expand Water End. The new road line designed by the City intersected the Laborers’ Cottage and was likely the reason for its

demolition (Figure 68). Further evidence given by local directories indicates the Laborers' Cottage was demolished between 1930 and 1932 (Watson 1930; Watson 1932). It seems likely that the Corporation's desire to expand Water End and Pulleyn's purchase of the Clifton Croft complex were related.

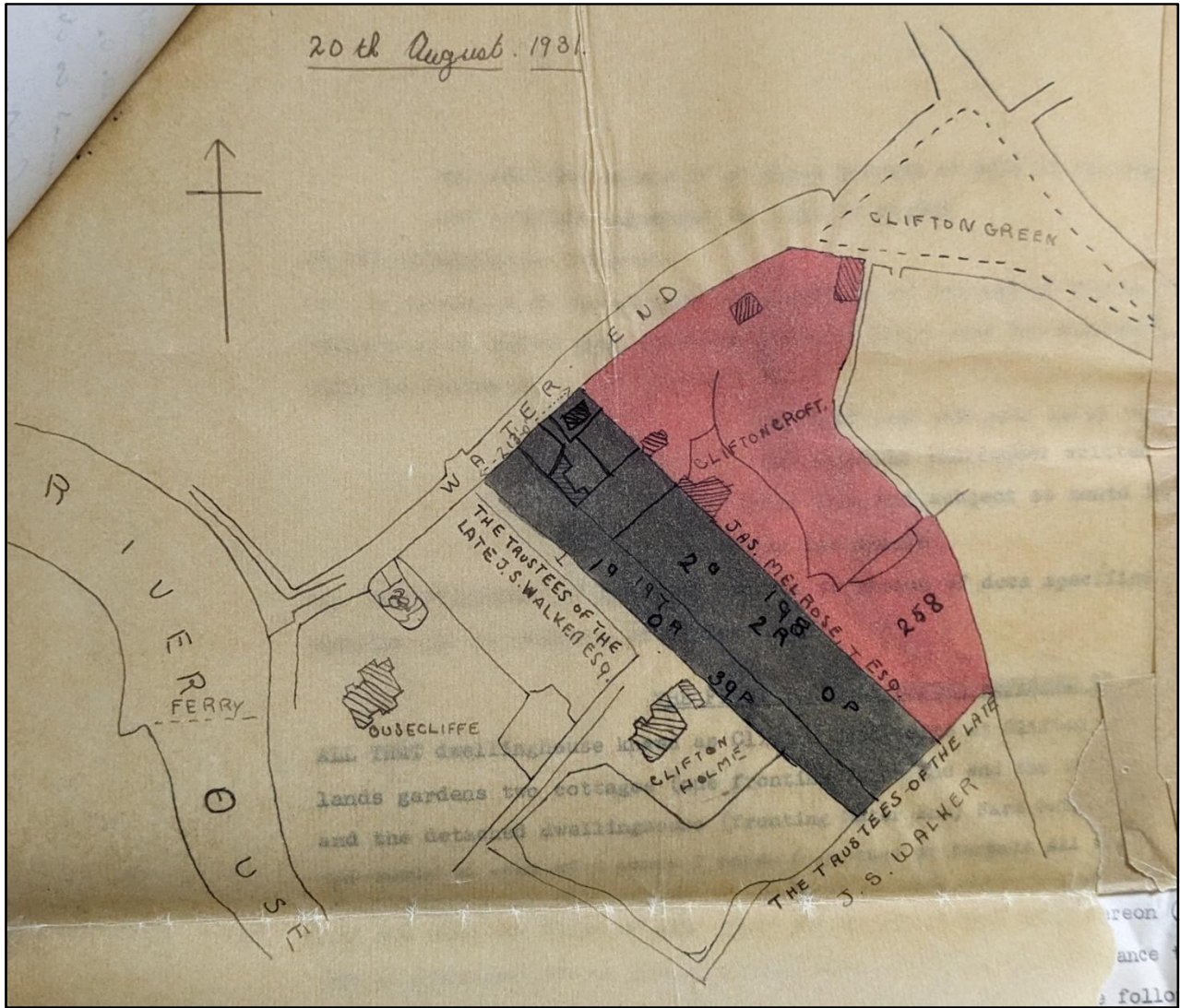


Figure 66. The extent of the properties purchased by Robert James Pulleyn for development. The Clifton Croft estate is here colored in red and was purchased in 1931. The other parcel here in black was purchased at an unknown date (Abstract of Title 1939).

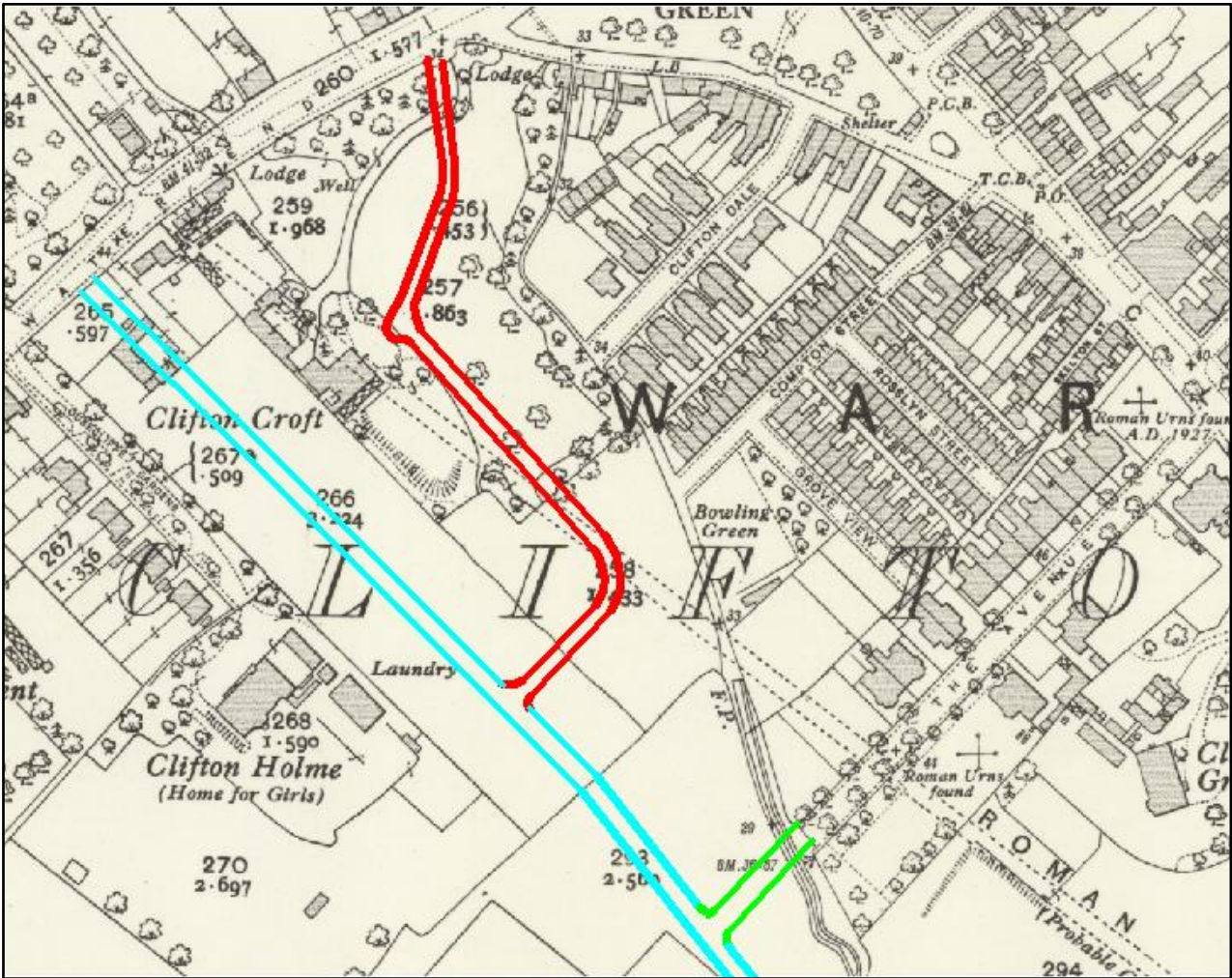


Figure 67. The newly-established roads of Greycliffe Drive in red and Westminster Road in blue drawn over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1931. In green is the extension of The Avenue, connecting the previously established road to Westminster Road (National Library of Scotland 2023).

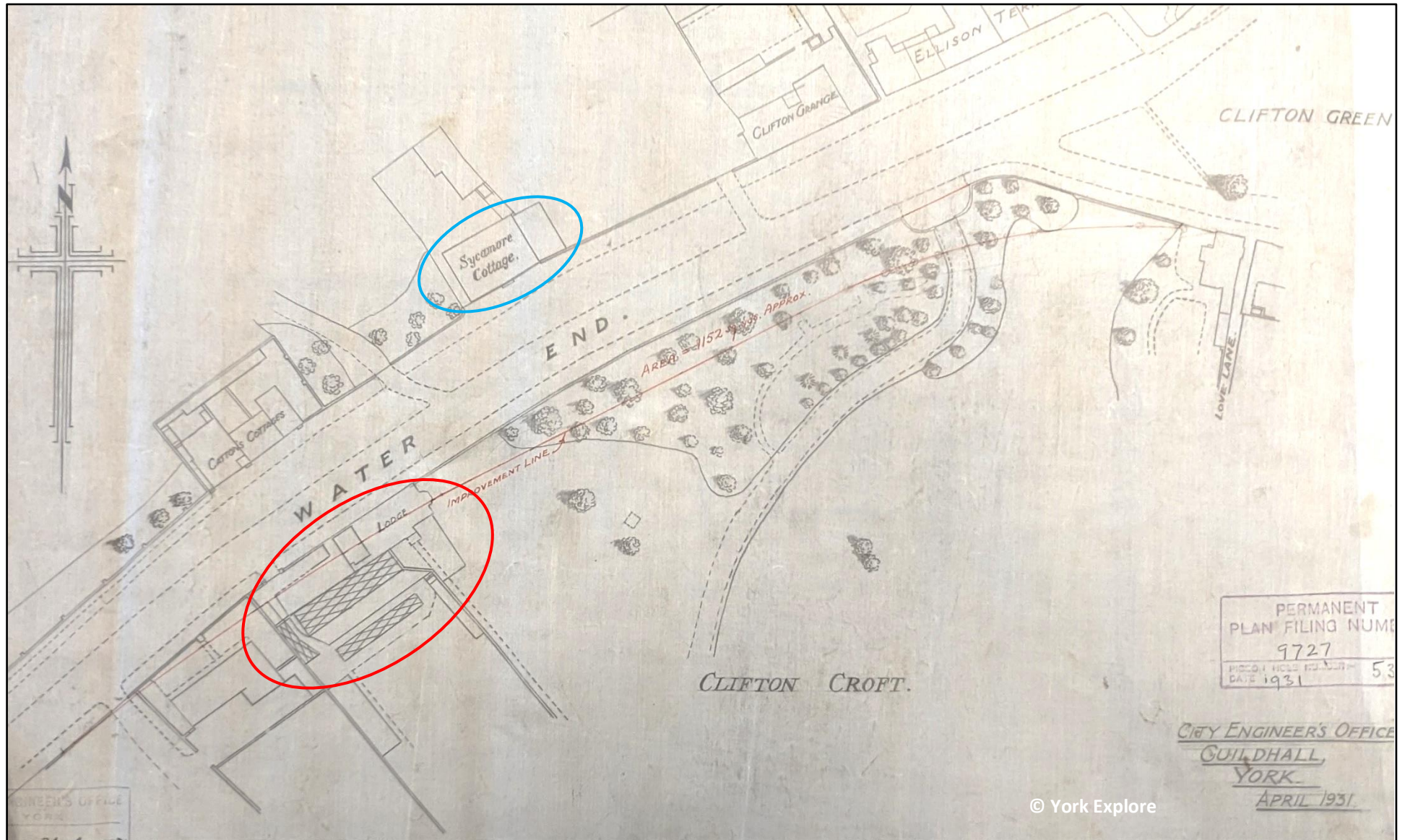


Figure 68. City of York improvement line through the Clifton Croft complex, dated April 1931. Street plan with new road line marked in red. The Laborers' Cottage is circled in red. Dr Evelyn's residence at No. 28 Water End is circled in blue (CYA Y/PPT/6/3/897).

