LOCAL HISTORY PUBLICATIONS

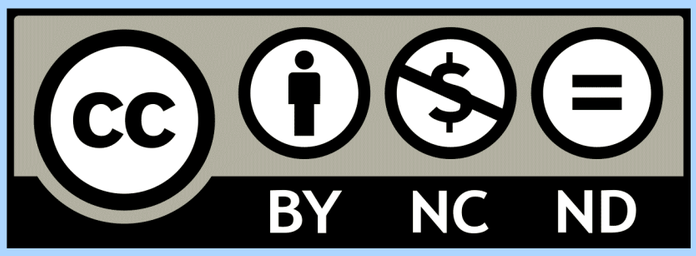
OLD WEST RIDING

THE PAPER HALL, BRADFORD

A COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES

edited by George Redmonds

vol. 1 no. 2 autumn 1981 price 1.50



COVER DRAWING AND ORIGINAL ARTWORK
by
ANTHONY B. BURKE

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INTRODUCTION

Local history no longer belongs exclusively to the historian and in recent years it has benefited from contributions offered by specialists in a wide variety of associated disciplines. The oral tradition, genealogy, and place-name studies, to name but a few, have all opened up new avenues of enquiry and brought fresh light to bear on old problems. The number of active enthusiasts has never been greater.

Old West Riding has developed partly out of this new enthusiasm and partly in response to it. It is not a commercial enterprise but has two main aims: to act as a publishing outlet for amateur and professional alike and to ensure that new and interesting research material reaches a wider audience.

The idea of the magazine was conceived by a number of local historians each with his or her own area and subject interests. Inevitably therefore, the first issue reflected these interests. In the second issue the number of contributors and the range of topics has been increased. Several of the articles included have been offered by people who have had to be persuaded that their research findings are of general interest. We hope that others, readers included, will follow their example, and offer us their contributions.

The contributors are interested in the community to which they belong, its future as well as its past and this interest embraces topics such as speech and customs, landscape and buildings, anything in fact which illuminates the growth of that community and its continuing development. It is hoped that *Old West Riding* will serve both to give expression to that interest and also to stimulate and sustain it in others.

The journal is published twice a year, in Spring and in Autumn.

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LOCAL HISTORY PUBLICATIONS

OLD WEST RIDING Vol.1 No. 2 **Autumn 1981**

Articles and Contributors **page**

NEW HALL, ELLAND; THE STORY OF A PENNINE GENTRY HOUSE FROM c.1490 TO THE MID-19th CENTURY

Colum Giles

The wealth of domestic architecture found in the Calder valley and dating from all periods after the late-medieval age, is fast becoming a worn cliché for the local historian. The houses of the area and their family connections were among the principal preoccupations of the pioneers from the Halifax Antiquarian Society, with much light being thrown on the subject by scholars like H. P. Kendall and Ogden in the last years of the 19th century and the early decades of our own.(1) Since their day, interest has rarely flagged, and increasingly the houses have made ripples in larger pools. Pevsner draws attention to what he calls "Halifax houses" and talks of their "grossly fanciful detail", the charm of the rose windows and other characteristic features; and Eric Mercer singles out this part of the north of England as the only one which can approach the wealth of late-medieval vernacular building found in the south-eastern counties. (2) Records of many fine houses have been made by numerous groups and individuals, and the area is currently the object of investigation by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, which is conducting a survey of the domestic building of West Yorkshire in conjunction with the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit. The aim is to publish a volume outlining the development of building form and style within the post-1974 county. It was in the course of this survey that the New Hall at Elland was recorded, and the house is offered as the subject of this paper because, as work on the survey progresses, it becomes apparent that the house illustrates very happily a number of recurring themes. The building is better documented than many, and it is possible to combine the evidence of the structure, with information gleaned from the documents, to give a more rounded account of the progress of the site than is normally the case.

The township of Elland cum Greetland lies on the south side of the river Calder as it flows east away from the Pennine massif. The Old Hall at Elland was the principal residence of the township, and excavation and thorough examination of the structure prior to the clearance of the site have revealed that the building dated from various periods back to the 12th century. By the middle of the 14th century, Elland was under the control of the Saviles, and the focus of attention in the early part of the present story centres upon this ubiquitous and all-pervading family. (3)

The Builder of New Hall

A detailed history of the Savile family is not called for here. Suffice it to say that various branches of the family were a constant and powerful influence throughout the county in our period. It was the Hullen Edge branch which was responsible for the construction of the New Hall. This emerges from the autobiography of Sir John Savile of Methley (1546-1607); Sir John tells us that his great-grandfather Nicholas built the New Hall, and that Nicholas was the younger son of Thomas from Hollingedge. (4) This information allows a rare chance to assess the date of a building's construction with a degree of accuracy and confidence; working back generation by generation, it may be suggested that Nicholas was born in *c*.1460 and that he would be unlikely to have built the New Hall before *c*.1490. Perhaps the last decade of the 15th century is the closest estimate of the date of the house that the evidence will permit.

The house was built, therefore, as the seat of a minor branch of one of the most powerful gentry families in the West Riding. In its plan and form, it follows the pattern of gentry houses developed in the area in the earlier part of the 15th century, achieving in a single build the hall-and-cross-wings arrangement that in other houses was the result of more than one constructional phase. (5) The house faces south, into the slope of the hillside, and has a hall range of two bays flanked by wings which project to both north and south (see plan, Fig. 1) Tímber-framing was originally employed throughout, but later casing in stone has left only part of the north front still displaying the characteristic Calder Valley framing (Plate I). The hall range on this front has plain close studding, but the lower wing is enlivened by diagonal braces within the large panels. It is likely that the upper wing showed similar modestly-decorative framing. Even bearing in mind the fact that the north side is the rear of the house, the decoration is very restrained, and, if Lees Hall, Thornhill is anything to go by, the main south front would have been no more extravagant. (6) The regional style is in marked contrast to the exuberance of the framing of most contemporary gentry houses across the watershed in Lancashire. The richness of the Calder Valley framing lies in the generosity of the scantling; the timbers throughout the structure at New Hall are very heavy and give a sense of massive solidity to the house.

The late-medieval house

The hub of the dwelling was the hall, a room open from ground to roof. It occupied approximately three-quarters of the central range. This range is of two bays: the western bay formed the body of the hall and the eastern bay provided the means of heating the room (Fig. 2*a*, *b*). In the late-medieval house in West Yorkshire, the most common way of providing heating was not by the construction of a stone chimney stack: some stone stacks are found, as at Calverley

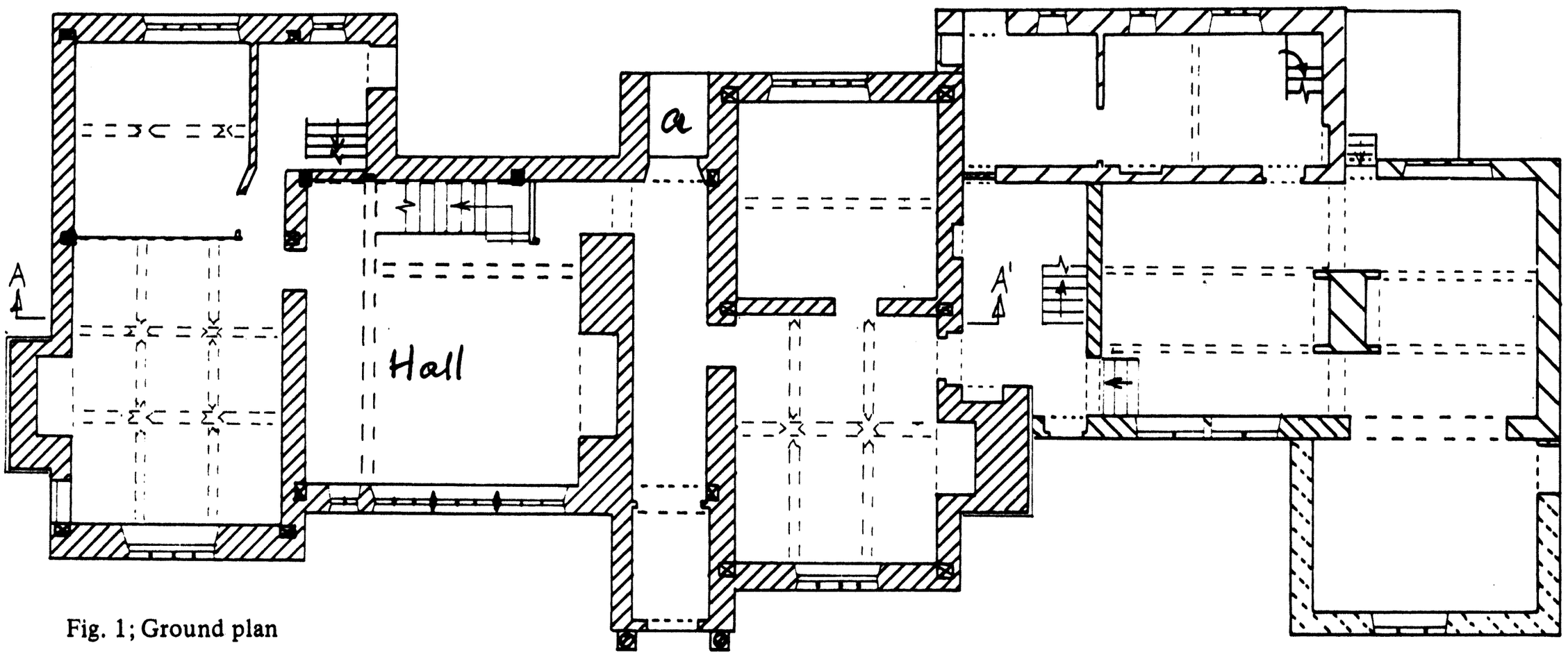


Fig. 1; Ground plan

0 3 6m.

Main build, late 15th C., with 17th C. stone casing
Other 17th C. work
Mid-18th C. work
Late-18th C. work
Early 19th C. work

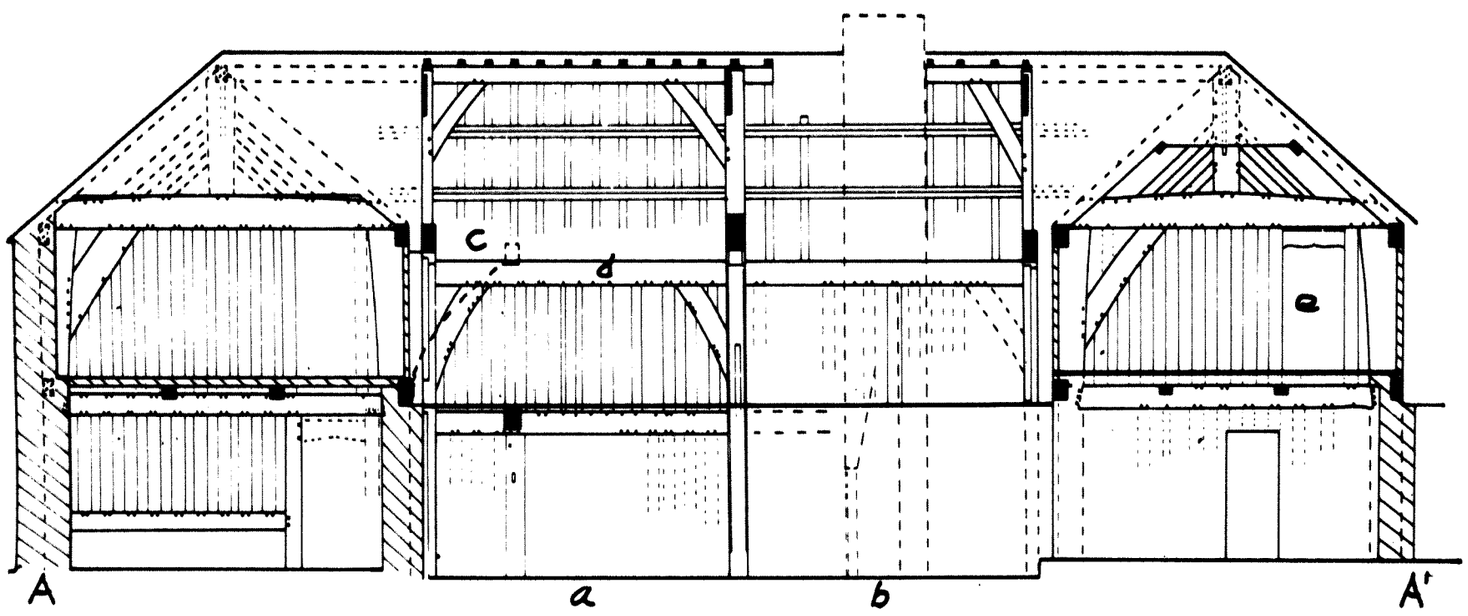


Fig. 2; section A-A[1]

0 1 2 3m

Hall, Calverley, but these are the exceptions. Nor did it involve placing the fire on a central open hearth, leaving the smoke to billow about the upper reaches of the hall before escaping from a louvre; very little evidence of the characteristic smoke-blackened timbers has been found. Instead, the Yorkshire way was to contain the smoke from the fire within a timber and plaster flue, commonly called a fire-hood or smoke-hood. (7) These fire-hoods were extremely bulky, and it is invariably the case that they have been swept away by later modernisations. There are, however, characteristic tell-tale signs that prove their former existence, and the New Hall displays these very well. The timber-framed house was built to contain a large fire-hood, sited in the western half of the eastern bay of the hall range. In this area (see section Fig. 2*b*) the roof timbers betray the position of the hood; the ridge stops some 18" to 2 feet to the east of the central truss, and the rafters stop just above the upper purlin; both ridge and rafters, therefore, leave a large gap in the roof area, through which the cap of the hood originally projected to disgorge the smoke into the elements. The absence of smoke-blackening demonstrates that the gap in the roof was not for some sort of louvre but for a hood cap.

The hood, therefore, took the smoke away from the fire-area, which formed almost a small room within the hall. At the other end of the hall was the dais: in some houses this upper end is emphasised by decorative treatment of the walling, with, for example, a rather more elaborate timber screen, or by a raised area for the dais bench. Watson described the dais at Copley Hall, Skircoat: "the present (house) is old, and has the upper part of what is called the Hall-floor raised higher than the lower, as a mark how far the neighbours, tenants, etc. were to approach when called in to entertainments; the owners of the house, with their family and chief friends, occupying the higher part". (8) The New Hall has lost any trace of a raised dais, if indeed it ever had such a feature, and the nature of the screen at the west side of the hall is now hidden by later plasterwork and panelling. The hall did, however, display another feature which was commonly used to add dignity to the dais end, and this was a canopy, springing from the west wall and curving up to a head-beam spanning the range and resting on the wall-plate of the north and south walls. The canopy itself has perished, but the structure betrays its former presence: the west wall has a brattished rail which formed the base of the canopy, and the wall-plates show the seatings for the head-beam. (see section Figure 2*a*)

The hall was lit by windows in the north and south walls. The south wall retains the wall-plate of the timber-framed house, and the visible peg-holes show where a large window was sited. The window must have had wooden mullions. The framing of the north wall of the hall is virtually complete at first floor level, and again the pattern of the peg-holes shows the position of a window: whereas every stud fits into a double-pegged mortice, the wooden mullions of the window were secured by a single peg. The window has been blocked by later infill, but the peg-holes in the wall-plate show these studs to be insertions (see section Figure 2*d*).

The open hall, then, was the main room in the late-medieval house. It contained the principal hearth, and was the place where numbers of people could gather for the most important occasions of daily and ceremonial life. It was the main dining and sitting area for a large household and doubtless served as the apartment where important guests and their households were entertained. Features like the dais canopy emphasised its importance within the house as a whole.

The hall shared the central range with the through-passage, the means of entering the house. The existence of the passage in the timber-framed structure cannot be proved, but may be inferred safely from the evidence of the 17th century casing and from comparison with many other late-medieval gentry houses. The through-passage is the standard entrance form in this part of the Pennines before 1600; only after that date do other forms of plan, like the lobby-entrance, make their appearance. The passage was, in origin, perhaps an effective division between the dwelling and service areas within a house or between the dwelling and byre in a longhouse. (10) By the time the New Hall was built, however, the dividing lines within a house seem to have become somewhat blurred, and it possible that the lower, that is, east wing contained something more than service rooms. This is an argument which will be expanded shortly.

The cross-wings at the New Hall were floored from the first, giving ground and first floor rooms. Both wings are divided into two unequal bays. The longer bay in both lies to the south and gives a large room on each floor. The relative status of the wings is conventionally dictated by their relationship to the hall and the entrance. At New Hall, the west wing is the upper wing, lying at the upper end of the hall away from the entrance passage. To the east is the lower wing, "below" the passage which separates it from the hall. The upper wing generally contains the main parlour and chamber, with the lower wing giving inferior rooms for service and storage. At the New Hall it is certainly the case that the upper wing provided the principal parlour. This lies to the south and has a "coffered" ceiling with cross-beams and secondary spine-beams, all stop-chamfered at the intersections. The room is heated by a large fireplace within a stack projecting from the west wall. This stack is built upon a plinth, but it is notable that the rest of the stone walling in the wing has no such plinth. This, together with the early style of the fireplace, which has a heavy double roll-moulding around jambs and shallow-arched linted, suggest that the stack pre-dates the rest of the stonework in the wing. That the stack is indeed original to the timber-framed house is confirmed by the report of the present owner, Mr. Lloyd Halstead; in the course of restoration it was noted that the wall-place of the timber-framed wing had no mortices or peg-holes in the area of the stack. The structure, therefore, took account of the existence of a stone stack here from the beginning. It is unusual to find

Plate I

Elland New Hall, the north front

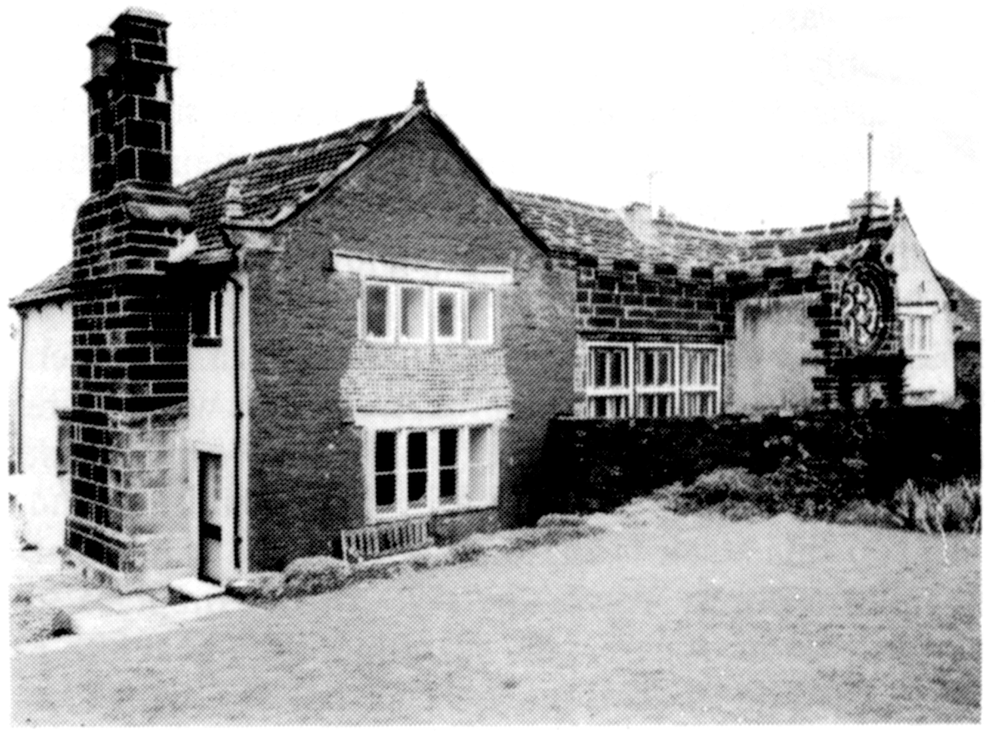


Plate II

A general view of the south front

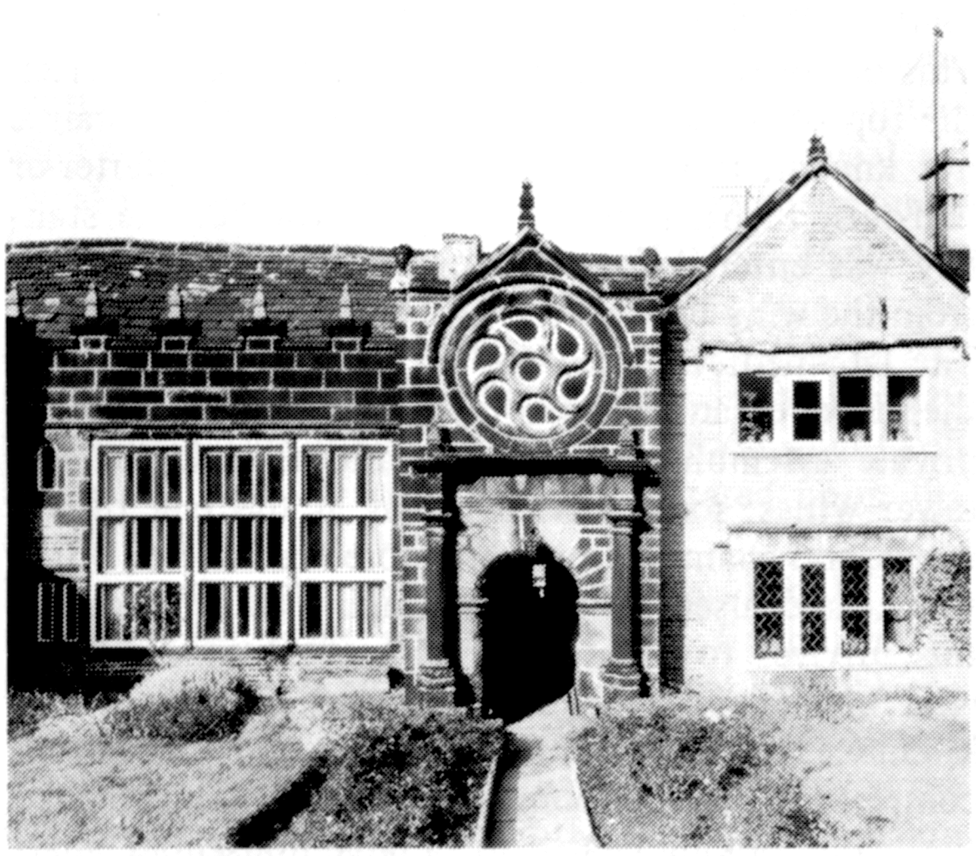


Plate III

The south front, centre section and wheel window

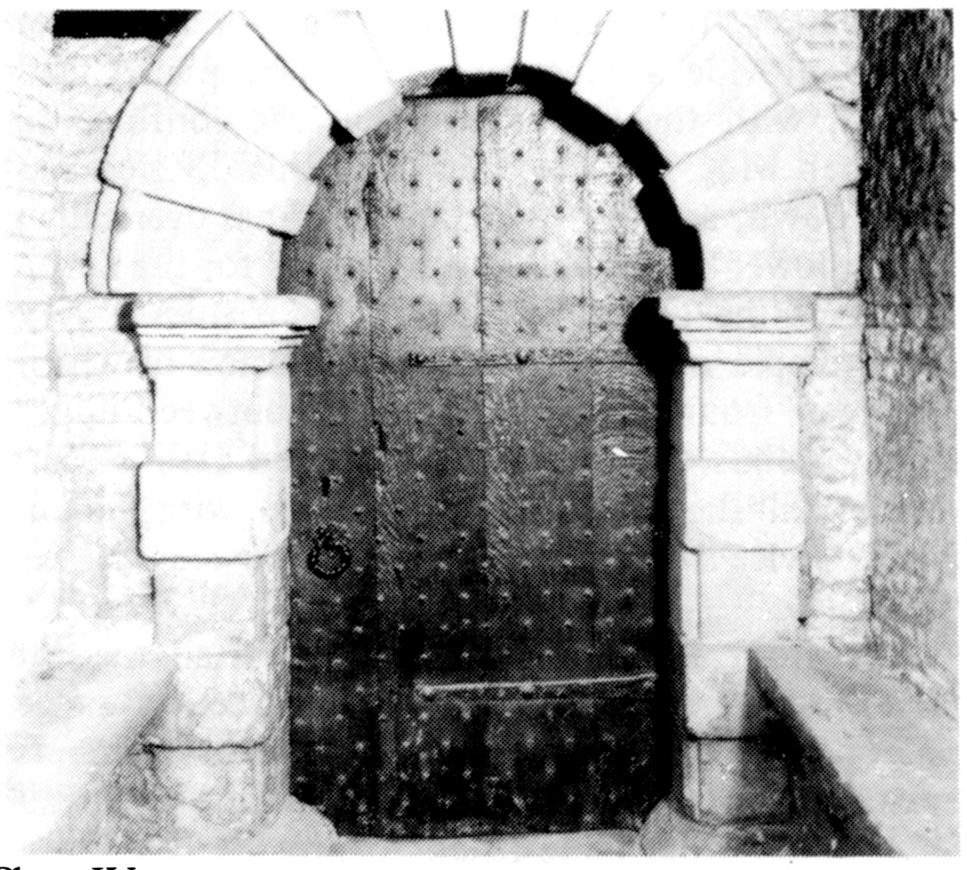


Plate IV

Door and doorcase in the south porch

Plate V

A groundfloor view of the hall from the south-west

Plate VI

The east end of New Hall, from the south-west

positive evidence of heating in a parlour of a late-medieval house in this area. Whilst some heated rooms may be assumed, the structural evidence usually allows only the hall stack or hood to be identified with any certainty. The erroneous impression might be gained that the hall contained the only hearth, but New Hall shows that it may have displayed the principal but not the only heating in the house.

