

◆ The Duke and the radical

AN EDWARDIAN LAND CONFLICT IN SUSSEX

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Between 1908 and 1913 the radical Australian politician R. L. Outhwaite carried out a sustained campaign of criticism of the 15th Duke of Norfolk, as part of a wider attack upon landed wealth by Lloyd George and some other Liberal MPs and their supporters. Papers preserved in the Arundel Castle Archives, together with a wide range of other contemporary sources, make it possible to trace the chronology and rationale of Outhwaite's attack, together with the defence, which was mounted primarily by Edward Mostyn, the duke's loyal and influential Arundel agent. The national context of this acrimonious debate between these three men is traced, and the local society and economy of the Arundel estate in the years before the Great War are also analysed.

'The great cause of inequality in the distribution of wealth is inequality in the distribution of land. The ownership of land is the great fundamental fact which ultimately determines the social, the political, and consequently the intellectual and moral condition of a people.' Henry George, *Progress and Poverty* (1911 edn, 211)

The idyllic Sussex Downs around Arundel conjure up images of peaceful rurality. But this paper addresses the issue of the ownership of that countryside, with its attendant rights and obligations, in early twentieth-century England, and the political attacks made upon landowners whose rights to property were being challenged, not least by the Liberal government itself. We also consider the encompassing concerns, ideologies and intentions, the networks of interpersonal relationships and the strategies adopted to achieve very different goals. And we demonstrate how the land debate mattered at different scales of activity — those of the individual, the community and the nation, and how these scales were mutually reinforcing.¹ Indeed, the paper also demonstrates the global reach of political discussions about land and the international movements of some of the protagonists. It also demonstrates how social groups in Sussex were themselves fragmented at the local level, whether governing elites, politicians, tenant farmers or villagers.

The ownership and use of the land itself became deeply contentious during a long period of agricultural depression which had stretched back to the 1870s and which, with some little amelioration, was to continue through to the First World War. In

part this was because of its associations with the social impact of depression: rural depopulation, the lack of adequate housing and rural amenities, and the threat to rural employment. And as the franchise was extended deeper into the countryside, so politicians were made ever more aware of rural problems.²

By looking at the land issue at the local level in Sussex, rather than the usual national discourse, we hope to demonstrate a more complex, multi-layered and contingent debate than is often presented.³ We start at the national level.

LAND: THE NATIONAL DISCOURSE

The power associated with the accumulation of landed wealth over generations was immense. It had been calculated in 1876 that 710 magnates owned a quarter of the total acreage of England and Wales, and another calculation put the figure at 4127 landowners (0.43% of the total number of landowners) owning 56% of the land.⁴

But the hegemony of such men did not go unchallenged. Indeed, a sustained anti-aristocratic persuasion had deep roots, and by the end of Victoria's reign the Philadelphia-born political economist Henry George (1839–97) had become hugely influential, especially through his book *Progress and Poverty* (1879).⁵ He had visited the United Kingdom in the 1880s, asserting his views on land reform at meetings with revivalist overtones. By the late 1880s he had come to advocate taxation of profits made from unimproved land, and there were many prepared to promulgate his 'single-taxer' agenda — to place

a tax on land so swingeing as to render all other forms of taxation unnecessary. The views of this 'Apostle of Plunder' helped to revive older Chartist sentiments and to stimulate a wide-ranging debate on landownership.

'Georgite' views were embraced by many politicians with animosity towards 'landlordism', hoping to build on a platform of popular reform. Indeed, with their sweeping election success of 1906, it was landownership to which Liberals looked to find much of the income to pay for social reforms such as labour exchanges, state pensions, national insurance and the Development Commission, as well as to fund the building of the naval Dreadnoughts in preparation for what many felt was an inevitable European war. On his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1908, Lloyd George's apparent enthusiasm for land reform duly attracted many younger Liberals to explore the Conservative rural heartlands, where they sometimes became locked in bitter disputes about the nature, rights and obligations of landownership. Lloyd George was famously to declare at Newcastle in October 1909 that 'A fully-equipped duke costs as much to keep up as two Dreadnoughts; and dukes are just as great a terror and they last longer'.⁶

Despite the qualms of many moderate Liberals, land reform became a central plank in policy, offering the prospect of funds and also the prospect of effecting a real redistribution of power in the countryside. The question was how such reform was to be undertaken. 'Georgite' single-taxers battled with more pragmatic (and often themselves landowning) Liberals. Even less practical was the outright nationalisation of land, as advocated by the distinguished scientist Alfred Russel Wallace and the Land Nationalisation Society.⁷ This did have some support among Liberal MPs as well as within the incipient Labour Party, and indeed many landowners feared that the government's real agenda was land nationalization. But in the end more moderate views prevailed, bolstered by support from local authorities, advocating taxation of undeveloped land and future increased site values only, rather than including buildings and improvements.⁸

This option was particularly appealing to many Liberals in urban as well as rural constituencies because it was felt that a disproportionate share of local rates was paid by urban ratepayers whilst

agricultural land paid far less, and undeveloped or unused land paid nothing. Landowners could profitably wait whilst the value of their peri-urban land increased due to pent-up urban demand. Thus the Earl of Abergavenny had been advised as early as 1869 that his lands on the Kent/Sussex border adjoining the 'villa residences' of Tunbridge Wells should be kept under grass since 'in a few years this land will be valued by the yard instead of by the acre' and that 'their ultimate building facilities must be borne in mind'. Warwick Park was laid out for building in 1897 and the Home Farm estate similarly dealt with by the turn of the century.⁹ So, pending development, land remained under grass around towns such as Hastings or Haywards Heath. But, said Lloyd George, where a landlord profited from urban development, 'whilst he was slumbering' on the back of others' efforts in the provision of roads, drainage and public transport, he would now be taxed.¹⁰ It was furthermore hoped that such a tax on 'ripening' building land would help halt the growth of massive urban overcrowding and slum quarters, seen by some eugenicists as a source also of 'national deterioration'.¹¹

Previous attempts to tax land values had proven unsuccessful owing to the hostility of Unionists and the Lords, but in November 1908 Josiah Wedgwood and 246 MPs urged the inclusion of a land values tax in the 1909 Budget. Most constitutional experts agreed that the Lords would not interfere with a finance bill, and Lloyd George's 1909 'people's budget' duly included duties on land, aimed above all at landowners who profited through developments which had increased in value due to some intrinsic locational factor in the site.¹² Among his proposals was to be an increment value tax which would reclaim for the state 20% of any increased value of land upon any subsequent change of ownership. Many landowners saw this as a prelude to land nationalization, especially since it involved a national survey of landownership to establish initial land values. The proposals were furiously attacked. But in a speech at Limehouse, East London, on 30 July 1909 Lloyd George responded:

'The ownership of land is not merely an enjoyment, it is a stewardship... and if the owners cease to discharge their functions in seeing to the security and defence of the country, in looking after the broken in their

villages and in their neighbourhoods, the time will come to reconsider the conditions under which land is held in this country. No country, however rich, can permanently afford to have quartered upon its revenue a class which declines to do the duty which it was called upon to perform since the beginning.'¹³

But the Lords rejected the finance bill in November 1909, thereby precipitating the constitutional crisis of 1909–10. About two-thirds of those voting for rejection owned at least 5000 acres. The Liberal *Daily News* of 28 December 1909 estimated that 'the Lords who killed the budget' owned some 10.4 million acres. A general election in January 1910 saw the Liberals narrowly victorious, but the rejected finance bill was now pushed through, and the national valuation could formally begin.¹⁴

The powerful landowning groups now mobilised, and a fierce campaign raged through the courts until the outbreak of war. Associations were formed to fight the valuation and duties, many coalescing into the Land Union. Nominally consisting of landowners and farmers of all degrees of wealth, it was heavily backed by the dukes of Westminster, Portland and Bedford. That the land was a potent force for political advancement was demonstrable, and there were Liberals whose seats in the Commons were won purely on land issues. But the war took away many of the valuation staff and after 1918 the taxation process floundered, the Act being finally repealed in 1920. But between 1906 and 1914 the land question was a major political issue, both nationally and at local level.¹⁵

INTERNATIONAL ACTORS/ SUSSEX PLACES

A key factor in explaining Liberal success in rural areas in 1906 was their emphasis on the nature of community, and the perceived dangers of 'landlordism' and privilege in shaking the foundations of a supposedly harmonious village society. Liberal political rhetoric now combined older concepts of radicalism with newer ideas of increased state intervention for patriotic purposes.¹⁶ Local farming patterns, landownership and political affiliations and proximity to urban centres all played their part, and it is in this context that we turn to examine the interrelationships

between agrarian politics on the national stage and in Sussex.

Arundel, built around its hilltop castle, was the principal family seat of the dukes of Norfolk, but the castle had become neglected and the dukes and the borough council were not always in agreement on the best policies for the town. However, following the accession of the 15th Duke, Henry Fitzalan-Howard (1847–1917) as a minor in 1860, Norfolk control was re-established and relations improved. His important castle restoration from the mid-1870s was financed originally from renewals of leases on London properties in the Strand.

The Arundel estate was scattered across a dozen local parishes. It was consolidated throughout the 19th century, and extended where appropriate, as with the purchase in 1828 of the Michelgrove estate of about 7000 acres to the east, with its impressive mansion which was then demolished. The 1872 'New Domesday' figure was 19,218 acres, and further purchases had yielded an estate of 21,763 acres by 1882.¹⁷ By 1902 the estate stretched from Bury in the north to the coast, including large tracts of downland, woodland, high-grade farmland on the coastal plain, meadow and pasture in the Arun valley, and urban expansion at Littlehampton on the coast (Fig. 1).¹⁸ The duke owned in total about 50,000 acres in Sussex, Yorkshire, Surrey, Norfolk and London. Largely owing to the urban properties, especially those in Sheffield, the estate was worth altogether perhaps ten times that of any other landowner with property in Sussex. Over half his income came from Sheffield rents, mineral rights and the markets, the latter sold to Sheffield Corporation in 1899 for £526,000.¹⁹ Like the Mosleys and the Devonshires, the Norfolks had profited hugely from landownership in Britain's emerging industrial centres.