Dr Evelyn and the Clifton Croft Estate

Purchase of the property and initial development of the land closest to Water End, including parts of the former Clifton Croft estate, must have happened in quick succession, evidenced by photographs taken by Dr William Arthur Evelyn in 1931 (Figures 69 and 70). Evelyn moved to No. 28 Water End (Sycamore Cottage, or the White House as it is known today) in 1931, with many of his photographs taken at or adjacent to his house towards the Clifton Croft estate (Figure 71; Murray 1983, 16). Other photographs of the development of the former complex are undated, but were likely taken in 1931 to 1932 (Figures 72 to 79; YAYAS Evelyn Archive). Certainly, these photographs were taken no later than 1935, the year of Evelyn's death (Murray 1983, 17). Evelyn's photographs of the Clifton Croft estate show the initially-wooded portion of the complex nearest to Water End, the Laborers' Cottage, the brick boundary wall, and the entrance to the estate, all features that no longer exist. The photographs also emphasize the Croft and Stable Block's location at a slightly higher elevation than the surrounding landscape, a fact somewhat lost today by surrounding vegetation and buildings.



Figure 69. Water End, Clifton, 1931. The Laborers' Cottage and boundary wall for the Clifton Croft complex can be seen on the right-hand side of the photograph (YAYAS EV2749).



Figure 70. Water End, Clifton, 1931. Photograph of the boundary wall and entrance to the Clifton Croft complex (YAYAS EV2750).



Figure 71. Sycamore Cottage as owned by Dr Evelyn in 1932 (YAYAS EV2748).



Figure 72. Water End, Clifton, undated. Photograph of the Laborers' Cottage and boundary wall during tree clearing. Likely taken 1931-1932 (YAYAS EV2752).



© YAYAS

Figure 73. The Clifton Croft complex as viewed from Water End, undated, but likely 1931-1932. Newly-build houses can be seen in the center of the photograph, while the Laborers' Cottage is to the right (YAYAS EV2753).



Figure 74. Clifton Croft complex, likely 1931-1932. Clifton Croft can be seen in the center of the photograph with the Stable Block to the right (YAYAS EV2754).



Figure 75. The former entrance to the Clifton Croft complex from Water End, likely 1931-1932. No. 5 Water End can be seen under construction on the left-hand side of the photograph while Clifton Croft can be seen in the center through the trees (YAYAS EV2755).



Figure 76. Land clearing and construction on the former Clifton Croft complex, likely 1931-1932. No. 28 Water End, The Sycamore Cottage (now the White House), can be seen on the right-hand side of the photograph, with the Laborers' Cottage behind the figure standing (YAYAS EV2756).



Figure 77. The former Clifton Croft complex from Water End, likely 1931-1932. The boundary wall of the complex can be seen partially demolished. No. 1 Greencliffe Drive can also be seen with its distinctive gable end on the left-hand side of the photograph (YAYAS EV2758).



Figure 78. Water End, Clifton, likely 1931-1932. This photograph shows the Laborers' Cottage after land clearing and the demolition of the former boundary wall to the Clifton Croft complex. The pavement set back from the edge of road indicates the new line of Water End through the Laborers' Cottage (YAYAS EV2764).



Figure 79. Clifton Croft from Water End, likely 1931-1932. No. 13 Water End can be seen under construction on the left-hand side of this photograph, while Clifton Croft is prominent in the center, with the hipped roof of the Stable Block (now No. 3 The Mews) on the right (YAYAS EV2817).

Development of the Clifton Croft Estate and Robert James Pulleyn

Based on the 1941 Ordnance Survey Map, development of Westminster Road was completed before that of the Clifton Croft complex (Figure 80). When the Clifton Croft estate was developed, houses were built from the intersection of Greycliffe Drive and Water End southwards and from Westminster Road northwards, with the portion of the property on Greycliffe Drive and Water End closest to the Croft being the last developed (Figure 80). Documents from a private collection indicate that Robert James Pulleyn drew a mortgage for £7,500 in February of 1937, perhaps to finalize the construction of houses on the property (Abstract of Title 1939). By June of 1939, No. 11 Greycliffe Drive, opposite Clifton Croft to the east, was completed and sold for £800 to John William and Mary Bell Scaife, possibly one of the last houses to be completed on the estate (Figure 81; Conveyance of Land 1939).

Despite the surrounding development, Clifton Croft and the Stable Block were left intact within a smaller complex, unlike other villa estates in Clifton such as Burton Grange. Located off of Burton Stone Lane, Burton Grange was demolished in the same period to create semi-detached housing on Lumley Road and St Luke's Grove. Burton Grange and Clifton Croft effectively exhibit the development pressures that villa estates experience in the suburbs of growing cities such as York. Clifton Croft may have been spared from demolition for a variety of reasons, from its physical condition, Pulleyn's ability to develop around the house, his need for a residence, or even his desire for a house with heritage as a sign of status. Political feelings may have also been at play, with Pulleyn being a Labour politician, taking over and developing an estate formerly held by Conservatives. Whatever the case, Clifton Croft was clearly inhabited by Pulleyn from circa 1931 until 1938 (Watson 1932; Watson 1938). Pulleyn was first joined at Clifton Croft by the former servants of James Melrose, Lily Frankland, Hilda Ledward, and Elizabeth Dale, and later by his sons John Robert, Wilson James, and Fredrick Sydney Pulleyn (Watson 1932; Watson 1938). By 1939, Robert James Pulleyn was living at No. 19 Water End on the site of the former Laborers' Cottage and was coincidentally Lord Mayor of York the same year (1939-1940) (Figure 82; Conveyance of land 1939; Wilson 2011, 44). Interestingly, portions of the brick walls which previously marked the boundary of the enclosed area between the Laborers' Cottage and the Stable Block were left intact, despite the Laborers' Cottage demolition (Figures 83 and 84). These walls can also be seen in the 1860 sketch of Water End by Hudson (Figure 57).

Like Clifton Croft and the Stable Block, the Gardener's House facing Clifton Green was also spared from demolition, despite adjacent developments at No. 1 Water End. It seems likely that this was the result of the building's location, alongside a series of established properties on the

Green, and its architectural value. While it remains standing and is protected by its Grade II designation, the development of Greycliffe Drive fundamentally separated the building from its original context. It is assumed that the Gardener's House was legally, as well as physically, separated from the Stable Block and Clifton Croft at this time. Before his move to No. 19 Water End in 1939, Robert James Pulleyn sold Clifton Croft and the Stable Block to Edward and Henrietta Ball-Dodd, local doctors, who saw the building through the next thirty-odd years.

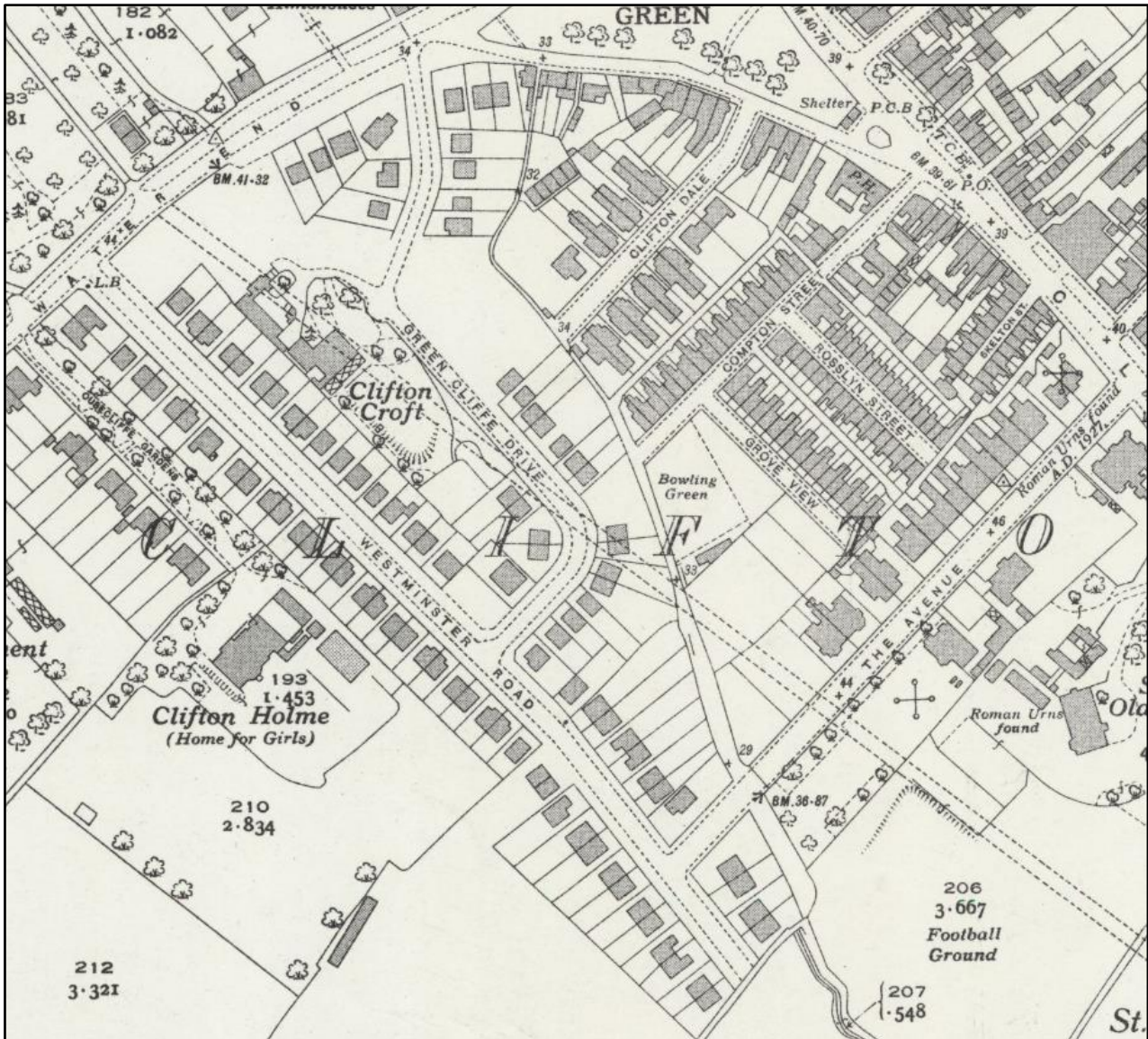


Figure 80. The development of Westminster Road was largely complete by 1937 (date of survey), Ordnance Survey Map of 1941 (National Library of Scotland 2023).