If these structural points are accepted, and it is thought that the west wing was heated originally, then the argument might be repeated in the east wing. Here too the south room has an extruded stack on the east wall (now partially swallowed by later building), and here too this stack is the only part of the wing to be set upon a plinth. Again the style of the fireplace in the south room is early; the surround has a heavy roll-moulding. The indications are that the east wing also provided a heated parlour from the late-15th century, and, if this is the case, the New Hall marks a significant departure from the traditional medieval plan. As stated earlier, the standard form was for the lower wing to provide service rooms (perhaps pantry and buttery), with the better dwelling area confined to the upper wing. At the New Hall this division has broken down, and the "dwelling area" has overspilled into the lower wing. This is portentous for the development of the gentry house, for it provides a very early example of a plan, the main division of which is between front and rear, instead of between upper and lower ends. The south front at New Hall is composed of hall flanked by heated parlours, with the unheated service rooms ranged along the rear of the wings.

The first-floor accommodation at New Hall was, of course, restricted to the cross-wings, the central range being open through two storeys. The main chambers were to the south. The present stack on the west wall of the upper wing is designed to provide two flues, showing that the chamber over the main parlour was heated. It is not clear whether the chamber over the east parlour was heated.

The heating in at least one of the principal chambers suggests that the upper floor of the late-medieval house was not used entirely for inferior functions. The chamber over the west parlour may indeed warrant the title of solar, conventionally the room to which the head of the household might withdraw from the throng. Later inventories show that in gentry houses the principal bedroom up to the late-17th century was a ground-floor room, and it may be suggested that this was also the case some two centuries earlier, leaving the solar free of the need to provide sleeping accommodation. Most of the other chambers in the house were probably used as bedrooms and storerooms.

The existence of an open hall necessitated the provision of two flights of stairs, one in each wing, unless a gallery over the open hall was incorporated to link the chambers in the two wings. The gallery at the New Hall is an insertion of the 17th century, and there is no evidence that it replaced an earlier gallery. Indeed, the complete nature of the framing of the inner walls of each cross-wing at first-floor level shows that no doorways were originally provided to connect with a gallery. Each wing had, perforce, to include its own staircase.

The site of the stair in the lower wing is not certain. It is not likely to have been in the south room, the parlour, and it probably rose from the northern room, perhaps near the north-east corner, to open out onto a landing near the original doorway provided by the framing in the truss between the two chambers (see section Figure 2*e*). The site of the stair serving the upper wing is, however, demonstrable and provides an example of a well-established stair position. (see Fig. 1*a*) (11) The flight was housed in a bay set in the angle between wing and main range at the rear of the house. The bay was roofed with a continuation of the line of the wing roof to give an outshut form here. The stair in this bay is modern, but the existence of an earlier flight may be demonstrated. The first-floor wall of the wing has, at its extreme north end, a gap in the pattern of regular studding and pegholes, one stud being omitted to allow room for a doorway (see Fig. 2*e*). This doorway would have opened into the wing from the top of the stair. The precise nature of the stair is not known. It was probably some sort of quarter-or half-turn flight. It is also unclear whether the stair-bay was entered from the open hall to the south or from the wing to the west.

The late-medieval house of Nicholas Savile consisted, therefore, of an open hall, used for all the public and private assemblies of people; parlours in upper and lower wings; some service rooms at the rear of the wings; and chambers, possibly more than one of which was heated, used mainly for sleeping and storage. All this survives to us in remarkable condition, but one vital element of the house is missing. This is the kitchen. No-where within the hall and cross-wings complex is there a room which could have provided the main cooking hearth for a large household, apart from the open hall which, it has been suggested, was reserved for loftier usage. The detached kitchen is an important part of the medieval house, but it is remarkable more for its absence than its survival; its former existence often has to be inferred from the failure of surviving houses to show rooms which could have acted as kitchens. Except in the houses of the aristocracy, as for instance the Abbot of Glastonbury, these kitchens were probably built with a short life in mind. The site of the kitchen at New Hall can only be guessed: somewhere to the east of the house, that is, at the lower end, may be suggested. If excavation ever revealed the remains of a cooking hearth, the house of Nicholas Savile would be open to an almost-complete reconstruction of plan and of the function of rooms.

Seventeenth Century Changes at New Hall

In the 16th century the house appears to have proved adequate for the needs of the Saviles. No easily-regonisable alterations were made. P.J.D. Brears reports that the wooden ceiling of the south room in the east wing was painted with motifs of the elephant and castle: this, he suggests, dates from the mid-16th century. (12) The painting reveals that by this date at

least the lower wing contained a parlour. J.W. Clay tells us that John Savile was the last of the family to own the Hall; he died in 1620 (13) having leased the property to the Foxcroft family. By the end of the 1650's Henry Power, the noted physician and "renaissance man", was in residence as owner. He soon moved to the more lucrative pasture of the Wakefield area, there to ply his profession until his death in 1668. His son George Power probably maintained the house in the doctor's absence: when George died in 1700 he was described in his inventory as "of Newhall in Elland . . . . . Gent". (14) The house, therefore, remained the seat of gentry families throughout the 17th century.

The changes made to the house in the 17th century were cosmetic, not constituting a thorough-going remodelling of the dwelling and the way that it functioned. Starting the 17th century as a timber-framed house, New Hall saw in the 18th century dressed largely in stonework of a number of different phases. Probably the first area to be affected by the craze for the newly-fashionable stonework was the south front of the hall range. This and the parlour wing were the favourite subjects for piecemeal renewal in the households which had insufficient funds for a complete casing in one building phase. If money was limited, it was lavished on those areas of the house which would impress and be noticed. The servants might still brave the elements in the journey from kitchen to dining area, and the food might still arrive cold, yet funds were concentrated upon the display parts of the dwelling.

It is a moot point which family undertook the first major phase. The transition from Foxcrofts to Powers took place in the 1650's, and stylistically one inclines towards a slightly earlier date for the main feature of the stonework in the hall range, that is the wheel window which adorned the porch on the south side. Similar windows can be found at Kershaw House, Luddenden (1650) and East Riddlesden Hall (1648). (15) The fact that the Foxcrofts were selling up in the 1650's suggest that they had never had a long-term interest in the house, however, and perhaps it was Henry Power who sought to give added dignity to the already ancient dwelling when his tenure of the property became secure. Certainly his Memorandum Book records many payments to various craftsmen (plasterers, joiners, masons, glaziers, theakers) who worked upon the house in the 1650's. (16)

The hall range displays the best stonework in the house (Plate III). It is partly of well-dressed gritstone, built in regular deep courses over the south wall of the porch and the crenellated parapet over the hall area. The rest of the hall wall could afford to be in inferior thin courses of shaly stonework, for the amount of actual masonry is very small. The range recalls the old saying associated with Hardwick Hall, "more glass than wall", for lighting the still-open hall is a nine-light window with two transoms. The porch has, as noted, its own wheel window; the hood mould over this opening has decorative stops carved in the form of human heads. A miniature gable with finials crowns the porch; the two stone heads acting as finials at the corners of the porch are comparatively recent additions, for a 19th century photograph shows the porch without these embellishments. (17) The detailed mouldings around the outer doorway of the porch belie the idea that gritstone is incapable of refinement: the flanking columns are fluted and the semi-circular arch of the doorway, springing from moulded imposts, is made up of well-cut voussoirs. The inner doorway of the porch is very unusual; again it has a semi-circular arch springing from moulded imposts, but arch and jambs have alternating flush and projecting stones in a sort of "vernacular" Gibbs surround (Plate IV).

The door leads into the passage, which was a point of strong continuity between medieval and 17th century builds. Either at this stage, or perhaps slightly later, the south porch was balanced by a north porch of mixed construction, stone on the ground floor and timber-framed in the area of wall above the doorway, in the angle formed by the downwards continuation of the roof of the east wing. As well as balancing the south porch, therefore, the north porch also matches the stair-bay to the west. Perhaps the use of framing in the porch was a deliberate anachronism on the part of the builder: in an age of stone construction, earlier techniques were revived to give a degree of symmetry to the composition of the north front. That the porch does not belong to the original timber house is shown by the fact that access to the chamber over it has had to be cut through the earlier external timber-framed wall, no doorway being provided by the framing here as it had been from the start in the stair-bay to the west.

Also belonging to the first period of casing is the south wall of the west wing, for the gritstone masonry of the crenellations over the parapet of the hall range is continued round the wing to link with the base of the gable. The rest of the wing is in inferior shaly stonework, as is the east wing. The detail of the stonework in the wings is generally very poor: on the south front, where one might expect the framing to be replaced by high quality details, the windows and hood moulds are very plain. It has to be admitted that the fenestration has been altered, but the rough and square-cut hood moulds are uncharacteristically lowly. The best stonework details outside the hall range are to be found at the rear, where the ground floor rooms are at least lit by windows with recessed and splayed mullions. The rather piecemeal nature of the casing suggests either that funds were limited in the second half of the 17th century, and that money was focused upon the major display features externally, or that the desire or need for a smart casing was lacking owing to Power's interest in the east of the Riding.

The Hall refurbished

The internal alterations of the 17th century again show the concentration of expenditure in the most important parts of the house. It was the hall that received the closest attention. The rest of the medieval house, in fact, remained virtually unaltered internally.

An Inventory of the Goods Cattells [redacted]
Debts and personall Estate which
late wrote and did belong unto George
Power of New-Hall in Elland in the
County of Yorke Gent valued and
apprized the fourteenth Day of May
Anno Dni 1700. By us whose names are
hereunder written.

	£	s	d
Imprs: his Apparell & money in his purse	4	0	0
In the Hall			
One long Table and two fformes	1	10	0
One Marble Table and Stand	0	10	0
One square Table	0	2	6
One Range and grates	0	18	0
One Iron pott	0	2	6
One Brass pan	0	7	6
In the upper Parlor			
One old Couch Chaire	0	2	0
One Range	0	3	4
In the Buttery			
One long Table and fforms	0	15	0
One great Safe or Cupboard	0	10	0
In the Cellar			
In wood vessell	0	12	0
In the little hall.			
One square Table	0	6	8
One Chest	0	8	0
One Chest of Drawers	0	5	0
One Kitchin Cupboard	0	5	0
Six old Chaires	0	4	0
One Range fire shovell fire poit Tongs Runners and hobs	0	6	0
In the little Parlour			
One Bedstead with bedding hangings and valiance	4	0	0
One great Chest of Drawers	1	0	0
One Lesser Chest of Drawers	1	0	0
One little Table	0	6	8
Three Chaires and two Buffits	0	7	0
One Range	0	3	4
In the Entry one old Chest	0	3	0
In the Closett over the hall.			
One Table	0	6	8
In potts white plate and Bottles	0	10	0
A pair of Brass Tongs and brass fire shovell	0	10	0
	19	14	2

	£	s	d
In the Chamber over little parlor			
In Wood for a Bed	0	5	0
One Chest with meale in it	0	10	0
One Range	0	3	4
One old Chaire	0	0	4
At the Staires head			
One Dust Chest	0	6	0
Three Corne measures	0	3	0
In the Chamber over upper parlor			
One Bedstead	0	10	0
One old fflanders Chest	0	1	6
In Books in the Chest	0	10	0
One Range	0	3	6
In the Chamber over Buttery			
One old Jack an old Table & Cushion	0	10	0
One pair of Racks	0	2	6
One kneading trough	0	0	6
One lead plumb for a Jack	0	2	0
In the Chamber at staires head			
One Table Bed and bedding	0	5	0
One work Mantle	0	2	0
In pewter one large dish	0	8	0
In other pewther	0	10	0
In Iron goods one long spitt one short one	0	3	6
In other Iron goods	0	1	6
One Brass Skimmer	0	0	4
In the Stable			
One Black Gelding and 2: Saddles	3	10	0
One harrow iiijs a great Tubb 18d	0	5	6
Blacksmith hamers and his bandy gon	0	5	0
In the great Barne			
Two Ladders ijs old wood iijs iiijd	0	5	4
In the new Barne			
One Cart and the wheeles	1	5	0
In Hay	0	5	6
In Ash wood	0	4	0
Two Cows	6	00	0
In the Kitchin Chamber an old [illegible]	0	4	0
In the Kitchin			
One Iron drippin pan	0	5	0
One Range	0	15	0
Two loads of Oate meale	1	10	0
ffoure Corne sacks	0	6	0
Totall	39	14	2

Daniell Brighley
John Sutcliff
Mich: Barber
Wm Midgley
Apprizers.

Plate VII

Inventory of George Power, 5th April 1701

INVENTORY OF GEORGE POWER; BORTHWICK INSTITUTE, EXCHEQUER PROBATE RECORDS, PONTEFRACT DEANERY, 5th APRIL 1701

An Inventory of the Goods Cattells - Debts and personale Estate which late were and did belong unto George Power of New-Hall in Eland in the County of Yorke Gent Apprized the ffourteenth Day of May Anno Dm 1700. By us whose names are hereunder written

	£	s	d
Imp: his Apparell & money in his purse	4	0	0
In the Hall			
One long Table and two fformes	1	10	0
One Marble Table and Stand	0	10	0
One Square Table	0	2	6
One Range and grates	0	18	0
One Iron pott	0	2	6
One Brass pan	0	7	6
In the upper Parlor			
One old Couch Chair	0	2	0
One Range	0	3	4
In the Buttery			
One long Table and fforme	0	15	0
One great safe or Cupboard	0	10	0
In the Cellar			
In Wood vessell	0	12	0
In the little hall			
One square Table	0	6	8
One Chist	0	8	0
One Chist of Drawers	0	5	0
One Kitchen Cupboard	0	5	0
Six old Chaires	0	4	0
One Range ffire shovell ffire poits Tongs Runners and hobb	0	6	0
In the little Parlour			
One Bedstead with bedding hangings and vallance	4	0	0
One great Chest of Drawers	1	0	0
One Lesser Chest of Drawers	1	0	0
One little Table	0	6	8
Three Chaires and five Buffits	0	7	0
One Range	0	3	4
In the Entry one old Chest	0	3	0
In the Closset over the hall			
One Table	0	6	8
In potts white plate and Bottles	0	10	0
A pair of Brass Tongs and Brass ffire shovell	0	10	0
	19	14	2

	£	s	d
In the Chamber over little parlor			
In wood for a Bed	0	5	0
One Chist with meale in it	0	10	0
One Range	0	3	4
One old Chair	0	0	4
Att the stairs head			
One Dust Chist	0	6	0
Three Corne Measures	0	3	0
In the Chamber ov upp. parlor			
One Bed stead	0	10	0
One old fflanders Chist	0	1	6
in Books in the Chist	0	10	0
One Range	0	3	6
In the Chamber ov Buttery			
One old Jack an old Table & hustlemt	0	10	0
One pair of Racks	0	2	6
One kneading trough	0	0	6
One Lead plumb for a Jack	0	2	6
in the Chamber at stairs head			
One Turle Bed and bedding	0	5	0
One port Mantle	0	2	0
In pewter one large dish	0	8	0
in other pewther	0	10	0
In Iron goods one long spitt one short one	0	3	0
In other Iron goods	0	1	6
One Brass Scumber	0	0	4
in the Stable			
One Black Gelding and 2 Saddles	3	10	0
One harrow iiii^{s} a great Tubb 18^{d}	0	5	6
Barkham hames and husbandry gear	0	5	0
in the great Barne			
Two Ladders ii^{s} old wood iii^{s} iiii^{d}	0	5	4
In the new Barne			
One Cart and Wheeles	1	5	0
in Hay	0	5	6
in Ash Wood	0	4	0
Two Cows	6	00	0
In the kitchin Chamber an Ark	0	4	0
In the kitchin			
One Iron drippin pan	0	5	0
One Range	0	15	0
Two leads of Oate meale	1	10	0
ffour Corne Sacks	0	6	0
Totall	39	14	2

Daniell Bentley)
John Sutcliff)
Mich. Barber) Apprizers
Wm. Midgley)

A common alteration made to medieval houses, in most parts of the country, is the insertion of a floor into the open hall, to give a chamber over the main room. (18) This is not a characteristic which this part of the Pennines shares, for many of our late-medieval houses retained their open halls throughout the 17th century. Stone casing was unaccompanied by the abandonment of the open hall, even though plaster ceilings at wall-plate level may have changed the room from one open to the roof to one open through two storeys. At New Hall, the vast window in the hall range proclaims the longevity of the open hall tradition. The room still acted as the focus of the dwelling, and the 17th century brought an appropriate embellishment.

It will be recalled that there is strong evidence that the late-medieval hall was heated by a fire-hood. This fire-hood, bulky and probably lacking in decorative qualities, was one of the first casualties of the 17th century. The stone casing makes no provision for a fire-window to light the fire-area under the hood, and this suggests either that the hood had been replaced already by a stone chimney stack (which required no fire-window) or that the insertion of the stack was included as part of the same build as the casing. The latter is perhaps the more probable. The fireplace has a shallow segmental-arched lintel and a cyma-moulded surround. It is an impressive fireplace, the largest in the house (Plate V). Over it, on the chimney breast, is the principal decorative feature of the hall, the richly-worked royal coat of arms. The plasterwork shows the royal motto, the supporters of the arms (the lion and the unicorn), crest, mantling, arcading, the thistle and the rose, and the initials and date "CR 1670". It would appear, therefore, that the plasterwork was applied some years after the casing of the hall range; certainly the details of the stonework (wheel window etc.) and the documentary evidence suggest that the casing was largely carried out in the 1650's.

One of the main features of the open hall today is the gallery which runs around the west and north sides of the room. With slender turned balusters, the gallery would appear to date from the mid-17th century, conforming with the suggested date of the rest of the changes wrought upon the medieval room. Rising to the gallery from the hall is a flight of steps and this allowed the removal of one, or perhaps both of the staircases which the open hall had necessitated in the preceding period, and the gallery thus gave easy communication throughout the house. The insertion of the gallery involved the removal of one of the earlier display features of the open hall, the dais canopy: the canopy and head beam were taken away, leaving only the brattishing of the rail as visible evidence of their former presence. The hall, therefore, underwent a major re-modelling in the 17th century. While it retained its essential character as a room open through two storeys, its function subtly changed. The insertion of the stair and gallery meant that it was an even stronger focus, but more as a centre of distribution, to passage, to wing and to the upper floor. Perhaps the hall had an increasingly "ceremonial" function, losing some of the intimate family functions which it had earlier enjoyed to the other ground floor rooms.

The question of how the house functioned is illumined by the fortunate survival of a probate inventory. George Power, son of Henry Power, died in 1700, and, in accordance with the requirements for the proving of his will, his goods and chattells were listed and valued (Plate VII).

The apprizers list the following rooms, in order: hall, upper parlour, buttery, cellar, little hall, little parlour, entry. They then move on to the first floor and the outbuildings, as we shall see. The ground floor rooms as listed can be neatly matched with the surviving house. The hall, of course, needs no comment; this is where the apprizers of an inventory normally start. They then went into the west or upper wing, which contained the upper parlour, the buttery and the cellar (the 17th century stonework of the north gable of the wing includes a window designed to light a cellar). Next the apprizers crossed the hall once more to reach the east wing, where they mention the little hall and little parlour (south and north rooms respectively) and then return through the entry on their way to the first floor. The list thus comprehends precisely the arrangement which could be guessed from the structure; this is far from common in buildings to which inventories can be matched.

The house seems eerily devoid of contents, and the somewhat disappointing list of goods and chattells will not permit a very close ascription of functions to the various rooms. The Hall, for instance, seems to be a heated room, but its furniture is spartan and suggests a rather lowly use. A long table and two forms may have been used for the servants at meals, but there are no expensive chairs for the master and his intimates. Similarly the upper parlour, normally the best dining or sitting room by this date (19) (albeit often doubling, incongruously to modern ideas, as the best sleeping room) has but an old couch chair and a range. The range would have fitted inside the fireplace to provide heating. The Buttery is hardly crammed with all the paraphernalia of the preparation, storage and serving of food; only a great safe shows its probable function.

The lower wing has more of interest. Especially unusual is the title of the southern room. In many houses this would be the lower parlour, but at New Hall it is labelled the "Little hall". The contents suggest that the room is closer in function to the yeoman's housebody than to the conventional parlour, for there is mention of a kitchen cupboard, a hobb and runners round the fire. The listing of six old chairs indicates that the room was not of high status, and it seems that it was used primarily as a place for the preparation of food (but not cooking) and perhaps as a servants' hall. To the north lay the little parlour, by this date a heated room. It is here that the best bed is located; it is worth £4 with all its trappings, and it indicates where the head of the household would normally sleep.