Duke Henry, England's premier duke, was also active nationally and internationally (Fig. 2). Postmaster-General (1895–1900) in Lord Salisbury's third government, he resigned in his 50s to volunteer for the Boer War, although he was invalided out from the Imperial Yeomanry after a fall from his horse. As the leading and deeply traditional Catholic peer, he was Queen Victoria's special envoy to the Vatican in 1887. Concerned with royal ceremonial as Earl Marshal, he presided over the coronation of King George V and Queen Mary, and the investiture of the Prince



Fig. 1. The Arundel estate.

of Wales in 1911, during the maelstrom of the Liberal attack on hereditary privilege.²⁰ George V later commented that the duke was 'a charming, honourable, straightforward little gentleman, no

better in the world. But as a man of business he is absolutely impossible'.²¹ Nevertheless, at various times he was Mayor of Arundel, a London county councillor and president of the London Municipal

Reform Association, the first elected Mayor of Westminster, Lord Lieutenant of Sussex, and Mayor and then the first Lord Mayor of Sheffield. His castle improvements reflected his wish for authority and tradition, and an estimated sum of between £500,000 and £750,000 was disbursed on this and the surrounding estate.²² Furthermore, to celebrate his coming of age in December 1868 he also funded the large Catholic church, St Philip Neri, built between 1869 and 1873, designed in medieval gothic, on which he was an expert, and a reminder of the integration of gothic with religious, especially Catholic, belief, in the later Victorian period. There was also an accompanying Catholic enclave of cemetery (1861, enlarged 1903), presbytery (1874–76), St Wilfrid's convent from 1861 and Catholic boys' school (1860, rebuilt 1880). Corpus Christi celebrations followed Italian precedents.²³ Other, non-Catholic, expenditures by the duke included Mill Road (1891) and Arundel Post Office (1893).

Given the duke's near monopoly of land-ownership around Arundel, his attitude to farming and his tenants was crucial at this somewhat indifferent time for agriculture. Considerable improvements were made to farm buildings to attract and keep good tenants, to remedy general previous neglect and to enhance the estate at a time when so much attention was otherwise being lavished on the castle and town. The quality of provision was certainly improved by the work of the Catholic father-and-son estate clerks of works, George (1833–1904) and Walter (1859–1937) Heveningham, who instituted a particular estate style, of buttressed brick barns of considerable architectural merit, between 1877 and the First World War. At least six new granaries, built to high specification but using traditional methods, were erected at this time because of 'imperfect accommodation for storing and dressing grain, the want of cart sheds' and 'to enable tenants to work the farms to better advantage'. On occasion the castle architect, Charles Alban Buckler (1824–1905), was brought in to amend designs and to offer an Early English 'ecclesiastical' style, exemplified by the granary and cart shed at Wepham. Increased interest in agricultural diversification during this difficult farming period was evinced by new dairies at Priory Farm Tortington, Calceto Farm Lyminster and Houghton Farm, together with cattle accommodation, piggeries and fowl houses.²⁴



Fig. 2. The 15th Duke of Norfolk.

Annual income from the Sussex estate reached £23,470 by 1882, although his total income surpassed £100,000 per annum, but rental arrears at Arundel mounted and six tenants quit in the 1880s. Between 1875 and 1914 rental income fluctuated, approximating closely to the national picture, with rents falling between 1878 and 1886 by 25%, then increasing to 1894, falling back to 1903 and then increasing again to 1914 (Table 1).²⁵ Provision of cottages, probably reflecting state intervention in new health acts and rural sanitary authority byelaws, was mostly in pairs, together with some small terraces, brick-built and tile-roofed, and with three bedrooms over living room, scullery and wood house. Employment was thereby also made available to local men in the construction of these buildings. Between 1869 and 1904 the average annual expenditure amounted to about £7900 — although this is nothing compared with the castle reconstruction, which cost £497,483, including electric lighting for the castle costing £36,169, or the construction of the new Mill Road at £21,599.²⁶ The money for much of this came, of course, from the 15th Duke's Sheffield estate.

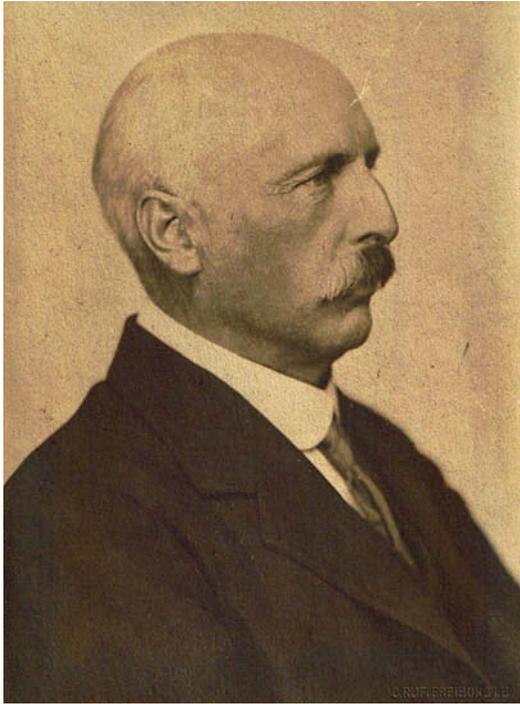


Fig. 3. R. L. Outhwaite.

However in many other respects Arundel itself changed little under the duke's watchful guidance. There were relatively few of the Victorian and Edwardian villas which sprang up around other Sussex towns, and there was a weaker middle-class element. Visitors came to visit the castle grounds, to walk, fish or picnic by the Arun, but by 1900 the general atmosphere of the town was somewhat moribund. Ducal opposition to the railway ensured that the station was located at a distance from Arundel itself, where it remains today.

Here, then, was a man of great wealth and influence, straddling local, national and international stages and who represented tradition and inherited, and seemingly unquestioned, local power. By contrast, his opponent in the narrative set out in this paper had acquired ideological views abroad. Robert Leonard (always referred to as 'R.L.') Outhwaite (1868–1930) was a genuinely trans-continental radical, although his role in the ferocious land debate of the early twentieth century has never been properly explored (Fig. 3). Born in Tasmania into an emigré Yorkshire farming family, he spent time on sheep and cattle stations

Table 1. Annual rental income on the Duke of Norfolk's Sussex estate 1875–1914. (Source: Arundel Castle Archives: Sussex Estate Rentals.)

Year	£	Year	£
1875	21,389	1895	22,344
1876	22,547	1896	21,101
1877	22,822	1897	21,224
1878	23,329	1898	21,010
1879	24,219	1899	21,103
1880	25,050	1900	20,906
1881	24,022	1901	20,854
1882	23,470	1902	20,877
1883	23,650	1903	20,862
1884	23,955	1904	21,028
1885	22,295	1905	21,302
1886	22,408	1906	21,512
1887	21,633	1907	21,745
1888	21,630	1908	22,301
1889	21,132	1909	22,669
1890	21,337	1910	23,004
1891	21,704	1911	23,182
1892	22,183	1912	23,383
1893	23,171	1913	23,397
1894	23,544	1914	23,670

in Australia and New Zealand before becoming interested in the law and in land issues. He then worked as a journalist in South Africa during the Boer War. Afterwards, with a letter of introduction from General Smuts to Campbell-Bannerman, he moved to England, but shortly thereafter returned to investigate the problem of Chinese indentured labour in South Africa. At that time he was one of many Australian, New Zealand and British labour sympathisers helping to promote a South African (white) labour movement. In October 1904 he spoke at the Reform Club on the subject of Chinese labour in the Transvaal.²⁷ This expertise was brought to bear on British politics, as the general election of 1906 was fought in part by the Liberals on the basis of ending the Chinese indentured system in the Transvaal, shrewdly combining 'ostensible philanthropy with an appeal to working-class xenophobia'.²⁸

Outhwaite was first selected by the Liberals to contest West Birmingham in 1906 but, predictably, lost to the distinguished Unionist Joseph Chamberlain, himself in his Liberal years an advocate of Henry George's views and whose

brand of municipal government reform had given him an unassailable local powerbase.²⁹ Outhwaite then returned to the Transvaal to report for various Liberal newspapers in 1906–7, and by May 1907 he was speaking and helping to raise funds in support of striking white miners. He was also developing a reputation as a critic of aristocratic privilege, and had become a devoted apostle of Henry George's teachings. In the January 1910 election he was again selected by the Liberals, this time to contest the Horsham division of Sussex, but was again unsuccessful, despite making what *The Times* called 'an attractive appeal to agricultural labourers'. He lost to the sitting candidate, the young Irish peer and landowning Conservative, Edward Turnour, 6th Earl Winterton (from 1907) of Shillinglee Park, Chiddingfold, who was himself a follower of Chamberlain.³⁰ No doubt the chagrin of losing was further heightened for Outhwaite by this latest display of landed elitism and inherited power.