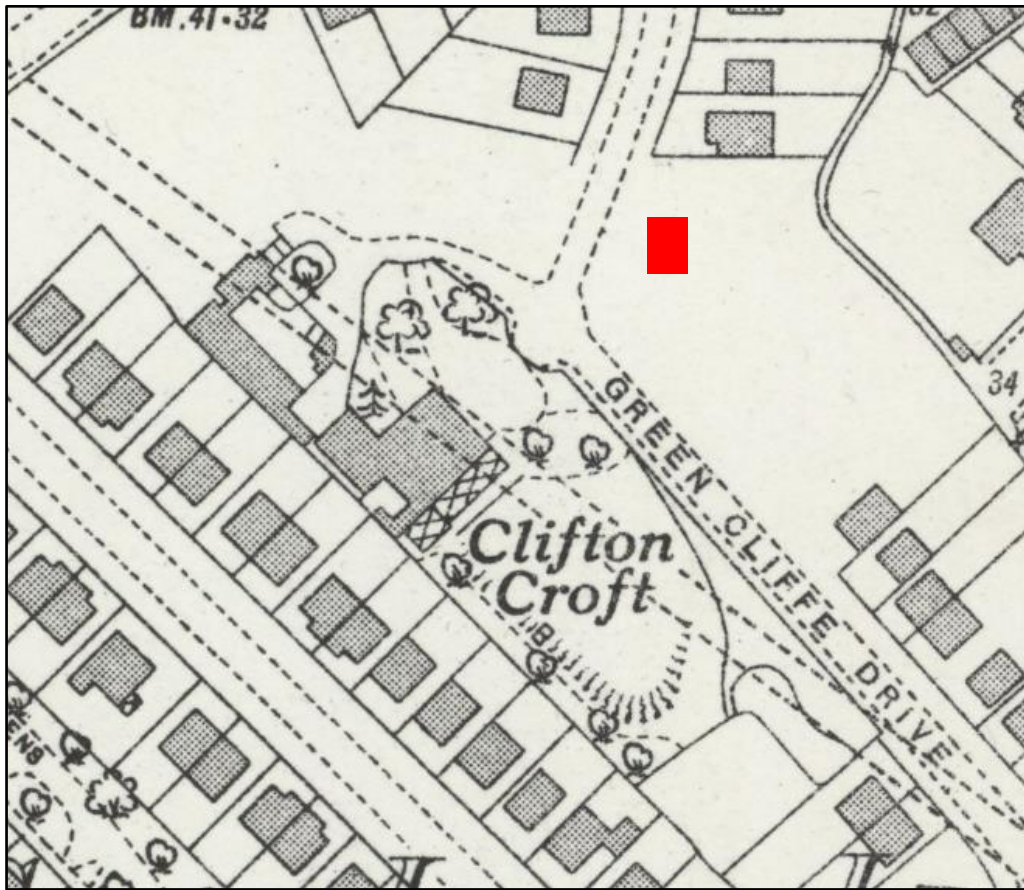


Figure 81. Clifton Croft and the Stable Block in 1937. The location of the future No. 11 Greycliffe Drive, complete in 1939, is indicated in red. Ordnance Survey Map of 1941 (National Library of Scotland 2023).

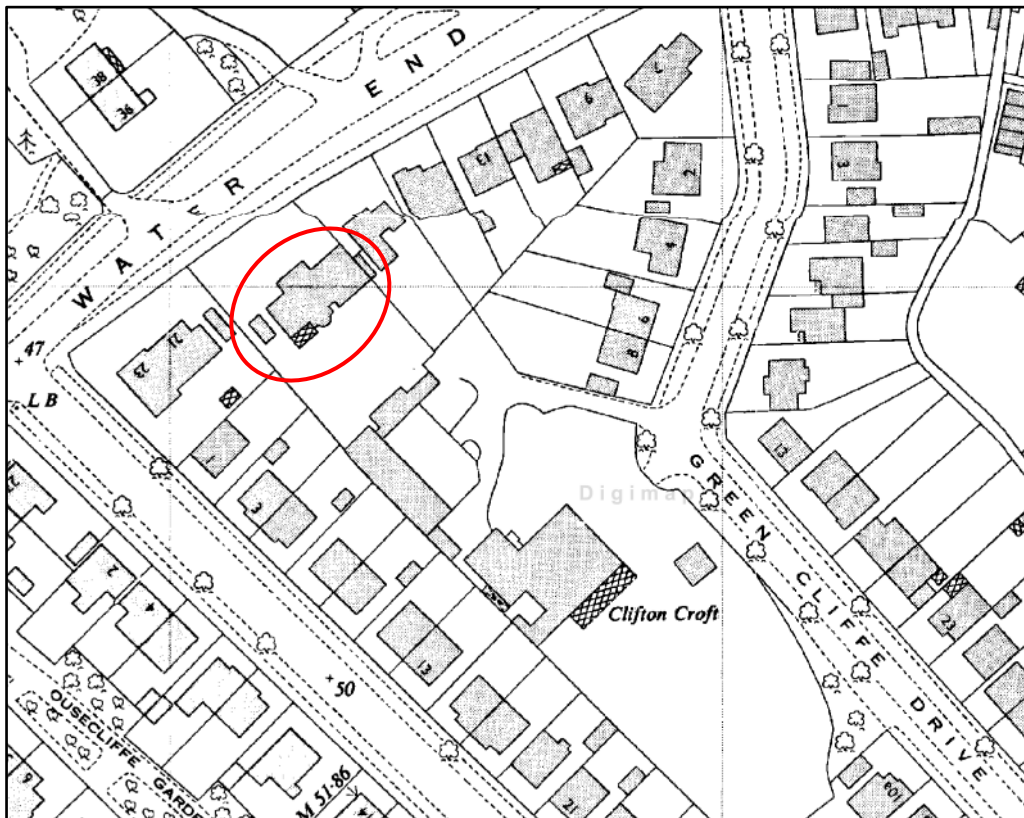


Figure 82. Robert James Pulleyn's house at No. 19 Water End, site of the former Laborers' Cottage, is circled here in red. The house was completed by 1939 but does not appear in any Ordnance Survey Maps until 1961 due to mapping delays (Digimap 2023).



Figure 83. A portion of the brick wall that previously made up the southern boundary of the Laborers' Cottage and enclosure, now part of No. 19 Water End. Summer 2023.



Figure 84. A portion of the brick wall that previously made up the northern boundary of the Laborers' Cottage and enclosure now part of No. 19 Water End. Summer 2023.

Chapter Ten: Clifton Croft to the Modern Day

The Gardener's House into 2023

The period of 1940 to 2023 was one of change for the boundary lines and structures of the former Clifton Croft estate, but this change was more gradual and innocuous than the sudden stripping away and splitting of the complex as seen during the interwar developments. Of the remaining structures of the estate (Clifton Croft, the Stable Block, and the Gardener's House), the Gardener's House saw the least amount of change. The Gardener's House, now No. 16 Clifton Green, received new leaded-glass windows sometime between 1971 and 2011, most likely before the building was listed in 1983 (Figure 85; Historic England n.d.-a; Wilson 2011, 34-35). The railings (but not the gate) along the front of the structure were also replaced, with both window and railing replacement likely being part of a restoration headed by John Mitchell, an archivist at Bootham School, with assistance from Derek Metcalfe, a local historian (Figure 85; Wilson 2011, 35). A lack of plans for the Gardener's House makes it unclear if the new railings and windows were a facsimile of the original 1846 design, but it is interesting to note that the changes to the building reinforced the Gothic Revival style of the structure, prioritizing the "original" form. Around 1995, two structures adjacent to the Gardener's House, Nos. 14 and 15 Clifton Green, were demolished and replaced by a single dwelling (Figures 86 and 87; City of York Council 2019). No. 14 was constructed circa 1840, while No. 15 was built sometime later and may have originally been a stable (City of York Council 2019). The demolition of No. 14, built around the same time period as the Gardener's House, exemplifies the importance of its Grade II listed status. The Gardener's House was designated over ten years earlier, in June of 1983, the same month and year as Clifton Croft and several other villas in Clifton (Historic England n.d.-a; Historic England n.d.-b; Historic England n.d.-d). The Gardener's House was likely designated because of its architectural value, largely based upon its visual uniqueness, and association with Clifton Croft, although an association with Clifton Croft was not enough for the Stable Block to also be listed at this time.



Figure 85. The Gardener's House, now No. 16 Clifton Green, in 1971 (Historic England 1971, 6527_151).

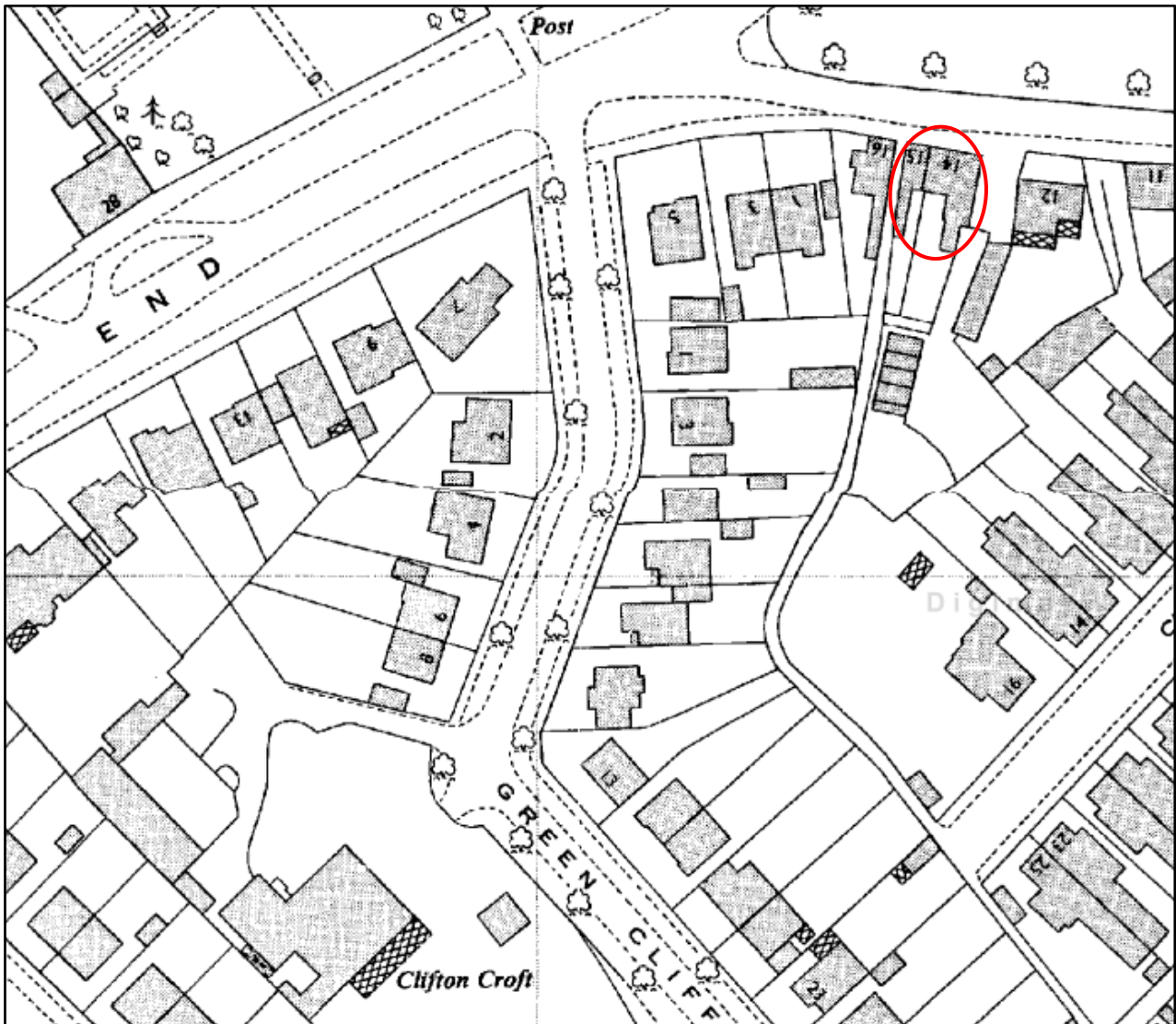


Figure 86. Nos. 14 and 15 Clifton Green, adjacent to the Gardener's House, were demolished in 1995. The properties are circled in red over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1961 (Digimap 2023).



Figure 87. The current No. 14 Clifton Green, adjacent to the Gardener's House. Summer 2023.