The chambers need little comment. Two were heated and were used for sleeping and storage, and odd pieces of lumber are to be found strewn around the various upper rooms. The presence of spits on the first floor presumably means that they were movable and were being stored upstairs.

It was noted, in the discussion of the late-medieval house, that there was no easily identifiable kitchen within the hall and cross-wings plan. The 1700 inventory confirms this. Even at this late date no kitchen is encountered; the few items suggesting a kitchen use listed in the little hall hardly amount to a total that could have served what was probably a large household. The apprizers move out of the hall and cross-wings house to list the meagre contents of stables, great barn and new barn, and only at the very end of the inventory do they solve the mystery of the absent kitchen. After all the agricultural buildings they name the kitchen chamber (used for storage) and the kitchen, which, while it certainly lacks a full complement of cooking gear, was certainly heated. In fact it has the second most valuable range (the hall having the most valuable) suggesting that the term "range" here comprehended all manner of fire tools and goods used in the cooking of food. The kitchen, then was not to be found within the hall and cross-wings plan; instead it was either detached from this or attached to one side.

The site of the kitchen

A re-examination of the house in the light of the documentary evidence leads to the probable identification of the kitchen. The inventory was drawn up in 1700, and by this date there was certainly a structure built on to the east of the earlier house. At the rear there survives an outshut, built in good quality masonry and with 17th century window surrounds (see Plate I). The cat-slide roof of the outshut now ends at the top against the wall of the 2 storey block, but, despite the 17th century window in this wall (re-used in modern times), it is likely that this wall dates from 18th century alterations. The earlier arrangement would, in all likelihood, have continued the line of the outshut roof upwards to cover a lower building, and it is suggested that this building, attached to the lower wing, served as the kitchen for the main house. The point cannot be proved, owing to later alterations, but the site, at the traditional "service end" of the house, and the documents suggest that it is not too extravagant a theory.

The rather sparse furnishings of the house, as listed in the inventory, seem barely sufficient to have served a large household resident at New Hall for all or most of the year. The impression is given either that much is left unsaid or un-named or that, if the list is comprehensive, Power had only a small household, perhaps not living permanently at the Hall. Only four beds are listed (including mention of "wood for a bed" and a turle bed) and, even considering the habit of cramming immodest numbers into a bed, this suggests strongly that the inventory cannot be taken to represent the typical contents of a gentry house occupied permanently by a teeming household. An absentee landlord would explain some of the more unusual features of the inventory, like, for instance, the presence of spits in the chamber over the buttery.

Power's inventory may be compared usefully with that of Richard Richardson of North Bierley, who died in 1656. (20) The two houses are of similar size, but where New Hall is bleak and lifeless, Richardson's house is positively bursting at the seams with the evidence of a large and busy household. Thirteen beds are listed, including many for servants, and the clutter of "huslement" is entirely typical of the inventories of the day.

New Hall in later centuries

By 1700 the New Hall had reached a form which we would recognise today. Its medieval plan survived virtually intact, but in appearance and detail the house was substantially altered. The Saviles had been succeeded by the Powers, a family of less moment, and it would seem that, by the end of George Power's life in 1700, the dwelling was beginning a process of decline. Clay records that Power left New Hall to his kinsman John Hanson, and that Hanson, whose main interest lay in Southowram, sold the house. (21) The ownership of the house in the next century and more is obscure.

It is often the case that a former gentry house was subdivided and let off as cottages, providing some rent to bolster income and giving a new use for a building that was designed to serve a way of life that had passed away. By the 18th century the classical "gentleman's residence" had superseded the medieval house, and the gentry now looked towards the up-to-date double-pile dwelling that was appearing in some numbers all over the country. A medieval building might be retained as a source of income, but it was no longer considered suitable as the seat of a family with pretensions. Antiquarian interest in the old houses of the countryside was still in its infancy.

The present house shows some development in the 18th century. Perhaps three phases may be identified (see Plan, Fig. 1); first, the range to the east of the lower wing was expanded, destroying much of the original kitchen block in the process. Next, this range was continued to the east, and finally a wing was built projecting south from the extreme east end of the complex. This last build contains evidence that is indicative of the status of the house by the early 19th century (Plate VI); it is of poor construction, with inferior rubble masonry, and has a taking-in door at first-floor level in the south gable. It seems, therefore, that this end of the complex had become a manufactory, probably for the weaving of cloth. The cell probably gave a workshop on the first floor up to which wool or finished cloth could be hoisted through the taking-in door.

The early Census Returns can help to people the house at this point in its evolution. (22) In 1841, five houses are enumerated at New Hall. It is possible that one of the houses was a separate cottage, but it is likely that the old gentry house had by now been subdivided to provide shelter for quite a number of people: it had

become a hamlet in its own right. The Gledhill family, numbering five, were farmers. James Beard was a farmer, his two eldest sons were a labourer and a delver, and between them they supported six more children of the marriage between the said James and Martha. Ely Smith, an agricultural labourer, had a wife and two children; and John Bailey, a cloth weaver (did he work on the premises in the shop?), supported a wife and five children. Finally there was another Gledhill family, led by George, a farmer. In all 31 people are listed as present on the night of the Census in 1841, and most of them, weavers, labourers, urchins and hard-pressed mothers alike, must have been living incongruously in the house designed for a great gentry family some three and a half centuries earlier.

The fortunes of New Hall were plummetting decade by decade, therefore, and it would not be surprising if it had suffered the fate of so many other old houses, demolished after long neglect. We owe the survival of the house partly to the original builders, who built so stoutly and with so many centuries in mind; partly to the crucial fact that the house proved adaptable to new needs and circumstances; and largely to the various owners of the building in this century. It was in recent decades that the process of decline was arrested, and we may be grateful to the present owners for their care of an important monument. It is to be hoped that the great wave of destruction that characterised the 1950's and 1960's has been halted, for there is an increasing realisation that these old houses can provide serviceable, stout, beautiful and desirable homes even in the present century. If anybody doubts this, he has only to take a lesson from the New Hall at Elland, now approaching its 500th birthday.

Note and acknowledgements

It is important to point out that the New Hall is a private residence and is not open to view. I wish to express my thanks to the Halstead and Cluskey families for their kind co-operation in the compilation of this record. I am grateful to Jennifer Stead, who suggested that I write this article and who provided me with a great deal of important documentary information from her work on the Power Memorandum Book. Philip Swann helped draw and measure the plan and section. The photographs are the copyright of the National Monuments Record, apart form the reproduction of Power's inventory; this is published by kind consent of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research. I must finally record my indebtedness to Valerie Hall, who by heroic endeavour converted an all but illegible scrawl into a typed script.

Glossary

Bay; the main structural divisions of a framed building, defined by posts and roof trusses.
Brattishing; cresting or ornamental work.
Close-studding; a style of framing in which vertical studs are employed at intervals of approximately the same width as that of each stud.
Dias canopy; coved structure made up of curved ribs, set over the upper end of the open hall.
Fire-hood; timber and plaster flue used to clear smoke from a hearth.
Outshut; a part of a building housed under a lean-to roof.
Plinth; projecting base of a wall.
Probate inventory; a document drawn up on the decease of a party to accompany the will, and listing the possessions of that party.
Purlin; horizontal timber in a roof, supporting the rafters.
Ridge; horizontal longitudinal timber at the apex of a roof.
Stud; a vertical timber forming part of the infill of each bay.
Scantling; the dimensions of the timbers which form the frame of a house.
Taking-in door; a door, usually on the first-floor, giving access from the exterior to a workshop: a winch was often set over the opening to enable bulky materials like wool or made-up cloth to be hoisted into or out of the shop.
Wall-plate; member at the top of a timber-framed wall, into which studs are jointed.

REFERENCES

1 See, for example, J. W. Clay, ,Dr. Henry Power, of New Hall., *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1917), 1-28
2 N. Pevsner, *Yorkshire, the West Riding*, The Buildings of England, 2nd edition (London, 1967) pp. 39-42; Eric Mercer, *English Vernacular Houses*, (London 1975) p. 14
3 For an account of the tenurial history of the township, see D.J.H. Michelmore, *Township Gazetteer*, in West Yorkshire: an archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500, edited by M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse, 4 vols (Wakefield, 1981) pp. 294-577, esp. 364-6. A report on the excavation is being prepared by D.J.H. Michelmore for the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit.
4 J.W. Clay, J. Lister, 'Autobiography of Sir John Savile . . . 1546-1607', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, (1897) p. 421.
5 See, for example, Sharlston Hall, near Wakefield; the early date of this house allowed an evolution from linear to hall-and-cross-wings form.
6 T.G. Manby, 'Lees Hall, Thornhill', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 43 for 1971 (1972) pp. 112-27.
7 The firehood is not unique to Yorkshire; it is found over a wide area of the British Isles.
8 John Watson, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax* (1775, republished 1973) p. 287.
9 A few local houses still display this feature *in situ*; perhaps the best example is that at Bankhouse, Skircoat.
10 For houses of the former type, see any number of buildings illustrated by Margaret Wood, *The English Medieval House* (1965); for houses of the latter type, see, for example, the excavations reported in S. Wrathmell, M.G. Jarrett, *Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Farmsteads*; West Whelpington, Northumberland *Agricultural History Review*, 25 (1977), pp. 108-19.
11 See Manby, *op. cit.*, for another example.
12 Personal communication from Mr. Brears.
13 Clay p. 8.
14 Henry Power's tombstone in Wakefield Cathedral displays an epitaph which exceeds conventional hyperbole; had Power lived he would have rivalled Hippocrates; he had unrivalled erudition in many branches of philosophy and medicine; and much more in the same vein. I am grateful to Stephen Whittle for providing a translation of the purple passage. Henry Power's inventory is to be found in the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Exchequer probate records, April 1701 (Deanery of Pontefract).
15 Pevsner, *op. cit.*
16 Memorandum Books of Henry Power, Sloane MS 1351-1358, British Library. These hitherto unknown details about Dr. Henry Power's rebuilding at New Hall were recently discovered by Jennifer Stead, who is working on the Memorandum Books. Some of these fascinating building accounts will be published in forthcoming issues of *Old West Riding*.
17 National Monuments Record, Elland Hall BB 65/814, copyright Society of Antiquaries.
18 See, for example, many of the Kentish houses included in the inventory in Mercer, *op. cit.*
19 See some of the later probate inventories in P.C.D. Brears, (ed), *Yorkshire Probate Inventories, 1542-1689*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 134 (1972).
20 Brears pp. 100-105.
21 Clay p. 7.
22 Census Returns, 1841; Microfilm, Wakefield District Library Headquarters.

THE USES OF URINE

Jennifer Stead with assistance from Arthur Saul

Part I

It may come as a surprise to many readers to know that as recently as 1963 urine was still in use in British industry, at Trewindsor Mills, Cardiganshire. As recently as this, we can say, came to an end many centuries of regarding urine as a valuable commodity. Indeed it could be argued that it was so vital to our economic progress that it would not be wholly inappropriate for another symbol to stand beside the Woolsack in the House of Commons.

A strong alkali had always been necessary in many manufacturing processes, and fermented urine was for a long time the only large-scale easily available source. It was not until 1830 that Read Holliday discovered how to produce ammonia on a commercial scale, which he knew could be used for scouring grease out of wool, from ammoniacal by-products of the gasworks. This was at his premises in Leeds Road, Huddersfield (where he went on to develop dyestuffs from coal tar, establishing the chemical works which eventually became British Dyes, and finally I.C.I.). Holliday found many local manufacturers resistant to change, and indeed urine continued to be used widely in local mills up to 1914. In 1935 a mill in the Huddersfield area was still using urine for scouring, and it was considered a crime for any of the staff to waste any of their own production (1). Urine was certainly still being used in a Halifax wheelwright's shop in the 1940's, and it is even rumoured that it was collected from POW camps at that time, in particular Sowerby Bridge Flour Mill Detention Centre, by enterprising local manufacturers. Its crucial role in industry will form Part II of this article, and will appear in the next issue of *Old West Riding*. Part I deals with domestic uses.

Nomenclature

The antiquity of its function as a washing agent can be seen in some of the old names for urine. In Yorkshire it was generally called wash or old wash, in dialect wesh or owd wesh (from OE *waescan* to wash). In the Huddersfield area it was weeting, sometimes pronounced weeatin, (meaning wetting, from OE *wætan* to moisten). In other areas, e.g. the North Yorkshire coast, Lancashire, Derbyshire and the western counties as far south as Shropshire, it was called lant (OE and ON *hland*, urine). In southern and western counties it was sig, in mid Wales it was Lleisw, and in west Wales Lleishu, in the Outer Hebrides it was fual. Other names were lye (which means any strong alkaline solution used for washing), chamber-lye, lee, wetting, netting, piss, pissle, piddle, pee, old swill, old pot, scour, slops.

(OE = Old English. ON = Old Norse)

In Medicine

Urine has always played a part in medicine and, in some areas of the world, still does. Fresh urine is still effective in first aid, it will cleanse wounds safely, the hyaluronidase it contains making it slightly antibacterial. It was once used to bathe scald head, chapped hands and styes. In Shipley about 1900 it was used to bathe bleary eyes. The belief is still widely current that it will cure warts, and that a way of treating chilblains is to stick one's feet in the chamber-pot. Similarly, soldiers in the First World War tried it against trench feet. Dr. Michael Green, Senior Lecturer in the department of Forensic Medicine at Leeds University has told us there is no medical evidence that any of these 'cures' would have worked and the net result of most of them would be an abominable stinging sensation that rendered the underlying pain insignificant (2). Soldiers and navvies used urine to harden their hands and feet, but since they also used it to soften new boots, it can be seen that these remedies must remain in the realm of folklore. It may have occasionally cured deafness. In Bradford, urine was considered a cure for earache and deafness, and an old saying in Bradford mills up to 1945 when a person was deaf was 'I sall 'ave ter piss i' thi lug'. Dr. Green writes: 'I suppose that a healthy young male could get up about the same pressure as an ENT surgeon's syringe and wash the wax out, although it would tend to spoil the shirt collar' (3).

It was not confined to external applications. In the 1920's a herbalist in Honley near Huddersfield recommended that one drink one's own urine every morning. One patient commented 'It wer all reight once yer'd got used to t'taste'. (The taste is somewhat salty and bitter). There is a whole school of medicine in India following this practice, and a recent Indian Prime Minister was a devotee. Homeopathic medicine advises that when nothing else is available, a concentration of urine given as a medicine will allay fevers (4). Drinking urine not one's own was once supposed to clear the liver and spleen, 'Yet', said Ramazzini in 1713 'it is hard to persuade anyone to drink another person's urine, except occasionally a child's . . . being colourless and tasteless', and went on 'I know several young nuns who after suffering for many months from suppression of the menses . . . drank their own urine and by this means recovered healthy complexions. The remedy has become customary' (5). In more recent times the urine of nuns has been used in experiments on the contraceptive pill. English women in some localities drank their husband's urine to help labour (6). Zuni Indians of North America drank it in their religious medicine Urine Dance to inure their stomachs to any kind of food, however revolting, and Arabian Bedouins perfomed a similar dance (7).

The use of urine in diagnosis is of ancient origin. In

1541 Sir Thomas Elyot wrote 'the most common iudgement in sicknes is by vrines' (8). In Elland in the 1650's that most respected doctor, Henry Power of New Hall, was still aiding diagnosis by casting waters (for which he charge a shilling), but the practice fell into disrepute, and water-casters were treated with some derision. There is an amusing story in *The Miscellaneous Works of Tim Bobbin* (Salford 1812 p. 74) where the husband of a woman who had broken her leg takes her water to old Doctor Clayton, the celebrated water-caster, who holds up the bottle speculatively. Trying to catch him out, the husband asks the doctor if he can see how many steps his wife fell down. Dr. Clayton guesses twelve "No, it was fifteen" cries the husband. "Ah well, did you bring *all* the water?" asks the doctor.'"No, I threw away what wouldn't fit into the bottle", says the husband. "Well", concludes the doctor craftily, "you threw those three steps away".

In Personal Cleansing and Cosmetic Use

"The second thing my Grandma used to do when she got up, was wash her face in t'po", a Honley resident told us, "then me and mi sister 'ad ter kiss 'er afoor we went to schooil, but she never 'ad a wrinkle" (A good way of getting a warm wash on a cold morning!). Ammon Wrigley, writing in 1949 about the Huddersfield-Lancashire border area wrote: "Another old weaver was said to wash his face with 'lant' urine, and no young girl had a fairer skin" (9). In Almondbury the vicar wrote in 1883 that people would wash their persons in weeting "Aw'll get me some weetin', and hev a gooid weetin' lather" old folks would say, using soap also with it (10). The practice has also been recorded in Holderness and Pudsey (11). There is a good description in a 1730 poem about Leeds clothiers, "a greasy throng", washing their morning faces in the urine tub (12), they

> Beset the savoury wash-tub round;
> Then washing well i' th' savoury tub,
> It scowers well upon my word,
> Then *wrinceing* them in dish of water,
> They comb their hair, and tie their garter.

This wash-tub contains not only fermenting urine, but pig dung, as the rest of the poem makes clear, when Sam, one of the weavers, falls in it.

An obvious reason for this practice was that soap was comparatively expensive until 1853, when the heavy excise duties were at last taken off, even then, it remained a luxury to many. Urine was a much gentler detersive than harsh alkaline soap, and so may have been preferred, for not only would it remove grease effectively, it would also tend to bleach the skin, and have a certain astringent effect that would reduce large pores and discourage blackheads. Bile salts would act as a fat solvent, and help unplug the pores.

A curious survival into this century of the cosmetic effect of urine, which we had noted in various counties, was told to us by a Brighouse woman, who had often watched her mother, the local "midwife", take off a baby's wet nappy and immediately wipe its face with it "to give it a lovely skin".

Urine as a hand lotion has a long history. In a play of 1613 one of the characters, talking with disgust about ladies picking plums out of a common bowl, says

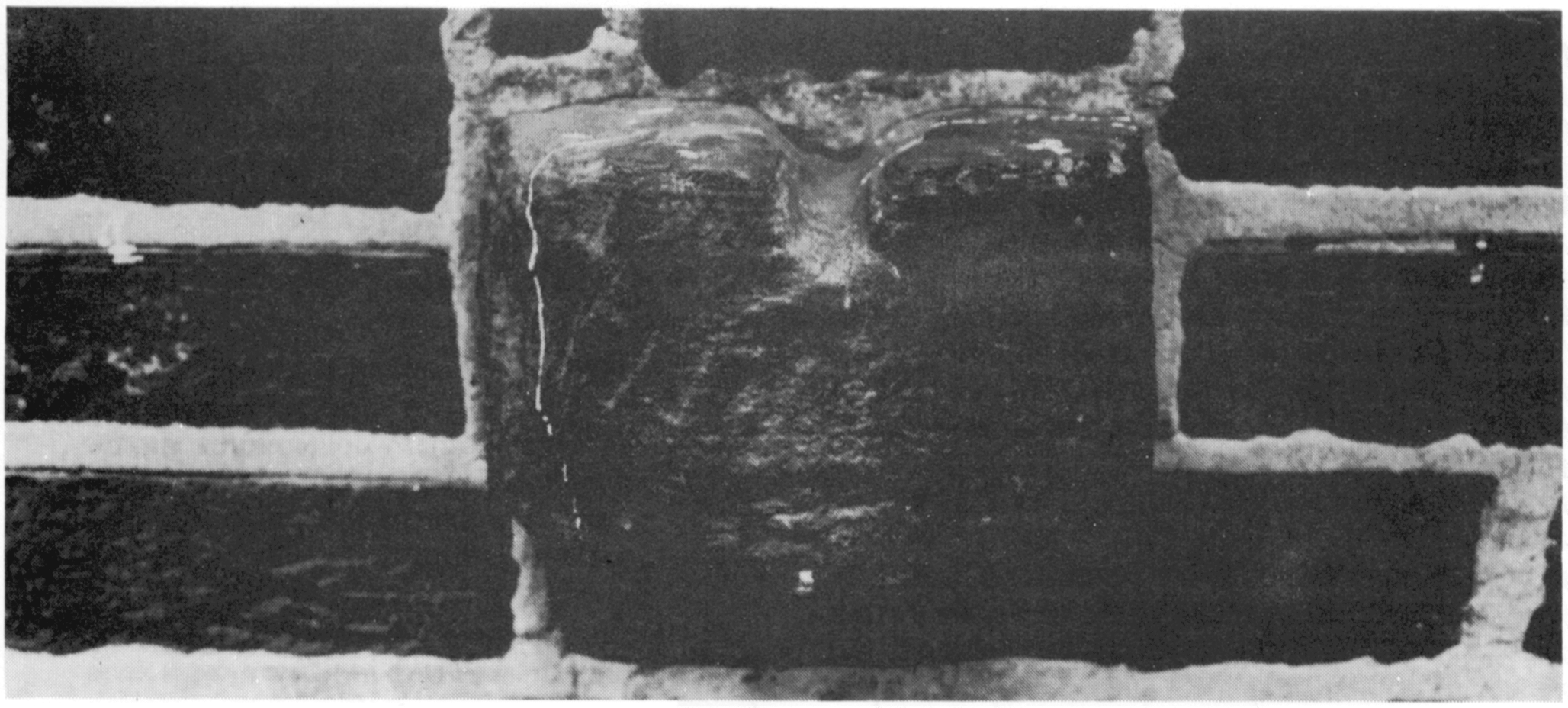
> Now in goes the long Fingers that are wash't
> Some thrice a day in Urin, my Wife uses it (13)

But at this date urine was also still regarded as a powerful antidote to witchcraft, and may have been used superstitiously by these ladies. Dipping the feet in urine each morning was supposed to afford protection from the charms of witches. Among Parsee Indians, washing each morning in cows' urine was a religious purification rite. Other peoples washed in human urine for purely practical reasons, in Egypt, Spain, Mexico, Greenland, Alaska, California. In Spain urine was highly regarded as a dentifrice well into the eighteenth century (14).