Nevertheless, his devotion to land reform was apparent, and he did find success in July 1912 at a by-election in the mining and pottery constituency of Hanley (Staffordshire). In what *The Times* termed a 'piquant sensation', he stood on a platform dominated by the land campaign, described as 'sensational' and 'revolutionary', at which '[A]ll the single-tax anarchists turned up with *Progress and Poverty* in their hands and won the election as though it was a religious revival'.³¹ Josiah Wedgwood described Outhwaite as a 'fanatical single-taxer', and Lloyd George endorsed the campaign by stating that Outhwaite had 'exposed the evils of the land system in every part of the United Kingdom [and] made it a living issue in the politics of the day'.³²

Outhwaite was joined in Parliament by other Georgite missionaries. The flamboyant E.G. Hemmerde became MP for North West Norfolk in 1912, and Sydney Arnold, a Manchester stockbroker, won a by-election at Holmfirth.³³ Much of the financing of this group came from Joseph Fels (1853–1914), an American millionaire philanthropist soap manufacturer who had also become an ardent Georgite before moving to England in 1901. Indeed, one commentator in 1913 explicitly named Outhwaite, Hemmerde and Fels as the prime movers in the land tax campaign at this time.³⁴ From 1912 to 1914 Outhwaite pursued Lloyd George, demanding rating reform and pushing the land values issue towards the

forefront of political discussion, to the dismay of many more traditional Liberals. He was even cool on Lloyd George's 1911 national insurance proposals, and prepared to voice his criticism to the press, claiming that Lloyd George's hands were tied by the Whig faction, to whom Outhwaite would never be reconciled.³⁵ His first major parliamentary questions were to Lloyd George in November 1912, referring the Chancellor to the Australian land values tax system, and again in December to similar schemes operating in Alberta, and recommended for British Columbia, Sydney and the Transvaal. At meetings in England and Scotland he even proclaimed that 'We will never speak for a Liberal candidate who does not put taxation of land values at the forefront of his campaign'.³⁶ The responses from Lloyd George were perfunctory and noncommittal.³⁷

Outhwaite represented Hanley until 1918, but on the outbreak of the Great War he declared himself a trenchant critic of conscription, protectionism, British intervention in Russia and the jingoism of the wartime coalition government. As a pacifist, he lost both sympathy in his constituency and the support of Liberal party officials. At the 1918 election he therefore stood as an Independent Liberal, but lost the seat. Still publishing his forceful views, as in the *English Review* in 1918 when he attacked the 'ineptitude' of Lloyd George in not introducing a single tax on land values, he looked gloomily forward to 'slavery enforced by brutal instruments of repression' if the 'land monopoly' was not broken when post-war demobilisation occurred.³⁸ In 1919 he joined Philip Snowden's Independent Labour Party, alongside other radical and pacifist Liberals, such as Arnold, Wedgwood, J. Dundas White and Hemmerde, but thereafter largely retired from public life, except for becoming founder, president and moving spirit of the Commonwealth Land Party in 1919 and editing its journal *The Commonweal*. By 1924 he had moved to Birdham, Sussex. In his own words, 'A few weeks later the blow fell, my heart, which had withstood the buffets of a tempestuous life, failed me and left me to stagnate in the backwater of a Sussex village'.³⁹ Here, dogged by ill-health, he died in 1930.⁴⁰ Perhaps more than any other politician in England, he fitted the description given in an economic journal in 1910.

'The single taxers have appeared to be men with a bee in their bonnet, akin to



Fig. 4. Arundel: the skyline dominated by the cathedral, parish church and castle (photograph by Bill Philip).

the anarchists and the socialists and to other disturbers of the King's peace and the scholar's calm. Folk like these are not to be foregathered with by thinkers solicitous of their good repute.⁴¹

THE 'MUZZLED OX', THE 'AWFUL RAD' AND A FAILED PUSH FOR LAND REFORM IN SUSSEX

After 1906 a local dimension to the push for land reform gathered pace. In 1908 the *Daily News* carried articles by Outhwaite censoring various landowners, following a tour of Britain. He certainly aimed high. Among them were the Duke of Northumberland, Lord Leconfield at Petworth, the Rothschilds in 'the land of the deer' — the Vale of Aylesbury (Buckinghamshire), the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House (Hertfordshire), at whose gate were hovels 'inferior to a Kaffir hut', Lord Pembroke and his estates based on Wilton House (Wiltshire), Lord Iveagh at Elveden (Norfolk), 'the land of the pheasant', and the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle (Leicestershire), 'the land of the fox'. In 1909 he was similarly attacking Lord Onslow's 'throttling grasp' exerted on Guildford from his base at Clandon Park.⁴² The latter was a leading 'die-hard' Conservative and

clear political opponent, producing in 1909, with Austen Chamberlain, the outlines of a Unionist policy on agricultural help, smallholdings and rural reconstruction.⁴³ Moreover, from 1892 he had been developing large villa residences on the edge of Guildford.

In September 1908 Outhwaite also began his campaign against Henry 15th Duke of Norfolk. In the *Daily News* under the title 'The landless peasant: Duke of Norfolk's vast estates; monopoly and feudalism' he first drew attention to the accumulation of property by the dukes of Norfolk in Sheffield and the profitable sales of their surrounding land. But Arundel, 'more informative than Sheffield', was:

'a microcosm of the whole land question, which enables one to take it in almost at a glance. Even before leaving the railway station a correct impression can be gained for from the bridge a fine view of country is obtainable. There towers the castle above the little town, below are the Arun and the meadow lands, across, the undulating country rises to the downs; on all sides is the far-stretching ducal territory'.⁴⁴

His experience here gave material underpinning to the more abstract arguments of the 'single-taxers' (Fig. 4). Outhwaite cited informants critical

of the 'feudal conditions of subserviency', of population stagnation and the 'landlocking' by the duke around Arundel which prevented expansion — thereby 'maintain[ing] a feudal control over the people' who were 'pauperised and dependent'. Visiting neighbouring Burpham on horseback, he wrote, 'desolation reigns' since the duke would not allow cottage-building and the young had to leave. In the tiny hamlet Outhwaite noted:

'that undertone of hopelessness which makes the English villager the saddest of all figures... The mothers of the villages breed for the slums, and then pass on to the workhouse themselves. And now look across the valley. There before us, magnificent in the sunshine, towers Arundel castle — not a relic of bygone days, of past necessities, but the residence this Duke has largely built from the rent spoil of city, town and village'.⁴⁵

Elsewhere on the estate, as at South Stoke, he sought and found the same story. One school mistress told him that the farmers would not hire married men:

'and so I could appreciate the grim unconscious irony of an advertisement of a baby show to be held in the district. Possibly a baby is becoming a rarity, a cottage baby certainly will if he has his way who lately celebrated with royal pomp and circumstances at Arundel the coming of a baby heir and presumptive master of these people'.⁴⁶

There will be, Outhwaite predicted, no applicants for smallholdings in the duke's territory — and under the sub-heading of 'the muzzled ox' he noted that 'the human oxen who tread out his corn are dumb'. Thus 'at Arundel every village provides a warning and a lesson to the nation as to the root causes of social distress'.⁴⁷

The attack was reported to the duke by his loyal agent, Lieut-Col. Edward Henry Joseph Mostyn (1857–1916), also a Catholic, who had succeeded his father as agent in 1894 (Fig. 5). Living in the castellated 24-room gothic structure of Tower House, he was a powerful figure. It was said that 'every path led to Colonel Mostyn'. He was variously a commanding officer in the 2nd Volunteer Battalion (from 1908 the 4th Battalion) Royal Sussex Regiment, a JP, stalwart of the Arundel Agricultural show, chair of the Port Commissioners (at Littlehampton), Commissioner for Sewers and



Fig. 5. Edward Mostyn.

a national president of the Land Agents' Society, formed in 1902.⁴⁸ Three of his four sons served in France in the First World War, and he also had five daughters. His son Joseph Edward (aged 22) was also enumerated in 1911 as a land agent, and another son, Captain E. H. Mostyn, worked in the estate office from 1916 to 1928 when he too became the agent, serving until 1938.⁴⁹

Mostyn suggested some initial responses. Population increases were a matter for the borough council rather than the duke, he argued, since the council possessed the only available building land. He pointed to Arundel's great benefit from the building of the castle, and that the duke owned 'only' one-third of the town, not two-thirds as Outhwaite claimed. The duke had also provided town water and drainage, and since 1868, 103 farm cottages had been built, as well as 32 others not attached to farms. The estate acreage was corrected to 23,700 acres. The wage-level for agricultural workers was calculated at 16 shillings a week but estate men were also paid in inclement weather.⁵⁰

To help further in defence of the estate, Mostyn also administered a questionnaire to all tenant

farmers, reporting the findings to the duke, but with Mostyn's own comments attached. The survey covered 29 holdings, and just under 15,000 acres, by no means the whole of the duke's estate in Sussex. The comments which Mostyn makes on the tenants' responses, if they did not coincide with his own views, are instructive.

The extent to which the tenants, the 'muzzled oxen', felt able to express their views was questionable.⁵¹ To what extent would tenants speak out if they felt aggrieved? There is some evidence. A. Allan at the 185-acre Offham Farm said that one more cottage was desirable, but the bedroom accommodation 'is not up to twentieth century hygienic or moral ideas'. Mostyn was obliged to concede that 'three of his cottages are old ones, in which the accommodation is not good', being old thatched cottages. Mr Allan went on to elaborate that one cottage was very remote, one possessed only one bedroom, one was neither wind- nor water-tight, and one had 'senile decay'. Sometimes both sides concurred. When J. Drewitt at the 318-acre Patching Farm stated that single men left his farm, not to get married, but to 'go on the railway or into the police force, or army or navy, as we cannot afford to pay more wages with the present price of produce', Mostyn agreed, 'I attach a good deal of importance to this answer'. Asked if they had difficulty getting farm workers, two-thirds stated that there were no difficulties but one response from T. Dare at Pound Farm, Poling (301 acres) stated that there were difficulties, 'Their education having led them to think they are fitted for something cleaner than farm work... having been kept at school too long'. Mostyn added at one point 'I hold a strong opinion that every encouragement should be given to boys to work on farms. I fear too many clergymen look on farm work as the lowest standard of work, and try to get boys places either in towns or domestic service'. The full analysis of the questionnaire is given in Table 2.

- QUESTION 1 Have you a sufficient number of cottages attached to your farm to meet all reasonable requirements for the proper working of the same?
- QUESTION 2 Is the bedroom accommodation in your cottages adequate for the number of people living in them?
- QUESTION 3 Are you forced to keep many single men because you have not

enough cottage accommodation for married men?

- QUESTION 4 Do single men often leave your employment to get married because they cannot get cottages to live in?
- QUESTION 5 Are any of the cottages attached to your farm occupied by men not working for you, and if so, how many?
- QUESTION 6 Do any of the men complain of the accommodation in their cottages? If so, please give number of cottages and nature of complaint.
- QUESTION 7 Is there a great want of cottage accommodation in your district, outside of your holding, and, if more cottages were available, would they be at once let to men in permanent employment in your district?
- QUESTION 8 Are there sufficient garden allotments in your district to meet the requirements of the labouring classes resident in it?
- QUESTION 9 Are you able to say if there has been an increase or decrease in the number of children attending the schools in your district, comparing say 1888 with 1908? If possible, give numbers. If a decrease, what do you consider the cause?
- QUESTION 10 Have you much difficulty in getting young men and boys, from your district, to work on your farm? If so, what do you consider is the cause?