Changes in Occupation at Clifton Croft and the Stable Block

The exterior form of Clifton Croft and the Stable Block also remained relatively unchanged, based upon the relevant Ordnance Survey Maps. However, directories from the period point towards changes in occupation after 1951. Doctors Henrietta and Edward Ball-Dodd, who purchased Clifton Croft and the Stable Block from Robert James Pulleyn c. 1939, lived at Clifton Croft with their joint practice at 77 Low Petergate until Edward's death in 1950 (Wilson 2011, 119). While Henrietta continued to live at Clifton Croft after Edward's death until at least 1979, starting in 1951 she began taking on renters (The Yorkshire Gazette 1951; York Voting Registry 1979). The lack of new structures on the property in 1951, when the first renter, Gertrude Mills, appears in the directories, suggests that at least a portion of the Stable Block was acting as accommodation under the title "Clifton Croft Cottage." The presence of two chimney stacks (one between Nos. 1 and 2 The Mews and one central to No. 3 The Mews) also suggest the Stable Block was used as housing, although it is unclear when this use may have begun. The residents of Clifton Croft Cottage varied throughout the years, but the structure was always occupied by one to three individuals. Of the renters who stayed at Clifton Croft Cottage, the longest occupants were Miss Barker and Miss Durrant (also listed as Durrans), who lived in the Cottage from at least 1963 until 1970 (Kelly's Directories 1963; Kelly's Directories 1970). The number of residents of Clifton Croft Cottage increased by 1973 to three, but a lack of directories makes it difficult to say with any certainty if occupation continued between 1975 and the building's later development in the 1990s (Kelly's Directories 1973; Kelly's Directories 1975).

Beginning in 1971, a second rental property appears in the directories, with this property being called "Melrose Flat" (Kelly's Directories 1971). This property, like Clifton Croft Cottage, had one renter initially, with the number of renters increasing to three in 1973 (Kelly's Directories 1971; Kelly's Directories 1973). As the main structure of Clifton Croft has not been subdivided into flats, it seems most likely that the Melrose Flat was the former Servants' Quarters, now known as The Wing (Figure 88). In 1843, this area of the house contained the kitchen, scullery, storage rooms off the scullery, and likely servants' rooms above (Figure 36). Voting registries showing a variety of unrelated individuals living at Clifton Croft suggest the use of the Servants' Quarters as a flat continued until sometime between 1995 and 1998 (York Voting Registry 1995; York Voting Registry 1998).

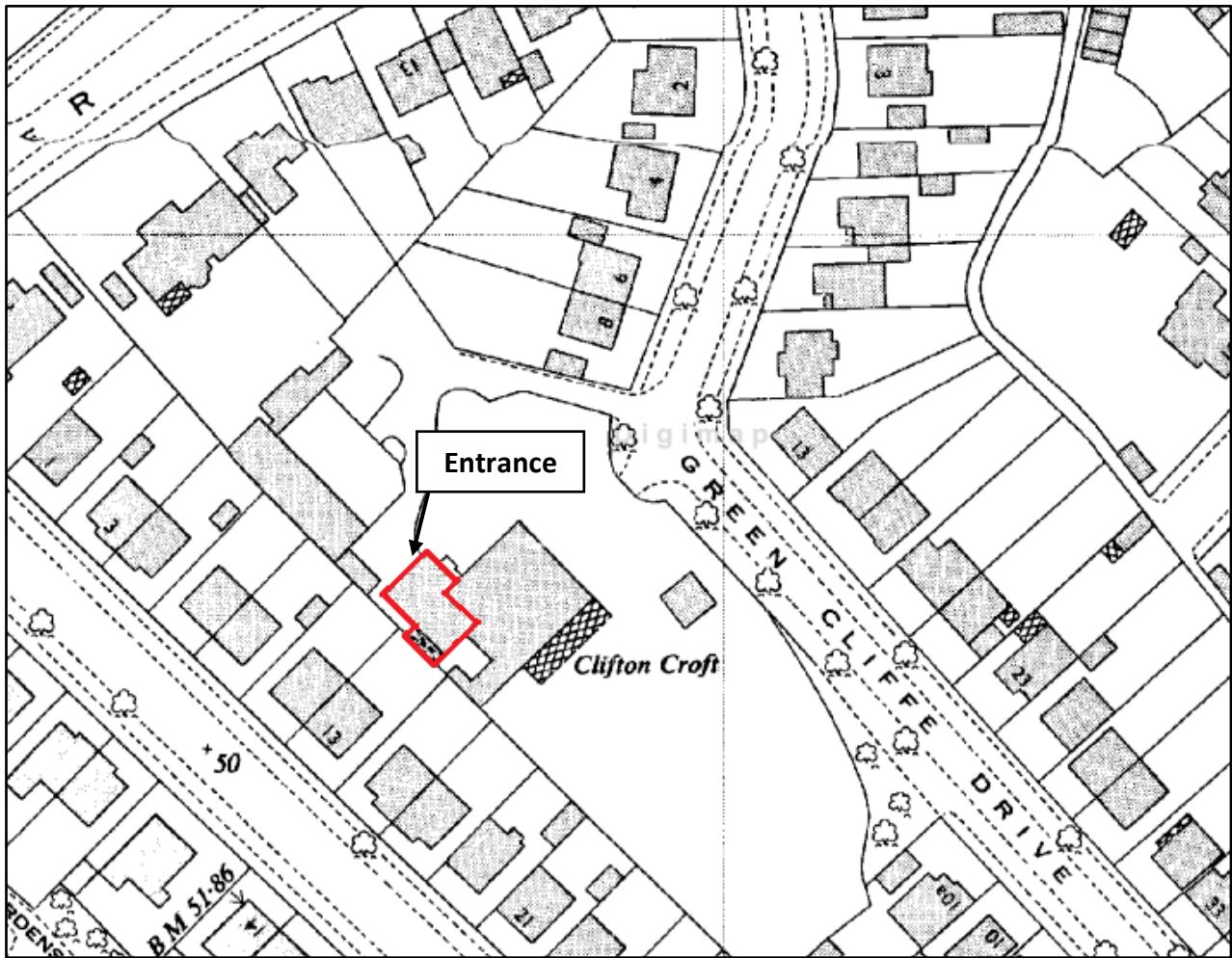


Figure 88. The former Servants' Quarters ("The Wing") outlined in red over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1961 (Digimap 2023).

Separation and Development of the Stable Block

The clearest change in use for the Stable Block occurred around 1992, when the property was purchased and developed separately from Clifton Croft. The purchasers of the structure were Brian and Josephine Warren, both who can be seen in the voting registries and phone books from 1992 until 1998 living in the Stable Block. In 1992, Brian Warren can be seen living at “The Coach House” on Greencliffe Drive, where previously the Stable Block was “Cottage, Clifton Croft,” or “Clifton Croft cott” (The Phone Book 1992). It seems most likely that this change in wording denotes the Stable Block being sold off as a separate property from Clifton Croft. Development of mews properties into housing began largely in the postwar period, but experienced an uptick at the end of the 20th century, especially in places of high real-estate costs (Country Life 1958; Demetrios 1995; Bloomfield 2013). Like the beginnings of suburbia in London in the 18th century (Fishman 1987, 5), trends in stable block developments seem to have spread outwards to York from the capital city. In 1993, “2 The Mews” can be seen for the first time, while in 1994 “The Mews” and “2 The Mews” were also present (The Phone Book 1993; York Voting Registry 1994). 1994 is also when the current residents of No. 1 The Mews (under the more general “The Mews”), first occur in the records (York Voting Registry 1994). In an informal discussion, one of the current residents indicated that the Stable Block was developed by the Warrens and that the structure was derelict prior to its redevelopment (Bell, personal communication, 2023). By 1998, the Warrens were no longer in No. 2 The Mews and instead moved on to “3 The Mews,” (York Voting Registry 1998). The Warrens then sold No. 3 The Mews to the current resident, who is visible in the voting registries in the year 2000 (York Voting Registry 2000).

This movement by the Warrens from No. 1 The Mews to No. 2 The Mews to No. 3 The Mews from 1992 until 1998 suggests a piecemeal development of the property, with each portion being sold off when renovations were completed. The Warrens’ development of the property is also significant in that, while the exterior of the Stable Block remained largely unchanged, the structure was legally separated for the first time from Clifton Croft. When Clifton Croft was Grade II listed in June of 1983 (Historic England n.d.-b), the Stable Block was not listed and furthermore, was not protected, despite advice given by Historic England on listed buildings and curtilage (Historic England 2018). Based on this advice from Historic England, and given the co-evolution of the Stable Block and Clifton Croft, the Stable Block should have been legally protected from selling off under rules of curtilage. It seems likely that the sale and separation of the Stable Block from Clifton Croft was able to occur because of a general disregard for the building, with the Stable

Block's apparent lack of worth also seen in its designation snub, despite the Stable Block and Clifton Croft's physical proximity and interwoven history.

Changes in the Physical Forms of Clifton Croft and the Stable Block

As discussed, changes to the exterior of the Stable Block and Clifton Croft were relatively minor. Based upon the relevant Ordnance Survey maps, between 1937 and 1961 Clifton Croft lost its greenhouse on the southeast elevation and gained a small room on the north end of the building, along with a detached garage (Figure 89). Almost certainly, the lost greenhouse was built in 1843 as part of the original design for Clifton Croft (Figure 36). The outbuilding that had previously existed in the courtyard of the Stable Block was demolished alongside the small extension on the southeast elevation of the Stable Block itself (Figure 89). This outbuilding and extension were constructed between 1852 and 1891, and their demolition may have been related to the change in use of the Stable Block from a working building to housing. The Stable Block also gained a room on the northeast elevation that may have been related to its change in use (Figure 89). This room now acts as a snug and, from its first appearance in the Ordnance Survey Map of 1891, existed for some time as a semi-open structure, possibly an animal pen (Figure 43). Another physical change to the Stable Block that occurred after 1976 was the demolition of the former privy, dog house, and ashes storage. This attached outbuilding can be seen in its original form in the 1843 plans for Clifton Croft (Figure 90). It seems likely that this structure was demolished when the Stable Block was separated from Clifton Croft in the early 1990s. Alongside these changes to the structures of the remaining complex were further degradations to the former boundary lines of John Roper the younger's estate. Between 1937 and 1961, Nos. 10 and 10a Greencliffe Drive were built upon what was the southeast portion of the Clifton Croft grounds (Figure 91; Kelly's Directories 1963). Between 1961 and 1976, two further houses, Nos. 8a and 8b were built just north of Nos. 10 and 10a along Greencliffe Drive as more of the grounds were sold off (Figure 92). Today, the boundary line for Clifton Croft lies just north of No. 8a Greencliffe Drive.

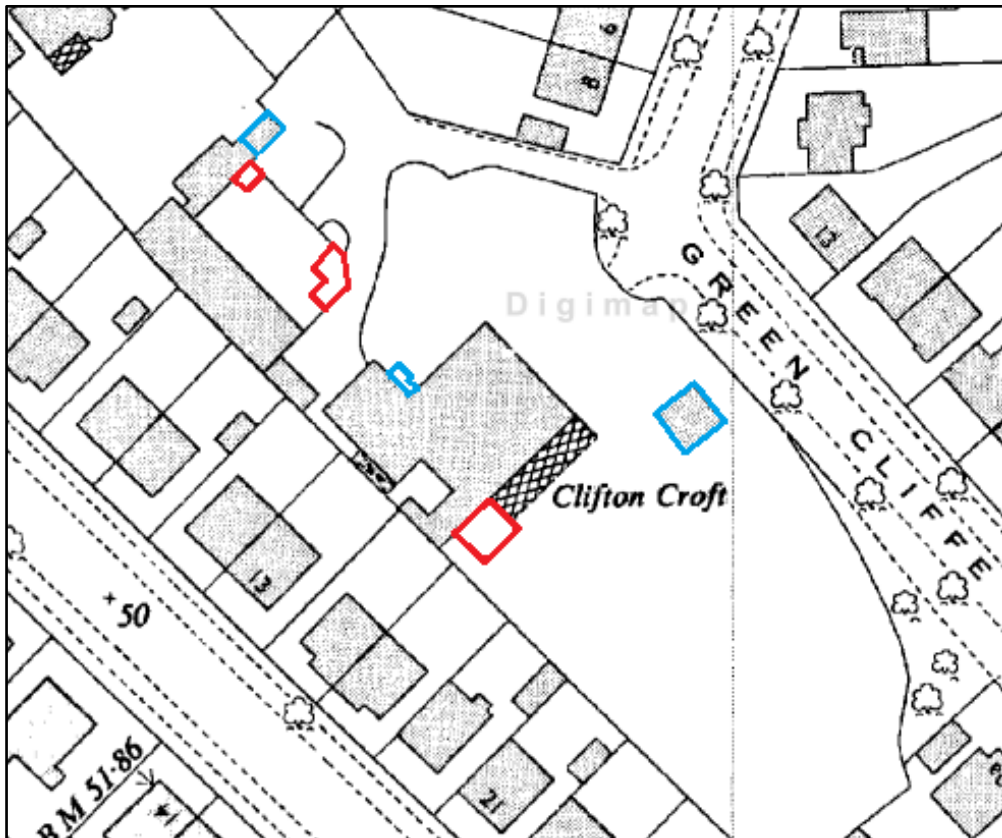


Figure 89. Exterior changes to Clifton Croft and the Stable Block between 1937 and 1961. Red outlines are demolished areas and blue outlines are added areas. Drawn over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1961 (Digimap 2023).