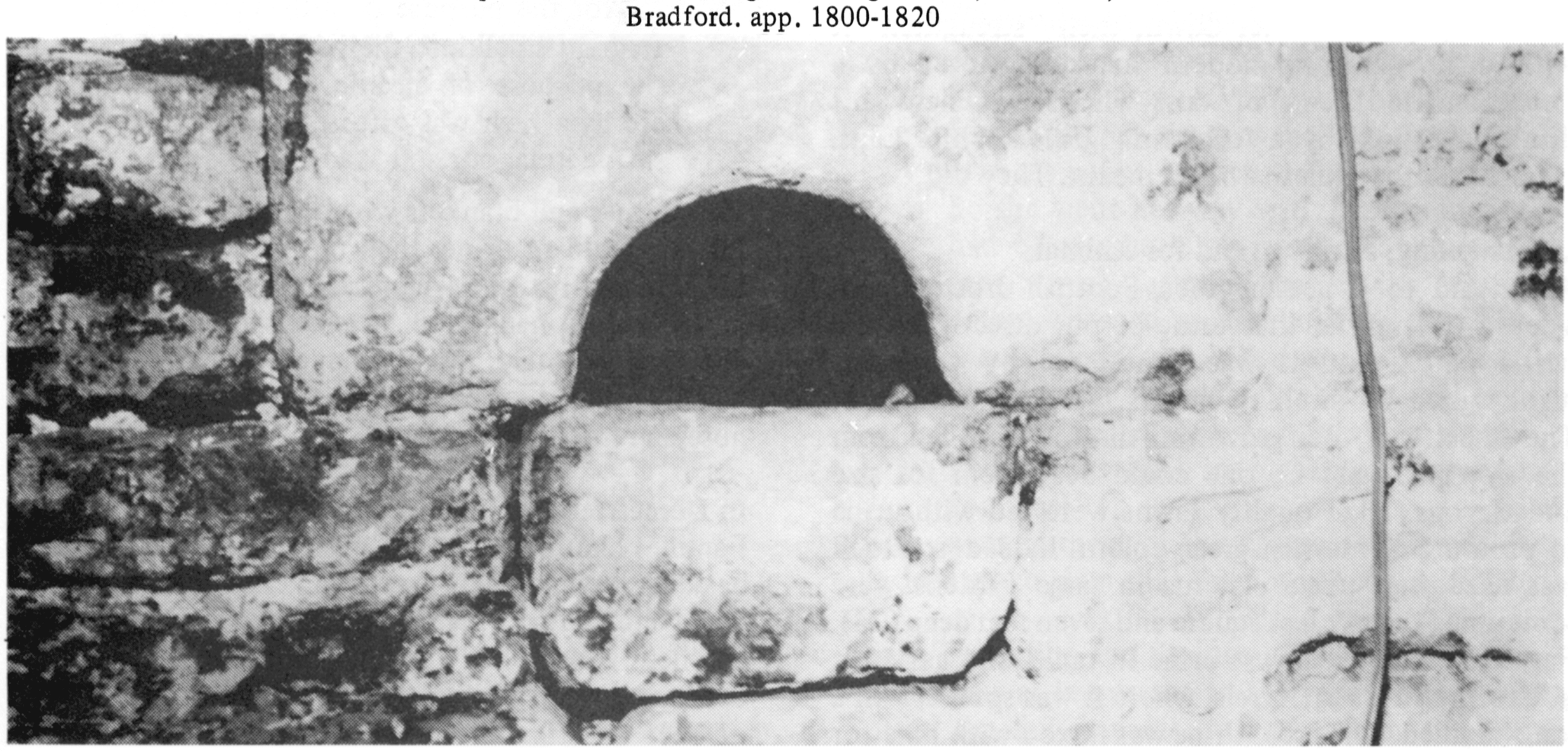
The use of urine as a shampoo is obvious, and also world-wide, the alkali acting as a degreasant and the urea/uric acid combination possibly loosening up dandruff. The word lotion means urine, coming from the Latin *Lotium* which was stale urine used by barbers as a lye, i.e., hair-wash for the hair. It was still thus used widely in the seventeenth century. Hair would be bleached with urine, as John Evelyn records in June 1645 "they weare very long crisped haire, of serverall strakes and colours, which they make so by a wash". The technique was to dry the hair in the sun "after they have washed it in a certain wash" (15). In the sixteenth century, Venetian courtesans achieved fashionable blonde or Titian-red tresses by this method (16). "I know a woman in Lindley who was still doing that in the 1920's", said one of our Huddersfield aunts.

In Witchcraft, Practical Jokes and Nasty Tricks

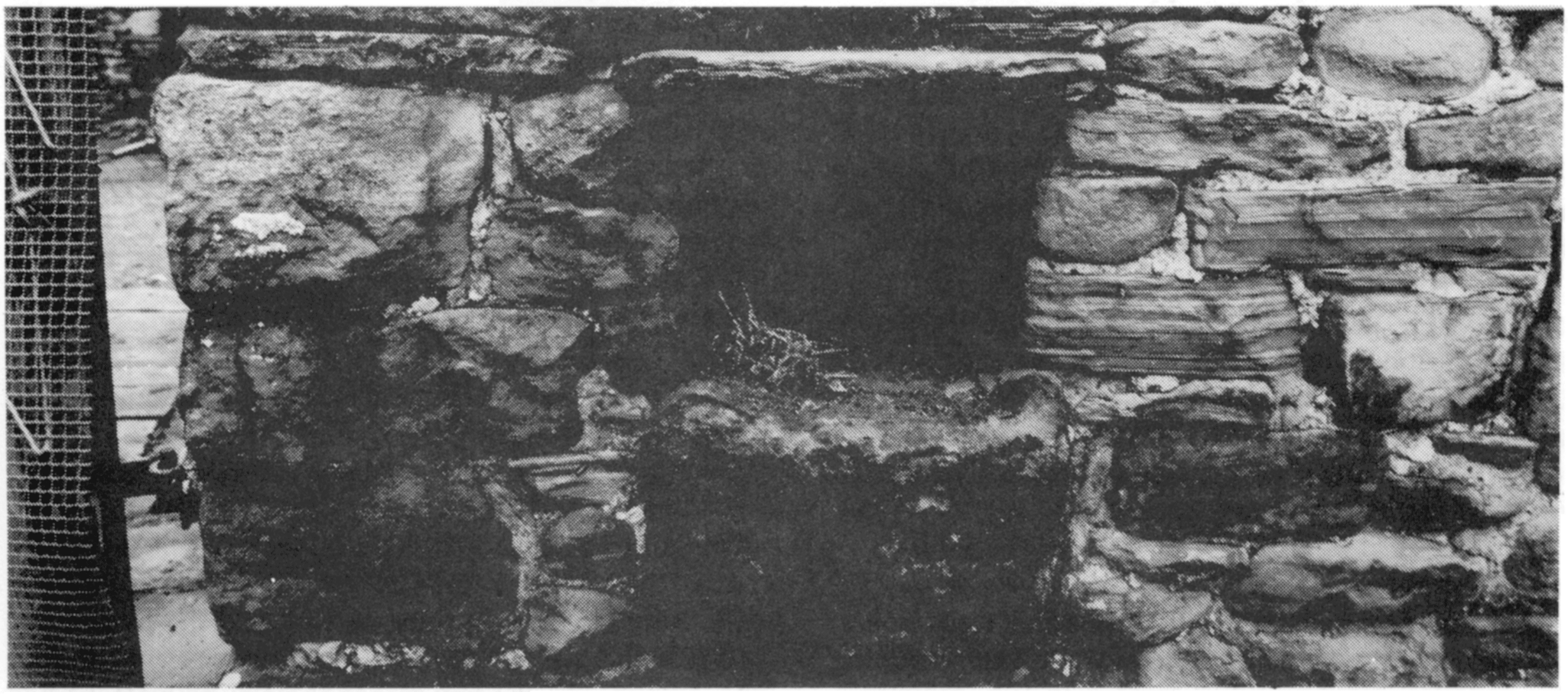
In Europe, until the 18th century, it was widely felt that every part of one's life was open to interference from witches. If bathing in urine had failed to prevent a spell being cast, seemingly that spell could be broken by boiling some of the victim's urine, or by boiling it in combination with his nail parings or hair, in a sealed room. These anti-witchcraft measures were in themselves of a superstitious nature, and therefore regarded as witchcraft also. Ann Greene of Gargrave, tried for witchcraft at York in February 1653-4, admitted that she could cure ill (and therefore, bewitched) people. "For paines in the head she requires their water and a locke of their heire, the which she boyles together, and afterwards throwes them in the fire and burns them" (17). The Rev. Oliver Heywood of Coley (Halifax) in 1683 reports one of his congregation, Judith Higson, whose son is strangely ill, is mistrustful of one Dr. Thornton who was sent to her, and who would not prescribe any medicine for the boy "until his water hath been tryed by fire, i.e., they must take his water and make a cake or loaf of it, with wheat meal and put some of his hair into it and horse-shoe stumps, and then put it in the fire" (18). The boy's mother and Heywood both fear it is some kind of charm, and they reject it, and try fasting and prayer instead. Putting pieces of iron in the urine was stronger magic (19). The French thought it a certain cure for



The spout from a lant trough in Bridge Street, Thornton, nr. Bradford. app. 1800-1820



A lant stone in a farm at Riddlesden



A lant trough with hood at Old Hall Farm, Silsden

fever if the patient's urine were used to knead a loaf, which was baked and given to another who then 'takes' the fever; similarly, a boiled egg, steeped in the patient's urine and eaten by another, would deflect the disease. Irish peasants would sprinkle sick children with urine to rescue them from the clutches of fairy persecutors.

It was once the custom in Sheffield to hang on the door of a deserted lover, a garland, an onion, and a bottle of urine (20). Illicit lovers might wake to find the urine tub spilt over their doorsteps; this was also a favourite trick on Mischief Night (21). Urine was a useful substance for practical jokes, as Tim Bobbin makes clear (22). A Berry Brow man told us how, sixty years ago when lying in ambush for a hated lady teacher after school, he and his mates wet their stack of sods: "Ah won't tell yer what we wet 'em wi', but we soddened 'em". A widespread nasty trick perpetrated by beersellers in the 17th and 18th centuries was to water their beer down, then "strengthen" it with urine (23). A modern joke was noted by a Leicestershire friend of ours who saw a new soft drink advertised by a local firm, called White Lant. He asked if they knew what it meant. They did.

In Gardening, Farming, and for Animals

As an aid to a healthy diet, Scottish crofters considered it essential that urine be put directly on the nettle patch, and it was considered by gardeners just as good for swelling carrots, celery and rhubarb. The finest tomatoes grown in Allerton were fed from the slop pail, and no one could beat them for size and flavour. High quality lawns were fed with urine to promote a fine rich green colour. Indeed, so much was used that urine cisterns in large gardens were sometimes twenty feet square and seven feet deep (24). Farmers collected cows' urine in tanks and carted it out to the fields in barrels, where it was spread with a long-handled ladle (25). Urine was mixed with lime for dressing seeds to deter birds from eating them (26) and the same mixture put on apple trees (27). In 19th century China, copper receptacles were placed along roadsides to save the precious fertiliser (28).

Animals were dosed with it. In ancient times scabby sheep were to be cured by pouring human urine into their noses and mouths, while in 19th century Yorkshire "to stop a calf from shittering" it was necessary to "give it a horn-ful of new pist weeting" (29). In Norfolk and Lincolnshire it was used as an embrocation, and put in pigs' food, and given to horses to condition their coats. In the early 1950's a Berkshire man still remembered carters urinating into chaff (horses' feed) to get their animals into good condition. In Shropshire it was given to calves suffering from the husk (a wheezing cough) (30).

In Household Cleaning

Urine was essential for many chores and every household would have a receptacle to store it. For scrubbing floors, it was used with hot water and scouring stone, and combined with bracken ashes it was used as a pewter polish (we can vouch for its effectiveness here, having tried it on the pewter at Clarke Hall, Wakefield). It was used in Barnsley in the 1920's to clean grease off the iron fireside range. It was used at Coniston, Kilnsey Hemp Home Farm to bleach harden aprons. It was used to steep stains out of linens (31), and universally for washing clothes and blankets:

> *Lancashire Glossary 1875*
> Lant - Stale Urine - Generally spoken of as 'owd lant'. Formerly much used by Lancashire cottagers for scouring and cleaning blankets and other woollen cloths, also for sundry medicinal purposes. In every yard or garden would have been found a receptacle for storing it.
>
> *Craven Dialect Glossary 1828*
> Wesh - Urine - Owd Wesh, which some careful housewives in Craven kept in a trough, and frequently near the entrance . . . for the purpose doubtless to diffuse a fragrant smell into their dwellings, and for the purpose of cleaning dirty stockings etc by which was effected a considerable saving in labour and soap.

The clothes and blankets would be trampled with bare feet in a tub of urine, then put in a stream to rinse. Sir William Brereton, when he had travelled in Scotland in 1634, was nauseated by sheets so washed, which did "soe strongly tast and smell of lant . . . as that when I came to bed, I was constrained to hold my nose and mouth together" (32).

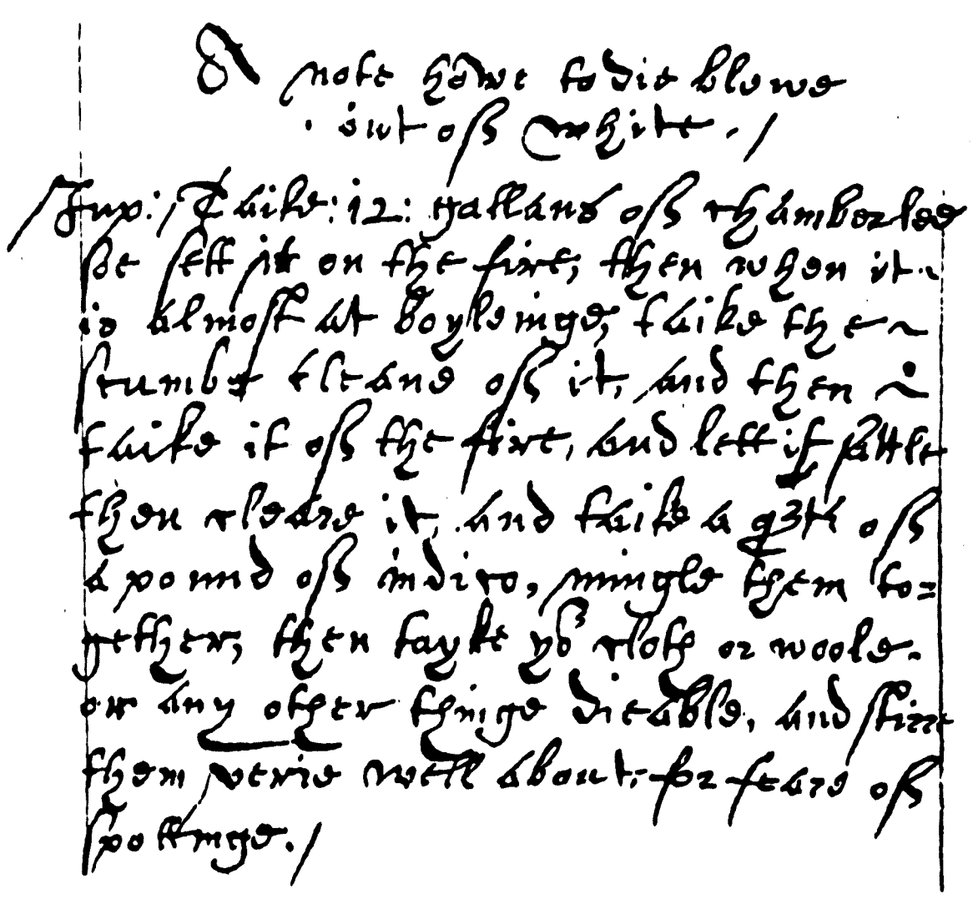
In Domestic Clothmaking

Families had to be self-sufficient as far as possible and, besides growing their own food, many who did not make cloth for a living, made their own linen and woollen goods. In West Yorkshire clothmaking in cottages involved many messy processes. The Rev. Easther describes how the newly woven piece was spread on the stone floor of the cottage (p. xvii)

> A large kitful of urine and swine's dung was taken and strained through straw; it was then sprinkled on the cloth, and, as may be imagined, the smell in the house was horrible. As they *lecked* one piece it was laid down, and so layer on layer on layer were placed in the form of a long parallelogram raised from the ground; then all the members of the household got up and trampled it! There it lay till morning; it was then wrapped up in a bundle, taken to Honley or the nearest place to a fulling mill; it was scoured, the offensive fluid washed out of it, and then it was brought dripping home . . .

It would be carried on the clothier's shoulder sopping with the stinking stuff. If this weren't bad enough, the bobbins of weft must be wet, and the weaver had to wet them in a bowl of similar indescribable liquor. In order to get the liquor into the wound weft, he had to suck air from it while it was under the water, through a wooden tube. He often got a mouthful of

vile liquid (33). The same liquid could be used for scouring the raw wool before carding and spinning, if necessary.
A notable Yorkshire family, the Fairfaxes of Steeton and Denton, have left some remarkable culinary manuscripts, which include laundry and dyeing recipes (see Fig. I & note 34). In a typical 17th century hand is this:



A Note howe to die blewe out of white

Imp. Taike 12 gallons of chamber lee soe sett it on the fire; then when it is almost at boyleing, taike the scumb cleane off it and then taike it off the fire, and lett it sattle then cleare it, and taike a quarter of a pound of indico, mingle them together, then tayke your cloth or wool or any other thinge dieable, and stirre them verie well about, for feare of spottinge.

The indigo would be imported from the Near East, where from ancient times the dark blue pigment was extracted from the plant by being fermented in urine in the hot sun.
The next Fairfax recipe is for a "french grene", and instructs that one first make the cloth "a good blewe", then wash it, boil three hours in "allom" then boil green grass an hour, discard the grass, put in chamber-lee and so continue. The alum used as a mordant by the Fairfaxes would at this date be no longer imported, but manufactured on the north Yorkshire coast, again using vast quantities of urine in the extracting process (see part II of this article).
One of the last handloom weavers, James Hirst of Wortshill, Huddersfield, working till 1902, writes in his notebook about dyeing wool black: "to make it have a brighter colour put in a bucketful of weeting". Elsewhere we find: "Let the wool boil ½ an hour before you master", i.e., modify with weeting. We have asked the Curator of the Bradford Colour Museum Mr. R. Broadhurst, why human rather than animal urine was used in dyeing. He replied that animal urine would work just as effectively as human with many dyes, but that there were some dyestuffs which worked only with human, and therefore it was preferred.
A plentiful supply of urine was absolutely essential. Indeed, the family supply was often insufficient, and then the clothier had to borrow from neighbours and pay back later (35). For instance, in a court case at the Archbishop's Court at York on July 6th 1716, involving defamation, a witness, John Whitehead Jnr, Clothier of Holme in Almondbury, stated that he was "Going to his father John Whitehead his house situate in Holme in the parish of Almondbury to begg some old wash to wett some pieces of cloath before he carryed them to Mill" (36). In the Huddersfield Kaye Commonplace Book (37) an entry relating to John Kaye of Roydhouse clothier, states (1589):

> It was my father as it was Reportyd, had prepared certain money for to pay me, so it was that upon 26 of Maye 1589 Alice Hepworth (was) sentt by hir Master Edmonde Kay for a kytt full of wash or chamber lee to my father, & comynge to him the same day & yeare with her message to my father, did take hir kytt & dyd go into his parler & putt in the said money. So she went her way with it as though it had be wesshe & his mayd isabell wheitt (her name) fearinge that if hir Master beinge an aged man should dye that she should be charged with the money because it was openly knowne to be then disclosid the matter the same day. (we have simplified the spelling in places and inserted commas)

The exact purport of this transaction is unclear, but it does make plain that urine was bought and sold.

Sale, Collection and Storage

Urine was as important to the seller as to the buyer, often the few pennies thus earned meant starvation was kept at bay. Thomas Chaloner, of a knight's family, when pensioned off in 1612 was not too proud to sell his urine at 1d a firkin to the Guisborough alum works which he had founded, but to Ellen Gillerlane, a Huddersfield soft stone hawker, selling urine was obviously vital. On December 17th 1872 she was brought before the magistrate "on suspicion of fraudulently obtaining money by representing a certain liquid to be urine, the same being a mixture of water coloured with clay ochre" (38).
Within living memory the payment for urine was 1d a bucket, and redheads, thought to be of a different kidney, got ½d a bucket more (39). The average adult output is 2½ pints per day, or just over 2 gallons per week, a household of six adults, or equivalent, could therefore earn 6d a week. In the later 19th century 6d would buy enough offal or codshead, oatmeal or potatoes for a good meal. In some areas the householder was paid annually (40).
Urine was bought, not only from individual householders, but also from public houses, schools, workhouses and similar institutions. In Cleveland charity schools in the 18th century, a little trough would be

placed in the backyard to collect the urine for use in clothworking areas (41). At Leeds Workhouse in 1739 the Committee ordered "that the Master have the Benefitt of the Wash, Dung or Manure made or belonging to the Workhouse". In 1743 the Committee ordered "that the Master have the Benefit of the Grains and Wash" (42). In 1820 the Workhouse Master received a salary of fifty guineas in addition to being entitled to any benefit arising from the sale of urine. No cash figures are recorded. Accounts do exist, however, of the Guisborough alum works for 1612, and vast sums were paid for "London uryne" which was brought to Guisborough by ship (see Part II).

The urine was saved by householders in buckets, barrels, jars, tubs, cisterns and troughs of various kinds (see Fig II). John Oldfield, writing about Netherton, Huddersfield, in the 1850's, says all the hand-loom weavers in Netherton Square worked for Tom Dyson who "compelled every family to take care of their urine to scour pieces, and there used to be a large tub at the top of the stairs in every chamber, and both men and women used these tubs. Old Ali fetched the urine in a four-wheeled barrel" (43). Others kept it in tubs outside the door, or against the "nessy" wall, with a lid to keep the rain out.

Fig. II.
Lant jar from Hugh Kershaw's mill, Mosley, c 1900. 19" high (Drawing given by Marie Hartley and Joan Ingilby).

In Berry Brow, Huddersfield, the weeting was collected for John Brook's mill in the 1880's by "Piss Joe" Green, who wore a smockfrock and cap, and led a pony pulling a contraption that consisted of a pair of wheels and dangerously swinging barrel between two uprights. The village was very steep, and so he started at the brow and worked down. Those who considered themselves "nice" did not save their urine. In Shelley, a similar steep village, "Piss Dick", also an employee of the local mill, collected with a pony and barrel on wheels (a "weeting dob", in the south a "sig dilly"). Before this, one Fitton, Clerk to the Council, employed people to go round Shelley with barrels on hand carts. "Piss Dick" arrived one day at Old Julian's in the "corner pin" (an end house with the door across the corner), just too late. "Ee Ah wish yer'd come a bit sooiner lad", said Old Julian, "Ah've nobbut just got shut on a bucketful o' *reight gooid*".

Once at the mill, urine was stored in large tanks. At Soyland Town near Sowerby Bridge the huge stone wesh troughs of Samuel Hill's mill, redundant for many years, were used by little girls as play houses about 1900. "Urine tubs" feature in some mill sales in the 1840's implying these were made of wood, and at Firth's mill, Shelley, it is thought plated steel tanks were used. Urine was also kept at that mill in tanks at the entrance to the "scourin' 'oil". Male employees had to use it to urinate in, and they fetched out bucketsful of the oldest urine to be mixed into the scouring liquor.

The smell was extremely strong. The grandmother of Elsie Houghton of Holmfirth, when a little girl, helped her father collect urine for one of the local mills and she described the powerful smell and how "t' flees were doncin' ole ovver t'top". Mr. Laurence Eastwood of Shelley told us of one such breath-stopping tub outside a tailor's shop, still used by the tailors, that had stood so long it had a dreadful crust on top. Today such a smell would be considered intolerable, but apparently it was not so formerly. Mrs. Jagger of Honley says "the stench arising from the liquid which was used in the primitive process (of lecking pieces on the house floor) was considered a most healthy perfume". Similarly Honley people regarded their open drainage and "soir 'oils" (sewer holes) as healthy (44). The Leeds surgeon C. T. Thackrah in 1831 reported that nightsoil men thrived on the smell associated with their work (45), and in 1713 Ramazzini reported the same. Even so, such an attitude to bad smells was not universal, and in some places bunches of sweet herbs were placed around the room to offset the stink (46).

