LOCAL HISTORY PUBLICATIONS

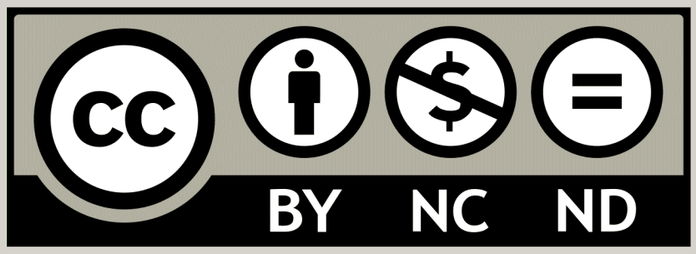
OLD WEST RIDING

THE OLD RECTORY, MIRFIELD

A COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES

edited by George Redmonds

vol.2 no.2 Winter 1982 price 1.60



COVER DRAWING AND ORIGINAL ARTWORK
by
ANTHONY B. BURKE

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INTRODUCTION

It is not too early, I think, to comment on the progress made by *Old West Riding*, for the response to it has been encouraging in a number of ways. In one sense the most important aspect of that response has been from the public, for whilst neither of the first two issues is yet sold out, we have been able to cover expenses and can therefore contemplate the magazine's future constructively and optimistically. This public response has not by any means been a purely passive one and it is pleasing to be able to say that comment on the published articles has reached us from many parts of England. There are already indications that this will in time increase the number and range of contributions and this can only be for the good.

Now that several numbers have appeared, it is possible to say that the range has already increased. The subject matter is no longer biased towards Huddersfield at it inevitably was in the first issue and the topics themselves have been varied in both content and length. It is especially gratifying to have the support of so many well-known writers, and articles by John Addy, Peter Brears, Ian Dewhirst, Colum Giles and John Goodchild in particular have helped to give us an excellent start. On the other hand, we are extremely pleased that in this early period no fewer than six articles are the work of adult students in W.E.A. classes and it is to be hoped that we can maintain this balance in the future.

We should like to stress again that we see the magazine as an outlet for professional and amateur alike and are determined to be flexible in our judgement of what might be suitable. Even a very short item can make a valid point and a single old photograph or drawing can in itself be worth publishing.

Finally, we should like to thank all those who through their contributions or advice have helped towards the initial success of *Old West Riding*.

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HONLEY FROM THE 1811 CENSUS

Hilary Haigh

The first official census of the population of Great Britain was taken in 1801 as a result of the Population Act of 1800. The man who suggested it, John Rickman (1770-1840), a Clerk to the House of Commons, was given the task of organising this and the three subsequent censuses.

The purpose of the census was to establish firstly the number and distribution of people living in Great Britain, secondly the number of houses inhabited and thirdly the number of workers engaged in agriculture, commerce and manufacture. The government required numbers only to be compiled. To save expense the officers of the parish were used to gather these statistics in England and Wales, schoolmasters did it in Scotland. Overseers of the Poor were to visit every house in the parish and send the figures thus accumulated from answers to oral questions, to the local Justice of the Peace, who in turn passed them to the County Clerk of the Peace who despatched them to Parliament (1). Similar information was compiled for the first four census returns (1801, 1811, 1821, and 1831) and in 1931 the census books were destroyed (2), although, of course, the statistics compiled had been published.

It is fortunate, therefore, that some of the original returns compiled by the overseers of the poor have been preserved. Those for Honley (3) in 1811 form part of the Honley Civil Township archives.

The document (4) is handwritten on printed forms headed "Population of the Town and Township of Honley, May 1811". The name of each householder is given and against his name is marked the number of houses inhabited by his family, the number of families occupying each household, any houses being built, any uninhabited houses, whether the family is employed chiefly in agriculture, trade or other occupations, the number of males and females which the household comprised. The Overseers of the Poor for Honley in 1811 were Abraham Chappel and Joshua Moorhouse (5).

Housing

543 houses were occupied in the Honley of 1811 and 4 were in the course of erection. A further 16 houses were not occupied at the time of the census.

The 543 occupied houses provided homes for 558 families. The fifteen households of two families belonged to Thomas Haigh, John Smith, Edward Jaggar, James Oldham, Elihu Broadley, Jonathan Broadley, John Broadbent, Richard Taylor, John Sykes, John Whitehead, William Lawton, Benjamin Dondersley, Jonas Butterworth and Martha France. Information is not available to tell us why two families shared one house in these cases but it is possible that they were in-laws living together due to economic circumstances.

Four houses were being built by three men, namely George Armitage Esq., Joseph Heap and Joshua Midwood (building two houses). These men were respectively a gentleman, a clothier and a tallow chandler. Joseph Heap's family in 1811 comprised eleven people, one of the largest households in Honley at that time, (the average household was 5.2 people), hence perhaps the need to build another house. George Armitage lived at High Royd, Honley and was a Justice of the Peace. His family in 1811 comprised three males and four females. He was born in 1738 and died in 1815 (7). The second house may have been built for his retirement.

The location of the houses in Honley in 1811 would be mostly in the village centre (see map) in the area of Church Street, Southgate and New Street. Between 1788 (8) and 1838 (9) many houses were built in the village centre and the village had expanded to Moorbottom. All the houses were stone built and mostly took the form of terraces.

Population

The total population of Honley in 1811 was 2,918 (1490 males and 1428 females) compared with 2,529 in 1801. (By 1821 it had grown to 3,501). This rise in the population was reflected throughout the country and helped to boost national morale in the struggle against France. *'The Times'* commented in 1811: "These Returns of increased population must afford high satisfaction to every patriotic mind as shewing that the radical resources of the country have not been affected by the war which has lasted so long" (10). A thought in many minds before the census was taken, however, was that it was a "prelude to some capitation or conscription" (11).

The population of Honley in 1811 comprised 558 families (12). Of these 11 were men alone and 13 of them women living alone; 39 were families whose head was female and 36 families consisted of couples. 28 families had ten or more people in them. The largest 'family' resided in the Workhouse: 2 males and 11 females. The families of Abraham Chappel and Joshua Moorhouse are listed and comprised 3 and 6 people respectively.