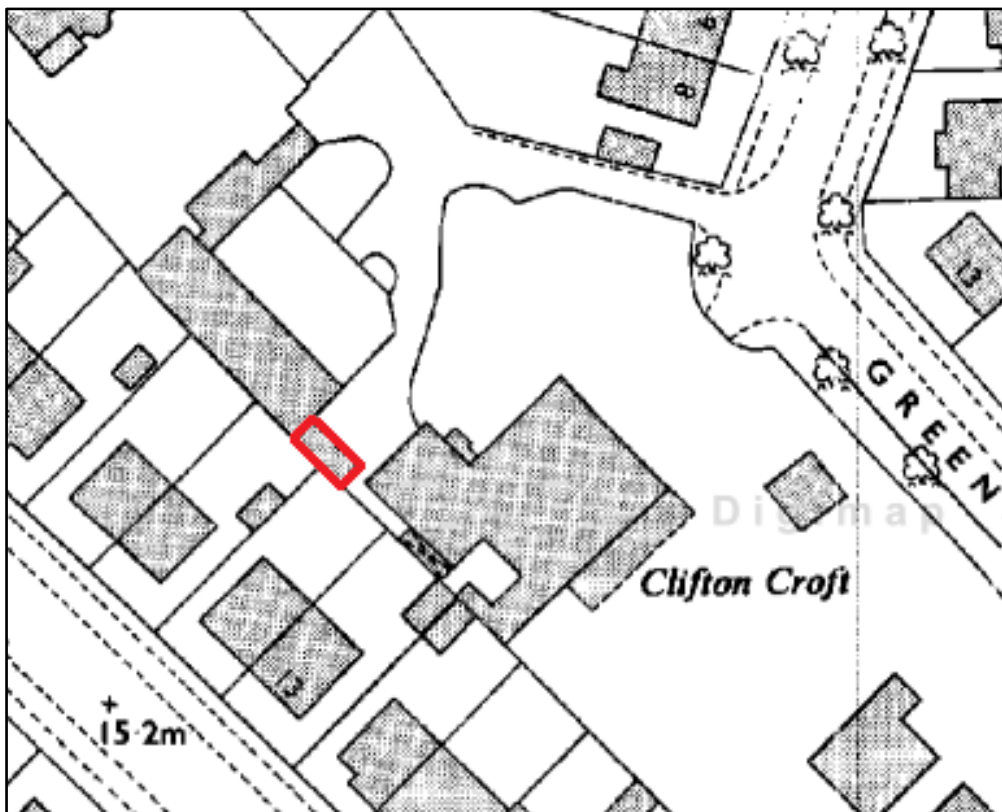


Figure 90. Changes to the Stable Block after 1976. The outbuilding attached to the Stable Block that was demolished between 1976 and the present is outlined here in red over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1976 (Digimap 2023).

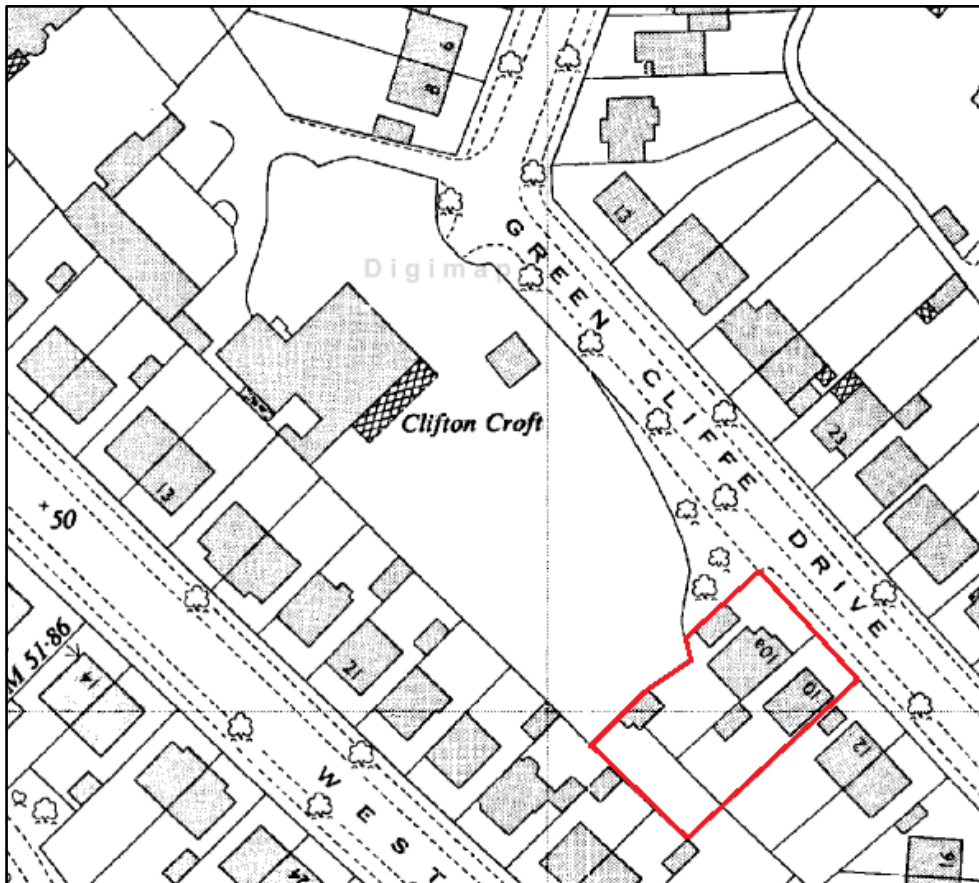


Figure 91. Nos. 10 and 10a, Greencliffe Drive. The outlined parcel in red was part of the Clifton Croft estate in 1937. Drawn over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1961 (Digimap 2023).

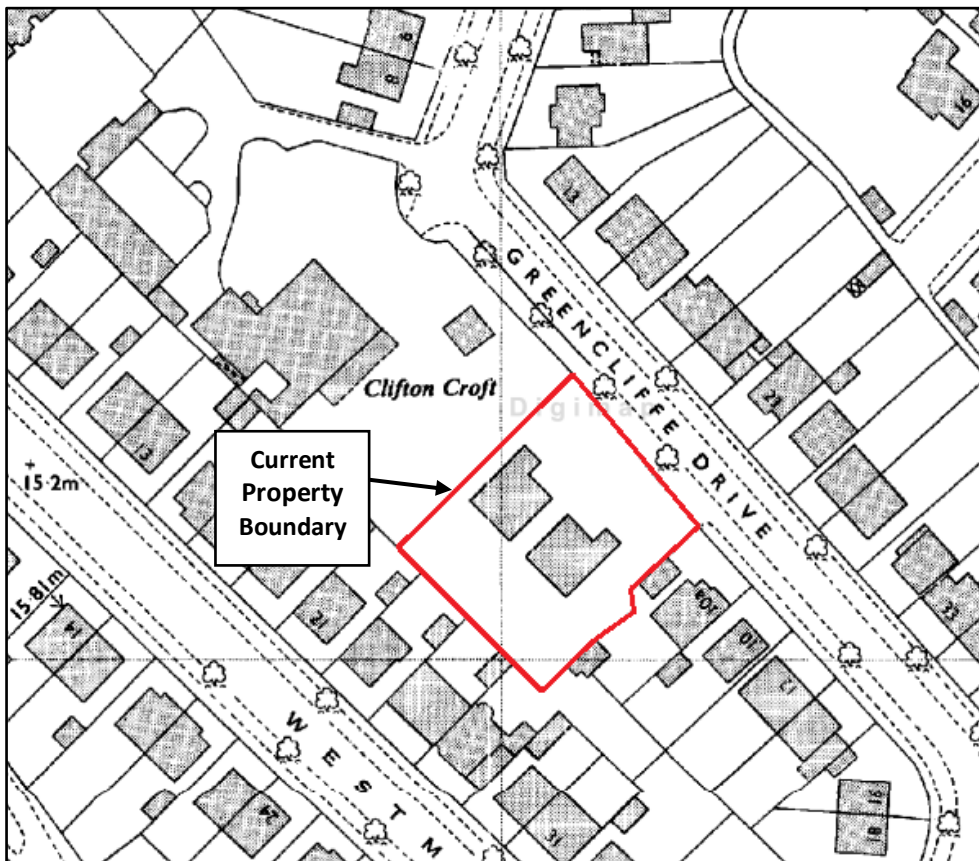


Figure 92. Nos. 8a and 8b, Greencliffe Drive. The outlined parcel in red was part of the Clifton Croft estate c.1961. Drawn over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1976 (Digimap 2023).

Water End and Clifton Bridge

A postwar development that significantly impacted Clifton in general, and Water End and the remaining Clifton Croft complex specifically, was the building of Clifton Bridge in 1963. As seen in the Ordnance Survey Map of 1891, a ferry service linking Water End and Bishop Fields to the south existed since at least 1889 (the year of survey). While the area was still significantly rural in the late 19th century, a development just north of the North Eastern Railway line, around Salisbury Terrace, was expanded at the beginning of the 20th century (Figure 93). A park south of the Ouse, Victoria Park, was also established by 1907, reinforcing the area's use as a promenade and parkland, which had begun in the 18th century (Wilson 2011, 138). By 1913, the City of York planned to build a bridge at the western end of Water End, but these plans fell through and a bridge was not built on the site until 1961 (Wilson 2011, 144-145). This initial bridge, the Bailey Bridge, was a temporary measure to help traffic during the wedding of the Duke of Kent and Katherine Worsley at the York Minster, but the bridge's effectiveness had been proven and a permanent solution, Clifton Bridge, was opened in 1963 (Figures 94 and 95; Wilson 2011, 145). The opening of Clifton Bridge markedly increased traffic on Water End, with the new bridge linking Clifton to Acomb. Water End remains a busy thoroughway from Clifton to A59 and the Ring Road beyond, in stark contrast to its agricultural and suburban nature in the 19th century.



Figure 93. Water end, the ferry, Victoria Park, and the new developments north of the railway lines in 1907. Clifton Croft and the Stable Block are circled in red. Ordnance Survey Map of 1909 (National Library of Scotland 2023).



Figure 94. The temporary Bailey Bridge in 1961 (Gordon 2023).



Figure 95. Clifton Bridge's opening in 1963 (Gordon 2023).