Lant Stones

Some pre-1750 houses in West Yorkshire have set in the wall a small slop-stone with a spout to the outside. In some cases these are lant stones, in others they may be simply the outlet from the stone sink. They are usually to be found on the downside of a house, and a large trough or barrel would be placed outside under the spout. Lant stones are to be found in Langber farm buildings north of Thornton-in-Craven, behind the post office at Linton-in-Craven Grassington, at Coniston Cold Kilnsey, at Crag House Adel, at Wycoller Cottage (see John Bentley *Portrait of Wycoller* Nelson Local History Society 1975 p.44), at cottages behind the Friendly public house at Stanbury (see *Keighley News* November 26th, 1976), at High Wood Head Farm Riddlesden, at Bridge Street Thornton, at Old Hall

Farm Silsden, and at Shugden Farm Roper Lane Queensbury. We would be grateful if readers would bring other instances to our attention.

Part II, in our next issue, will deal mainly with the uses of urine in industry, e.g. leather dressing, wire-drawing, alum extraction, textiles, engineering, plumbing, and will include a section on miscellaneous uses. In concentrating on local examples, it will be understood we have had to omit much of the information we have gathered on this gargantuan subject.

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THE NORTHWARD MARCH OF A WEST YORK MILITIAMAN DURING THE NAPOLEONIC WARS.

Ian Dewhirst

Towards the end of the 18th century, and for years afterwards as the French and Napoleonic Wars dragged on, regiments of militia were embodied "to stand forth to meet and resist an enemy, threatening us with invasion and destruction".

Although intended only for duties within Britain, these were equipped in full military style. A Bradford unit raised in 1803 wore "a scarlet coat turned up with white; white breeches and black leggings, and linen trowsers for changes; black caps with a worsted tuft". At best the militia were "as well disciplined as regular troops". Militiamen spent lengthy periods away from their homes.

The experiences of a Steeton man, David Greenwood, survive tenuously through two letters (one badly torn) and a fragment of a third. The fragment is noteworthy chiefly because it specifies his regiment, having been countersigned by his officer, Captain Childers of the 3rd West York Militia. Greenwood wrote it from South Shields enquiring, amongst others, after one Hannah Bracewell, "and how she comes on with her Jobson at Keighley". The term "coming on" seems to have signified relations between the sexes. As for David Greenwood: "I Come on as well as I can, with the North British Girls which there is Great plenty of"!

David Greenwood was a Steeton farmer's son. His father, William Greenwood, tenanted Elm Farm, formerly belonging to the Currers and at that time a Garforth property, with its homely roll-call of fields: Great and Little Wise, Potts, Great and Little Maw Redding, Pump Close, Great and Little Scallum.

The letters of David Greenwood are undated as to the year, but probably relate to 1806. On October 29th he wrote to his parents from Sunderland, where the barracks were "very Clean and built in the form of a square And 3 Stories high where we are". There was a "yard in the Middle", tellingly described, "as Large as the field above your house And all Gravil'd over with small Gravel". Fresh water had to be fetched "from the town about a fields Length off".

Provisions were very dear at Sunderland, with best flour at five shillings a stone; the harvest was "Recond a good deal Later Than it is in yorkshire". The weather had been very stormy for the past few days, and two ships had gone aground. Particulars of this drama are unfortunately missing.

Greenwood's complete surviving letter describes a march of the 3rd West York Militia from Sunderland to Stirling Castle, following a classic military route of the period. They marched out of barracks on Wednesday, November 5th, reaching Newcastle on the first day, Morpeth on the second, Alnwick on the third, Belford on the fourth, where the regiment halted over Sunday, quartered across an eight or nine-mile area.

Greenwood's company rested at "a Little place Call'd

'Members of the West York Militia, from George Walker's "Costume of Yorkshire". The main figure is a grenadier; David Greenwood was probably uniformed like the soldier in the background. "The long continuance of war," Walker wrote in 1814, "has advanced our British militia to a state of discipline which it never before attained".'

Sunderland close to the sea side" (this would in fact be North Sunderland, slightly inland from Sea-houses) where they acquired "too much Smuggled gin for nothing almost". Not-withstanding, they marched 23 miles the following day, to Berwick-upon-Tweed, over a "very bad road", in sight of the "Chevy Hills" (the Cheviots) "all cover'd with snow".

Thus far, they had regarded Berwick as their destination, but new and apparently urgent orders awaited them there, for they were off again "between 5 & 6 oclock" next morning, to tramp another 28 miles to Dunbar. It was, David Greenwood recorded, "a very dark rainy morning", with "sluge and Mire up to the ancles".

Approaching Dunbar, the West York Militia began dropping men off into billets at different farms where "they treated us as well as they could But there was so many of us at a house we Was obliged to Lie in the Cold Barns very Uncomfortable to our weary Limbs". "Which," as Greenwood feelingly observed, "made us curse scotland"!

Their next stage was to Haddington ("only 12 Miles"), and there they halted for a day before marching on to Edinburgh ("18 miles"), thence to Linlithgow, where they rested again over Sunday. Understandably,

Continued on P.29

SPRING END: THE EARLIEST WELL-DOCUMENTED WEST RIDING SCRIBBLING MILL

John Goodchild

The township of Ossett cum Gawthorpe – a scatter of small hamlets as it then was, with a population of some 3424 in 1801 (1) – was the location of one of the very earliest scribbling mills in the West Riding textile area, and perhaps the only such early mill which is reasonably well documented (2). The mill lay in the extreme south eastern corner of the township, the cloth-producing townships of Alverthorpe cum Thornes and Horbury bounding the very plot on which the mill was built (3).

The mill at Spring End was built by a partnership consisting of Joshua Thornes, an Ossett tammy (worsted cloth) manufacturer and John Emmerson, an Ossett master handloom weaver (4). Thornes presumably would have no personal trade use for the new mill and does not appear in the surviving lists of customers, or indeed in the ratebooks in connection with it (5): presumably he only put capital into it. It was probably this Joshua Thornes who died in October, 1838 aged 85 (6). Emmerson was however a user of the mill and by 1782 he had been joined in its working by James Mitchell (died February, 1820 aged 80) (7) and John Oakes, both further Ossett master clothiers. From 1781, (earlier rate books and Land Tax returns do not survive), Mitchell and Emmerson are listed as the mill's tenants (8), although Emmerson was the owner of the land, and in 1783 he raised money on the mill site and adjoining land by a mortgage from Miss Ann Norton (9), probably she of that name who was then owner of the Kettlethorpe Hall estate near Wakefield (10).

The earliest known reference to a water-powered scribbling machine in the West Riding occurs in January 1779 and the mill at Ossett now under consideration, later known as Spring End Mill and later still as Spring Field Mills, had such machinery by 1781. The surviving documentation states that the mill cost £343. 17. 8 in building, and from the time of its opening it was managed in yearly cycles by the partners in it:

1781-82 James Mitchell
1782-83 John Oakes
1783-84 James Mitchell
1784-85 John Emmerson.

The partners were so unused to the keeping of accounts that when one of their number (John Oakes) became a bankrupt, it was necessary for a Wakefield lawyer to reduce their accounts to a comprehensible form and it is on these rationalised accounts that the early part of this essay is based. They show, as one would anticipate, the purchase of small quantities of oil, resin, candles and coals for the mill, the payment of rates and the occasional buying of flocks; five shillings a year was paid for rent for part of the mill wheel's goit and £25 rent was paid to Emmerson for the premises. Willeying and scribbling were the processes carried out at the mill in the earlier 1780s: in the year to August 1784 scribbling work brought in £55. 17. 8½ out of a total income of £63. 18. 2½, £7. 16. 6 being received for willeying work and four shillings for the sale of old cards. In that same year something over 25% of the scribbling income came from work done for outsiders, the remainder from work undertaken for the partners individually. In the following sixteen month period the willey was repaired, a water-course was widened, the cut to the dam broadened and the mill wheel repaired. In that year willeying brought in £14. 17. 3, while scribbling brought £50. 19. 0. In the former period, blue, mixed and copper were the colours in 1784-85. In about 1785 the three cylinders of the willeying machine were repaired and re-covered with cards; the original cylinders had been made by John Jubb the well-known millwright and machine maker of Churwell and later of Leeds. The largest cylinder (the "Great Swift" or "Breast" or "Doffer") was 40in. long by 19ft. in circumference, the middle one (the "Little Swift") 40in. by 9ft. and the smallest ("Least") 40in. by 7ft. 6in. The cylinders carried 50 pairs of cards (at 80 wires), 24 pairs (at 70 wires) and 21 pairs (at 70 wires) respectively. There were apparently other cylinders involved with the mill's machinery. When the three willey cylinders were brought back after recovering they were carried to the mill by sledge, presumably on account of the state of the roads, covered with sheets and old cards to protect them. covered with sheets and old cards to protect them. The financial affairs of the mill partnership overall were summarised as follows:

Year	Outgoings £	Income £
1780-81	343. 17. 8(cost of mill building)	not stated
1781-82	not stated	142
1782-83	not stated	not stated
1783-84	72. 14. 0½	63. 18. 2½
1784-85(16 months)	182. 1. 6	65. 16. 3

The partners had some difficulties in and from 1785, when the partner John Oakes became a bankrupt with total liabilities of £127. 5. 10. Emmerson, however, was at this period concerned as a prime promoter of the provision of cloth fulling facilities at the new Ossett Mill; he subscribed £50 towards its erection and his partner in the Spring End Mill, James Mitchell, was also a subscriber in 1786. Emmerson's share in the Ossett Mill Company was retained by him until sold in February 1801 (11).

The mill apparently continued to be run on a partner-

ship basis: close to it, in fact just across the Horbury boundary, another mill was built in 1790-91 (12), at which the fulling of cloth was undertaken (13). This process demanded more power than the small stream which powered the older mill could provide, and in any case the amount of fall between the mills was very small: a deed of 1791, relating to the new mill, refers to the "Steam Engine Shops and Buildings lately erected and built there (12), and the Emmerson partnership ventured into the provision of a stronger and more constant source of power when they had a steam engine built and cloth fulling was added to the processes carried out there in about 1797 (13). In the year from April 1796 the numbers of broad woollen cloths fulled in the mills of the immediate vicinity was as follows:

Ossett [Healey Old] Mill	8274
Wakefield Upper	4439
Silcoates	1234
Netherton	1010
Ford [Horbury Bridge]	598
Spring End	334
Alverthorpe	261
Wakefield Lower	208 (14).

In March 1798, David Emmerson of Ossett, clothmaker, agreed to sell his share in "The Spring End Mill Fire Engine and all its Appurtenances" to David Dews of Ossett, another clothier, for £200 and in the July of the following year (1799) Dews was one of six Ossett clothiers who joined with John Emmerson in agreeing to work "All that large Building or Scribbling Mill, called Spring End Mill" and near Ossett Common, with "the Dam, Goit, Watercourses" and some 3¾ acres of nearby land, all then in the partners' occupation: power was included to use the steam engine, fulling stocks, machinery and drying house. The agreement was to last for eighteen years and was subject to the payment of £95. 10. 0 per annum rent to Emmerson. The partnership's shares were in sixteenths, all shares being held, in fact, in eighths, except for one which was subdivided. The steam engine and the machinery were the property of the co-partners rather than of Emmerson as landlord. In December 1800, a sixteenth share was sold to trustees Miss Frances Eastwood of Horbury, one of the trustees being the James Eastwood of Horbury who owned the nearby mill in Horbury township (12); the consideration price was £150.

Under the Ossett Inclosure Award of 1813 (15), Emmerson was awarded land and the site of the mill dam, which was an encroachment on the (Wakefield) manorial estate; he had remarried at Horbury Church in 1804. In 1811 an inquest was held in Ossett township on a thirteen year old boy killed at Spring End Mill by his hand being caught as he was putting wool into the machinery, and in about 1821 Benjamin Emmerson & Co. still worked the mill (17). A valuation survey of 1819 refers to Emmerson's tenancy (under Sarah Emmerson) of Cottages, Mill, Fold Dams and Goit" and nearby land (18). The buildings were subsequently let by Emmerson's executors to Wheatley, Overend and Collet[t], who in about 1834 employed twenty two males and seventeen females (and possibly others between 18 and 21 years of age), nineteen of the employees being under sixteen. Specific reference is made to the slubbers employed (18). By that time (and again in 1837) the mill had an engine; the earliest engine, considering the amount of the capital involved in the mill, had probably been of the water-raising variety. An 1837 rating valuation describes the "Mill, with Engine House, Willey Rooms, Dryhouse, etc." and implies that some extensions were taking place: "The New part, not being finished, is not valued"(8).

For some time in the 1840s the mill stood untenanted (19), but it was occupied again by 1847, as a scribbling and fulling mill, by Thomas Phillips (20). Subsequent to his death, Spring End Mill became the subject of a Chancery suit and in September 1856, together with other nearby property, it was offered for sale by auction, the mill property being described in the printed sale particulars as, "All that Stone & Brick-built Mill. covered with Grey Slate, partly Two Storeys and partly Three Storeys high, with Enginehouse, Boilerhouse, and Warehouses adjoining". The engine in use was then of 30 hp and the mill machinery consisted of seven carding machines, a tenterhook willey, two pairs of spinning mules and "all necessary preparing machines" (9).

By 1861 the mill had become a cotton cloth manufactory, run by the Bacup-based Lancashire and Yorkshire Cotton Manufacturing and Mining Co. Ltd., a company registered in 1860 and formed for the "spinning, weaving, and otherwise manufacturing for sale of raw cotton, silk, and yarn, at Ossett Spa" and elsewhere as selected, for establishing gas light works for the mills and for acquiring and working coal or other mines, for farming, etc. The capital was to be £100,000 in £10 shares. The company was still working Spring End Mill at the time of the preparation of the West Riding trade directory published in 1867; the original partners were all Bacup men except for David Lee, a manufacturer at Earlsheaton, the village adjoining to Ossett (21). A yet further steam engine, of 25 hp, had been put into the mill by its new owners in 1860 (22).

By the end of the 1860s, in fact in January 1869, the mill was let to John Robinson (earlier of Silcoates Mill near Wakefield?) as a worsted spinning mill; he gave up the tenancy in June 1871 and the mill was sold to Henry Oakes, worsted spinner (21), who had been in partnership earlier at Flanshaw Mill near Wakefield (23). Oakes's machinery in the mill was advertised for sale in January 1882 (24) and the next occupier, Albert Mitchell (as M. Mitchell & Sons) failed during the great depression. His rag-grinding machinery and stock were advertised for sale in March 1884 (25). The mill had again changed trade, on this occasion to the locally ubiquitous trade of mungo and merino manufacturing.

A period of disuse may have followed, as the mill is difficult to trace in the trade directories of the later 1870s and the '80s; in the mid '90s it was being worked by Jessop Bros., whose net sales figures in the

last years of the nineteenth century were:

1896-97	£17,135.12. 6
1897-98	22,575. 8. 4
1898-99	27,922. 6. 6
1899-1900	25,645.17.10 for a nine-month period

The firm became in 1900 part of the new Extract Wool & Merino Co. Ltd. (26), and by the date of the last West Riding trade directory, that of 1936, Jessop Bros. and Eli Townend, as a branch of the Extract etc. Co., were mungo manufacturers at Springfield Mills (27). The successive revisions of the 25 in. Ordnance Survey sheets, in 1905, 1913 and 1931 show the mills' physical extension, largely apparently by the erection of shedding (28).

It is apparently unusual that so much documentation should survive in relation to this small but very early purpose-built scribbling mill. Unfortunately, very little of any historical interest now remains upon the ground at the site, which is owned by a firm of major estate developers. It is curious that the local newspaper should refer to the mill in 1883 as Black Engine Mill (29), a title which does not appear in any other surviving references to it which have come to the writer's attention.

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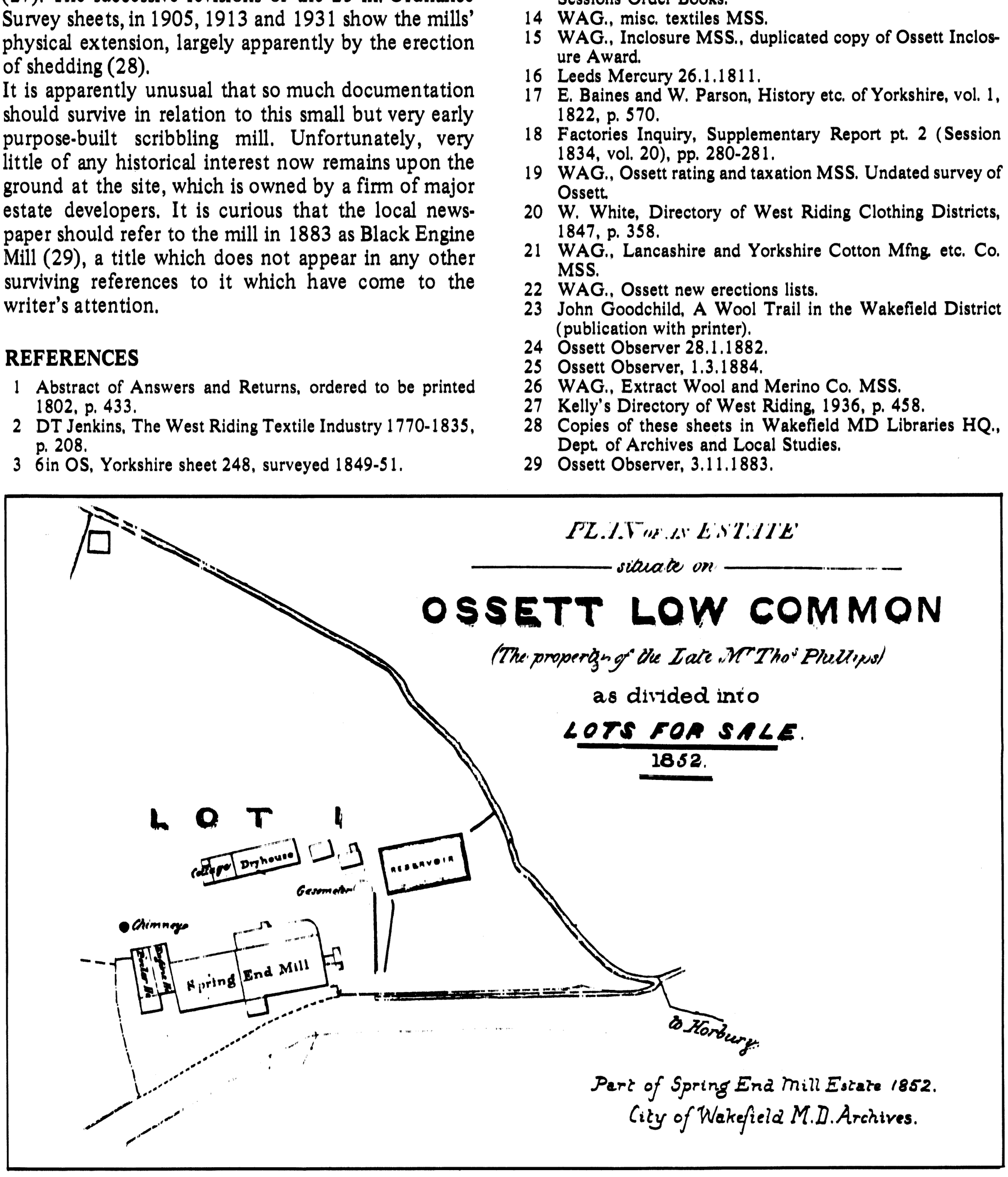


Part of Spring End Mill Estate 1852.
City of Wakefield M.D. Archives.

HUDDERSFIELD AND YORKSHIRE DIALECT

Stanley Ellis

Any community that has a closely-knit life with a long tradition behind it is likely to develop a fairly distinct variety of speech. That has certainly been true in England though with certain qualifications. The social make-up of an English-speaking community also affects the speech we hear in the area. When we have a strongly-developed community sense such as there was in the West Riding mill towns of the late 18th and the 19th centuries there is little wonder that within the type of life in these towns a local series of speech varieties should develop. We cannot know very much about the speech of our forefathers earlier than the 19th century because not much was being said either in or about dialect after the introduction of printing in the 15th century. What we know in a rather limited way makes it very clear that there was a robust local dialect with many varieties in Yorkshire during the 16th century and onwards. The little evidence we have from the 17th and 18th century writers in dialect suggests that in those areas where we can know something of the speech, through a representation in the spelling, there has not been a great deal of change in the basic speech-type for three hundred years or more, up to the beginning of this century. The beginning of the present century is still a good time to take, as one we know since people who were born then are still alive and we have speech recordings made of people who were born back into the 1860s and 1870s. More can be said about present changes later.

Our information for the 17th century in Yorkshire relates to the North Riding where the dialect was very foreign to Huddersfield and the West Riding. An unknown author had his *Yorkshire Dialogue between an Awd Wife, a Lass and a Butcher* published at York in 1673 and even in the title we can recognise something of North Yorkshire pronunciation.

The first attempt at a dialect dictionary was by John Ray in his *Collection of English Words* in 1674. This was considerably augmented in 1691 by a list from Francis Brokesby, rector of Rowley in the East Riding. From Brokesby we have mention of words such as *lake* to play, *wikes* mouth corners, *knack* to speak finely. The 18th century saw most of the Yorkshire dialect writing produced from the north and east of Yorkshire. Maybe the very considerable differences in the speech of those areas from the standard language, more than the differences in the West Riding, helped to promote the writing of a vernacular.

The earliest writing in the Huddersfield area to represent the local sppech, mentioned in Joseph Wright's bibliography to his *English Dialect Dictionary* (1809-1905) is a 45-page booklet 'by a Collector' called *Jim o'th' Pan's Journey to London* of 1842.

The other 19th century works for Huddersfield and the immediate district listed in Wright are:

W. Todd, *T'Country Chap or T'Yorkshire Plewboy* Heckmondwike, 1856.
Dewsbre Back at Mooin Olmenac 1862-72.
The Swashland Olmenac Heckmondwike, 1870.
T'Owd Original Coddy Miln Olmenack for 1871. Heckmondwike.
Charles Barry, *Front o th Sun Almanac* Huddersfield, 1877.
The Huddersfield and Halifax Punch Nov. 21, 1878.

There are numerous other works from Batley.

The most worthwhile 19th century work on Huddersfield dialect, quite different from the lowgrade humour and rubbishy content of the above is, of course, Alfred Easther's *Glossary of the Dialect of Almondbury and Huddersfield* of 1883, a most valuable collection.

Another 19th century writer, born at Marsden, felt himself to be really a Lancashire writer, and his works were contributed to Lancashire periodicals. This was Samuel Laycock, who worked at a very early age in the woollen trade and died in 1893 at the age of 67. This particular oddity will be discussed later.

In the 20th century the best-known writers have been F. A. Carter, G. A. North, William Beaumont, James Greyson and Fred Brown. Mostly they have written verse, the best of it very good; William Beaumont also wrote *North Country Tales*, *Brass* and others.