Occupations

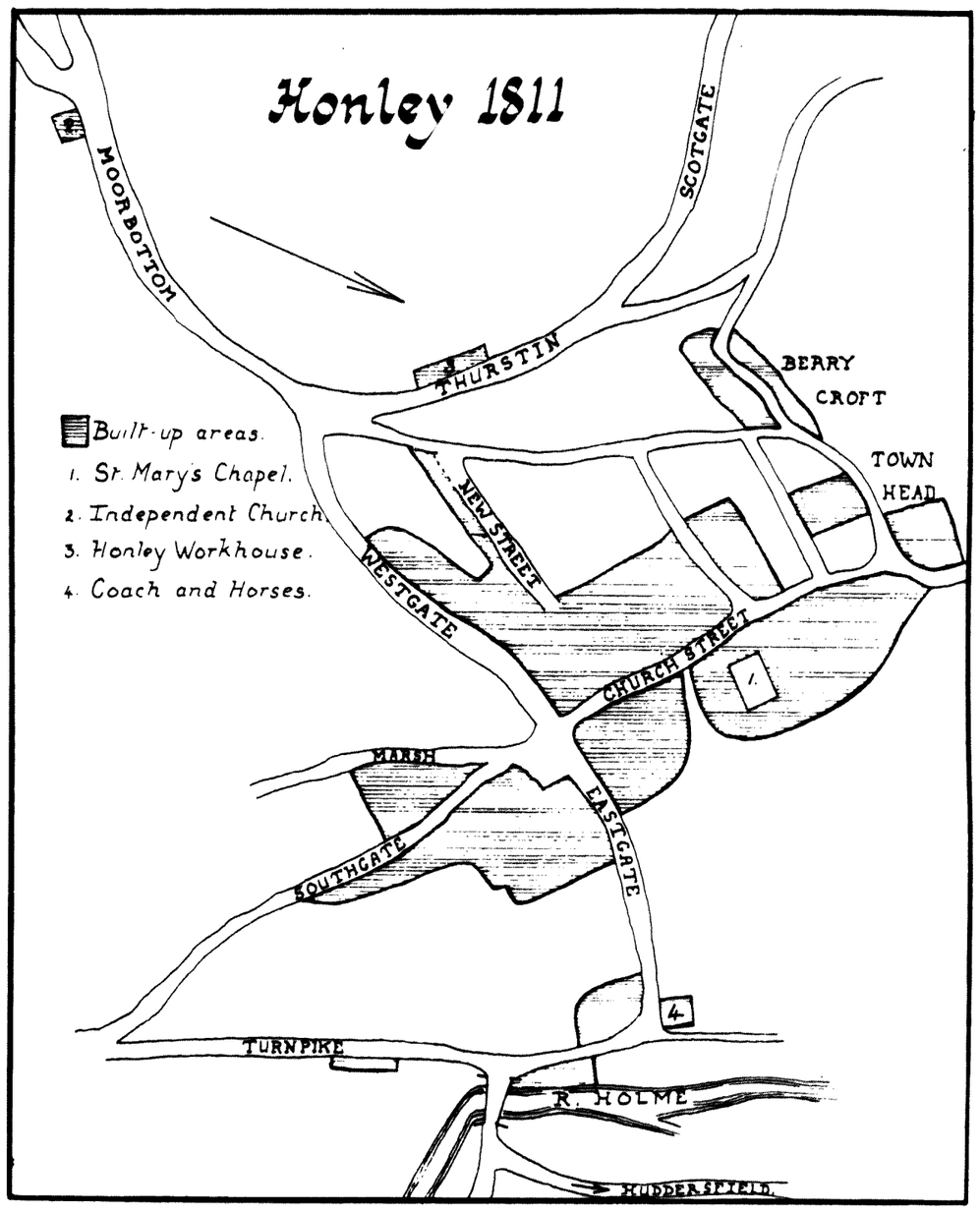
The 1811 census put families into one of three types of occupation: (a) agriculture, (b) trade, manufactures and handicrafts, (c) others. Out of the 558 families in Honley only 9 were employed in agriculture compared with 489 families employed in trade, manufacture or handicraft and 60 in neither category.

The families employed in agriculture were those of Timothy Armitage, Edward Jaggar, George Jaggar, Thomas Cockin, Richard Bingley, John Firth, Frederick France, Joshua Sanderson and Richard Oldfield. The location of their holdings is not given.

Although 87% of the population of Honley were engaged in trade, manufacture or handicraft, and the

1811 census gives the name of the families employed in such occupations, it does not specify the occupation. To ascertain this information reference to other sources, such as poll books and the parish registers, would be necessary.

At the time of the poll in 1807, for instance, 32 out of the 53 freeholders in Honley were clothiers. Other occupations included 1 blacksmith, 1 butcher, 1 carpenter, 2 cartmen, 2 cordwainers, 2 dryers, 1 farmer, 2 husbandmen, 3 millers, 1 millwright, 1 tallow chandler (J. Midwood) and 1 yeoman. In addition there were 2 gentlemen and 1 dissenting minister. From this it would seem appropriate to assume that in 1811 a large proportion of the 87% of the population engaged in trade etc. were concerned with the textile trade. Nationally, however, more than one third of the population was employed in agriculture.



Limitations

The 1811 census together with those of 1801, 1821 and 1831 provided only limited information, mostly because only limited information was sought, one reason for this being John Rickman's low opinion of the abilities of the overseers of the poor who compiled the data (14). Hence the 1811 census of Honley gives no details about the relationships between members of each household, their ages, marital status, precise occupation, place of birth or state of mind. It does not even give the address of the householders. It is of little use on its own, therefore, to genealogists and others interested in family reconstitution or mobility of population.

Its limitations from the government's point of view is shown by the fact that the 1841 census was altered. It was taken on a specific couple of days and was carried out by registrars rather than overseers of the poor. The name of each member of the household was given together with their age (approximate), sex, occupation and whether or not they were born in that country. This information was further extended in 1851 by the inclusion of the place of birth, thus affording details of movement of the population. Each successive census gave more detailed and accurate information (15).

Conclusion

The 1811 census for Honley is of interest to students of local history, however, as an original document compiled by the overseers of the poor and for the information it gives about Honley families, housing and occupations. It is also of interest becuase, unlike its national counterpart, it has survived, passing successively from the Honley civil parish officials first to Honley UDC then to Holmfirth UDC, then to a private individual who had the foresight to pass it, with the other civil township papers, to Kirklees Archives Department.

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COLNE OR HOLME?

G. Redmonds

When D.F.E. Sykes wrote some seventy years ago that Huddersfield had its beginnings hard by the confluence of two streams, the Colne and the Holme, he was simply stating what he took to be self-evident. This is, after all, the starting point for almost any history of the town. His more detailed account of the courses of the two streams was, I think, designed to emphasise the contrasts between the two valleys; the Colne "bound on either side by undulating heights, whose rugged formation would seem to indicate an angry sea of lava chilled into adamantine rock," and then, in quite a different vein, the Holme, "richly wooded and affording to the appreciative eye rare glimpses of sylvan beauty: the scenery less harsh and rugged than that of the sister river." (1)

This view of the two valleys has developed into something of a cliche. The very words 'Colne Valley' have become emotive, descriptive of a region closely linked with Huddersfield and with the Holme Valley and yet somehow distinct from both: the bleakness, the harsh industrial landscape, the remote hillside cottages have all somehow become stereotyped, evoking that fast-disappearing West Riding so faithfully portrayed by Dr. Phyllis Bentley.