Note that in some cases questions were left unanswered by the tenants, for whatever reason.

Clearly a majority of the tenants (17 to 12) replied that they had insufficient cottages attached to their farms, and the same number said that they were forced to employ single men because they had insufficient cottage accommodation for married men. However, a majority (14 to 11) disagreed that there was a great want of cottage accommodation, a somewhat contradictory finding. On the quality of the accommodation, 19 reported that the bedroom accommodation was adequate, compared with 6 who said that it was not, and the same number said that their men did not complain about the

Table 2. Mostyn's questionnaire.

Analysis of information supplied to Edward Mostyn by Duke of Norfolk's tenants January 1909														
Name of tenant	Name of farm	Acres	No. of cotts	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	comments
T. Stickney	South Stoke Farm	239	5	Y	-	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Inc	N	Cottages have gardens
J. E. Hooper	Lyminster Farm	274	4	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	-	Y	-	N	'Never satisfied'
G. S. Davies	Michelgrove Farm	1240	10	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	-	Y	
T. Dare	Pound Farm	301	6	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Inc	Y	Young not interested in farm work
J. Helyer	Burpham Farm	570	6	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	-	N	
T. Luckin	Thakeham Farm	420	8	N	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Same	N	Cottages hardly tenatable
G. Miles	Upper/ Lower Barpham	654	5	N	-	-	N	N	N	-	Y	-	N	Large families
A. Wadman	Warminghurst Farm	452	7	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Inc	N	
N. Graburn	Wepham Farm	991	7	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Dec	N	Large families
A. Collyer	Peppering Farm	801	14	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Dec	N	Carter waiting
W. E. Mason	Tortington and Priory Farms	614	12	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Same	N	
L. Harrison	North Stoke Farm	932	20	Y	Y	N	Y	-	N	N	Y	Inc	N	
F. Pring	Calceto Farm	429	7	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Inc	N	Very old and out of repair
T. A. Morris	Timberley Farm	306	8	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Same	N	Cottages old
T. Golds	Bowford Farm	207	2	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Dec	Y	Poor water supply, attraction of towns
J. Tompkins	Angmering Farm	486	9	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Inc	N	No good water supply
A. Allan	Offham Farm	185	4	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	-	Y	Cottages have gardens, inaccessibility
G. Harrison	Blakehurst Farm	375	5	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Same	N	Not sufficient
J. A. S. Helyer	Toddington Farm	343	5	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y			
F. Stacey	Houghton Farm	709	12	Y	N	-	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Same	Y	Very bad accommodation
	Lee Farm	1160	9	Y	Y	-	N	N	N	N	Y	Same	Y	Over-education
	Bury Farm	509	7	N	Y	-	N	N	N	N	Y	Same	Y	Size of families
J. Drewitt	Patching Farm	318	8	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Dec	Y	Poor water supply, gardens
W. A. Isaac	Wick Farm	264	2	Y	-	Y	Y	N	Y	-	Y	Inc	Y	Close to urban area
J. F. Strong	Clapham Farm	596	7	Y	Y	N	-	Y	N	Y	Y	-	N	Isolation
G. Pocock	Priory Farm	91	2	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Inc	N	Shepherd lives one mile away
J. & H. Harwood	Amberley Castle Farm	607	7	N	Y	Y	-	N	N	Y	Y	Inc	Y	Competition from quarry
John Helyer	Littlehampton Farm	284	5	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Inc	N	Close to urban area
Mrs Penfold	Warmingcamp Farm	260	5	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	-	N	
Total		14617	208	Y12 N17	Y19 N6	Y17 N6	Y9 N19	Y9 N19	Y10 N19	Y11 N14	Y29 N0	Inc 10 Same 8 Dec 4	Y10 N19	

accommodation, compared with 10 who said they did. The one question on which there was unanimity was that sufficient garden allotments or cottage gardens were available to meet local needs.

The survey reveals a range of reasons why it was difficult to attract and retain labour, other than the number and condition of cottages. They included, on the one hand, inaccessibility, isolation and poor water supplies and, on the other, access to jobs in towns and in alternative rural occupations (such as quarrying), and a disinclination on the part of young people to work in agriculture, attributed by some tenants to the influence of clergymen and schoolmasters — ‘over-education’, as one tenant put it.

The results of the survey are not wholly conclusive; they were used by Mostyn to support his and the duke’s position, but they could almost as easily have been used to support Outhwaite, had he enjoyed access to the original data on which Mostyn’s rebuttal was based.

Further insight into the estate and its tenants can be gained from an analysis of the 1911 census returns for the tenanted farms and their occupiers.⁵² Twenty-three of the 27 tenants surveyed by Mostyn, or their successors, have been located in the 1911 census data. This reveals that a total of 144 men, women and children were living in the relevant 23 farmhouses on census day. Of the 23 heads of household, 20 were men and 3 were women, the latter, Marian Dare at Pound Farm, Maggie Allen at Offham Farm and Fanny Penfold at Warningcamp Farm, being the widows of male tenants who had participated in Mostyn’s survey of January 1909. One of the male tenants — George Harrison at Blakehurst Farm — was a widower, the rest were married. The average age of the men was 54 and of the women, 48. The average period for which the married couples had been together was 19 years. In addition, there were 56 children, six others (including nephews, nieces, grandchildren, boarders and visitors) and 39 servants. Most households with servants kept just one or two, but Newall Graburn at Wepham Farm and Leonard Harrison at North Stoke Farm each had four, and the racehorse trainer Henry Saunders Davies at Michelgrove Farm kept no fewer than seven indoor servants to look after himself, his wife and their one-year-old daughter.

Of the 43 heads of household and their wives, 17 were born in Sussex, 14 in Devon, 10 elsewhere

in England and 1 each in Wales and Scotland. Devon features even more prominently amongst the male heads, providing an equal number (seven) to Sussex. There are particular concentrations of birthplaces around Dartmoor (particularly the Chagford area) and Exeter. Here is further support for the established view that many farmers came into Sussex from the West Country in the late nineteenth century, which also enables more precise estimates to be made of the timing of this immigration. By examining the dates and places of birth of the children of the 23 tenants surveyed by Mostyn, it is possible to ascertain either ranges of, or in some cases exact, dates of the family’s arrival in Sussex. Thus, the mean date for the arrival of the tenants from Devon can be fixed at 1892. Tenants were attracted to Sussex, and in particular to the Duke of Norfolk’s estate at this time by the investment programme which the duke was carrying out to improve the farm houses and buildings, at a time when the agricultural depression was affecting so much of the country.

Mostyn’s refutations notwithstanding, from 1908 through to 1913 came a sequence of attack and counter-attack, primarily involving Outhwaite and Mostyn. As a prelude to the two general elections in 1910, Outhwaite gave speeches all over the Sussex Weald attacking the Lords — ‘millionaire shirkers’ — and calling for universal enfranchisement. In December 1909, the enthusiastic fellow single-taxer Hemmerde came to support a Liberal candidate at Chichester. Emphasizing the land issue, and taking his information from Outhwaite, he referred to Arundel as having no land available for smallholdings or cottages and as being ‘landlocked’ by the duke. At this point Mostyn intervened publicly, and in a letter to the *Sussex Daily News* published on 6 January 1910 (and eight days before the general election) he pointed out that Hemmerde’s speech was based in part on Outhwaite’s *Daily News* article which was ‘most inaccurate’. ‘He denied Hemmerde’s assertion that smallholdings and cottages were not to be had, citing an offer of 145 acres out of the Home Farm for four applicants. He had, he wrote, been connected with the estate for 31 years and recalled no applications from Burpham, and instead pointed out that 135 cottages had been built at a cost of over £30,000. Mostyn’s points were bolstered by a letter received from Newland Tompkins, land agent to the West Sussex County Council, written on 29 December

and rejecting any idea that the duke was antipathetic to smallholdings.

Nevertheless, Outhwaite continued his full-blooded Sussex campaigning on the land issue, and 'every day sees a speech delivered somewhere'. Moving in his car, accompanied by his wife Kathleen, in public halls and pub rooms between Horsham and the Sussex border at Rogate and Harting, he pressed home his vigorous attack. The Duke of Norfolk, he claimed, was 'a politician who was subverting, as an hereditary legislator, the will of the people in the interests of himself and his class'. He referred to landowners at one Easebourne meeting as 'hereditary fools'.⁵³ Barracking farmers were ejected from a meeting at Coldwaltham, and at Shipley Sir Merrick Burrell, the local landowner, had orchestrated disruptions to Outhwaite's speech.⁵⁴

Meanwhile the Duke of Norfolk criticized Prime Minister Asquith for 'being dragged forward by those who little appreciated the necessity of stability in public affairs'. Indeed 'the whole onward march of that [Liberal] party was towards dangers terrible to contemplate'.⁵⁵ By contrast Outhwaite, at Rogate, ventured the opinion that 'the Germans, if ever they did come here ... would come to take the land. Then let those who owned the land provide for its defence, as the budget proposals would compel them to do'.⁵⁶ On 7 January, as Liberal candidate for Horsham, he repeated his assertion that there was an unmet demand for smallholdings and cottages on the Duke of Norfolk's estate but that 'the muzzled oxen who tread out his corn are dumb'. He also repeated his assertion that Burpham was decaying and that the census populations of 280 in 1891 and 249 in 1901 proved the point. Compared to the amount of land held by the duke, and to spending on the castle (he persisted in using a figure of £750,000 despite the more detailed figure of £570,000 provided by Mostyn), expenditure on cottages was relatively insignificant. On 13 January the duke was reported as speaking to support the Conservative candidate in Brighton.