Those who have known older speakers of the dialect suggest nowadays that the dialect is dying and when they speak about local dialect what they mean is that traditional speech which was demonstrably a static variety and widely used for at least two centuries. This view of dialect is fairly widespread and is not restricted to Yorkshire. One of the reasons why people see dialect as disappearing is that the most easily observed manifestation of dialect is in vocabulary. Recent times have seen enormous innovations in our daily lives both in work and home. What were in the past typical tasks at work in the area have disappeared, locally produced items in the home have given way to a range of nationally known factory-made items. 'Leisure activity' has come in instead of games, and this too has brought a national vocabulary. As things have disappeared, so their names have gone. Think of washday: the posser and the winterhedge have been supplanted by the agitator and the tumble-dryer, even the plastic-coated metal affair that now does duty as a clothes airer is not called a clothes horse. In the textile trade a whole way of life has been dismantled with the machinery, and not only a vocabulary but a range of imagery has gone with it. Fred Brown, a textile worker poet, compared his life to a "piece" (of cloth) the warp was the pattern set by his Maker, the weft he was personally responsible for. Ben Turner, born at Holmfirth in 1863 but really representing Batley in his writing, saw a "piece" as a year of

his life. These daily allusions to weaving, to warping, twisting, piecening, bobbin-liggin and so on can make little impact today, so we feel the dialect is dead. Dialect is more than words however, and even in words there are still plenty of local survivals. Even accepting that much of the old vocabulary has gone, there is another feature of local speech that is not always recognised, change. The survival for many years of a type of dialect peculiar to a district does not mean that the type must continue always in order to make that place distinctive in speech. In many parts of the old West Riding of Yorkshire it has long been usual to hear a local pronunciation of words like *more* in a form that could be written as *mooar*. Young people in Yorkshire today are much more likely to make the word rhyme with *maw*. Now this is a change, but it is hardly the standard language. In the East Riding it is now common to hear for the word *don't* a pronunciation *dawn't*, the traditional 19th century pronunciation would have been *deeant*. Neither *dawnt* nor *deeant* are standard English and what is suggested is that the more recent manifestation remains as "local" as the older one.

A third type of distinction that is a part of dialect is in grammatical usage. This can be much more subtle than the other two mentioned and there are many Yorkshire folk who believe themselves to have moved on from being dialect speakers who would use distinctively local grammatical features without knowing it. Many a Southerner coming to work in a local firm had been greatly puzzled to be asked after a few weeks stay if he is "liking" - not a national usage.

The argument that there are still nuances of speech that identify a particular locality, whether of words, pronunciation or grammar - even if these are not the older traditional ways of identification - is borne out by the experience of local school teachers in schools with a wide catchment area who can readily identify what part of the town first-formers have come from by the way they speak.

The speech differences of younger people within a town like Huddersfield, or the wider area like Kirklees, is worth a good deal of investigation. Certainly the ready insistence that radio, TV, the telephone and mobility have completely broken down the distinction between areas is not supported by observation. The mobility that is so often advanced as a reason for changing speech habits has just not happened for a great part of the West Riding working population. Even those who are mobile show a remarkable conformity to the speech of the area by the time the second generation descendants from immigrant families are at local schools. There is still plenty of work to be done in recording, on paper and on tape, the speech of the younger generation who represent the continuity of development of local speech.

In the 1950s, when collecting was being done all over England for the *Survey of English Dialects* a former pupil of Almondbury Grammar School at Leeds University set about examining the dialect of Crosland Hill as part of his undergraduate studies. Donald Sykes, for many years now Treasurer of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, later used his dialect skills to collect material for the Dialect Survey in the West Midlands and gained an M.A. degree. In 1961 at a meeting of the Yorkshire Dialect Society in Huddersfield Town Hall, Mr. Sykes gave a description of the sounds of the Huddersfield dialect, summarised in the Society's *Transactions* of 1961. The published version is limited to a description of the pronunciation of vowels and only one or two other interesting points. It is worth looking at two of these. Donald Sykes writes: "The third person singular feminine pronoun *she* has two forms in the Huddersfield dialect viz: *oo* and *shoo* . . . The definite article also has two forms, namely *t* and *t'th*, the former being used before consonants and the latter before vowels. Examples of their use are *ontrooad* on the road; and *int'theyas* in the house." (Phonetic Script used in the article has been modified). Speakers from other parts of the West Riding such as Bradford and Leeds have no difficulty in identifying the *shoo* form for she as a kind of Yorkshire they know. The *oo* form would be seen in these other areas as partaking of Lancashire, where the form is widely used. The distinction between two types of *the* is not one that would be made very far east of Huddersfield (see Map), so that the use of these two particular features by themselves becomes a fairly certain identifier of a Huddersfield speaker; though the two *the* types are shared with Halifax the *shoo* type is not.

In the list of 19th century writings given earlier, some Heckmondwike and Dewsbury titles were given, the use of *the* in Coddy Miln can be seen as the more easterly usage that would not be typical of Huddersfield itself.

The typical Huddersfield dialect described by Donald Sykes is really that of Huddersfield and to a large extent the Holmfirth area. An exhaustive study of the dialect of Holme was made by the late Ben R. Dyson for his Ph.D. thesis including many recordings in 1951 of Mr. Haigh Howard, a retired shepherd, at that time 83 years old.

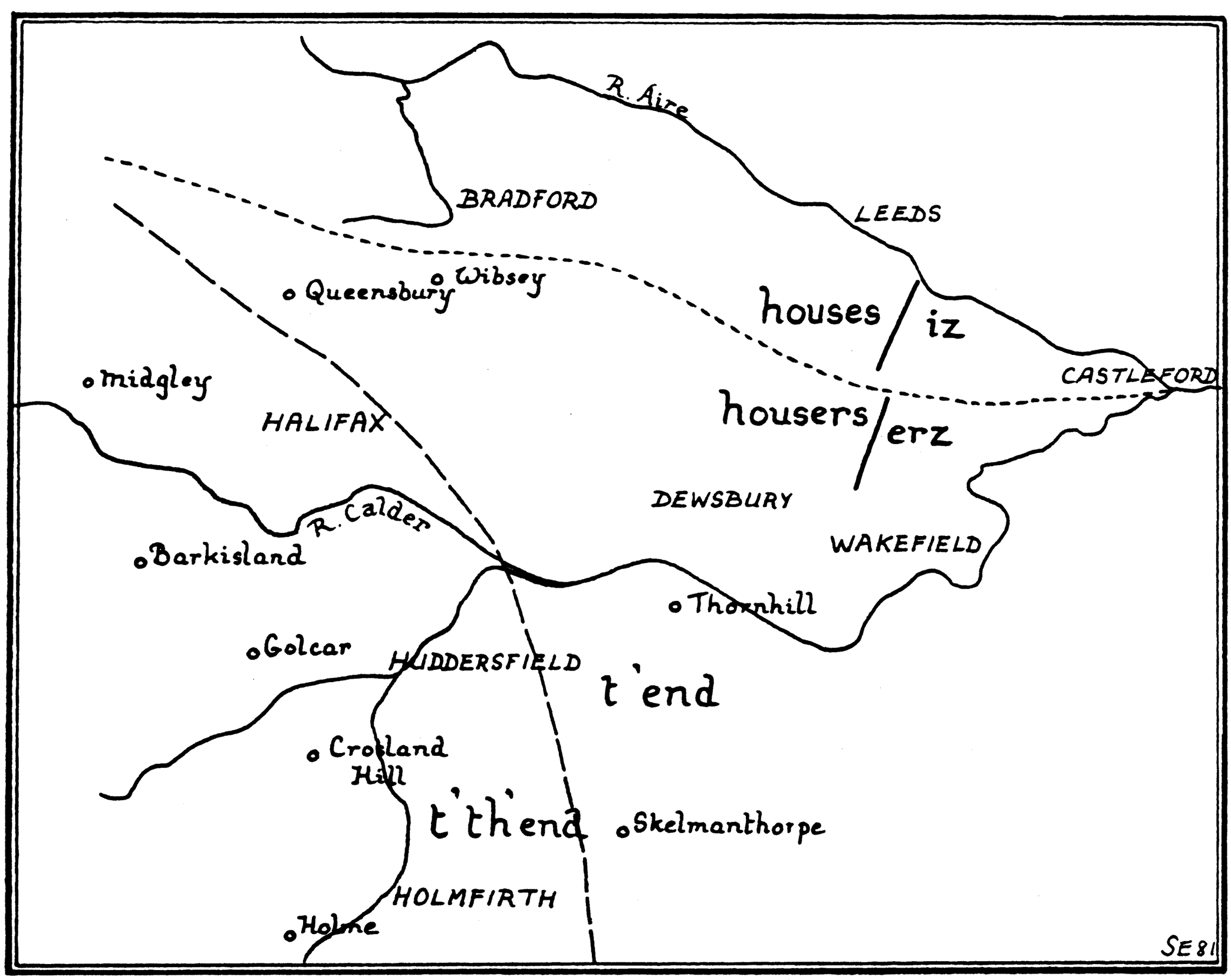
The archives of gramophone records at the University of Leeds have copies of Dr. Dyson's material as well as Donald Sykes' informant at Crosland Hill, recorded by the present author. Other recordings exist from Golcar, Thornhill, Queensbury, Wibsey, Midgley, Heptonstall, Barkisland, Skelmanthorpe, Holme and Huddersfield itself (see Map). Extracts from some of these recordings were played at a day school in Huddersfield in the winter of 1979-80 and it is when the recorded voices are used that local ears immediately identify differences occurring within only a few miles. Other items that are easily heard are the use of local variations for the words pronounced like *down*. A traditional Huddersfield representation of the pronunciation would be *deyan*. Elsewhere in the West Yorkshire area a pronunciation *dahn* would be more common. In Huddersfield words like *time* are written in dialect writings as *tahme*, but the actual sound of this *ah* is not the same as the *ah* used to show *down* as *dahn* in other parts of the county. We immediately become confused in a maze of letters when we try

to show the finer shadings of pronunciation in writing. The use of a phonetic script is no help for the layman, and the illustration by use of a recording is the most effective way.

To most people in the Yorkshire industrial towns the use of an *r* after a vowel in words like *nurse*, *heard*, indicates that the speaker is a Lancastrian, the peculiar quality of this *r* is not the same as that of the *r* sound used by Yorkshiremen at the beginning of a word, as in *run*. Often that "Lancashire *r*" is heard in speakers who also have a distinctive quality of *l* at the very beginning of words such as *live*. Sound recordings from Golcar show these particular features as normal in the speech of the area; to someone from Leeds, from Bradford and from Huddersfield too, this sounds like Lancashire talk. We can hear it in Barkisland as well, and it must have been this speech identity with Lancashire that made Samuel Laycock feel that his verse was more of Lancashire than of Yorkshire.

Another feature that is important within West Yorkshire and near the Huddersfield area is the pronunciation of the final syllable in hous*es*, do you say an *i* or is the sound like the second syllable in fath*er*? – a very significant difference between the north and the south (see Map). Huddersfield speakers need also to consider the local pronunciation of *our*, which comes out as *jahr* – a pronunciation which in most of West Yorkshire would be taken to mean *your*.

Huddersfield dialect speakers will not need reminding that the speech changes in detail in a very short distance; those who live in Huddersfield and keep their ears open will be able to identify where people come from fairly readily. It is not necessary that a speaker should use the broad traditional dialect to give himself away. Because the tape recorder is so convenient to use these days members of local history societies and even individuals are making recordings, particularly of older folk, that are useful as archive material for dialect study and illustration. Local authorities in West Yorkhsire are willing through their librarians to act as repositories for archive material, though they cannot at the moment provide facilities for listening, and the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies at Leeds University is interested to copy tapes and cassettes for its archives. Recordings can easily be made of good quality (poor ones are useless). Information about the speaker, birthplace, occupation and parentage should always be kept with a recording and at least a list of topics discussed, if not a detailed transcript.



MARLING

George Redmonds

We know that one of the ways in which our ancestors fertilised their fields was by spreading calcareous clay, or marl, on them. It has been recently suggested, however, that the practice was little employed in West Yorkshire; a view based in part at least on the infrequency of minor place-names containing the elements 'marl' or 'marled' (1).

For the West Yorkshire area some twenty examples only are referred to in Smith's *Place-Names of the West Riding*. Within this group, names such as Marl Close, probably indicating a field which had been marled, easily outnumber the Marl Pits, that is places where suitable marl has at some time been extracted. Few names of the latter type are noted, but they were mostly in or near Pontefract.

There must be some danger in drawing conclusions about a practice such as marling, from small numbers of minor place-names. The sections in Smith which offer such names are neither comprehensive nor representative. Moreover, even if the lists were complete there is surely no reason why the minor names should accurately reflect one particular aspect of husbandry.

Marling in the parishes south-west of Huddersfield

In the Commonplace Book of the Kayes of Woodsome (2) there is interesting evidence of marling in the Elizabethan period. In the years 1577-1582, for example, John Kaye records putting well over one hundred loads of marl on the fields of the demesne. A typical entry reads:

> Md. that in A.D. 1582 I set xxx loades of m(ar)le in the Spring Inge banke.

Very often he also notes that he limed the same fields, but in those cases where details are provided the proportion was usually ten loads of marl to one of lime.

It may be, of course, that once a field had been marled the practice was not soon repeated and it is clear that on some occasions marling was carried out immediately after new land had been cleared. John Kaye was said by his son to have "marlyd and stubbyd Ryshworth Yng and the Mylner Hill to the Doble Dich and made yt plowghable and sett in yt of m(ar)le and Lyme xxxiij loods."

There is support for this view from another section of the Commonplace Book. This consists of a long poem on husbandry intended as advice to be passed on from Kaye to Kaye. Each month was dealt with in turn, but marling is referred to only once. An entry for February says that "mellow grounds which had been spread with marle . . . . . in seasons wete with beast and horse in no wise trodd must be" (3). As the poem deals with the routine tasks of the farmer and concerns itself with the manuring of the fields (e.g. for September, "In Hast goo Donge thy Land"), it seems clear that marling was not a regular practice. Perhaps the frequent references to it in John Kaye's day are simply an indication of how much new land was being stubbed and brought under the plough.

However, possibly the most interesting entry for these years concerns John Kaye's work "in the Ladie Roods and thre Litle Clossis adioyning." There, it is said, "he dyd sett . . .xxiiij and viij (four score and eight) loods of *Pomfrett m(ar)le*. Pontefract, it will be remembered, was the one area where the minor place-names indicated the presence of Marl Pits. These are mentioned in Tanshelf as early as 1486 (4), whilst the will of John Bradford in 1495 describes 4½ acres of land lying "in the feldes of Pomfrett nere the marl pyttes" (5). These few pieces of evidence tell us that for 100 years at least Pontefract was a major source of marl in West Yorkshire and supplied places such as Woodsome 20 miles away. It would be fascinating to know more about this minor industry and the role it played, as more and more land was brought under cultivation in the Tudor period.

Although it is clear that marling was a practice in Farnley Tyas and Woodsome, I have not so far located any minor names in the township with 'marle' as an element. On the other hand, in the neighbouring parishes of Kirkheaton and Kirkburton there are several such names, some of them going back to the 17th century and none of them listed by Smith. The earliest spellings so far are:

Kirkheaton:	the Marle acre (1668) (6)
Whitley:	Marlepighell (1621) (7)
Lepton:	(a) le Marled close /1636) (8)
	(b) Marled Inge (1655) (9)
Kirkburton:	(a) Marl'd Intake (1753)
	(b) Little Marl'd Intake (1753) (10)

As there is good map evidence for the Lepton field-names, it seems worthwhile looking at them in rather more detail. They are certainly distinct, although both lie close to Little Lepton.

Marl Close (a)	It lies to the east of Little Lepton and is called Marle Close in 1720 (11), Marl Close in 1780 (12). It is likely to be the field described as 'le Marled Close' in the feoffment of 1636.
Marl Close (b)	A field, or fields, on the top side of Lepton Great Wood and to the west of Little Lepton, called Far and Near Marle Closes in 1720. In 1780 Near Marle Close had become Great Marle Close, and there was no name on what had been Far Marle Close in 1720. As both maps show these fields lying adjacent to the 'Broad Close(s)' the earliest reference is probably in 1655, when a presentment at the manor court stated that Richard Kaye had 'made a waye over the Broadclose and Marled Inge' in defiance of an earlier bye-law (13).

As minor place-names in Lepton are reasonably well documented for the 16th century, the inference might

well be that the marling of these fields had taken place not very much earlier than the first dates (i.e. 1636, 1655) would seem to suggest. And as 'marled' gave way relatively quickly to 'marle(e)', the identification of 'marled' forms may go some way to establishing the approximate dates when such fields were won from the waste.

References

1 *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500* (1981) Vol. 1 p. 44. (the first two paragraphs above refer to this part of the survey).
2 *The Kaye Family Commonplace Book.* There is a microfilm copy of this in Huddersfield Public Library.
3 An alternative version in the same source reads
'The medoo groundes that I have spredd
with mellow marle soo free
In wynter tyme with Beast and horsse
in no wise trodd must be !
4 A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* Part II p. 84.
5 *Testamenta Eboracensia* (IV), Surtees Society, Vol. 53. p. 108.
6 Whitley Beaumont Collection. WBG/13.
7 Ibid., WBD/IX/34.
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9 Ibid., Court Rolls of Lepton. Extra Catalogue.
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11 Whitley Beaumont Estate Map, 1720. Huddersfield Public Library.
12 Lepton Enclosure Map, 1780. Huddersfield Public Library.
13 V, note 9.

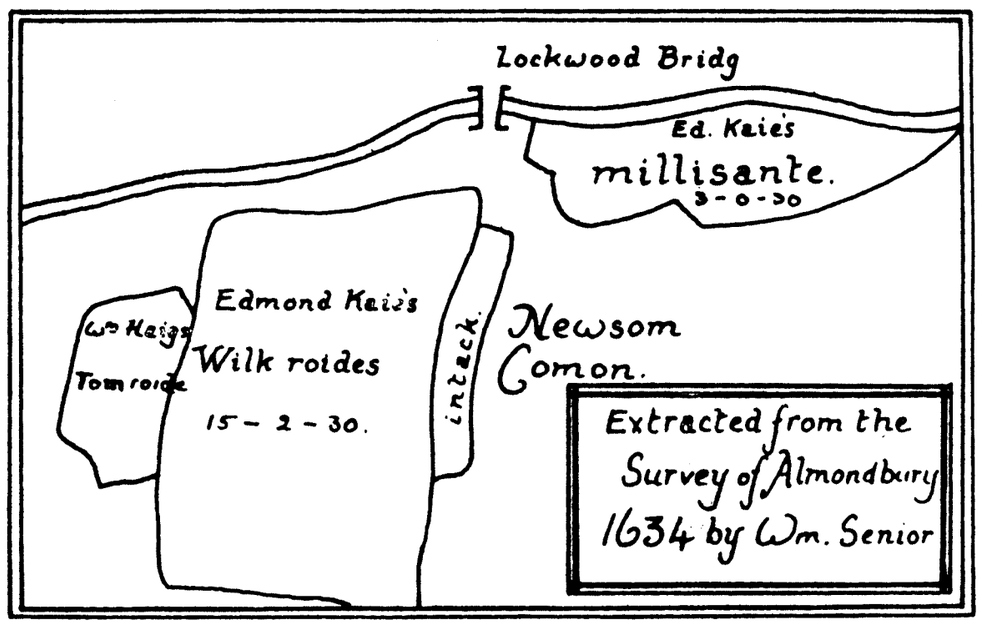
MILLY SANDS, a West Riding field-name

George Redmonds

Milly Sands was the name of an isolated riverside pasture in the Newsome part of Almondbury parish. To the north, the River Holme was its boundary and it was separated from other cultivated areas on the other three sides, by the wooded and rugged terrain of Newsome Common. This position is clearly shown on the estate maps of 1634 and 1716 (1), whilst a deed of 1634 mentions that part of Newsome Common here adjoined "upon a Rock or skar and the water of Colne (sic) upon the North and upon the hyewaye leadinge betwene Lockwood and Millysandes" (2).

Although there is as yet no documented reference to Milly Sands before the 16th century, its origins may well go back to the 1200s, for the earliest spellings suggest that it derives from the feminine personal name Millicent. This was Old German in origin but "was introduced into England in the French form Melisent at the end of the 12th century" (3). It occurs as Mylisant in the Yorkshire Poll Tax of 1379 (4), but was almost unknown in later centuries. The absence of a genitive 's' in the 16th century may point to the loss of a suffix, in an original name, on the lines of Mylysente Land.

The earliest reference to the pasture indicates the value attached to it locally, for a Duchy of Lancaster plea (1551) records "the forcible entry and tortious possession of lands and tenements called Mylysente otherwise Mylysend and Mylthroydes" (5). The last of these forms is puzzling, but it is unlikely to be an alias for Mylysente. More probably it is an error for Wilkroides, either in the original or the transcription.
As a christian name Millicent was seldom used in this part of the West Riding, certainly up to the 19th century, and this may have contributed to the great variety of spellings found in the field-name after 1700. Millison (1766) (6) is clearly by analogy with the numerous local filial names, e.g. Wilson, Mallinson, but Mill House End (1780) (7) is an inspired, if erroneous, piece of rationalisation. It was made possible because the suffix 'house' was regularly weakened in unaccented syllables, e.g. Brighouse (brigas), and because by 1780 there were many more mills and houses on the River Holme. It was certainly not unusual for surnames to be affected in this way, e.g. Tyas became Tyhouse (8).
However, neither of these forms prevailed against the apparently more logical Milly Sands. The assumption that the place-name was composed of two elements produced the suffix 'sands': this was known in other place-names and fitted well with the field's location by the river.



ARCHBISHOP NEILE'S PRIMARY VISITATION OF THE HUDDERSFIELD DISTRICT 1633

John Addy

The diocese of York, like those of Durham and Carlisle, was not an easy area to govern until the latter half of the 18th century. Large areas of the county were remote from York, the centre of church government as well as civil, with large parishes like Halifax that contained several villages. The popular belief that there were single village parishes applies only to the south: they were rare in the north.

On 28th February 1632 Richard Neile, Bishop of Winchester, was elected Archbishop of York at the advanced age of seventy. Charles I realised that someone more forceful than a court prelate was required if the northern province was to be brought into order. Neile had already spent ten years as Bishop of Durham between 1617 and 1627, where he had acquired the reputation that he was, 'the great enemy of the puritan faction' (1). Certainly the puritans and the disobedient knew what to expect. In the summer of 1633, Neile held his primary visitation, which was designed to root out all puritan practices, to make all use the Prayer Book and observe its rubrics and to check the growing immorality.

Arriving in Emley, Neile's visitors, Chancellor Easdall and Archdeacon Hodgson, found a puritan rector Lawrence Farrington actively at work. Farrington was a Lancashire man who had graduated at Brasenose, Oxford in 1608, was ordained deacon and priest at York in 1614 and appointed to Emley in 1626 (2). The charges brought against him were those of not reading prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, singing psalms instead of canticles at mattins, not observing the set holy-days and not going on the perambulation of the boundaries in Rogation week. This latter omission was of great importance when maps were primitive and land-hungry persons were ready to take advantage of neglected parish boundaries. The visitors discovered that the churchwardens had failed to report that they had seats to the east of the communion table, which was contrary to decent order of worship. The churchwardens were ordered to remove these pews and place the communion table under the east wall and rail it in to prevent dogs fouling the same. The rector was instructed to remedy all these defects but, failing to do so, he was suspended until he did (3).