There are many who have romanticised the scene. Lettice Cooper for example, saw the valley as "a place fortified for the industrial battle, the steep banks battlemented with chimneys and square mill fronts and the high walls of mill yards." It was a "grim continuous city, stripped like its countryside for action . . . one of the centres of the textile world" (2).

Such descriptions by both residents and outsiders, have helped to build up a concept of what the Colne Valley stands for, which embraces mills and music, politics and pollution. The geographic definition, however, is less expansive: for some, the Colne Valley runs only from Marsden to Longroyd Bridge. It is an interesting thought that Bradley, Deighton, Kirkheaton and Dalton, not to mention Huddersfield, all share the valley of the Colne, but are not of 'the Colne Valley'. There is a less obvious, but nonetheless real, distinction between the valley of the Holme and 'the Holme Valley.'

The irony is even greater if we examine the history of the river names. For us now, the Colne is an important river rising in the hills west of Marsden and flowing into the Calder near Cooper Bridge; the Holme is considered to be its affluent, joining it at Folly Hall. The description of these two streams as the river Colne and the river Holme is almost certainly a comparatively modern habit: in all probability even the terms Colne Valley and Holme Valley have no great antiquity. Most surprising of all, however, is the discovery that our ancestors in these valleys may have had a totally different view of what the Colne was. Indeed, the evidence of history runs so contrary to our modern understanding of the names Colne and Holme that its presentation poses a real problem. I have, therefore, in the argument which follows, adopted the device of calling the Colne, River A and the Holme, River B. This in no way implies a precedence of one over the other.

Fortunately there is one issue which is not in dispute. From the point where the two streams in question come together at Folly Hall, and then flow eastwards into the Calder, the river has apparently been known as the Colne for as long as records exist. In the 12th century, Fountains Abbey charters (3) describe the Colne as running between Bradley and Kirkheaton; in 1507 Dalton's inhabitants were forbidden at the manor court to fish "in the water of Coune" (4). These and many other references leave us in no doubt that then, as now, the Colne flowed from Huddersfield to Cooper Bridge.

The whole question of what was meant by the 'Colne' west of Folly Hall is, however, much more complicated, and can be approached in two ways. The first of these concerns those references where the name Colne is used and the river can be positively identified. In 1236-58, for example, a well-known deed describes a messuage know as the "Ermitage" as lying near to the water called "Kolne" (5). The context makes it quite clear that the locality is Armitage Bridge and the river in question River B. The same stretch of water is also called Colne in the 1584 Survey of Almondbury manor (6).

Unfortuantely, Senior's map of Almondbury for 1634 does not name the two rivers, but a deed of the same year, now in the Ramsden collection, refers to land adjoining "upon a Rocke or skar and the water of Colne", where the scar must be Lockwood Scar and the Colne once again River B (7). Even 150 years later there are similar examples. Some maps of Huddersfield actually have Colne written on River B (8) and a famous document of 1778, recounting the details of the Holmfirth flood, attributed the damage to the "river know by the name of Coln," which flowed from its source "on the hills dividing the counties of York and Chester, to its junction in the river Calder." (i.e. River B) (9).

In some of these cases the documents quoted from are the work of copyists and it must be at least a possibility that transcription errors account for a proportion of the references. Indeed, for some years I took it for granted that this was the case and came almost reluctantly to the conclusion that not all of them could be explained in this way.

The second point in the argument concerns the name or names formerly given to River A, but before that point is dealt with, it is worth considering the terms generally applied to water courses in this district before the modern period. The word 'river', for example, was rare and may never have been used

colloquially: it is possible to find examples such as "Slaighwait river" in a dispute of 1627 (10) but descriptions such as 'brook' and 'water' were far more commonly employed. Later, particularly after 1700, 'beck' also became popular and often succeeded in ousting the longer established 'brook'.

In Marsden, where River A had its source and was at its narrowest, it was considered to be a brook. The court roll of 1664 defines it as "Marsden Brooke, as it runs from Marsden up to the water of Calder" (11). In Slaithwaite it was often called a water. Robert Meeke who was the vicar there from 1685-1724, had occasion to refer to the river on several occasions, but did not use the word Colne. In 1691, after a heavy shower, he said that "Bridley Brook was very strong but the broad water was not very big, the rain falling in one quarter." The following year, explaining why his afternoon service was poorly attended he said, "few people came; especially from Linfit side, the brook being up" (12). It is not absolutely clear, however, whether this refers to Bridley Brook or the river.

One of the most interesting and complete sets of references occurs in the Quarter Sessions of 1709 (13). A number of men were brought before the court in that year for illegal fishing and the inference is that the offences concerned River A rather than any of its tributaries: not once was the word Colne used. John Barraclough and John Dransfield, for example, each took twenty fish out of "Slaughthwait Water", and the former, fishing in Golcar also took fifty fish out of "Goldcarr beck". Finally, near Linthwaite Hall, John Dison and his companions "fished illegally in the stream (rivus) called Linfleet beck (sic for Linfet), belonging to Richard Thornton."

It seems almost certain that as late as 1709 River A did not have one name, but that different stretches were identified by the places through which it flowed. Even in its passage through Huddersfield it was not at all unusual for it to be called Huddersfield Water. On the other hand there are several references to it as the Colne from c.1775 and the problem is to know just when and why this development took place. It does not seem to have stabilised as the Colne for a number of years; indeed on several maps between 1775 and 1825 it is called the river Mars (14). There have been one or two imaginative explanations of this name but my own view is that it is a back formation from Marsden, which as late as 1882 was defined by C. A. Hulbert as "the Marsh Dean, that is Vale" (15).

What should also be considered is the fact that River B, having been called the Colne for much of its early history and as late as 1778, later came to be known as the Holme. Smith found no evidence for this latter name before the 19th century, but there are at least two precedents in the 17th century. In 1655 the parish register for Almondbury recorded the fact that Edward Blackburn of Armitage had lost his life in the waters "vulgo vocatis Holme waters" (16). He may have drowned in the river during its passage through the township of Holme, or it may be that he died at Armitage Bridge, and that this was already a popular name for the river. Additionally, at least one version of the Almondbury Survey of 1584, copied in 1631, used the description "the water of Holme", for River B (17).

It is not really possible at this stage to offer a full explanaion of the development of the river names in question, for there is still a large amount of documentary evidence which has not been examined with this particular problem in mind. Nevertheless one or two relevant points can perhaps be made. First of all it should not be forgotton that a river name may be used less by those who live near it than by outsiders. Even today the inhabitants of Slaithwaite or Golcar are likely to refer just to the river or to the water rather than to the Colne. It may be, therefore, that it was always the outsider who decided in which valley the Colne had its origins, and if that was the case the fact that River A was eventually identified as the Colne may have had much to do with its greatly increased importance during the Industrial Revolution. In particular the building of the canal, first to Huddersfield and then to Marsden in the last quarter of the 18th century may have been decisive.