Chapter Eleven: Discussion

Introduction

This discussion focuses on a few key themes surrounding the Clifton Croft estate—surveillance, privacy, and the suburbs. Archaeological analysis of the Clifton Croft estate through these themes is largely phenomenological and biographical in nature as it explores the lived experience of the people who interacted with, occupied, and viewed the complex. Clifton Croft complex was a constructed place, shaped by the active decisions of the people who created it, namely John Roper the younger. Clifton Croft estate was, and continues to be, complex and multifaceted, and it is therefore important to note that a large number of themes could have been chosen to discuss in further detail. This study aims to build upon concepts of space, agency, and human movement, as seen in the work of Girouard (1978), Arnold (1998a), West (1999), Gould (1999), and Freeman (2019), amongst others. In this case, however, these concepts will be explored in relation to the suburban villa estate.

Surveillance and the Housekeepers of Clifton Croft

It seems likely that housekeepers at the Clifton Croft estate (Mary Thompson in 1841 and 1851, Elizabeth Cook in 1861, and Catherine Dale in 1871) exerted significant control over the house and grounds during the complex's ownership by John Roper the younger. The housekeeper's room was located at a crucial interchange between the Servants' Quarters and the more public rooms of Roper (Figure 96). Adjacent to the kitchen and scullery, the housekeeper also had a line of sight of the servants' corridor and could monitor those accessing the butler's pantry or entering the service wing from the main house (Figure 96). These lines of sight would have allowed the housekeeper of Clifton Croft to control the female domestic servants of the estate, namely housemaids and kitchen maids, but may have also been used to control butlers, grooms, footmen, and other male laborers who occupied or entered the Servants' Quarters for a variety of purposes. Additionally, the location of the housekeeper's room overlooking the Stable Block and pathways from the Laborers' Cottage allowed the women to monitor male servants, agricultural laborers, and their families. Those living in the Laborers' Cottage would not have been able to access Water End without first traveling adjacent to the Stable Block and then out the main gate, or through the enclosed area attached to the Stable Block and out the entranceway attached to the farm building. These pathways essentially meant passing within the line of sight of the housekeeper's room when entering or exiting the estate (Figure 97).

The housekeeper at Clifton Croft, however, did not have direct access from her room to the entrance hall. While a cupboard of some kind did exist to maintain a symmetrical facade, there was no throughway from the housekeeper's room to the entrance hall without passing through the additional doorway adjacent to the main stairwell (Figure 96). This arrangement allowed the owner, John Roper the younger, and family members or guests additional privacy from the housekeeper, and, conversely, the housekeeper gained additional privacy from a lack of observation by John Roper, his family members, and guests. After John Roper the younger's death and James Melrose's acquisition of the Clifton Croft estate, no housekeeper can be seen within the census records (1881 Census; 1891 Census; 1911 Census; 1921 Census). Instead, James Melrose's wife, Elizabeth, may have taken on tasks traditionally assigned to the housekeeper, such as observation and control of the remaining servants.

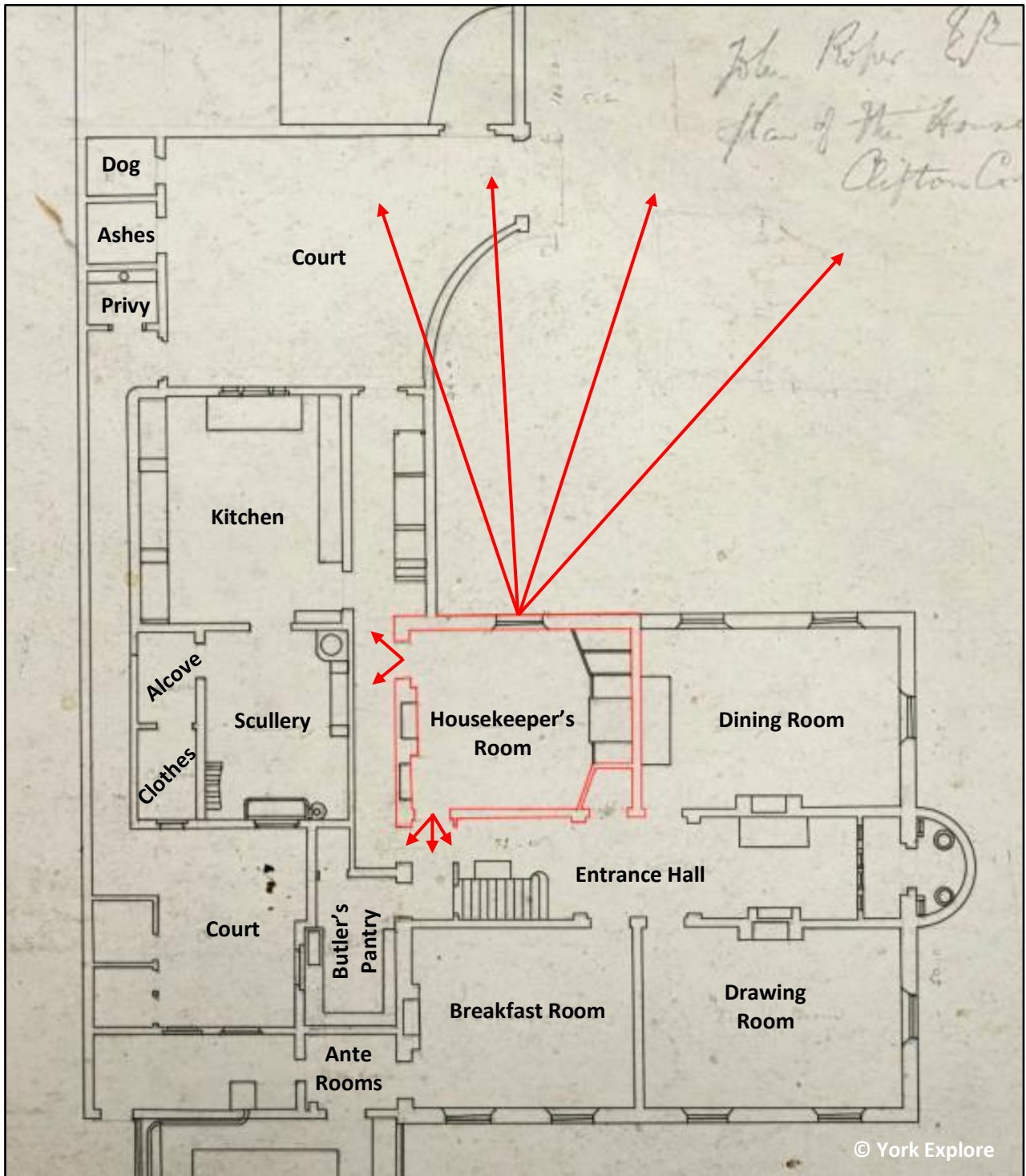


Figure 96. Portion of the renovation plan for Clifton Croft by Frederick Bell, architect, for John Roper the younger. The housekeeper's room is highlighted in red. Red arrows indicate possible viewsheds utilized by the housekeepers to exert control (CYA FBE/1/21).

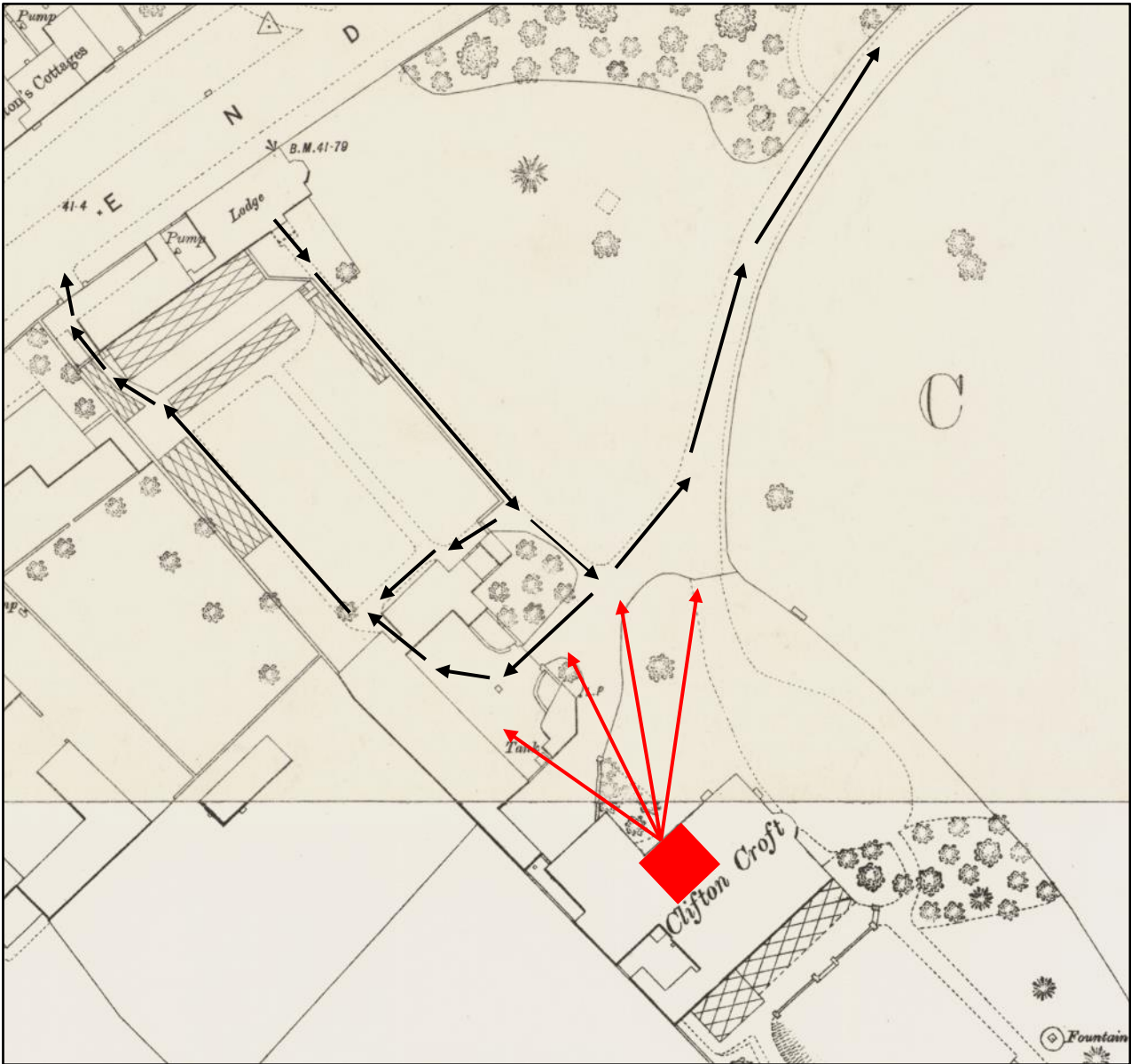


Figure 97. Surveillance of the estate by housekeepers at Clifton Croft. The housekeeper's room and possible lines of sight are marked in red. Paths of travel by occupants of the Laborers' Cottage are marked in black. Drawn over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1891 (National Library of Scotland 2023).

Surveillance and Other Servants of Clifton Croft

Additional forms of control may have been exerted by servants other than the housekeeper. Travel through and around the estate by grooms, footmen, coachmen, agricultural laborers, and their families could have been observed by the housemaids and kitchen maids from the Servants' Quarters and kitchen (Figure 98). Although records of occupation are unclear, if the former residence of Thomas Holgate was occupied, it is possible that the building, adjacent to the main entrance, acted as a type of gatehouse (Figure 99). No doubt the male servants who worked outside of the house also had the ability to monitor each other/themselves, as pathways passed in front of or adjacent to the Stable Block and other areas of work (Figure 99). The open nature of the ground surrounding the Stable Block, Servants' Quarters, and Laborers' Cottage may have allowed for a kind of panopticon, where the possibility of constant observation exerted control over those being observed (Foucault 1991).