'... the duke was very amusing. The entrance of the duke was greeted by the singing of 'the Land Song' by the radicals, which was replied to by 'For He's a Jolly Good fellow' by the Conservatives. The duke called for three cheers for the House of Lords and the radicals sang 'Sit down! Sit down!' to the tune of the Westminster chimes.⁵⁷

The Conservatives, not unexpectedly, triumphed in Sussex, and in the two 1910 elections the Liberals actually lost many of their rural gains previously won in 1906. It is possible that their overt attacks on rural landownership were now being interpreted as an attack on the entirety of the rural community and on agricultural land.⁵⁸ With the elections over, the exchange fell silent.

However, by February 1912, Outhwaite was again in Sussex, reiterating his views on land-value rating, but now citing Hastings, Harrogate and Glasgow. He outlined the appalling living conditions in Glasgow, a city taking the lead in pushing for housing and rating reform through the taxation of land values. In Hastings he found 'frowsy old buildings, with mildewed basements' on the seafront. Much of the town was classed as agricultural land, paying little in the way of rates, but this land was being held pending development, or else selling for building at exorbitant prices. He put his case thus.

'And behind this conglomeration of obsolete structures, there was the rising ground looking out upon the sea, not covered with pleasant habitations, but lying in green fields. Hastings, he could see at a glance, was a town in the grip of monopoly, the land essential to its prosperity withheld by the dog-in-the-manger.'⁵⁹

To put the Sussex attacks in a wider context we might also note that Outhwaite also travelled northwards. In 1911 he had published a pamphlet for the Dumfriesshire League of Young Liberals and in the same year had written *Deer and Desolation: the Scottish Land Problem*. In April 1912 he addressed the Carlisle Young Liberals on 'Land reform and unrest' and he wrote to the *Daily News* in the same month with a piece 'Battle with the slum: why Glasgow wants to rate land values'.⁶⁰ In September he denounced the Duke of Buccleuch for possessing 460,000 acres 'stolen by his ancestors' from the people and the church, and, furthermore 'he still robs the people of the proceeds of their industry'. And he again attacked the Rothschilds in Buckinghamshire for hunting with their staghounds 'across 60,000 acres of a depopulated countryside'.⁶¹

As noted above, both Outhwaite and Hemmerde were elected at by-elections in 1912. But in November following his July victory at Hanley he returned to the attack on the Duke of

Table 3. Acreage of the Duke of Norfolk's Sussex estates 1913 according to Mostyn (correct totals also given).

	Description	Acreage	Other notes
Lands let		17,887	
In hand	Woodlands	3893	Excludes park woodlands
	Castle, gardens and dependencies	90	
	Park	1091	
	Home farm	552	
	Dairy land	57	
	Fields for sporting purposes	28	
	Nurseries	5	
	Sports' field	2	
	Chalk pits	2½	
	Gravel pits	6½	
	Sides of Mill Road	4	
	Mill stream and sides	7	
	Slippe	1	
	Poling Road, waste	1½	
	New Road, Warningcamp	4½	
	River waste	11	
Total		5846	Actual total 5756
Overall		23,733	Actual total 23,643

Norfolk. In Croydon to support Liberal candidates, he reiterated his belief that rural out-migration, unemployment, low wages and poverty were linked to land being held out of production, the 'vast unutilized territories'. He also claimed that the duke, whose income was so vast that he could afford to leave 20,000 acres in Sussex 'unutilised and derelict', was content to see people driven from the countryside.⁶²

At this, others became concerned. The Croydon speech prompted unionist A. S. Pringle to write from Unionist Central Office to the duke. Although, as he said, 'It may possibly appear to your Grace that Mr Outhwaite is not a person whom it is worth while replying to, and I do not intend to ask you to do so publicly', he wanted to be able to contradict the fact of 20,000 acres 'unutilised and derelict', since it was important that 'our speakers and candidates should be in a position to answer these falsehoods'.⁶³ Mostyn commented on this to the duke. 'As to Mr Outhwaite's speech at Croydon, the only answer I can give is that it appears he is

absolutely incapable of telling the truth.' Much of the supposed 20,000 acres, Mostyn wrote, was sheep down and very shallow soil. He pointed out to the duke that the derived income was wholly absorbed in the 'improvement of your estate, and for the benefit of those either as tenants or employed on it'. Furthermore:

'A considerable portion of your Estate is Down land used solely for the grazing of sheep. To convert this into arable ground would absolutely destroy the adjoining Farms for the purpose of breeding sheep, and with the very shallow surface of soil on the downs they could never be made to pay for cultivation. I have in my mind now several portions of the Downs which were broken up for the purpose of growing wheat shortly after my father took up the Agency here, when the price of wheat was high, and the tenants have found that it does not pay to cultivate, and have let them seed down to grass again'.⁶⁴

When his father was the agent wheat prices had been higher in the mid-century agricultural 'golden age', and the changing land-use around Arundel was very much in line with national responses to cereal prices. In addition, more cottages had been built since 1910 and nearly £3400 spent on finding winter work for the unemployed. The response clearly satisfied Pringle, but nevertheless he wrote again to the duke to suggest that Outhwaite's 'falsehood' needed to be exposed by writing to the newspapers so that urban dwellers and those remote from Sussex should be better informed.⁶⁵ Although Pringle might have hoped for wider publicity, Mostyn did draft a response, finishing:

'[W]hen people make serious charges against others, it is usual that they either substantiate the statements they have made, or withdraw the same in as public a way as they were made, and I must now leave it to Mr Outhwaite either to substantiate his statements, or withdraw them'.⁶⁶

By now the dispute had taken on a life of its own. In early February 1913 the duke's London solicitors and Mostyn drew up a listing of the duke's Sussex estates, excluding the towns of Arundel, Littlehampton and Shoreham, for use against Outhwaite in any future exchanges (Table 3). Another table of population change 1901–11 was compiled for similar use (Table 4).

Mostyn noted those parishes which were purely agricultural as distinct from those where non-agricultural residential development had taken place. An analysis of his figures shows that much of the estate's aggregate population growth (6.9% overall) had occurred at Littlehampton and in urban/suburbanizing parishes (growing by 7.7%), but of the 15 agricultural parishes, 9 had shown increases and 6 decreases (an overall growth of 3%) so the picture was by no means clear-cut. In fact the urban/rural split and the tendency to rural depopulation was in line with demographic changes over the previous 50 years, both nationally and regionally.⁶⁷

However, Outhwaite now shifted his target to the duke's payment of rates. Writing from the House of Commons, he advised the duke's solicitors on 13 February 1913 that at Battersea town hall, in support of the Progressive candidate in the March London County Council (LCC) elections, he would expose the very low level of rating enjoyed by the duke on his properties in the parish of Angmering. He requested the solicitors to contact him should the duke have any objections to the accuracy of the figures. The solicitors complained that they received the data too late to comment, and could not understand the figures. There is no record of any direct reply from Arundel, although on 17 February the duke himself met Lord Robert Cecil, son of the late Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, in London, to compose a reply, but again neither man could make anything of Outhwaite's figures.⁶⁸

The *Daily News* duly reported the Battersea speech under the heading 'Mystery of a Duke's rating: farms on which threepence an acre is paid'. The 'astonishing' figures were reported as having been taken from the rating books, and with Outhwaite having made 'every possible verification'. He again challenged the duke to 'come along and try to show me that I am wrong.'⁶⁹

Upon reading the *Daily News* report Mostyn wrote to Few, the duke's London solicitor, in an undated letter.⁷⁰ The rates on the farms quoted, he wrote, were paid by the tenants not the duke, and if they were under-assessed that was the fault of the relevant rating assessment committee, not the duke. He also criticized others of Outhwaite's figures, but wrote that 'I have formed a very strong opinion that we should be unwise to answer it, the whole ought to be an attack on the assessment committee and not on the Duke'. And he further

Table 4. Population census figures 1901 and 1911 for the parishes incorporating the Duke of Norfolk's Sussex estate.

Parish	Census 1901	Census 1911	Increase/decrease	Agricultural only (A)
Arundel	3059	2842	-217	
Littlehampton	5950	6913	+963	
Amberley	560	541	-19	
Angmering	1046	1026	-20	
Ashington	180	179	-1	
Bramber	162	213	+51	
Burpham	249	282	+33	A
Bury	481	527	+46	A
Binsted	105	89	-16	A
Clapham	226	265	+39	A
Climping	219	254	+35	A
Houghton	162	135	-27	A
Lyminster	418	399	-19	
North Stoke	91	106	+15	A
Patching	248	245	-3	A
Poling	200	193	-7	A
Rudgwick	1148	1246	+98	
Rackham	132	136	+4	A
South Stoke	117	121	+4	A
Slinfold	981	1018	+37	
Storrington	1016	1186	+170	
Tortington	132	127	-5	A
Thakeham	404	514	+110	
Warminghurst	81	83	+2	A
Warningcamp	230	152	-48	A
Washington	737	797	+60	A
Overall total	18,334	19,589	+1255	+6.9%
Agricultural only (A)	3410	3512	+102	+3.0%
Other parishes (urban and suburban etc.)	14,924	16,077	+1153	+7.7%

advised that 'we had better leave it alone'. Having seen the newspaper report, the solicitors wanted to reply again to Outhwaite and requested immediate evidence of his mistakes once more from Mostyn. Furthermore enquiries now came from other LCC Municipal Reform candidates, such as G. Bettesworth Piggott, standing for Battersea, wishing to overturn Outhwaite.⁷¹

Outhwaite's Battersea speech had in fact been based largely on information supplied by Edwin Harris (1866-1942), a radical supporter from Angmering. Builder and landlord of smaller

cottages, he admittedly stood to gain by the erection of more houses. He had alleged a lack of housing in Angmering, problems of 'repression, stagnation and ignorance', 'sheeplike passivity' and that the workhouse contained 42 old labourers who had nowhere else to live.⁷² Harris's views were certainly radical and chimed with Outhwaite's. In 1914 Harris was to write:

'So presently the working men in Angmering, who sweat and toil on bad and dear allotments, when they might easily have good and cheap ones, or who pay dear rent caused by double rents on their cottages, which lies equally in their power to alter, will wake and ask themselves why they vote for their own affliction'.⁷³