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DOCUMENTARY
Self-help in house building.
The rules of the Thurlstone Building Club 1799.

George Redmonds, Cyril Pearce

The 1980's have begun in a dramatic way for Britain and may yet prove to be one of the most critical decades in our twentieth century history. A combination of economic depression and an increasingly stark polarisation of political thinking have begun to force us to re-examine many basic assumptions about our society. Central to this re-assessment, and perhaps most emotive, is the growing debate on the future of what has come to be called the Welfare State. With speculation rife about the impending dismemberment of the National Health Service and with the Social Security system groaning under the burden of mass unemployment it is perhaps appropriate to consider, if in a small way, the way our ancestors coped with their lives before Lloyd George laid the foundations of the system for which Lord Beveridge and the post-war Labour government were the principal architects and builders.

For the poor, the old, the sick, the destitute and the homeless in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was little save the vagaries of private charities or, after 1834, the harshness of the work-house. The state did not see the care of its less fortunate citizens as its proper concern. Therefore, for those in the lower income groups whom the slightest misfortune might pitch from the ranks of the poor but respectable into those of the social outcasts and paupers, the only possible safeguard was in some form of self-help. Consequently the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw an enormous expansion in the number of self-help groups among the working and lower middle classes. These groups took various forms and served a variety of needs. Most of them were small and local while a minority were much bigger and organised on a regional or national basis. Many of our modern trade unions had their origins in the Friendly Societies of two centuries ago. Other societies with splendidly sonorous names such as the "Royal and Anteduluvian Order of Buffaloes" or the "Manchester Unity of the Independent Order of Oddfellows" concerned themselves principally with health, unemployment and retirement insurance. While the Welfare State has eroded the importance of these societies and the trade unions' welfare functions have become more limited, the descendants of other self-help groups particularly concerned with house building are still thriving in the shape of our modern Building Societies.

Building Societies today still carry in their titles the term "Permanent" and in that word lies the clue to their origins. Self-help societies devoted to building houses for their members have been around in Britain since the late eighteenth century. They were a particular product of the experience of the working and lower middle classes of Northern England's industrial areas. It is, therefore, no accident that the major modern Building Societies have their roots in Yorkshire and Lancashire: the Halifax, the Huddersfield, the Bradford and Bingley and even the Co-operative Building Society (now the "Nationwide"). But their origins were far more modest than their grand new headquarters and high street offices would suggest. These, lay not in "Permanent" building societies but in small, often locally-organised, "Terminating" building societies. Such groups had a fixed membership and, unlike their "Permanent" successors, a fixed objective. Once they had built houses for all their members they were dissolved.

Large numbers of houses for the less-well-off were build in the industrial towns and villages of Northern England by these building clubs or societies. In Halifax and Huddersfield there were many such groups. By 1860, for example, in excess of fifty different local building clubs and societies had leases from the Ramsden Estate for land in and around Huddersfield on which they were building houses for their members. The practice in the building clubs was fairly standard in that membership would be open to a limited number of people who agreed to subscribe so much a month or each quarter. There were sometimes variations in subscriptions to reflect different sizes and, therefore, different prices of houses to be build. The club would then buy or lease land and, having drawn lots to determine the order in which the completed houses were to be allocated, they would begin to build just as soon as they had enough money. For the member at the end or the queue it was often a long wait and, for some the wished-for house never materialised. In times of unemployment and economic depression building clubs, especially the smaller ones, often ran into cash flow problems leaving them with no money, uncompleted houses and members unhoused.

As a glimpse into this almost forgotten world of the Terminating Building Societies we offer the following complete set of rules of one such society established in Thurlstone, near Penistone, in 1799. Some features of these rules may seem unusual. For example, the Club met regularly in John Charlesworth's Inn. This function of the inn or public house as centre of self-help organisations and even trade union meetings has now almost disappeared but was very much the custom in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That is, before the Temperance advocates and the apostles of Victorian respectability stigmatised the public house and gradually succeeded in separating its social from its commercial function.

The pre-occupation with security might also seem unusually melodramatic – three different locks and

keys for the club's deeds box! But it must be remembered that in 1799 banks were few and far between and frequently unreliable. The detailed arrangements for subscriptions and contingency plans for those wishing to withdraw their shares also smacks of an age when money had to be carefully guarded and the long-term security of the whole venture could be imperilled by defaulters or misfortune.

Finally, rule nine's imposition of fines for drunkenness or abusive language does help stress the point that, despite the nature of their meeting place, the members were, after all, dealing with money, often their life's savings, and that needed clear heads and sound judgement. There was then no safety net for the members of a building society that failed.

"The Article of a Society or Club held at the House of John Charlesworth, Inn Keeper in Thurlstone in the Parish of Penistone in the County of York for raising money by Subscription for building houses in the parish of Penistone aforesaid made concluded and unanimously agreed upon this Sixth Day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine.

Whereas many benefits arise from establishing Clubs or Societies for building houses particularly to those who are not able to advance a sum of money sufficient for that purpose at one time and for the better Accommodation (sic) of the persons who compose this Society and have hereunto set their Hands and Seals, have agreed to Erect Cottages or Dwellinghouses in the parish of Penistone aforesaid according to the propositions and under the Rules hereinafter mentioned now in pursuance of such Agreements and it being proposed to Erect Cottages or Dwellinghouses of two several Dimensions and separate values (according to the several Rules or plans hereunto annexed). It is hereby mutually covenanted declared and agreed upon by and amongst all and every the person and persons executing these presents as follows:

First that the parties (subscribers) shall meet annually on the first Saturday in April at the House of the said John Charlesworth or elsewhere at the hour of six in the Evening at which Meeting by a Majority of the Subscribers a Master and two Stewards who shall be chosen shall conduct the Business for one year at the Expiration of which on the yearly Day a Master and two Stewards shall be annually chosen who shall for the time being have the Management of every concern belonging this Society and there shall be three other quarterly Meetings in every year to be held on the following Days videlizit the first Saturday in June the first Saturday in October and the first Saturday in January on each which the Subscribers shall meet at six o'clock in the Evening and the books shall be open till nine o'clock after which Hour no more Business shall be transacted.

Second at the first Meeting after the Master and Stewards are chosen the Subscribers shall be arranged in two different Classes according to their several Wishes and those who chose to have Houses of the value of one Hundred pounds each shall immediately pay into the hands of the said Master or Steward the sum of one pound one shilling and shall also pay on every quarterly Meeting following in like manner the Sum of twenty-six shillings and the Members who shall choose Houses of the value of Fifty pounds each shall immediately pay ten shillings and sixpence and thirteen shillings on each succeeding quarter Day until so much Money be raised as will defray the Expenses of building a House for each Member according to the plan proposed and all other incidental Expenses attending the Execution of the above Scheme.