From Emley the visitors went to Kirkburton, whose vicar was Gamaliel Whittaker, a relative of the ill-fated Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. Again they found no reading of prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, and no evidence that the parish boundaries were perambulated. This would be a daunting task, for the parish, at that time, included Shepley, Shelley, New Mill, Hepworth and part of Holmfirth. The vicar had the sense to certify that he had amended and corrected all the faults together with his churchwardens. The names are still family names in the parish, John Mellor, Thomas Lockwood, Francis Matthewman, John Mosley, Robert Hirst and Edward Gledhill (4).

The vicar of Huddersfield was Edward Hill a graduate of Christ's College, Cambridge in 1611 and, unusually for the clergy in this area, had obtained his M.A. in 1614. He was appointed to Huddersfield in 1619 and remained as vicar until 1646 when he moved to Crofton. He was well known for his attendance at the puritan exercises held at Halifax by Henry Ramsden (1619-1638) the vicar there. Nothing was said about this and the faults were reduced to one of, "not going on perambulation."

The visitors were concerned to improve moral standards, especially those of the laity and these fill several folios of the court book. Whatever we may think about moral standards today, those of the 16th and 17th centuries seem much worse.

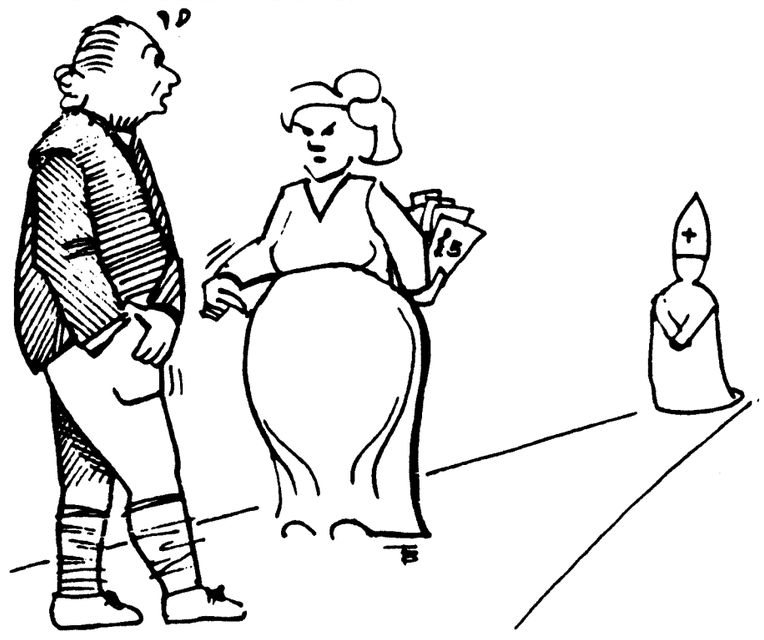
Sunday drinking in alehouses, for the entire day, was quite common. "James Horsfall de Slaghthwiate, Thomas Helewell alias Lawton and Samuel Heape for drinking in Samuel Kempe's alehouse during divine service" (5). Samuel Kempe himself was also prosecuted for allowing these persons to drink. Similarly at Emley, Robert Oxley entertained guests to drink on Sundays. Another was Edward Haigh of Huddersfield for, "talking and prating in church during Divine Service on two Sundays being beastly drunk".

Artisans attended church no more frequently than they tend to do today. Many never went to church at any time, others appear to have attended at Christmas and Easter, but normally they went about their usual daily work on Sundays. Thomas Shaw of Huddersfield refused to close his shop and opened it for the sale of cloth on Sundays. Godfrey Hinchliffe de Slaghthwite absented himself from church on Sundays and worked at his fulling trade (6). When John Haigh, churchwarden of Huddersfield, corrected James Dyson for not attending church he, "abused him in the execution of his office with evil words." The statute concerning the levying of a twelve pence fine for each absence from church never seems to have been observed in the north (7).

Sexual offences abounded in every parish. At Emley, Robert Bayle and Mary Oxley were open fornicators. In Kirkburton, Janet Greenwood openly allowed Gervase Hirst and Elizabeth Scholefield to live in her house where they committed adultery. Cesar Jackson and Susanna Green were another such couple.

Antenuptial fornication was a common trap. The churchwardens were instructed to keep a record of the time between a marriage and the birth of the first child. If this was less than nine months, the couple were presented to the church court on a charge of antenuptial fornication. The punishment was a public

penance performed in church when the accused had to make a detailed confession of their fault.
Almondbury had a goodly list of persons caught under this order; Jeremiah and Susanna Midgeley, Alexander Archer and Beatrice Whittaker his wife.
In Huddersfield there was a similar pattern of offenders; John Church of Wood, and Susanna his wife, along with James and Jennifer Haigh, John Sikes de Boothbank and Elizabeth his wife also William Sonyour and his wife Anna and Richard Towneley and Susanna Heaton de Huddersfield (8).
Some lucky ones managed to escape the net by moving to another diocese or parish. A trip to Saddleworth brought them into Chester diocese and out of the range of York, or a move to Rochdale was also common. Luke Marsden of Huddersfield, who was accused of fornication with Anna Firth, moved to Rochdale. Also George Sikes of Huddersfield accused of antenuptial fornication with his wife Mary, moved to Almondbury while John Savile accused of fornication with Sara Midgley was said to have gone away and not returned.
The illegitimacy rate was high for the Colne Valley. Anna Waterhouse de Salghthwite had, "a bastard child in fornication with a man now dead." At Almondbury there were John Anely and Katherine Bland, James Green of Holmfirth with Elizabeth Lockwood of Almondbury, Arthur Frickley of the same with Sara Lee of Roberttown, also John Parkin of Hoilehouse with Susanna Norton, William Duckworth with Alice Slater and Roland Tinker of Kirkburton with Alice Pepper, all of whom had given birth to one or more bastard children, in the years 1632-1633. It will be noticed from the above that our ancestors did not live like cabbages, all in one place, but there was evidently some movement between the various communities that predated the railway age.
However the prize must be awarded to two Colne Valley communities for their efforts to increase population in 1632-1633. "The churchwardens say that in Marsden and Slaghthwite there is thirty base children this year begotten." Here the problem was one of maintenance and paternity. If the father could not be found, and many could not, then the child, under the Elizabethan poor law legislation, had to be supported out of the poor rate. There could be the problem of inheritance of property at a later date leading to legal wrangles (9).
The textile areas in the seventeenth century were notorious for their immorality. Dr. John Favour, vicar of Halifax (1593-1623), recorded in his parish registers the cases of illegitimacy. He believed it ran in families and the numbers entered opposite the names of such persons indicate this was the third or fourth generation to produce such children (10).
Even after the Restoration there appears to be no decline in this area of morality. John Barraclough, churchwarden of Halifax, overhearing a customer complain in the Fleece Inn that Ellen Lister was blaming him for her illegitimate child, called round on his way home, knocked at the window and shouted, "You should have given the old whore five pounds like I did, she would have fathered it upon someone else" (11).
Life was rough and hard in these moorland communities and one receives the impression that Christian morals were a thin veneer.



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Continued from P.19

Greenwood was beginning "to be very foot sore". On Monday, November 17th, they marched the last twenty miles to Stirling Castle. The regiment had moved from Sunderland to Stirling in thirteen days, including three rest days, under wintry conditions, "scarce ever a fair day All the time".
"In short," Greenwood summed up, "it was a Very fatiguing march".
By the time he wrote home, on December 1st, he had recovered sufficiently to detail his impressions. The Scots lower classes he found "a poor Lousy set" who lived "very poorly"; though occupants of houses where the militia had been quartered had proved "very civil, and behaved very well In General". Greenwood thought it remarkable that they never swore, "Which made them ask our men why they swore So Much".
Stirling Castle was "a very Ancient strong Castle upon a high hill", its walls, mounting several batteries, decorated with "a number of images of the kings and queens of scotland" and its drawbridge raised at 10 o'clock every night. Greenwood's company "and the Grenadiers" were stationed in the Castle itself, but some of the regiment were at Falkirk and others in Stirling town, "a Little dead place".
He concluded on the familiar theme of the price of provisions, which were cheaper in Scotland than in England, enquiring about trade in Steeton, "And how you Get a Living these bad times". And, of course: "Let me know how all my Sisters & Jonas Sharp Comes on".

CHRISTIAN NAMES POPULAR IN THE WEST RIDING IN THE MID-14th CENTURY

Helen M. Jewell

The court rolls of the manor of Wakefield for the years 1348-9 and 1349-50 provide identifications of some 2000 people, jurors, pledges, litigants in civil suits, petty criminals and tenants of land, who were present, or represented in court, or involved in some recorded business (1). The total cannot be expected to be an exact one, since the problems of identification at this period are considerable: a single individual might for example be recorded on different occasions identified patronymically, e.g. Thomas son of John, or by occupation, e.g. Thomas Taylor, or by his place of residence, e.g. Thomas of Halifax. Despite this inevitable lack of exact identification and therefore of numbers (which must be viewed as approximations), a group of around 2000 people seems large enough a sample to be worth considering to see what names were popular at this date.

In all, after disregarding variant spellings, and translating the Latin forms written by the scribes into the standard English equivalent, there are some seventy Christian names used in these rolls. A score of the names appear to have only one bearer, and another half dozen only a couple. Some of the names which occur only once or twice have remained curiosities, e.g. Preciosa and Elcock, but some have become general favourites, including David, Michael, Andrew and Katherine.

The manor of Wakefield in the mid-14th century included most of the wapentakes of Agbrigg and Morley and parts of Stancross (2). It had free and villein tenants from widely divergent social strata, and it does not seem that social class here played much part in the choice of names. Names of French origin, such as William, however aristocratic their Norman introduction, had penetrated to very ordinary levels in the West Riding by 1350: William was the name of a man recorded as servant of the vicar of Halifax. John, the most popular name in the rolls, (some 420 separate identifications) had been that of the last earl of Warenne, lord of the manor of Wakefield until his death in 1347.

Next, but little over half as popular, came William, approaching 230, and Thomas, around 220. The next most common boys' names were Richard and Robert, each having approaching 150 examples. To complete a "top ten" we have to go down to Hugh, around 40, Roger, around 20 and Nicholas, around a dozen. The last three are not in the same popularity league at all, and only Peter, Alexander and Geoffrey of the other boys' names reach double figures.

Women are comparatively rarely mentioned in medieval court rolls, and only just over 450 of the identified persons in these rolls were women, though close on another 150 are entered in the records simply as the unnamed wife of a named husband, or unnamed maid of an identified employer. No woman's name had the prevalence John had: the most popular girls' name was Alice, with just over 80 examples. Next came Joan and Agnes with between 50 and 60 each, then Margery, around 50 and Matilda, approaching 50. The only other girls' names with 20 or slightly more examples were Amabel or Annabel and Cicely. To complete a "top ten" for girls we have to go down into the teens to Gillian and Isabel(la). But these were closely followed by Beatrix, Margaret, Elizabeth and Emma, all with ten or more examples, and all these should be considered quite popular given the smaller size of the female sample.

Of the "top ten" names for both sexes, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names* (3rd edition) tells us that "though John was a fairly common English name in the 12th to 15th centuries, its singular predominance over all other names came later", so the West Riding must have been well ahead of the times! William, Thomas, Richard, Robert and Adam are all described as among the commonest and favourite Christian names (in medieval and later times), and Henry was also a generally popular name, its English form being Harry. The *Dictionary* might lead us to expect a few more Hughs, based on the popularity of St. Hugh of Lincoln in the north, and Roger and Nicholas seem more popular generally than their distribution in these rolls would suggest. Alice, Joan and Agnes were all very common names for girls, but the *Dictionary* gives no indication that Margery was particularly popular, and describes Matilda as a favourite in the 12th and 13th centuries gradually falling into disuse over the next two centuries. Amabel seems also to have been in decline, Cicely was apparently a favourite soon after the Norman Conquest, and Gillian was one of the commonest girls' names, as was Isabel(la) in the 13th and 14th centuries.

The most popular boys' names seem to have been reasonably fashionable in all ages, but the popularity of girls' names is more fickle. Medieval christenings were influenced by the saints and the bible; today names are often made fashionable by the stars of television and cinema. Plays and novels have also been popularisers. It is amusing to realise that this tendency to draw names, for both sexes, from entertainment is not as new as one might suppose. Alexander, Alice and Isolda, all names held within our sample, were apparently all popularised by the romance literature of the Middle Ages (3), even though very few people could read.

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TONG STREET

George Redmonds

Tong Street is not a street in the sense in which the word is now generally used. Together with Westgate Hill Street it forms part of the main road between Bradford and Wakefield, describing the 2¼ mile stretch from Tong Lane End to Dudley Hill.

Over the years it has been the subject of several articles, one of which suggests that it originally formed part of a Roman road from Pontefract to Elslack near Skipton (1). A very different account of the street by Ada Gummersall emphasised the changes which affected it as recently as the 19th century. In her childhood in the 1880s it was still very much a rural thoroughfare. There were a few back-to-back houses and a mill, but here main memories were of country cottages and green fields where cock-fighting and coin-tossing took place. Tong Street itself, still unsurfaced, was dusty in the summer and muddy in the winter (2).

This article brings together a variety of facts relating to Tong Street and the families living there in the 16th and 17th centuries. It is prompted by Christopher Saxton's map of 1599 which shows the inclosures made of the commons of East Bierley and Hunsworth, together with most of Tong Street and the tenants' houses strung out at intervals mostly on its north side. There is evidence of a nucleated settlement at East Bierley but none at all on Tong Street (3).

It is the use of the word street which is seen as significant by most historians. Although it is Old English in origin it is said to have been used by the Anglo-Saxon settlers for the paved roads surviving from Roman times, which were quite unlike their own lanes and highways (4). This supposes that the use of the word street has a much longer history than documentary evidence might suggest. There are early Tong documents which mention it, e.g. "the Kinges high street" (1279) and "the Kynges streyte" in an undated deed, but both these occur in late copies associated with a 16th century boundary dispute, and it is not really possible to trust their accuracy (5).

Actually the route from Adwalton to Bradford is sometimes called a highway in early documents (6), but where the Tong section of it is isolated this is not so. In the court rolls of Tong Manor, for example, it is described on different occasions as "le high streete" (1635), "the hye street neare dudley Hill" (1676) (7). It is, however, interesting to notice that adjoining lengths of the highway were occasionally described in similar terms, i.e. "the Street leadinge from Bradford to Wakefield" (1649) and "the high street divideing between Tonge and Bolling" (1668). The first use of the term "Tonge Street", which I have noticed, is in the court roll of 1649.

Of particular interest in the court rolls is an entry for 1640, i.e. "Thomas Jenkinson *non sufficienter fecit viam stratam in alta via*", where the writer took trouble to insert "the causey" after *viam stratam*. The word causey was being used in the 17th century for any raised and paved way, but it is said to have been applied also to extant stretches of former Roman roads (4) and it may just be that sections of such a road still survived in Tong in the 17th century. It also seems clear from the bye-laws, written in English, that the *alta via* was what was known locally as "the high street" or "Tong Street" and that an alternative term for the raised pavement was "the high waies" (1649).

In connection with this I should like to refer again to the disposition of the houses along the north side of Tong Street in 1599. These all lay in Tong but at some distance from any nucleus of dwellings which there might have been close to the church and hall. The tenants of these houses were usually referred to in the court rolls as "the inhabitants in the street" and it is tempting to think that the locations of their houses may have had something to do with the survival of the Roman road.

Unfortunately the rolls appear to survive from 1630 only, but it is obvious even from the earliest of these that it was the particular task of this group of tenants to maintain the street and its paved way. Each householder was responsible for his own section, as is made clear in the bye-law of 1649 already quoted:

"A paine is laid that such p(er)sons as ought to repaire the high waies in the Street . . . doe sufficiently repaire the same according to their doles . . . upon paine of forfeiting 10s for every dole in default."

The following year Daniel Fearnley, William Gomersall and others all forfeited 10s because their "doles of causey" had been neglected.

There is no doubt from this that routine maintenance involved repairing the paved way and this is explicit in a bye-law of 1694 ordering "the Inhabitants in the Streete" to "make a Repayre the Causey adioyneinge upon the Brigstone att Benham (*sic*) Syke". However, this was not all; in 1646 Richard Lemin was told to "make up all his fences and uphould the same adioyninge to William Gumersalles groundes at Wiskithill, near the high waies leadinge from William Spight." Four years later all the inhabitants with lands adjoining the street were reminded to "scoure their diches" and to "grip and let out the water into their severall closes."

If the road was badly drained, or damaged by tenants digging for stone or coal, it certainly presented a hazard and at times communal rather than individual responsibility was invoked by the officers of the court. In 1679, for example, some of the "Inhabitantes in the Streete" were called on to "fill up the pogmire neare unto Wiskithill and make the same secure for passage of travailers within fowerteene dayes next following." On another occasion four of the tenants were called on to "fill upp the quarry in the high streete near John Goodall's house."

Most of the duties mentioned above were typical of

those carried out by tenants in other local parishes, but the locations of the houses along Tong Street and the particular obligations of the tenants for their "doles of causey" do appear to be significant.

Tong Street Place-names

Few of the minor names linked with Tong Street have been well documented and two at least are recorded for the first time on Saxton's map, i.e. the "Ravins nest" and "Twisilwood nuke". The latter also occurs as "Twidlewood nooke" in a description of the boundaries on Tong Manor (1668) (8). The Old English 'twisla' was a fork in a river, so this place-name probably refers to the stream shown on Saxton's map, which may once have been the boundary between East and North Bierley.

Two of the most important landmarks on Tong Street are Westgate Hill and Dudley Hill. The first of these has already been shown by Smith to be based on the Old Northern French name "Wiscard" (9). The modern Westgate has developed via Wiskitthill, by analogy with local street names such as Westgate and Kirkgate, (c.f. 1690 Tongetownegate).

Dudley Hill is equally interesting. In this case Smith thought that it was probably "Dudda's clearing", Dudda being an Old English personal name. However, earlier examples show that the suffix was *hlaw*, a hill and not *leah* a clearing (10). Only when the latter replaced *hlaw* was it necessary to add "hill" to the name. There is a direct comparison here with places such as Cockley Hill in Kirkheaton.

There are several lanes linking hamlets in Tong, Hunsworth and North Bierley to Tong Street and although one or two such as Tong Lane and Toftshaw Lane require no explanation or comment, others have particular points of interest. Cross Lane, ('a lane' on Saxton's map), was said in 1650 to be a lane "leading of Toung moore to the hye street", so the "Cross" was probably on the moor marking the boundary between Birkenshaw and Tong.

Shetcliffe Lane and Knowles Lane, both also recorded in 1650, are probably named after families. The Shirtcliffes were living then in North Bierley, although the surname had its origins in Sheffield (11), whilst the Knowles of Bowling or Bradford had probably migrated there from the Dales where the surname had a long history (12). It may well have been a connection with the Tempests which occasioned the move (13).

Raikes Lane, which is shown clearly on Saxton's map, has a more complicated history. In one sense the meaning poses no problems, for it is the lane leading to what is now called Raikes Hall, probably on the site of John Sailes's house, which was named Rakes or Rakys in the 1540s. However, the place-name seems to be older than the house and is usually explained as deriving from the Old English word *hrac* (a rough path). As there is also a Raikes Lane to the south of Tong Street, it may be that the two form part of an ancient track linking hamlets such as Scholebrook, Ryecroft and East Bierley. The association between these two lanes is now partly obscured because the section immediately north of Tong Street, and shown on Saxton's map, has come to be called Holme Lane.

The Inhabitants of the Street

Although the eastern end of Tong Street is still rural, none of the "house" names on Saxton's map appears to have survived, although Leeming House, noted by Smith (14), probably goes back to Richard Lemin a street tenant in 1646. They were not in fact true place-names; they simply indicated the families resident there in 1599. The following brief notes attempt to provide information about these Tong families and are not intended as full histories of the surnames.

Birkbye howse: The Birkbys had been in North Bierley from the 14th century, but the name never became prolific. In 1524 John Birkby acquired lands in Holme in Tong from Peter Mirfield and in a manor rental of 1626, reference was made to a Widow Birkbie. William Baynes, a freeholder, paid 6 pence for 'Birkbies Lande' but the name is missing from a rental of 1642.

1379 Thomas de Brytby (North Bierley) [P.T.Y.]
1545 William birkby " " [S.R.]

Watson howse: This family seems to have had a brief stay in Tong, having probably arrived there from the adjacent township of Farnley. In the rental of 1626 the freeholders' rents included 3s. 4d. "for theires (the heirs) of Edward Wattson" and sums of 3s. 8d. and 1s. 10d. "unpaid" by William Watson.

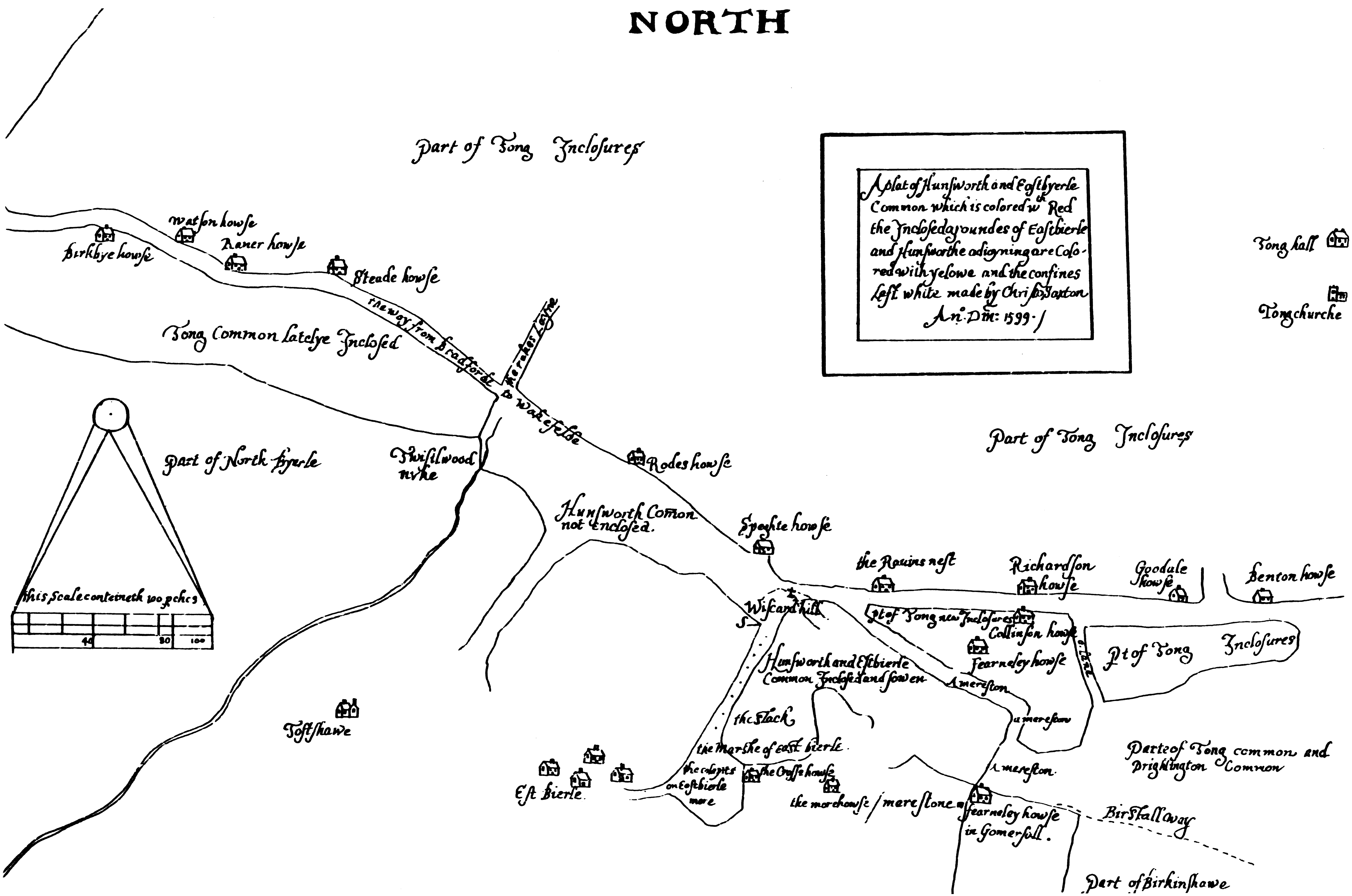
1545 Widow Watson (Farnley) [S.R.]