Unlike the Laborers' Cottage and Stable Block, it appears the Gardener's House had ready access to the street and to the alleyway/former boundary line adjacent to the building (Figure 99). The area between the Gardener's House and the remainder of the estate also appears to have been heavily wooded, likely affording more privacy from observation. These differences in access and surveillance seem to be linked to the gardener's status. Hierarchies are a known phenomenon amongst servants, and it seems likely that the gardener was allowed freedom from observation. In particular, Ralph Pillmoor, the gardener for John Roper the younger from at least 1841 until Pillmoor's death sometime between 1876 and 1881, must have been a highly trusted and respected worker (1841 Census; 1881 Census). In his will, John Roper the younger directed his trustees to pay Pillmoor an annuity of £30 a year, and for the Gardener's House to be left to Pillmoor for his lifetime use after Roper's death (Abstract of Title 1939).



Figure 98. Sightlines from the kitchen (ground floor) and possible servant's bedroom (first floor) of the Servants' Quarters to the Stable Block courtyard. Summer 2023.

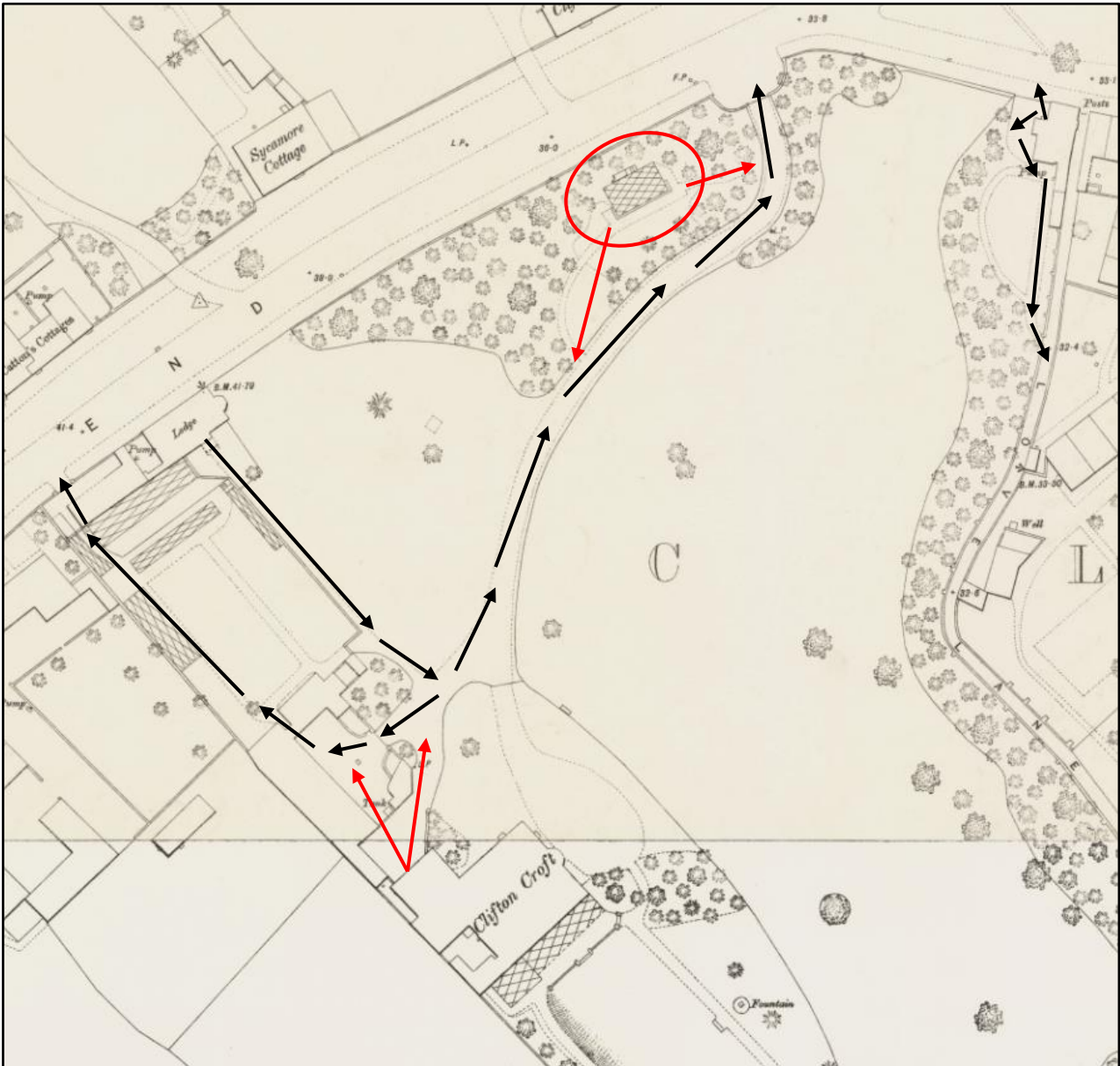


Figure 99. Paths of movement around Clifton Croft estate and surveillance from servants in the kitchen and former residence of Thomas Holgate. The former residence of Thomas Holgate is circled in red and lines of sight are drawn in red. Movement around the estate is shown in black. Drawn over the Ordnance Survey Map of 1891 (National Library of Scotland 2023).

Estate Landscapes and Privacy/Control

Estate landscapes were inherently spaces of exclusion and control. Walls and gatehouses physically separated those allowed inside the estate from those outside of it, while psychologically the estate boundary served to reinforce status distinctions. At Clifton Croft, the main house (and Stable Block) of the estate sat away from the street, obscured by trees, and hidden from the prying eyes of the public, affording a type of managed privacy. This was a place of status, but also control—those who were allowed to see the buildings, those who could enter or experience the space, had to have some connection or status of their own. John Roper the younger held many fetes at his estate, several of which had the illusion of inclusivity, “...no respectable person, who applied for admission at the gate, was refused the privilege,” (York Herald 1858, 10). Roper’s opening of the gardens and grounds to select guests had historical precedence, as seen by the domestic tourism of country house estates during the 18th century. Permitting access to the garden kept the house private while still allowing for a display of hospitality and reinforcement of status (Arnold 1998a, 29-30). During John Roper the younger’s fetes, he was known to have used a marquee in the garden to keep guests outside of the home and display his horticultural acumen (York Herald 1858, 10; York Herald 1859, 10). This may have been partially due to simple practicality, as Clifton Croft was certainly smaller than a country house, but keeping guests on the front lawn, even in the rain (as he did in 1859), also allowed for the home to remain private.

Suburban Space and Villas

Estates such as Clifton Croft were part of a larger change in occupation, one where the importance of “streetscapes” diminished and the importance of “landscapes” grew (Whitehand and Carr 2001, 1). These estates developed from Enlightenment-era thinking surrounding individuality and privacy, both concepts heavily dependent on and tied to the rise of capitalism and consumerism (Archer 2005, 2-3). Houses, especially detached houses, were the ultimate expression of self and the individual, “...the dwelling had become necessary to self-fulfillment,” (Archer 2005, 3). These concepts trickled down from the upper class and were adapted to the needs and tastes of middle and working classes in the form of the suburb. Compared to the country house estate, suburban complexes such as Clifton Croft, with their greater reliance on the city and surrounding community, must have represented a more approachable form of controlled space and the individual. Still, suburbs began as a middle-class place of exclusion and refuge in response to an industrializing city and were hegemonic in nature (Whitehand and Carr 2001, 7-9).

Clifton Croft's early role in the suburbanization of York must be recognized, especially as it represented an in-between; the Clifton Croft complex was not a fully-formed country estate, but it was an estate nonetheless. Other villas in Clifton were built along nearby Shipton Road (specifically Nos. 17 to 25) in the years following the creation of the Clifton Croft estate (Figure 100). These villas lacked the estate landscape and were built for observation from the street, clearly displaying the evolution and democratization of villas as a building type through time. Further expression of the evolution of villas can be seen in the detached interwar houses that were constructed by Robert James Pulleyn on the former grounds of the Clifton Croft estate. These houses were a 20th century expression of the same ideals that the Clifton Croft complex was founded upon—movement away from the city, the importance of the individual, and open space (Whitehand and Carr 2001, 9).

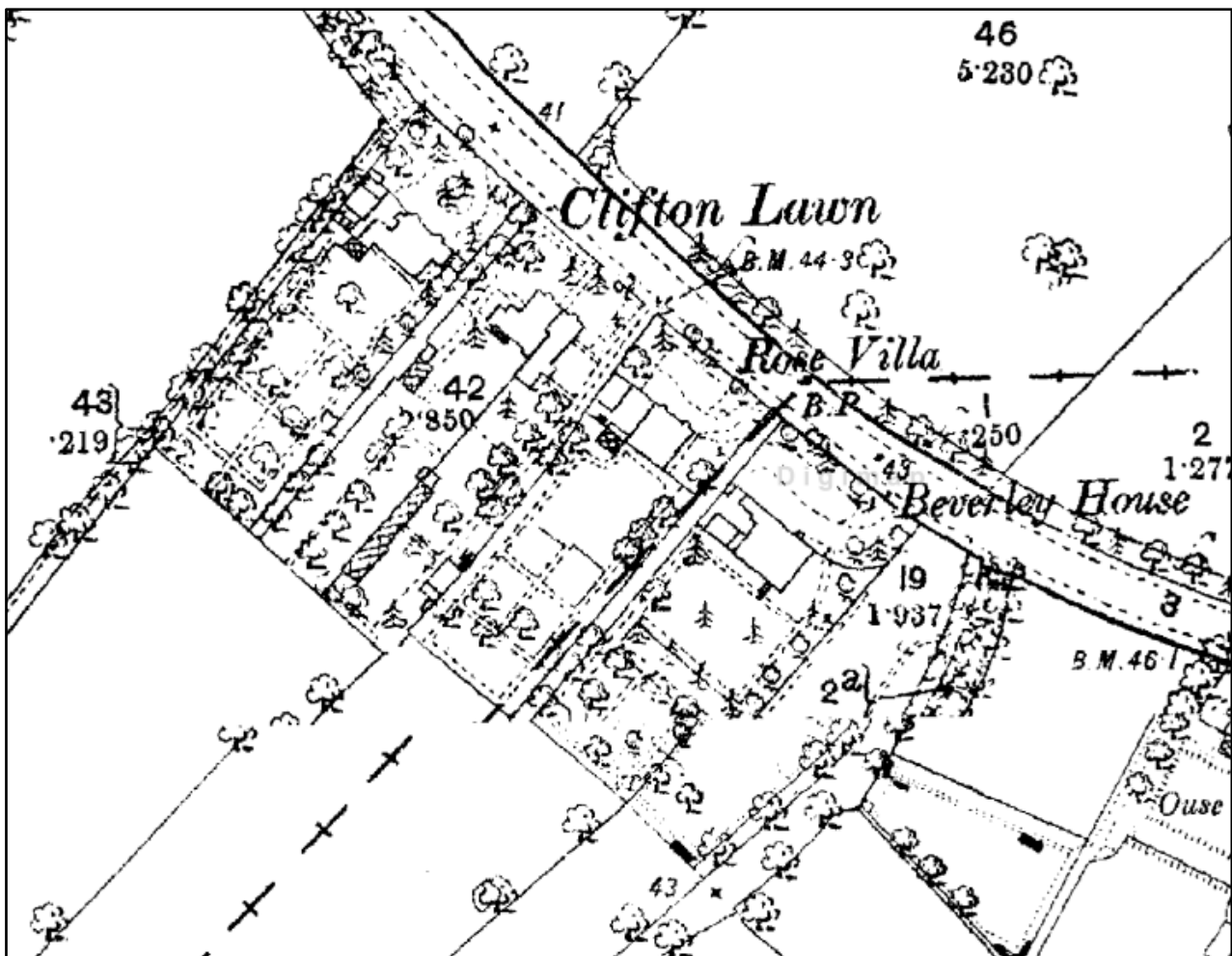


Figure 100. Nos. 17 to 25 Shipton Road, just north of the intersection of Water End and Clifton Road in York. The buildings represent a mid-19th century version of the suburban villa. Ordnance Survey Map of 1889 (Digimap 2023).