Third that for the Security of the Members a sufficient Box shall be provided at their Expense with three different Locks and Keys one of which Keys shall be kept by the Master and one by each Steward for the time being in which Box shall be deposited all the Deeds Writings and Securities belonging to this Society so long as the same shall exist and that the Keys shall be delivered over from time to time to every Master and Stewards chosen as aforesaid who shall have the like powers as their predecessors.

Fourth that at such first Meeting (after the necessary Business shall be settled) there shall be the whole of the Lots drawn and the persons first entitled to such Dwellinghouses (by such lots falling upon them) shall inform the Master and Stewards as near as can be of the place or places where the same are intended to be Erected that proper means may be pursued for building and completing the same and that there may be as near an Equality as possible amongst the Subscribers (according to their Classes) he or they who may be so fortunate as to draw Lots for the Early Building of the respective Houses each and every Subscriber shall (after such House shall be completed) pay yearly and every year into the Hands of the Master and Stewards for the time being the Sum of one shilling for every pound expended in such building to be applied to the benefit of the said society until every Subscriber shall be furnished with a Dwelling House or Houses according to his Subscription at which time each such House or Houses shall be the property of the person to whom the same is or are respectively allotted (the Ground Rent and other Claims on the same if any excepted) and every Subscriber when his Lot or Lots for building shall take place shall cause the whole of the Money pursuant to the Class he subscribed for to be laid out in such respective Erections without fraud to prevent which the same shall be from time to time inspected by the Master and Stewards for the Time Being who shall cause

the Money to be issued from the fund from time to time as they shall think proper for defraying such Expenses And that it shall not be in the power of any Member to Sell or Mortgage his respective dwellinghouse or Houses until the whole Subscription be completed and the whole of the Dwellinghouses allotted and given possession of to each and every Subscriber respectively provided unless each Member shall first give Satisfactory security to the Master and Stewards for the Society for the performance thereof the Deeds or other Security or Conveyance of the Land whereon such House or Houses are Erected shall be lodged in the Club Box till such Time as every Member provided with a House when this Institution shall cease.

Fifth that if any Member finds he cannot or will not continue his Subscription he shall declare his unwillingness at the next Meeting and shall have fifteen shillings returned to him for every pound which he has subscribed as soon as may be without Injuring the fund and be excluded from the society and from any further Benefit thereout on any Account whatever And that if any Subscriber die before his Subscription be completed pursuant to the above plan his legal Representatives may continue his Subsciption and may be entitled to the same privileges which the person deceased was or if they do not choose to continue the same and declare their unwillingness at the next Meeting after the Death of such Subscriber they shall be entitled to sixteen shillings for every pound which shall be paid then by the Master and Stewards as soon as conveniently may be without Injury to the Fund.

Sixth Provided always and it is agreed to by all the Members of this Society that any member or Members having begun his or their Subscription or Subscriptions and neglecting to pay off his or their proper quota every three Months each of them shall for the first neglect forfeit and pay to the Master and Stewards the Sum of Sixpence for a second one shilling and for a third two shillings to go into the Fund for the benefit of the Society and should any Member or Members so neglect his or their Subscriptions for one whole year he or they shall pay the sum of four shillings for the like. Also or otherwise he or they shall Forfeit and lose one half of the Money by him or them from time to time paid to him or them and be excluded from any further Benefit and privilege from it on any account whatsoever in any wise notwithstanding.

Seventh that the said Masters and Stewards appoint others in their Stead approved of by a Majority of the Members give up a true account of all monies by them received paid and laid out on account of this Society and shall suffer every member (if required) to take Copy of the Annual Accounts And in default of delivering in such accounts every such Master and Stewards shall forfeit and pay the Master and Stewards then appointed the Sum of twenty-one shillings each over and above all monies as shall appear to be in their Hands belonging to this Society for the Recovery whereof every such new appointed Master and Stewards from time to time shall have the power by Action at Law to recover such Arrears and Forfeitures against their predecessors.

Eight That any person voted to serve the Office of Master or Steward who shall refuse to serve the said Office shall forfeit the Sum of Two Shillings and Sixpence to be applied to the Benefit of the said Society and that every such Master and Stewards shall have at the End of every year when their respective Offices shall expire such Sum of Money allowed them from the Fund as the majority of the Subscribers shall think a proper Recompence for their Trouble throughout the year in which they served their respective Offices.

Ninth That if any one of the Subscribers shall in the Club-room during the Hours of Business use any abusive Language or be intoxicated with Liquor or refuse to be silent when ordered by the Master he shall forfeit two shillings and Sixpence or be Excluded after receiving one half of the Money agreeable to the sixth Article And that no Member during the Club Hours shall spend more than three pence of Liquor to prevent which one of the Stewards shall have the Care of the Reckoning at every Quarterly Meeting.

Tenth That this Society shall not Consist of more than Forty Members and that if any Dispute shall arise between or Amongst any of the Members at any Time during the Continuance of this Association on account of any Misconduct Mismangement or any other thing concerning the Fund or Capital Stock the said intended Dwellinghouses or any Article or Clause herein contained committed or done by any of the ( ) Stewards or the Members of this Society or respecting anything relative to the same which cannot be foreseen or guarded against such Dispute or Business shall be referred to the Members assembled at the first Meeting . . . then next following the Time when such Dispute Matter Controversy or other thing had for any of the Causes aforesaid and by them or a majority of them finally adjusted and determined to all Intents and purposes whatsoever and whose Conclusion shall be binding on all parties in any wise concern therein and that an account thereof be entered in the Books kept by this Society.

Eleventh And lastly it is agreed upon by all the parties hereto that provided any one or more of this society at the Time his or their respective Lot or Lots is or are drawn shall not be disposed to build with the Monies arising from his or

This article is continued on page 10

DEFAMATION AND MORALS IN THE PARISH OF HALIFAX 1600 – 1700

John Addy

Any study of this subject raise difficulties for those engaged upon it. Not the least of these is the increasing complexity in the law of slander and libel which was in a state of flux. Some cases were being dealt with at common law in King's Bench and at Quarter Sessions. Some can be found in borough archives, and even manorial courts were punishing defamation (1). The Church Courts also added defamation to its proper business. A limited local study is the best approach for a problem of this nature.

The records of the church courts in York and Chester and the Archdeaconry of Richmond are very substantial but are not easy to use for the cause papers of the Consistory Courts are limited by the varying amount of surviving material on any one case. A brief study of the old parish of Halifax may encourage other readers to undertake some study within their own area. Litigation seems to have been preferred to violence among the middling sort and respectable poor of Stuart England in a desire to distinguish them from the disorderly and ungodly poor (2).

The parish of Halifax contained twenty five townships and twelve parochial chapels, those of Elland cum Greetland, Coley, Warley, Southowram, Northowram, Sowerby, Sowerby Bridge, Ovenden, Illingworth, Luddenden, Heptonstall and Hipperholme with Brighouse.