Mostyn wrote to Few: 'I hear that the better class people in Angmering are furious at Mr Harris's statements...'. Certainly Harris's book 'written expressly for Working Men' in 1912 was critical of the duke's antecedents, quoting Duke Bernard as acquiring Michelgrove but 'in the space of a few years reduc[ing] the entire estate, into a servile adjunct of his Arundel Castle domains, in which plebian position it remains today'. In a chapter on modern Angmering 'the evils of bad housing' were described. Christmas charity coals, it was claimed, were delivered to 56 poor families — a very high proportion indeed of the total household number. He continued: 'But times are on the change.' The agricultural labourer now had the secret ballot and 'he must use it — and use it differently'.⁷⁴

Mostyn now received a letter from the county council land agent on 26 February informing him that Mr Harris had 'made himself a great nuisance to most people in the parish' and that 'he had been a parish councillor, school manager and overseer but we cleared him out of the lot' and furthermore 'if you can possibly go for him and make him retract his statement it would do a lot of good'.⁷⁵ Mostyn's counter-attack meanwhile began in earnest with a printed memorandum dealing with Outhwaite's claims regarding both Sheffield and Arundel. The Sheffield section, written by the duke's Sheffield agent Henry Coverdale, was published in the *Daily News* on 25 February 1913 to counteract an Outhwaite speech of the previous June. There was also a refutation of Outhwaite's Croydon attack of the previous November, and even a return to Hemmerde's Chichester speech back in December 1909.⁷⁶

Of course, Outhwaite replied, dismissing Mostyn's memorandum for evading the issues originally raised about the duke's increased income from Sheffield and about rural depopulation. That the duke had built 100 cottages may have been true, he wrote, but this worked out at three per annum over 23,733 acres, and was probably fewer than he had pulled down. Furthermore, 'stimulated by the weakness of the defence', he would next pursue new facts that had come to him which provided 'a more startling object lesson than I had inferred as regards the inequity of the rating system and its effect on rural conditions'. The duke himself, although abroad, wired his solicitors instructing that no response should be made to this latest salvo.⁷⁷

On 17 March the *Staffordshire Sentinel* duly reported a constituency speech Outhwaite gave at the Temperance Hall, Hanley. The copy in the Arundel Estate Archives has annotated under 'Mr Outhwaite' the words 'an awful Rad', presumably 'radical'. Referring to 'one of the greatest land monopolists of the country', Outhwaite again linked the duke's Sheffield 'plunder' with depopulation around Arundel. Again he accused the estate of under-utilization of land, with pheasant preserves preferred to productive agriculture. As a pacifist, he also employed irony to drive home his dislike of the conscription for the army that he saw happening all around. At the Lamb Inn, Angmering on 19 February there had been a smoking concert held, with Lieut.-Col. Mostyn presiding and an appeal for recruits issued by the duke as commander of the 4th Battalion Royal Sussex Regiment.⁷⁸ Outhwaite was quoted:

'At the bottom of the appeal the Duke said: 'What Englishman would stand idly by if the land of his birth was being over-run by foreign soldiers' (loud laughter). 'The land of his birth!' (renewed laughter). 'The people left the land of their birth, because they could not find a habitation or a roof to their heads (cheers). They were driven from the countryside, and then an attempt was made to introduce conscription and force the men into the ranks. They had the smoking concert at Angmering, they brought the Territorial band down, the lieutenant-colonel appealed, and they got one boy for his Majesty's Forces (laughter)... Let people have access to the land of their birth and they would defend it

(cheers). Let those men who owned the land of their birth provide for the defence of their own property (cheers)'.

He concluded by pointing to land-values taxation as a way forward to redistribute wealth and access to the land, and hoped that the audience could see that he was not the 'wild irrational person some of the opposition papers believed him to be'.⁷⁹

At public meetings 'the awful Rad' continued with the same theme, now including the Duke of Westminster in his criticism, and in Croydon on 31 March he distributed leaflets giving his own version of the Sheffield income of the Duke of Norfolk (a 'leviathan monopolist').⁸⁰

'Here we see what a century of progress has done for the Duke of Norfolk, he who at Heron Court as guest of Lord Malmesbury, performed the rite described as 'Burning the Budget'. And ever the tribute grows, whether the Duke plays the political buffoon or die-hard, leads the London Moderates, or sleeps in Arundel Castle, disturbed only by the fear he once expressed that the Germans might land on the Sussex coast.'⁸¹

Clearly Mostyn devoted much time to dealing with Outhwaite. Extracts from the latter's speeches were typed out with Mostyn's long-hand refutation added.⁸² Sometimes Outhwaite's questions were impossible to answer: the number of men employed in agriculture on the Arundel estate 80, 40, and 20 years ago compared with the number in 1913, for example — 'an impossible question [put] designedly to try to make capital out of it'. There were mistakes made; in one case Outhwaite had confused an acreage figure for a rating assessment figure — 'this proves the inaccuracy of the above statement'; in another he gives the sporting assessments on one farm of 566 acres for pheasant shoots as the figure for the whole shoot of 2600 acres. The evidence of Edwin Harris was rejected on the grounds that, as a builder, he had a vested interest in being able to build more cottages in Angmering. The stated fact that in rural areas the duke had pulled down more cottages than were built was countered in detail; the figures were 15 pulled down and 5 accidentally burnt down compared with the 100 built. Referring to the smoking concert at Angmering, Mostyn noted that, although he (Mostyn) presided, there was no appeal from the duke and the words attributed to him were incorrect. As to the recruitment of one boy:

'true one [boy *crossed out*] man in the room, but I believe two or three have joined since. I attribute this either to my lack of eloquence or persuasive power, or to the failing of the young men of Angmering to realize the duty they have to the country — I fail to realize how Mr Outhwaite's remarks ... apply to the points at issue, and were only introduced for the purpose of personal ridicule.'⁸³

But now the correspondence ceased and attention switched elsewhere as Europe was plunged into war. Mostyn died in August 1916 and the Duke of Norfolk in February 1917.⁸⁴ But Outhwaite was relentless, publishing *The Land or Revolution* in 1917 shortly after the duke's death: 'The late Duke recently died and a young boy has succeeded him, but whilst he is in the nursery his slaves toil on to amass millions against the day of his coming of age'.⁸⁵

Doggedly continuing in his belief that the duke's land in Sheffield was being withheld from development when slum clearance necessitated the building of more houses, Outhwaite then turned again to Arundel. He persisted in claiming that the agricultural population had fallen, that the smallholding 'is almost unknown', and land for housing unobtainable.

'The present Duke [Bernard, 16th Duke] is a boy of nine, but the present law as it stands puts his title to the value of British land above that of the soldiers who have fought for the preservation of Britain, millions of whom probably do not possess an acre amongst them. They have been as lions in France, and it remains to be seen whether they will return like lambs to be shorn by the holders of the land they saved.'⁸⁶

In this final comment, Outhwaite therefore relates ducal activities not only to Sheffield but now also to the return of soldiers from France, another broadening of the front of his attack.

CONCLUSIONS

It is fortunate that, in preserving the Outhwaite controversy among its muniments, the Norfolk estate allows examination of the local impact of the Liberal attack on the landed aristocracy, which it personified. The character and attitudes of the *dramatis personae*, the unfolding of the narrative, the society, economy and topography of the

estate centred on Arundel with its overlapping and hierarchical webs of interconnection, and the processes by which the local and national stages were connected, can be studied in some detail. Henry George's views had been hotly debated in his native USA, but with little practical effect before 1914. However, the real push to implement Georgite principles was to be seen elsewhere: in England, and also Germany, Denmark, Canada and particularly in Australia and New Zealand.⁸⁷ Certainly in England, the combined impacts of death duties, difficult agricultural conditions, wartime deaths of heirs and Lloyd George's taxation legislation led to the fragmentation of many estates in the first three decades of the century, despite the repeal of the Increment Value Taxation by 1921. By 1927 owner-farmers occupied about 36% of the total acreage of England and Wales compared with 11% in 1914.⁸⁸

But the Duke of Norfolk's estate remained intact, and Outhwaite's attacks had failed. There was only one land transfer between 1860 and 1975 — on the death of the 15th Duke — and the estate thus largely escaped punishing death duties. The 15th Duke also possessed an international

outlook, urban and industrial sources of income, and a prevailing interest in Arundel Castle and surrounding area, and the estate continued to flourish, thereby demonstrating what Cannadine has referred to as 'resilient adaptation'.⁸⁹ The years after 1918 saw the single-taxers dwindle in numbers and influence as the Labour Party assumed greater political prominence, and the *Fabian News* in February 1922 referred to them as 'the dreariest of all bores and cranks that have concerned themselves with reforms of any sort'.⁹⁰ In 2002 the 17th Duke of Norfolk died, leaving at least 16,000 acres in Sussex and 30,000 acres elsewhere in England to his son Edward, 18th Duke. The institution of English landownership and its associated political and cultural power largely outlasted political storms, and retained a 'colossal gravitational pull over the affairs of the English countryside'.⁹¹ Outhwaite's attacks had been absorbed and perhaps, in a demonstration of power, filed away under the simple heading of 'Outhwaite' among the Arundel Castle archives. Few today know of the final years of this most radical of politicians at Birdham, and by contrast the renovated castle itself continues to dominate the Arundel skyline.

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NOTES

- ¹ The theoretical issues connected with the relationships between scales of enquiry are dealt with more fully in Brian Short and John Godfrey, 'The Duke of Norfolk and 'the Outhwaite controversy' 1908–1913: a micro-history of the Edwardian Land Campaign', *Journal of Historical Geography* **33** (2007), 45–71.
- ² See, for example, the 1891 *Daily News* articles on rural life, especially focused on the rural poor and rural depopulation: L. Bellamy & T. Williamson (eds), *Life in the Victorian Village: the Daily News Survey of 1891* (London: Caliban, 1999). And see M. Freeman, 'The agricultural labourer and the "Hodge" stereotype, c. 1850–1914', *Agricultural History Review* **49** (2001), 172–86.
- ³ Relationships between more general Liberal politics and rural radicalism are studied in the context of three rural constituencies in Essex, Oxfordshire and Yorkshire in P. Lynch, *The Liberal Party in Rural England 1885–1910: Radicalism and Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). Also relevant in this respect is I. Packer, *Lloyd George, Liberalism and the Land: the Land Issue and Party Politics in England, 1906–14* (London: Royal Historical Society, 2001). A study of Dorset and

Leicestershire relating more specifically to the provision of housing is in M. Ayres, 'The provision of housing and power relations in rural England, 1834–1914' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2004).