Raner howse: Rayner was a prolific surname in Birstall and Hartshead in the 16th century and several branches lived close to Tong at Drighlington. William Rayner "formerly of Little Gomersall" was resident in Tong and there were other Rayners at Ryecroft. In 1682 Joshua Rayner was ordered to repair Knowles Lane which is not very far from where Raner howse stood.

1274 John, son of Reyner (Rastrick) [W.C.R.]
1314 Thomas, son of John Reyner (Fixby) [W.C.R.]
1379 William Rayner (Elland) [P.T.Y.]
1478 Thomas Rayner (Birstall) [Y.A.S.M.] (15)
1545 John, Edward and Bartholomew Rayner (Drighlington) [S.R.]

Steade howse: Once again this is a prolific Yorkshire name. Its origins were in Wharfedale, where it is recorded as early as *c.*1200, but by the early 16th century there were Steads in Bradford and North Bierley. In 1538, for example, the Hawmonds (or Ormondroyds) of North Bierley granted properties to Robert Stede of Holme "as they lie of the northsyd of the kynges heigh way betwix Bradford and Wakefield" (6). The name is still found in the neighbourhood of Tong Street, and Stead Road is a reminder of the long association.

1190-1200 Gamel de Steda (Beamsley) [T.Ch] (16)
1379 Peter del Stede (Burley) [P.T.Y.]
1545 Thomas and Nicholas Sted (North Bierley) [S.R.]
1650 Robert Stead (Tong) [C.R.]


NORTH
Part of Tong Inclosures
A plat of Hunsworth and Eastbyerle Common which is colored wth Red the Inclosed grounds of Eastbierle and Hunsworthe adjoyning are colored with yelowe and the confines left white made by Chris: Saxton An: Dni: 1599.
Tong hall
Tongchurche
Birkbye howse
Watson howse
Raner howse
Steade howse
the way from Bradforde to Wakefelde
the rakes Layne
Tong Common latelye Inclosed
Part of North Byerle
Thwistlewood nuke
this Scale conteineth 100 pches
40
80
100
Rodes howse
Hunsworth Common not enclosed.
Speghte howse
the Rouins nest
Richardson howse
Goodale howse
Benton howse
Wiscard hill
pt of Tong new Inclosures
Collinson howse
Fearneley howse
Pt of Tong Inclosures
Hunsworth and Estbierle Common Inclosed and sowen
A mereston
a mereston
the Slack
the Marshe of east bierle
the colepyts on Estbierle more
the Crosse howse
the morehowse / merestone
Fearneley howse in Gomersall.
Parte of Tong common and Drighlington Common
Birstall way
Part of Birkinshawe
Tofshawe
Est Bierle.
Part of Tong Inclosures

Rodes howse: Rhodes is certainly not a surname with a single family origin, but one at least of the hereditary surnames had its origins in North Bierley. It is still prominent in hamlets close to Tong Street.

1379 John delrodes (North Bierley) [P.T.Y.]
1545 Edward Roides (North Bierley) [S.R.]

Speghte howse: Speight is a very distinctive surname with a history in Birstall parish going back probably 700 years. It is still common in the Tong Street area.

1297 John Specth [W.C.R.]
1379 John Speght (Drighlington) [S.R.]
1545 William Speight (East Bierley) [S.R.]
1626 William Speight (Tong) (6)

Richardson howse: Richardson is not a distinctive name but it was well-known in Tong and neighbouring parishes in the 16th and 17th centuries.

1545 Thomas Richardson (Tong) [S.R.]
1626 Widow Nicholas Richardson (Tong) (5)

Goodale howse: The Goodalls were in Birstall parish in the 15th century and may have moved there from Horbury. It was not long before several branches were established in Tong where at least one was known as "of the Streete". There are numerous references to them throughout the 16th and 17th centuries and the surname is still common locally.

1309 Robert Godale (Horbury) [W.C.R.]
1379 John Godhalle (Horbury) [P.T.Y.]
1460 Thomas Gudeale (Birstall) [W.Y.R.]
1545 William, Richard and George Goodaill (Tong) [S.R.]
1649 William Goodale de Tonge Street [C.R.]

Benton howse: Benton was a variant of Bentham, a surname found in the Western Dales throughout much of the Middle Ages and particularly common in Horton in Ribblesdale. It was known in the Bradford area in the 16th century and became well established in Tong, where it was responsible for the minor name Bentham Syke.

1251 William de Bentham (Yewcross) [Y.Inq] (17)
1379 Thomas de Bentham (Skipton) [P.T.Y.]
1545 John Bentham (Horton in Ribblesdale) [S.R.]
Thomas Bentham (Northowram) [S.R.]
1634 Robert Benthom, Bentom or Benton of the Streete (Tong) [C.R.]

The above account does not in itself lead to any firm conclusions, it simply takes a look at Tong Street at a particular period in its history, drawing attention to two main sources, i.e. Saxton's map and the Tong court rolls, which do not seem to have been examined before in detail. Hopefully, the picture these give us of a highway and the families who lived by it in the late Middle Ages, is itself of interest, but the real hope is that the article will stimulate further interest in the significance of 'street' and contribute to a fuller understanding of it.

ABBREVIATIONS

W.C.R.	Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield 1274-1331, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series [Y.A.S.] Vols. 29, 36, 57, 78, 109 and, post 1331, in J. H. Turner, The History of Brighouse, Rastrick and Hipperholme.
P.T.Y.	Returns of the Poll Tax for the West Riding, 1379 Y.A.S.
W.Y.R.	Index of Wills in the York Registry, 1389-1688. Y.A.S. 15 Vols.
S.R.	Subsidy Roll, 1297, Y.A.S. Vol. 16. Ed. W. Brown. 1524, Yorks. Arch. Journal, Vols. 2 & 4, 1545, Thoresby Soc. Vols. 9, 11.
P.R.	Parish Registers.
W.B.	Whitley Beaumont Collection, Huddersfield Public Library.
C.R.	The Court Rolls of Tong Manor, Tong MSS.

REFERENCES

1 Ross P. Roman Roads in Yorkshire, *Bradford Antiquary*, new series, Vol. II. p. 136.
2 Bradford Telegraph and Argus, 19. Feb. 1958.
3 Savile Papers. DD. SR. Nottinghamshire County Record Office.
4 *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, Vol. 1. p. 156.
5 Tong MSS, Bradford Public Library. This collection is at present being reclassified.
6 *Yorkshire Deeds*, Vol. III, Yorks. Arch. Soc., Record Series, Vol. LXIII. p. 140.
7 Tong MSS, Bradford Public Library. These and ensuing references are from the court rolls unless otherwise stated.
8 Spencer-Stanhope Collection, Bradford Public Library. There is a transcript in the *Bradford Antiquary*, new series, Vol. VI. p. 213.
9 A. H. Smith, *Place-Names of the West Riding*, Vol. III. p. 32.
10 Tong MSS. Bundle 36. 'Dudlaw, 1279', 'dodelawe', no date.
11 e.g. 1379 Robert de Shirclyf (Ecclesfield) [P.T.Y.]; 1523 William Shirclif (Ecclesfield) [W.Y.R.]; 1598 William Shirtcliffe of North Bierley, [Tong MSS, Bundle 32].
12 e.g. 1379 William de Knoll (Hetton) [P.T.Y.]; 1545 Henry Knolles 9Waddington) [S.R.]
13 Richard Tempest married Rosamund Bolling in 1497 and moved from Ribblesdale to Bolling Hall shortly afterwards. It seems a possibility that the ramification in the Bradford area of certain Ribblesdale names. e.g. Oddy, Fearnside owed a great deal to this move. The subject is, however, a complicated one and cannot be dealt with here.
14 A. H. Smith, *Place Names of the West Riding*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 32.
15 A fifteenth century rental of Nostel Priory, Yorkshire Arch. Soc. Record Series, *Miscellanea*, Vol. I.
16 *Early Yorkshire Charters*, Vol. VII. p. 129.
17 *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, Vol. I, Yorks. Arch. Soc., Record Series, Vol. XII. p. 25.

RINGING ADAM BELLS

Jennifer Stead

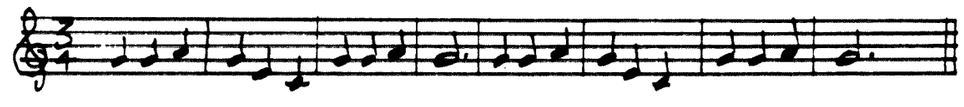
There has been a startling response to our request for more information about the game of Ringing Adam Bells (in *Old West Riding* Vol. 1 No. 1). This game, possibly a remnant of an old courtship custom, and apparently unique to Huddersfield, had seemed to have died out in the Holme Valley at the end of last century, and yet it was still being played in Lindley in 1979! The responses to our enquiries have come exclusively from a small area immediately to the west of Huddersfield, comprising Lindley, Longwood and Golcar, and from people who were unknown to each other, and whose versions of the game are different in several details. One "rogue" response came from Mirfield, four miles north east of Huddersfield, but upon further enquiry it was revealed that this example of the game had been carried to Mirfield in the early years of this century by a named Huddersfield family. Indeed, family seems to have been of prime importance to the survival of Ringing Adam Bells. Family parties, especially at Christmas time, afforded an opportunity to indulge in hilarity and undignified posture in the privacy of the family circle, and it was at such a family party that Adam Bells were last rung (as far as we know) in 1979.

In these family versions, as opposed to the Holmfirth Laikin Neet versions, children were often included, the game was played in a straight line more often than a circle, the players rocked over one by one rather than all together, and the tunes differed slightly. Here is one Lindley version from Mr. W. Firth:

> My grandma and my grandad taught me sixty years ago at Christmas parties. There'd be thirty of us, all family. Somebody'd say, "Let's ring Adam Bells" . . . we sat in a long row, alternate men and women facing opposite ways. The first in the row would sing the first line, then rock over, then the next person the next line, like this:
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | 1st person | Oo rings owd Adam Bells | (rock over) |
> | 2nd " | Kitlins in t'clough | (") |
> | 3rd " | Canta see mah bare bum | (") |
> | 4th " | Ah, plain enough | (") |
>
> and so on down the line, all going over just like bells ringing. We had rather plump relations, they wore these old coms, you know, once they'd got over they couldn't get back, they'd be laid out there laughing their heads off. My uncle always sat at the end, and he would fall over sideways, so the whole row collapsed. We played it whenever we had a family do, in fact we were playing it at my sister's parties up to two years ago (1979).

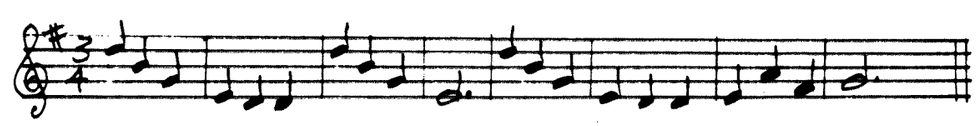
The tune differs very slightly from George Taylor's Holmfirth version, and is of a rather stumpy three-four time and not the dancing six-eight time of Taylor's (was it the Holmfirth fiddles that ensured the dancing rhythm there?)

Here is the Lindley tune:



This is the Mirfield version:

> Adam Bells? I learnt it sixty years ago at Christmas parties, off a Huddersfield family that came to live in Mirfield . . . We sat in a line, or sometimes a circle, as fancy took us . . . Only the modest ones gathered their skirts in; those who'd had a drop of port and wanted a bit of fun didn't. We sang a line each and rocked over in turn:
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | 1st person | I ring owd Adam Bells | (rock over) |
> | 2nd " | Kitlins in t'clough | (") |
> | 3rd " | Canta see mah bare arse | (") |
> | 4th " | Aye, plain enough | (") |



This Mirfield player taught it to a young friend about forty years ago, and this is her version:

> We played it at Christmas parties, only grown ups, never children, (well, it's not suitable for children is it?) We sat in a line on the floor, facing opposite ways, men and women. We couldn't see each other, but you could see the next person's bum as they rocked over. We rocked over one by one as we sang a line each . . . over and over again; when it got to the end of the line, we started again at the top. We didn't clasp our hands behind our knees, we just put our hands under our knees to help us over. No, we didn't gather our skirts in modestly. Well, there's no modesty about it is there? Sometimes only four of us would play it. It was terrific fun.

This linear version, where the players rock over one by one, as opposed to the Holmfirth circular version where the players rock over together, is obviously the one transplanted to Bob Copper's Sussex (see *Old West Riding* Vol. 1 No. 1 p. 8).

Miss V. M. Crowther of Lindley was taught the game as a child by her friend's mother, Mrs. Snowball:

> She watched us do it, and laughed, and stopped us, saying 'Oo no don't, you shouldn't, it's a bit naughty'. We sat facing each other singing the

words, over and over, rocking backwards and forwards all the time showing our knickers:

Ring ring owd Adam Bells
Kitlins in t'clough
Canta see my bare arse?
Ah, fair enough

This continual rocking motion also appears in a version from Longwood, where "Adam" has been bowdlerised to "Aaron". My Longwood correspondent writes that at family Christmas parties, only the females played this game, when the menfolk had gone out to the Club for half an hour. The women and girls all sat in a line facing the same way, and chanted in sing-song fashion:

Who rung owd Aaron Bells
Kitlins in t'clough
Can yo see my bare bum?
Ah sewer enough!

"Throughout the rhyme we all rocked back and forth, and it wasn't till we reached the middle of the last phrase "Ah sewer enough!" that we all went over together. It was such fun we did it over and over again".

The continual rocking to and fro in these last two versions brings even closer the similarity of Ringing Adam Bells to Moulding Cocklety Bread (c.f. John Aubrey ". . . they gather up their knees and their coates . . . and then wabble to and fro with their Buttocks" *Old West Riding* Vol. 1 No. 1 p. 7).
Little girls at Scapegoat Hill school before 1914 also played "Aaron Bells", but this time as a "playing out" game, just outside the school gates, on Longwood Common. A Longwood woman told me:

"We held hands walking round in a ring. We'd chant in sing-song fashion:

Aaron Bells, Aaron Bells
Kitlins in t'clough
Can you see my backside (all fall down)
Yes, fair enough!

We used to *fly* over, that were't best of it. Then get up and do it again."

This little girls' ring game is only a shadow of the adult game, Iona Opie has told me. Mrs. Opie thinks that the linear form of the game is the true form and the ring just an adaptation. She would not go so far as I would in suggesting the game might have its origin in ancient tribal marriage and fertility customs, but writes: "All the evidence points to the older ring games, and the older line singing games, being survivals of medieval courtship games".
Perhaps Adam Bells escaped the assiduous nets of Victorian folklore collectors because of its coarseness. Perhaps it was once widespread. Who knows, if our enquiries had been made in other areas of Britain, say fifty years ago, we may have received responses similar to those which are still reaching us from that small area west of Huddersfield.

BURIED TREASURE

Lilian Robinson

It is doubtful if gold was ever discovered in Yorkshire, but anyone digging for History will find that the various West Riding repositories hold treasure galore. Apart from Parish Registers, and Public Records, numerous private collections deposited with the various authorities are a valuable source of information.
Consider just two boxes collection MD43 held by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. The hundreds of deeds, agreements, leases, bonds, wills, marriage settlements etc. relate to people in Northowram, Southowram, Elland, Halifax, Bradford, Keighley and places around. The content of the documents is interesting, though different searchers probably find different highlights, and the information gleaned no doubt excites quite different reaction from what was originally intended to be conveyed.
Tucked between a bundle of Wills is an undated receipt, showing that Saml. Wigfold bought of John Mandeville "2½ yards of black cloth at 10/- a yard", and "6 pr Duble Shamy gloves at 3/6d a pair" (1).
A bundle of documents reveals that someone, in 1811, spent £5. 9. 4. on copies of Manor Court Rolls and other proof relating to properties of Sarah Wood, who had died in 1803. They provide a history of her holdings from the year 1493 (2).
In December, 1607, Sir Richard Tempest, "Farmer of the Rectory of Bradford" and William Pollard were involved in an argument, which provides details of rights on Clayton Common at that time (3).
In January 1633 pieces of land in Elland were described as "2 selions of Oldearthe upon a place or Furlonge 'Bullfall' " and "one other selion in Stonelawfield upon a place or furlonge 'Within Inge. " (4).
Martimmas 1645: Rentals of the Freemen of Thornton, Bradford, are listed (5).
December 1661. Sir George Savile let "seaven perches of Common land with 1 barne and appurts in Eland near *The Scare* to John Armitage for a yearly rent of 4d" (6).
August 1712: in a document which Susan Greyson signed with a cross, she acknowledged receipt of 6 and 20 parchment writings and 5 in paper relating to two properties which Joseph Crowther, to whom she had been a servant, gave her during his lifetime. She also acknowledged to have been paid wages and monies due to her from Joseph's widow, Susan Crowther, with whom she remained a servant (7).
April 1729: A lease mentions premises "formerly made for a charcoal house", on Top of the Bank, Elland (8).
October 1730: Certain properties were "Released and for ever quit Claimed Unto Isaac Micholls frome the Begining of the World to this day", by Sarah Nicholls (9).

August 1733: Land in Northowram was sold with "All such seats or closetts as belongeth to a certain messuage "Stawpes" in Parish Church of Halifax" (10).
June 1753: Land in Spotland (Lancs) was measured, 30½ acres "according to 7 yeards to the Rod or Perch", and 7½ acres of copyhold at "8 yards to the Perch" (11).
December 1753: James Taylor, a Tallow Chandler, took Jacob Crowther, a poor boy as apprentice, and promised to "well educate and bring him up in some lawful calling and in the fear of God", until 24 years of age. At the end of the term he was to "Deliver unto the said apprentice Double Apparrell of all sorts, that is to say, 1 good and new suit for the Lord's Days and another for the working days, Linnen, Woollen Hose, Shoes and other necessaries for such an apprentice to have and wear" (12).
January 1755: A group of men went into partnership for "Malting of Malt, buying and selling Barley, Malt, and other corn and grain, in Halifax" (13).
March 1765: A Northowram tanner bought all the timber at Doyle Holme Farm (14).
These brief extracts are only a few of the items taken from two boxes – the two boxes being only part of one collection. They are like a sample, a flashback into the lives and habits of people over the years, which leaves us wanting to explore further.
Perhaps the person most clearly seen is Robert Wood, in a letter to his uncle, John Ramsden. The letter takes half of a four-page closely written document which, for the other half, contains an agreement dated July 1714 between John Watkinson of Ovenden and Judith his wife, with James Lister of Shibden Hall and John Sayor of Northowram, Clothier, relating to property in Northowram (15).
Robert's letter reads:–
"Horncastle. July the 20 1714.
Most loveing Unckle, I hope these few lines will find you in good health and my dear Father and Mother and all other Relacions and Frends Has I am att present blest be god. As for Mr. Read You May Give him A positive Answer Wherein I think itt is a Foolish thing for me to have any thoughts of going to him againe being that now I have Gott a little Knowledg in the Nature of Wooll and knows the Coast of the Country being that I Ride to all Marketts Munday to Auford that's down in the Marshes within three miles of the sea. Tuseday to Spillsby and the rest of the week Wee Ridabout the Country wherein I bear all my own charges butt I hope I have Nott Spent one penny in vain butt to my own Advantage. As for the business of buying Wooll I Can Like very well And as for Setleing in the Country where I am, I am very Desirous to do any ways for my own Good and the good of my frends butt as for being A Steward to A Gentleman or a Clerke to Some Justice of the peace Mr. Richardson knows of no place that is vacant. I Desired Mr. Richardson to Lett me know what hee would have for Instructing of me in buying of Wooll hee tells me hee will Nott Differ with you when you Come over hee tells mee hee hath No Male Child of his own And so hee might as well do good to others. I Dare say that hee will nott bee Unreasonable in the Matter. As for the prices of Wooll There is John Stocks of Hallifax Give eighteeen shillins A todd for Long Wool within A good mile of Horncastle and Mr. Hodgson He same at Half a Ginny over but I see Mr. Hodgson profer eighteen Shilling and sixpence for one parcell butt itt would not bee taken, butt there is many that will bate nothing of a pound butt as for Small Wooll they may buy itt for 6 pound p pack in the Country butt is all bought up in the Country now but this bearrer Gives 5s p. pack in to Mr. Richardson. You haveing writt for three packs of Long Wooll if there had any Coat Carts Comed in as this Day hee would have Send you ten packs Some Small Wooll Locks and Long Wooll butt his Long Wooll is Nott fitt for your purpose I think for itt is onely wooll that he picks out of his Small fallon (?) Wooll butt this parcel which I have bought is Good pasture Wool White and Clean and free itt will go about 4 to todd or some few 5, which I think will sute your purpose. I am certon that itt is better than that parcel which Mr. Hodgson Gives Eighteen and half a Ginny over for So if you think itt Convenient for mee to put it up and two packs of L . . . s and . . . . of small Wooll which will made up a load you wrte onely for three butt there is no Coak Cart will take three packs the Wooll is mightyly bought up down in ye Marshes so I would have you Come Down in a Short Time and any parcell thatt you think is for Your purpose if you Do Not Agree with them I Can see how their putts Coals att after Pray you let me know what prices you can sell Long Wooll and Small for att Hallifax. Let Mr. Richardson know nothing how I write to you. Pray you let mee hear from you as Speedily as you Can without any Faile att all. Pray you Remember mee to all my frends, which is all att Present. From your Dutifull and Loving Nefew.
Robert Wood.
Addressed to: Mr. John Ramsden, Stapler. To bee left att his Shop in Hallifax.
With Care.

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1 1/F/34
2 2/DI/42
3 2/E/1
4 2/F/2
5 1/B/1
6 2/E/5
7 2/E/16
8 2/F/14
9 2/E/26
10 2/B/16
11 2/F/6
12 2/E/32
13 2/E/33
14 2/E/37
15 2/E/17

LOCAL HISTORY PUBLICATIONS

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