In the more law abiding areas of York diocese, discipline was easier to enforce but the diocese was huge in extent and the wilder, remoter areas such as Cleveland, or districts having large numbers of poor such as Halifax, tended to become independent (3).

The cases taken before the Church courts included fornication, incest, adultery, wife beating, forced marriages, wife swapping, drunkenness, bastardy, desertion and offences committed in church. Oliver Heywood in 1664 commented on the behaviour of Halifax folks stating,

> ". . .oh what riotting, rebelling, gluttony, drunkenness, abominable impudent, beastly, luxury, lechery. Scarce heard of among the heathen. . ." (4).

Heywood illustrates his statement by referring to a case in 1678 which concerned six young men from Halifax. One evening they went to the Polenick alehouse, Northowram, and swore they would drink and the first to fall under the table should pay for the evening's drink.

> ". . . the order they took in this disorderly match was to drink first a pennywoth of ale, and another of brandy, which they did and when 3 or 4 of them were drunk and lay on the floor the other two spread a sheet over them and fell a laughing over their drunken companions. One of these horrid conquerors was Daniel Greenwood's son, a child comparatively, who had drunk 24 penny pots of ale and 24 pennyworth of brandy and yet tis said that it was not discernible that he had drunk anything . . ." (5).

The churchwardens frequently set no good example to the parishioners. In 1635 Abraham Parkinson, one of the wardens, began an argument with the chapelwarden of Warley, Richard Nicholson, in the middle of morning service. Parkinson in a loud voice,

> ". . . rebuking and reviling and uttering profane words . . . called him a 'lying rascal' and a knave and did 'bade a burd in his teeth."

The two men then fell out of the pew, brawling and threshing in full view of the congregation. After service Henry Ramsden, the vicar, standing by the table in the south aisle, condemned them openly for

> "brawling and showing comtempt and in peril of their soules in God's House" (6).

It is not surprising that those who were not office holders in the parish followed the example set, for abundant business came from Halifax to the church courts in York during the seventeeth century (7).

Child marriages had been common during the previous century and were believed to have died out by the next one. In 1637 a child marriage took place at Sowerby between Ruth Fourness of Sowerby aged 12, and Jeremiah Briggs aged 13 years. In her evidence Ruth Fournes stated that after the marriage they were taken to Jeremiah's house, but two days later her father came and took her back to Halifax. Two nights after, her father being absent, Briggs his son and three friends came to Ruth Fournes house,

> ". . . with drawn swords and pike staves . . . and dragged her from her said fathers house . . . took her to Richard Biggs house . . . and the two were made to lay together for two days, during which . . . neither had any knowledge of each others body. . ." (8).

Ruth then stated that she had been afraid to leave because of the threatened violence by the Briggs family.

Other examples exist in the Coley Nonconformist Register where John Mitchel stole away Abraham Walker's daughter, she being 15 years old and he married her (9).

Adultery also appears, but by no means frequently as fornication cases. In 1676 one John Whittaker was charged with committing adultery with Mary Law and admitted the crime (10).

Another case in 1681 gives more detailed information. Henry Murgatroyd had been drinking in Robert Holt's alehouse in Halifax in the presence of Anna King's husband and brother, when he said that she, was "a whore and I have kissed her several times." John Ingham, the blacksmith, then drinking at the same place, asked Murgatroyd what he meant by kissing.

He then replied that-

> "there were several ways of kissing – and the said Henry said he had intercourse with her and he would have it again before he would have it with his own wife."

At this King took offence and a fight broke out. The witnesses told virtually the same story as above and Murgatroyd was condemned and corrected. (11)
In a case of defamation in 1663 one Anne Whitby accused Anne Nichols of being a "whore and that she was a woman of lewd character who committed fornication with other wives husbands" (12).
Not only women but also men were accused of incontinency. In 1692 Luke Horsfield accused George Holgate of being a-

> "fornicator, adulterer and incontinent with Catherine Jenkinson and that he did get her with child and three weeks after she had born the bastard . . . Horsfield had carnall copulation with her: he said he would give her 19 li if she fathered it on John Broadbelt" (13).

As we shall see later this was by no means an uncommon practice.
Another case in the same year between Martha Hardcastle and Ann Mitchell resulted from Martha saying in public that Ann was a whore.

> ". . . the greatest whore in Towne (meaning the Towne of Halifax) and further said that Ann Mitchell kissed with one James Robinson for a great time . . . and also that her brother John Hardcastle could not be kept at home by night nor day for going to whore with her (14).

Martha Hardcastle was attempting to get her brother away from Ann.
Indeed Dorothy Hill, aged 60 years, also said that Ann Mitchell was

> ". . . a common sailors whore . . . and that the said Ann Mitchell was kissed against her cupboard, against a millstone and in Mr. Bentleys swine coate . . ." (15).

An earlier case of 1611, revealed that Thomas Hall, some two years before, had been intimate with Ruth Rishworth stating that,

> "they had been naughty together and that they had been so several times at Hollyn Greve Toppe "(Hollins Top)"

Another witness in the case, one Phoebe Bentley, said that she had seen Edward Northend and Edward Sawsley during the daytime. She not only saw them in action but also her children who were with her had seen the same. Finally Ellen Pickering said that while she was working in the house of Thomas Hall, she overheard him say to his sister that he,

> "had bin with Ruth Rishworth whilst she was making butter . . . he asked her for the use of her body there and now . . . but she said . . . Nay if we are to have it, we should have it on the bed (16).

One of the best cases comes from the Barracloughs who by 1600 had moved into Elland, Lightcliffe and Illingworth from Southowram and Halifax. Several of the Barracloughs were churchwardens, constables and even High Constables.
The family first appears in the court records in 1633 when three Barracloughs were presented, one of them for keeping company drinking ale during divine service, a second, Anne Barraclough for adultery with Richard Brooks of Woodkirk, the third, her sister Elizabeth, was charged with fornicating twice, once at Shelf and once at Halifax (17).
Another sister, Alice, was presented for fornication in 1636 and at the same time a number of men were presented for drinking at Widow Barraclough's alehouse in Elland. Her three sons, William, John and Leonard were responsible for forcibly burying a man who had committed suicide in Halifax churchyard by night. In 1637 John was charged with having caused a bastard child to be born on the body of Grace Brearley of Illingworth (18).
The family did not improve after the Restoration in 1660. Toby Barraclough was churchwarden and High Constable and his brother Robert was also a churchwarden. Toby's son John of Southowram was involved in a case in 1680. He had got drunk at an alehouse in the company of several friends. After many tankards of ale, Barraclough turned to John Lister and said that, "he had kissed Ellen Lister". This caused John Lister to abuse his wife, later giver her such a long beating that she was compelled to take lodgings in another house. In three cases before the court Ellen Lister denied that she had comitted adultery with John Barraclough, so Lister was compelled to take his wife back.
All might have been well, but John Barraclough had another drinking session again with several friends and on this occasion declared that Lister had been forced to accept a child as his own, which was in reality Barraclough's. Later that night on his way home he staggered to Lister's house and,

> ". . . shouted in a snyde, sly voice that had John Lister given the whore 5 li she would have found another for it, like he had done."