- ⁴ J. Bateman, *The Acre-ocracy of England* (London: Harrison, 4th edn 1883).
- ⁵ See A. Taylor, *Lords of Misrule: Hostility to Aristocracy in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-century Britain* (London: Palgrave, 2004).
- ⁶ H. V. Emy, 'The land campaign: Lloyd George as a social reformer, 1909–14', in A. J. P. Taylor (ed.), *Lloyd George: Twelve Essays* (London: Hamilton, 1971), 43–4; D. Lloyd George, *Slings and Arrows: Sayings Chosen from the Speeches of the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, O.M., M.P.* ed. P. Guedalla (London: Cassell, 1929), 111.
- ⁷ Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913), contemporary of Charles Darwin, traveller and distinguished exponent of views on evolution, wrote, among other publications relevant to the theme of this paper, 'How to nationalize the land', *Contemporary Review* **38** (1880), 716–36, and *Land Nationalisation, its Necessity and its Aims: Being a Comparison of the System of Landlord and Tenant, with that of Occupying Ownership, etc'* (London: Trübner and Co, 1882).

- ⁸ For a full account of these activities see A. J. Peacock, 'Land Reform 1880–1919' (unpub. M.A. thesis, University of Southampton, 1961), S. Ward, 'Land reform in England 1880–1914' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Reading, 1976), *Final Report of the Commission on Local Taxation* (Cd. 638), 1901, 'Separate report on urban rating and site values', 165–6.
- ⁹ East Sussex Record Office, Archive of the Nevill Family of Eridge Castle in Frant, Marquesses of Abergavenny, ABE/3G dated 1897–98.
- ¹⁰ *Parliamentary Debates* (hereafter *PD*), *Commons* (1909), Fifth Series, 4, col. 537. Lloyd George was here quoting the words of John Stuart Mill.
- ¹¹ The National Archives, CAB 37/96 no. 161 'Memorandum by Mr Edgar Harper on the imposition of a national tax on land values.' See, for example, Edgar Harper, 'Will the rating of land values increase urban congestion?', *Economic Journal* 18 (1908), 32. Whilist Harper, an expert on land valuation who worked closely with Lloyd George on formulating his policies, was not a known eugenicist, his views echoed frequently expressed anxieties at this time about the effect of urban living on human physique and capability. It should be noted, however, that Outhwaite was one of the radical Liberals, alongside Wedgwood, who opposed the Government's Mental Deficiency Bill 1912 and 1913 for its overtones of eugenicism; G. R. Searle, *Eugenics and Politics in Britain 1900–1914* (Leyden: Noordhoff 1976), 110–11; M. Thomson, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency: Eugenics, Democracy and Social Policy in Britain, c. 1870–1959* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1998), 47.
- ¹² *PD*, *Commons* (1909), Fifth Series, 4, cols 472–548.
- ¹³ D. Lloyd George, *Better Times: Speeches by the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George*, MP (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910), 155–6.
- ¹⁴ For the national survey of landownership and the resulting documents see Brian Short, *Land and Society in Edwardian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- ¹⁵ Emy, 'The Land Campaign', 38–9; 'Report of the Select Committee on Land Values' [Cmd. 556], *British Parliamentary Papers* (hereafter *Br. Parl. Pap.*) (1920) 19, 2–4; Finance Act (10 and 11 Geo.5) [1920], s. 57 (1).
- ¹⁶ For further commentary on these debates see Lynch, *The Liberal Party*, 219–25, and P. Readman, *Land and Nation in England: Patriotism, National Identity, and the Politics of Land, 1880–1914* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society with the Boydell Press, 2008).
- ¹⁷ 'England and Wales (exclusive of the Metropolis) Return of Owners of Land, 1873: Sussex' [Cmd 1097], *Br. Parl. Pap.* (1874) 72 Parts I and II (England and Wales). Bateman calculated the extent of the estate as 19,217 acres in Sussex and 4849 in Surrey, the whole worth £269,698 (J. Bateman, *Acre-ocracy*).
- ¹⁸ For the duke's role in developing Littlehampton see C. P. Lewis (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Sussex* 5(2) (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2009), 134–205.
- ¹⁹ G. M. Fitzalan Howard [Duchess of Norfolk], *Henry Fitzalan-Howard, Fifteenth Duke of Norfolk* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917); J. M. Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk: A quincennial history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 212–37.
- ²⁰ In April 1911, shortly before the coronation and investiture ceremonies, the census recorded Duke Henry at Norfolk House, St James's Square, his London residence. He was then aged 63, and was in the 42-room house with 10 servants. The census form was, unusually, signed not by him but by his private secretary (<http://www.1911census.co.uk>, accessed 15 January 2009).
- ²¹ Anon., 'Howard, Henry Fitzalan-, fifteenth duke of Norfolk (1847–1917)', Rev. K. D. Reynolds, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34020>, accessed 14 Jan 2010), citing K. Rose, *King George V* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson 1983), 77.
- ²² Outhwaite estimated the cost at £750,000 (*Sussex Daily News* 8 January 1910) but two documents in the Arundel Castle Archive [hereafter *ACA*] give £555,251 (*ACA*, MD648) or £570,377 (*ACA*, *Sussex Estate Records*, Outhwaite, retort to the *Daily News* article 17 September 1908).
- ²³ T. P. Hudson (ed.) *Victoria History of the County of Sussex* 5(1) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 21, 96, 100; I. Nairn & N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), 91–3. St Philip Neri is now the Roman Catholic cathedral, renamed in 1971 as Our Lady and St Philip Howard. See also M. Alexander, *Medievalism: The middle ages in modern England* (New Haven CT: Yale 2007), 211.
- ²⁴ B. Banister, 'The park and farm buildings of the Dukes of Norfolk Arundel Estate, West Sussex' (unpub. building conservation course thesis, Architectural Association London, 1993), 19–24, 99–100; A. Hughes & D. Johnston, *West Sussex Barns and Farm Buildings* (Wimbome: Dovecot Press, 2002), 8–9, 31–3, 42. For the Heveningham family, originating from Wolverhampton, see <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~heveningham/page23.html>. We are also grateful for further information on the family from Rose St Leger-May.
- ²⁵ B. Afton & M. Turner, 'Rent and land values', in E. J. T. Collins (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 7 1850–1914*, part II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), fig. 39.2, p. 1936; *ACA*, MD226 *Sussex Estate Rentals*.
- ²⁶ Banister, 'The park and farm buildings', 14–50.
- ²⁷ *The Times* 28 Oct 1904, 4. Between 1904 and 1906 more than 50,000 Chinese workers were brought to work in the Transvaal, sparking confrontation between mine owners and organized white labour. There was a strong Australian presence in the Rand unions: J. Hyslop, *The Notorious Syndicalist: J.T. Bain: a Scottish Rebel in Colonial South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2004), 163–75.
- ²⁸ Hyslop, *The Notorious Syndicalist*, 166; M. Stenton & S. Lees, *Who's Who of British Members of Parliament II 1886–1918* (Hassocks: Harvester, 1978), 276; *Liberal Year Book 1913* (London), 63; and see C. H. Chomley & R. L. Outhwaite, *The Essential Reform: Land Values Taxation in Theory and Practice* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1909).
- ²⁹ The Conservative Party merged with the Liberal Unionists in 1895, following a split with Gladstone's Liberals over the Irish Home Rule crisis in 1886. From this date the term 'Unionist' and 'Conservative' became, with some complications, virtually synonymous.