Chapter Twelve: Conclusions

Conclusions on the Clifton Croft Estate

The aim of this dissertation was to record and analyze the development and dissolution of the Clifton Croft estate through time. Working within a biographical and landscape-based model, this work viewed the buildings of the complex through their relationships to each other, their inhabitants, Clifton, the City of York, and the wider country. Demonstrating the importance of archaeological investigation of 19th-century suburban estates, key connections were drawn between suburban development, the nouveau riche, and York as a whole. Privileged by the amount of documentation found in York, this study was largely conducted utilizing primary sources, but measured survey, record photography, and simple observation were also deployed in understanding the full story of the estate.

Clifton Croft estate was a complex largely shaped by one family, the Ropers, and one man in particular, John Roper the younger. However, as seen by the Roman boundary lines that enclosed the estate, the previous timber-framed buildings that inhabited it, and decisions made by John Roper the elder that influenced his son's future choices, the complex evolved and was shaped by a variety of inputs. There can be no doubt that the servants and workers at the Clifton Croft estate also influenced the use and meaning of the structures through time. The eventual estate was affected by the physical characteristics of the land, the surrounding Township of Clifton, the City of York, and even country-wide and global trends. The findings of this study prove the complexities of Victorian suburban developments, which have largely been dismissed as unoriginal and unrooted in place due to rising consumerism and industrialization. Where there are humans there is agency; "To deny that archaeology can make a contribution towards understanding modern societies is to deny that the discipline has a role to play in understanding any society," (Matthews 1999, 155).

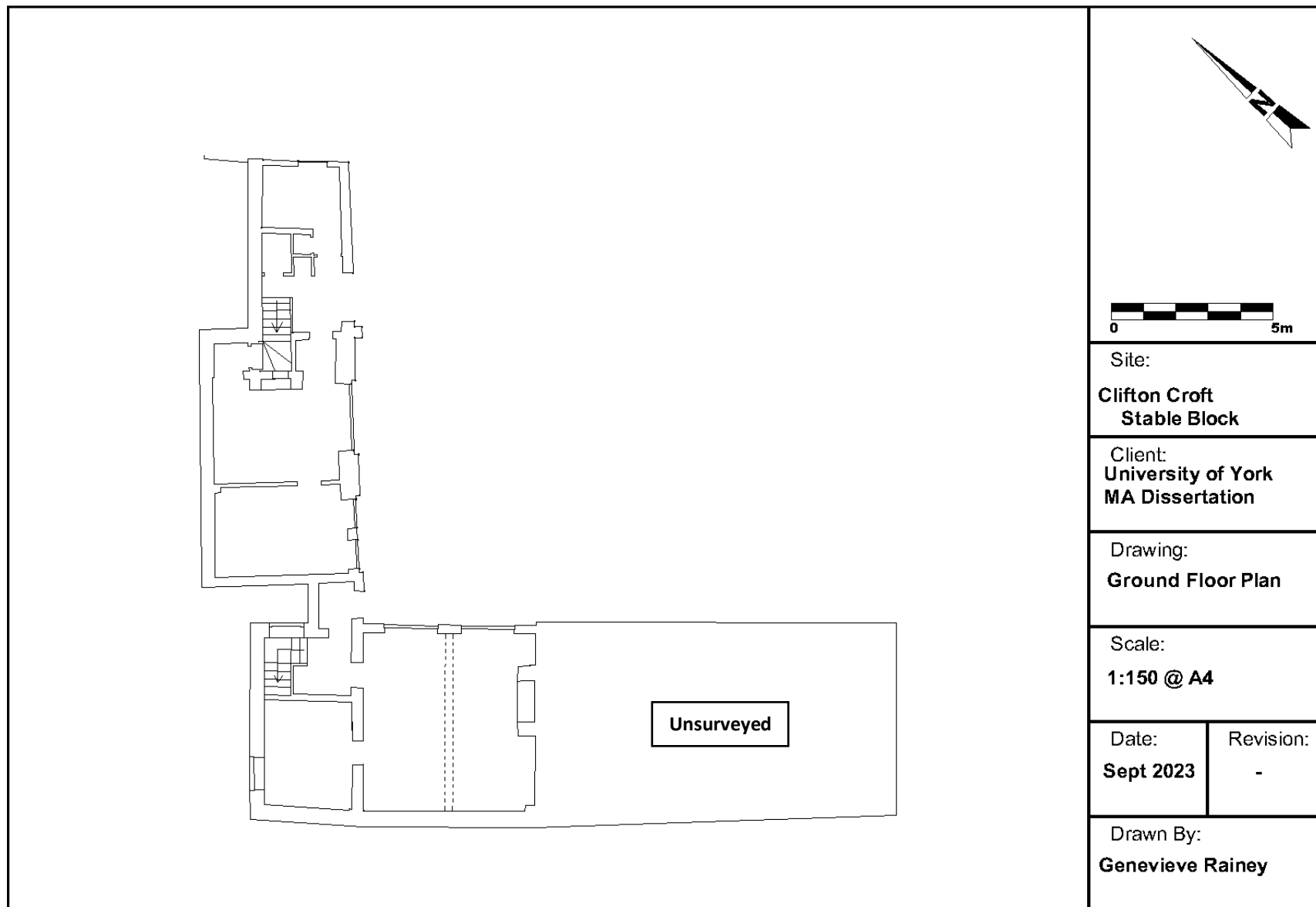
Limits of Study and Future Research

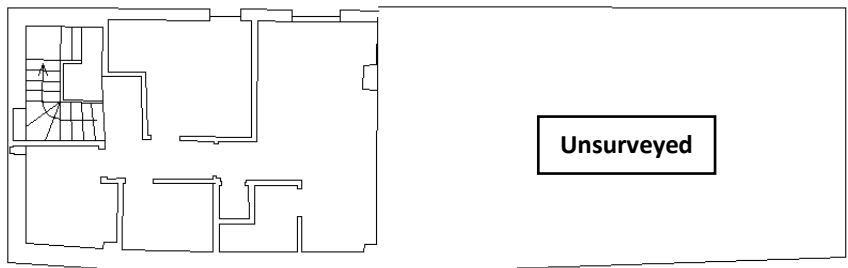
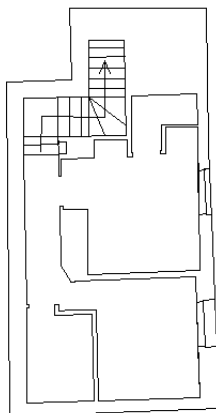
While examining the Clifton Croft estate as a whole, the primary limit to this work was scope. Each building has its own specific story to tell within the larger web of the complex, and much more could have been written about the individual buildings given time. However, the primary focus of this study was the estate in its entirety, with the estate's development and connections prioritized over the individual structures. Along these lines, a Structure from Motion (SfM) model of the Stable Block was initially planned, but abandoned once focus and scope of the

project shifted to the complex. Given proper access, there is certainly more to say about each building, and future studies could further illuminate these structures.

Within the wider context of Clifton and the City of York, the Clifton Croft estate clearly acts as an in-between building, temporally joining more rural and agriculturally-associated 18th-century Halls and the smaller suburban Victorian villas lining the main thoroughfares of the City. Studies of the relationship between these types of buildings may reveal further connectivity within trends of human movement, a main focus of archaeological study. It also seems likely that there are other examples of 19th-century suburban villa estates like the Clifton Croft complex within the City of York. Burton Grange may be another archetype, and additional study of these estates could reveal their frequency and prominence. The wealth of primary-source documentation in York makes the area an ideal location to study buildings of the historical period and much could be gained from their archaeological investigation.

Appendix A: Measured Survey of the Stable Block





Site:
**Clifton Croft
Stable Block**

Client:
**University of York
MA Dissertation**

Drawing:
First Floor Plan

Scale:
1:150 @ A4

Date: Sept 2023	Revision: -
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Drawn By:
Genevieve Rainey

Bibliography

Archival Sources

City of York Archives, York Explore Library (CYA)

Y_11571	1920s	Photograph of Clifton Croft
CUT/2/65	February 1929	Newspaper cuttings relating to James Melrose
FBE/1	1842-1875	Drawings and plans, Frederick Bell collection
FBE/1/19	April 1843	Pen and wash plan of the alterations at Clifton Croft
FBE/1/20	19th century	Pencil drawing of the kitchen chimneys
FBE/1/21	19th century	Pencil drawing of the plan of Clifton Croft
FBE/1/22	19th century	Plan relating to a cottage at Clifton Croft
FBE/1/116	19th century	Multiple pencil sketches of unidentified building
GDC/277/1	1761	Indenture of fine of estates by Edward Addison
GDC/277/2	March 1761	Let between Edward Addison and James Silburn
GDC/277/3	April 1761	Deed for levying a fine
GDC/277/7	February 1783	Lease and transfer of a mortgage by Edward Addison
GDC/277/8	January 1789	Release of a messuage garth and allotments at Clifton
GDC/277/10	May 1825	Lease and release at Clifton by Thomas Hartley
GDC/280/2	June 1835	Lease and release of a dwelling house and close
GDC/281/1	December 1835	Assessment for the relief of the poor for Clifton
GDC/281/2	19th century	List of owners and property in Clifton
GDC/281/3	1837-1843	Clifton tithe rents
GDC/287/2	December 1804	Articles of partnership
GDC/287/3	May 1805	Declaration of trust
GDC/287/4	June 1814	Lease and mortgage of estates in York by John Roper
GDC/287/8	May 1826	Deed of Covenant related to will of John Roper
GDC/287/9	August 1826	Probate of the will and two codicils of John Roper
GDC/287/11	June 1832	Deed of arrangement for John and William Fell Roper
GDC/292/1	January 1840	Lease and conveyance in fee by Noah Wynn
GDC/292/2	December 1843	Mortgage by John Roper of Clifton
GDC/292/4	June 1846	Conveyance by the Rt. Hon. Earl de Grey to Roper
GDC/292/6	October 1857	Mortgage by John Roper of Clifton Croft
GDC/301/3	May 1811	Lease and release by Thomas Hartley to John Roper

GDC/301/4	January 1813	Assignment of a term of 500 years
GDC/414/2	1873	Details of the will of John Roper
GDC/420/69	May 1867	Deed of Partnership, James Melrose and John Roper
HMU/1/46	20th century	Hugh Murray genealogies: Surnames 'R'
HMU/P/9/7	c.1898	Water End Clifton
HMU/P/18/467	1890s	Between Clifton Croft and Clifton Holme
Y/PPT/2/1/8/14	1938-1939	Clifton (Barker's Yard), Clearance Order
Y/PPT/2/1/8/15	1938-1939	Clifton (Hudson's Yard), Clearance Order
Y/PPT/6/3/897	April 1931	City of York Improvement line through Clifton Croft

Private Collection (PC)

Abstract of Title, 1939

Conveyance of Land, 1939

Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society (YAYAS)

EV898	1825	Old Cottage at Water End Clifton, George Nicholson
EV899	1827	At Clifton, George Nicholson
EV1011	1860	Clifton Water End, Hudson
EV1721	1893	Roman Road in Clifton
EV1853	1840	Clifton – Water End showing Sycamore Inn, W. Moore Jun.
EV2296	n.d.	Mr. James Melrose
EV2748	1932	Water End Clifton Summer 1932
EV2749	1931	Water End Clifton Trees in 1931
EV2750	1931	Water End Clifton
EV2752	n.d.	Water End Clifton
EV2753	n.d.	Water End Clifton
EV2754	n.d.	Water End Clifton [Building site, tiles, workman]
EV2755	n.d.	Water End Clifton
EV2756	n.d.	Water End Clifton [Building site]
EV2758	n.d.	Water End [Building site]
EV2764	n.d.	Water End Clifton
EV2768	1836	Part of plan of Clifton - when up for sale in 1836
EV2817	n.d.	Demolition

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