He then admitted to Lister that the pregnancy which had caused the latter to marry Ellen, was the result of Barraclough's action. The end result was that from that day forward Lister frequently beat his wife (19).
John Wilson a cousin of Barraclough by marriage of Toby's sister Cicely with John Wilson, was also following the Barraclough tradition. In 1679 Richard Hooke, vicar of Halifax, had nominated Wilson to be parish clerk. Three years later he found himself in the Consistory Court at York for, failing to receive Holy Communion, not kneeling for prayers, and not attending to his duties at baptisms or burials for the last three years.
A second charge stated that he was, "a frequenter of taverns and alehouses . . . being drunk divers times."
The third charge was one of defamation:-

> "That you John Wilson have defiled the Churchwall of Halifax by pissing against it . . . and very irreverently and unchristianly spoken of Richard Hooke . . . by saying you could find it in your

heart to pull his gown over his ears" (20).

Dr. John Favour, vicar of Halifax at the end of Elizabeth's reign recorded in the parish register, details of illegitimate births.

1600 Oct 12	Susan, daughter of Samuel Dobson and Sara Fearnsyde, Skircot, this Sara is blynd and a common whore hath had 3 bastards."
1602 April 15	Jenet, daughter of Michael Nicolson, Worley and Sara Fearnsyde a blynd woman there hath had 4 bastards.
1602 June 26	Sara daughter of John Fearnesyde, blynd had 5 bastards, a most damnable wicked queane.
1603 April 4	Judith daughter of John Fearnesyde, Halifax was a whore and had 2 bastards.

As Dr. Favour began to baptise the second generation of his parishioner he began to notice that illegitimacy was hereditary. He accordingly entered BB denoting the baptism of illegitimate issues of illegitimates and the triple BBB shows that the father, mother and offspring were alike illegitimate (21).

No wonder Oliver Heywood could write in his Diary that,

> "I have seldom heard of so many young women with child in fornication as lately, and some of them to cover their shame doe marry great wickedness" (22).

The rough textile workers of Halifax were by no means given to promiscuity on a large scale. Dr. Christopher Haigh has shown how many cases arose from loose words spoken in anger and that this increased concern for sexual reputation was able to exist in a society where many were denouncing increased sexual immorality (23).

Many of the lower orders, taking objection to the use of such terms as "arrant whore, pasty bitch, Welsh bastard, burnt arsed whore, bawder and strumpett, whore masterly rogue," became anxious to distinguish their behaviour from what was believed to be a growing body of fornicators, adulterers, and bastard getters (24).

To enter this mental world of Stuart England of the middling sort and poor will invove many difficulties in working through the type of material used in this article. It will also mean the shattering of many assumptions that have been held and cherished for a long time about the past. This should, as Dr. J. Sharpe says, "be an incentive to the historian rather than a discouragement" (25).

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6 Consistory Cause paper (after C.P.) H.2054, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research
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8 C.P. H.3283 B.I.H.S.
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12 C.P. H.2429 B.I.H.S.
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17 Visitation Court Book CB.V/1633 B.I.H.S.
18 ibid CB.V/1636 B.I.H.S.
19 C.P. H.3523-3489 B.I.H.S.
20 C.P. H.3576 B.I.H.S.
21 Halifax Parish Registers 1600-1604
22 O. Heywood, *Diaries*, Vol. 2, p. 102
23 C.A. Haigh, 'Slander and the Church Courts in the 16th century'. *Transactions of the Lancashire & Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 78 (1975)
24 C.P. H.1201, H.4383, H.4467, H.2969 B.I.H.S.
25 J.A. Sharpe, *op.cit.* p. 25

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their respective Share or Shares he or they shall likewise provide two persons (to be approved of by them) who shall with the said Member receiving the said Monies enter into a joint Bond to such person as the Society shall appoint for double the Sum the said Member hath Subscribed before the Termination of the said Club under the condition of paying quarterly or otherwise into the Hands of the Stewards for the Time being such Sum or Sums of Money as shall at the Time he or they received the same have to be paid by him or them till the end of this Institution. In witness thereof the said parties have to these presents set their Hands and Seals the Day and Year first above written. . ."

WALKING TO CHURCH

Donald Barker

About two years ago my wife started to work on our family history and she has been particularly successful with my mother's family. Her task in this case was made all the easier by the fact that six generations of Shaws, labourers, colliers, stone-masons and bricklayers, were all born at Slack Side, Wibsey. The last of these six generations was my maternal grandfather, Seth Shaw, 1865–1947, stone-mason and bricklayer. It was he who, about the beginning of the war, showed me a kind of broad sheet, a wrinkled and tattered piece of paper of which he was nevertheless very proud. Thirty years ago, I made a very crude photographic copy with truly inadequate equipment and I still have the negatives, although they are now in pretty poor condition. The text, however is perfectly legible. The piece of paper came into the possession of my mother on the death of her father, but we could find no trace of it when we left that house in 1970.

As will be seen from the transcription below, which preserves the layout, spelling, punctuation, etc. of the original, the document records that one, James Shaw, in the 56th and 57th years of his life, from January 1842 to June 1843, walked each Sunday to a different church seventy-eight in all. The date on which each was visited is given along with chapter and verse of the lesson on each occasion.

Transcription

This James Shaw was baptized at St. Peter's, Bradford on 25th March, 1787, and was the son of James, a collier, and Deborah Shaw of Wibsey. When he married Charity Fletcher in 1808 his occupation was given as coal miner and the census of 1841 records him as a labourer. He seems to have died before the census of 1851. He was Seth's great-grandfather and my great-great-great-grandfather.

Why did he do it? If there was fashion for this kind of thing among the labouring classes of the mid-nineteenth century, we have so far failed to find any evidence. The distances are most impressive; even in an age when walking was the only way of getting about for most people, few people would make a round walk of more than 30 miles (Ossett) as part of their Sunday morning devotions. Perhaps he merely liked the respectful curiosity of his work-mates when they asked him every Monday morning how far he had walked the day before!

More surprising, perhaps, than his athleticism is the fact that a written record was kept and, indeed, was eventually printed. James himself was probably illiterate as he only made his mark in the marriage register in 1808. At the time of the 1841 census, his eldest son Joseph was living with his family next door to James and Charity. Joseph had two children, Sarah aged 8 and Shadrach aged 7, who could well have been attending school (Wibsey had at least one day-school at that time) and who might have written down the details each week when their grandfather returned from his church attendances. Shadrach, Seth's father, certainly wrote his name in the register when he married in 1856.