- ³⁰ A. Brodrick, *Near to Greatness: a Life of the Sixth Earl Winterton* (London: Hutchinson and Co, 1965), 89. He retained the seat in the December 1910 election and continued as a Sussex MP for many years thereafter.
- ³¹ *The Times* 15 July 1912, 7; C. V. Wedgwood, *The Last of the Radicals: Josiah Wedgwood MP* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1951), 93. The poorer results for the Liberals in rural constituencies in the January 1910 election was in part due to rising living costs, but also to a much higher turn-out of Unionist voters, possibly, so the Liberals claimed, because of voter intimidation by landlords (Lynch, *The Liberal Party in Rural England*), 203–4.
- ³² *The Times* 13 July 1912, 10.
- ³³ M. Pugh, *The Making of Modern British Politics 1867–1945* (3rd edn) (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 107–29. Hemmerde was appointed to the Liberal Land Enquiry Committee which reported in 1913.
- ³⁴ J. M. Kennedy, 'Conservatives and the land', *Fortnightly Review* (August 1913), 239; (www.utopia-britannica.org.uk/pages/Fels.htm accessed 20 June 2009). See A. P. Dudden, *Joseph Fels and the Single-Tax Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1971). Fels returned to America in 1913 shortly before his death, but left no money to the single-tax movement, a blow from which it struggled to recover, along with the advent of war.
- ³⁵ Anon. 'Notes of the week', *The New Age: A weekly review of politics, literature, and art* (5 October 1911), 1.
- ³⁶ See, for example, House of Lords Record Office, Lloyd George Papers LG/G/10/2/32 Outhwaite to Lloyd George 13 November 1913. For his disappointment with the slowness with which Lloyd George was progressing see A. Morris, *C.P. Trevelyan 1870–1958: Portrait of a Radical* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1977), 94. The remark was made to a Musselburgh audience at the time of a by-election in Mid Lothian, and cited in *The Times* (28 August 1912), 6.
- ³⁷ *PD (Commons)*, 44 20 November 1912, c. 284; 45 17 December 1912, c. 1285–6.
- ³⁸ R. L. Outhwaite, 'The demand for the land', *The English Review* (December 1918), 433–42.
- ³⁹ The quotation is from p. 709 of the typescript of Outhwaite's unpublished and fragmentary autobiography, dictated on his sickbed shortly before his death. We are immensely grateful to his grandson, Brian Outhwaite, for access to this document.
- ⁴⁰ R. L. Outhwaite, *The Ghosts of the Slain* (Manchester: National Labour Press, 1915). For the Commonwealth Land Party Outhwaite wrote, again on land ownership, *The Restoration of Hope* (London: Commonwealth Land Party, 1924). See his obituary in *The Times* 10 November 1930; J. M. Bellamy & J. Saville (eds), *Dictionary of Labour Biography* 8 (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987), 187–91; C. Cline, *Recruits to Labour: the British Labour party 1914–1931* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1963), 148; *The Times* 6 August 1924, 13. We are also grateful to Brian Outhwaite for his assistance with some further details of his grandfather's life.
- ⁴¹ H. J. Davenport, 'The single tax and the English budget', *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 24 (1910), 279.
- ⁴² Surrey History Centre (hereafter SHC), Onslow Estate papers 1320/382. Cutting from the *Daily News* 24 June 1909.
- ⁴³ P. Readman, 'Jesse Collings and land reform, 1886–1914', *Historical Research* 81 (2008), 310. Lord Onslow, one-time President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries and a founder member of the Country Landowners Association, had been Governor of New Zealand 1889–92; had Outhwaite and he crossed swords before? For landowners' responses to his enquiries on the value of smallholdings and allotments see the Onslow Family Papers, especially 'Landlords and allotments: the history and present condition of the allotment system' (1886) (SHC, G173/48).
- ⁴⁴ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, extract from *Daily News*, 17 Sep. 1908.
- ⁴⁵ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, extract from *Daily News*, 17 Sep. 1908.
- ⁴⁶ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, extract from *Daily News*, 17 Sep. 1908.
- ⁴⁷ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, extract from *Daily News*, 17 Sep. 1908. The reference was to the birth of Bernard (1908–1975), later 16th Duke of Norfolk. One route to rural independence for agricultural labourers was through the purchase of smallholdings and small ownership, a measure championed on the Conservative side by Jesse Collings and popular by 1909 (Readman, 'Jesse Collings and land reform', 292–314). Radical Liberals argued rather for tenancy of smallholdings from the state. The 'muzzled ox' was presumably taken from Deuteronomy 25:4 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out thy corn on the floor.' This was taken by St Paul to refer to the spiritual labourer in the church, i.e. a human being.
- ⁴⁸ *Kelly's Directory Sussex* (1905), 13; *West Sussex Gazette* (hereafter WSG) 3 August 1916, 'Death of Lt Col. Mostyn'; 10 August 1916 report of the funeral; West Sussex Record Office RSR/PH/4/41-2. The *Gazette*, always sympathetic to the Duke, had new offices built in about 1900 in Arundel immediately beneath the imposing walls of the castle!
- ⁴⁹ We are grateful to Sara Rodger at the Arundel Castle Archives for help with this biographical information on the Mostyns. Mostyn was enumerated in the 1911 census at Tower House as aged 54, having been born in Flintshire, married to Mary (aged 46) for 24 years. Two of their sons were at home, and there were four servants (<http://1911census.co.uk>, accessed 15 January 2009). Mary died just over three months after her husband, in November 1916.
- ⁵⁰ The wage-rates were about the average for Sussex: see B. Afton & M. Turner, 'Wages,' in Collins (ed.), *Agrarian History 1850–1914*, 1993–2019. The average for the south-eastern divisions in 1910 was given as 15s 1d in the Land Enquiry Committee's Report (1913), xxxi.
- ⁵¹ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, Mostyn Report, Questionnaire etc., 1–50.
- ⁵² The 1911 census data is taken from <http://www.1911census.co.uk> (accessed 25 March 2009).
- ⁵³ WSG 30 December 1909 responding to criticisms at Billingshurst that he had attacked the Duke.
- ⁵⁴ WSG 20 January 1910.
- ⁵⁵ WSG 30 December 1909.
- ⁵⁶ WSG 6 January 1910.
- ⁵⁷ WSG 13 January 1910.
- ⁵⁸ Lynch, *The Liberal Party in Rural England*, 195–207.
- ⁵⁹ R. L. Outhwaite, *The Rating of Land Values: the Case for*

- Hastings, Harrogate, Glasgow (London: United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, 1912). Outhwaite also attacked this rating issue in his *Cities as Farm Centres: Scandal of the Rating System: Striking Exposure in Official Return* (London 1912, in the London School of Economics pamphlet collection).
- ⁶⁰ These various pamphlets and letters are summarized in Bellamy and Saville, *Dictionary of Labour Biography* **8**, 191.
- ⁶¹ *The Times* 3 September 1912, 6; 9 September 1912, 11.
- ⁶² ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, extract from the *Croydon Guardian and Surrey County Gazette* 30 November 1912. The speech, together with one he made at Stafford, was also reported in *Land Values*, January 1913, 395.
- ⁶³ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, copy of a letter sent by A. S. Pringle 16 December 1912.
- ⁶⁴ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, letter from Mostyn to the Duke of Norfolk 19 December 1912, marked 'confidential'.
- ⁶⁵ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, letter from Pringle to the duke 24 December 1912, acknowledging Mostyn's information.
- ⁶⁶ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, draft letter from Mostyn to editor of *Croydon Guardian and Surrey County Gazette* 18 Jan 1913.
- ⁶⁷ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, letters from Few & Co to Mostyn and replies 5, 6 and 10 February 1913; J. Sheppard, 'Population change 1851–1911', in K. Leslie & B. Short (eds), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1999), 90–91.
- ⁶⁸ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, 17 February 1913. Lord Cecil (1864–1958) was at that time a barrister and MP for Hitchin.
- ⁶⁹ *The Daily News* 19 February 1913.
- ⁷⁰ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, Mostyn to Few & Co, undated letter February 1913.
- ⁷¹ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, letter from J. Dunn to Mostyn 22 February 1913.
- ⁷² N. Rogers-Davies, *Edwin Albert Harris - Angmering's Political Firebrand* (Angmering: Angmering Society, 2002); E. A. Harris, *Angmering: a Study and a Question for Clapham and Patching - Written Expressly for Working Men* (Littlehampton, 1912), 32–3. The duke's supporters were quick to point out Harris' vested interests in having more houses built.
- ⁷³ Rogers-Davies, E. A. Harris: *Angmering's Political Firebrand*. The quotation is from E. A. Harris, *Angmering: a Short Treatise, Shewing its Descent from Congregated Wealth to Congregated Poverty — from Maypole and Morris to Servitude and Workhouse* (1914). For more detail on Harris see <http://www.angmeringvillage.co.uk> (accessed 8 June 2008).
- ⁷⁴ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, undated but about 25 February 1913; Harris, *Angmering: a Study and a Question for Clapham and Patching*, 33.
- ⁷⁵ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, 26 February 1913.
- ⁷⁶ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, *The Duke of Norfolk's Estates: Sheffield, Sussex. Memoranda on Observations by R.L. Outhwaite, Esq., MP* (21 February 1913). Cannadine notes that opposition in Sheffield to the Duke of Norfolk was at one point also led by the mayor; D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press 1990), 61.
- ⁷⁷ *Daily News* 28 February 1913; ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, letter 3 March 1913.
- ⁷⁸ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, copy of *The Staffordshire Sentinel* 17 March 1913. For the duke as commanding officer see West Sussex Record Office RSR/PH/4/34. 'Smoking concerts' were informal male social evenings using any entertainment talent that might be available from those attending, reinforced from outside if necessary, with an informal chairman to call on these performers at intervals. Light refreshments and liquor were available and members smoked as they wished.
- ⁷⁹ In a written comment on this passage of his speech, Mostyn's note in ACA runs 'I think Mr Outhwaite by the facts he has stated in his speeches has convicted himself of making wild statements without taking the trouble to verify them'.
- ⁸⁰ 'Mr Outhwaite. Reply to Duke of Norfolk's memorandum. The Ducal Estates. Labour Party and the Land Question', *The Staffordshire Sentinel* 17 March 1913; *The Croydon Guardian and Surrey County Gazette* 31 March 1913.
- ⁸¹ The leaflet, a copy of which is filed in ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, was R. L. Outhwaite, *The Duke's City. Sheffield's toll to Arundel: a Tale of Wrong. Industry in the Grip of Monopoly* (United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values). Heron Court was Lord Malmesbury's country seat near Christchurch.
- ⁸² There were also cross-references to Outhwaite's speech in the House of Commons on 29 July 1913.
- ⁸³ ACA, Sussex Estate Records, Outhwaite, 'From Mr Outhwaite's speech at the Temperance Hall, Hanley, on Friday March 14th 1913. Extract taken from The Staffordshire Sentinel of March 17th', typescript pages with Mostyn's handwritten comments, 27 pp., quotation from p. 23.
- ⁸⁴ Mostyn is buried in the Catholic cemetery next to the cathedral; the duke has an imposing Purbeck marble monument in the Fitzalan chapel of Arundel's parish church.
- ⁸⁵ R. L. Outhwaite, *The Land or Revolution* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1917), 33.
- ⁸⁶ Outhwaite, *Land or Revolution*, 35.
- ⁸⁷ S. B. Cord, *Henry George: Dreamer or realist?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), 78–9.
- ⁸⁸ S. Sturme, 'Owner farming in England and Wales, 1900–1950', *Manchester School* **23** (1955), 245–68; J. Beckett and M. Turner, 'End of the old order? F. M. L. Thompson, the land question, and the burden of ownership in England, c. 1880–c. 1925', *Agricultural History Review* **55** (2007), 269–88.
- ⁸⁹ J. Godfrey, 'Land ownership and farming on the South Downs in West Sussex c. 1840–1940', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* **140** (2002), 113–23; Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, 706.
- ⁹⁰ Quoted in E. P. Lawrence, *Henry George in the British Isles* (East Lansing: Michigan State Press, 1957), 174.
- ⁹¹ E. Bujak, *England's Rural Realms: Landholding and the Agricultural Revolution* (London: Tauris, 2007), 192.