The following is a list of 78 Different Churches attended by James Shaw In the 56 and 57 Year of his Age. Being a different Church on each Sunday throughout the year 1842 and part of 1843, with the Text taken on each occasion in the Morning Service.

1842	Churches	Book	Chap.	Verse
Jan. 2nd	Wilsden	Phillippians	13th	13th & 14th
9th	Bingley	St. John	1st	3rd
16th	Halifax Old Church	2nd of Timothy	2nd	19th
23rd	" St. James	Psalm	22nd	1st
30th	Baildon	Psalm	142nd	4th
Feb. 6th	Idle		No Text	
13th	Southowram	Matthew	6th	3rd
20th	Calverley	Psalm	3rd	8th
27th	St. James Bowling	Luke	11th	23rd
March 6th	Headingley	Ephesians	2nd	18th
13th	Dewsbury	Ezekiel	6th	6th & 7th
20th	Boothroyd	Matthew	26th	part of 2nd
27th	Liversedge	St. Luke	22nd	part of 19th
April 3rd	Earlsheaton	St. John	10th	11th & 12th
10th	Osset	Leviticus	16th	24th
17th	Hangingheaton	Psalm	87th	7th
24th	Kirstall	Romans	7th	9th
May 1st	Rawdon	Matthew	22nd	11th to 13th
8th	Shipley	1st of Peter	3rd	22nd
15th	Guisley	St. Matthew	3rd	11th
22nd	Bramley	Ephesians	2nd	18th
29th	Stanningley	St. John	19th	30th

June	5th	Otley	Jeremiah	13th	23rd
	12th	Armley	Peter	5th	6th
	19th	Wortley	St. Matthew	25th	25th
	26th	Pudsey	Psalm	139th	23rd & 24th
July	3rd	Gildersome	Hebrews	12th	22nd to 24th
	10th	Birkenshaw	Psalm	116th	14th
	17th	Morley	1st of Kings	13th	13th
	24th	Tong	Do	18th	21st
	31st	Haworth	Acts	11th	20th
Aug.	7th	Birstal	Luke	15th	2nd
	14th	Batley	Liviticus	16th	24th
	21st	Batley Carr	Matthew	5th	11th
	28th	Bradford	2nd of Peter	1st	12th & 13th
Sept.	4th	Bradshaw Lane	do. John	2nd	10th
	11th	Thornhill	Galatians	6th	6th
	18th	Sowerby Bridge	Ezekiel	10th	37th
	25th	Leeds Old Church	Revelations	3rd	16th
Oct.	2nd	Keighley Old Church	Acts	11th	20th
	9th	Ribonden	St. Matthew	22nd	1st to 4th
	16th	Mirfield	Romans	16th	5th & 6th
	23rd	Huddersfield	Matthew	18th	8th
	30th	Sowerby Old Church	Hebrews	11th	30th
Nov.	6th	Elland	Revelation	21st	6th
	13th	Bradford New Church	St. John	5th	28th
	20th	Heckmondwike	Jeremiah	23rd	6th
	27th	Huddersfield St. Pauls	Acts	4th	6th
Dec.	4th	Halifax Trinity	Luke	19th	21st to 24th
	11th	Little Horton St James	St. John	17th	3rd
	18th	Brighouse St. Luke	St. Luke	12th	35th to 37th
	25th	Low Moor	Isiah	9th	6th

1843		Churches	Book	Chap.	Verse
Jan.	1st	Hartishead	Mark	1st	13th
	8th	Cleckheaton	St. Luke	2nd	10th
	15th	Bierley	Haggai	1st	1st
	22nd	Mirfield	Isaiah	51st	5th & 6th
	29th	Coley	Psalms	144th	2nd
Feb.	5th	Raistrick	Jonah	4th	2nd
	12th	Illingworth	St. John	3rd	2nd
	19th	Woodhouse St. Stephen	Genesis	3rd	6th
	26th	Farnley	St. John	?	38th
March	5th	Driglington	St. Matthew	6th	13th
	12th	Luddenden	St. Matthew	5th	4th
	19th	Leeds Trinity	2nd of Timothy	3rd	16th
	26th	Woodhouse, nr. Leeds	Matthew	24th	12th & 13th
April	2nd	Huddersfield Trinity	Corinthians	2nd	12th
	9th	Addle	Corinthians	2nd	2nd
	16th	Thornton	St. Luke	24th	46th
	23rd	Leeds St. John	2nd of John	1st	4th
	30th	Lockwood	Numbers	23rd	10th
May	7th	Worsbro'	Matthew	28th	6th
	14th	Beeston	Isaiah	33rd	6th
	21st	Sowerby New Church	Proverbs	12th	12th, 34th & 56th
	28th	Old Beck	Psalms	110th	1st
June	4th	Leeds St. George	Galatians	5th	22nd
	11th	Horbury	Timothy	1st	13th
	18th	Linley	Hebrews	6th	9th
	25th	Buttershaw	Romans	6th	21st

All spellings and data have been kept as in the document.

(It might be of interest to analyse the texts listed above so as to have an idea of what subjects were uppermost in vicars' minds in the early 1840s: *Editor*)

A BRADFORD MILL IN ST. PETERSBURG

Jennifer Stead

The Thornton Woollen Mill Company, begun in the 1880's in a massive mill on the Finnish side of the river Neva, nine miles outside St. Petersburg, came to a dramatic end in the last months of 1917, when the Thornton brothers had to write it off as a dead loss. All the English managers and foremen and their families had to flee the excesses of the Revolution, in many cases with nothing but the clothes they stood up in.

Russia's lack of industrialisation meant that she imported vast amounts of cloth, much of it from the West Riding. Gradually, throughout the nineteenth century, British capital helped to develop industries in Russia so that by 1900, for example, there were many Russian textile mills, managed by English and Germans, although Thorntons' was apparently the only English-owned woollen mill in St. Petersburg. The British colony in St. Petersburg, about 400-500, mostly in industry, was the second largest community after the Germans. They were respected by the Russians, and lived a luxurious colonial life attended by servants.

In 1900 two Huddersfield men answered an advertisment in the Huddersfield Examiner and found themselves in St. Petersburg. One was my great-uncle Edgar Shaw of Armitage Bridge, who was appointed boss finisher at Thorntons', and the other was Willie Brooke of Crosland Moor, who was made overall mill manager. The Shaws and the Brooke became firm friends. The Shaws' daughter Dorothy (now Mrs. Crandall) and the Brookes' daughter Nellie (the late Mrs. Varley) have told me about their life in Russia; Dorothy was 13 when they left in 1917, and Nellie 20. I shall let each tell her own tale.

Nellie Brooke

Ours was the only English woollen mill in St. Petersburg, owned by the three Thornton brothers; Percy and Arthur in Russia, while Herbert stayed in Bradford to do the wool buying from their offices in Cheapside. The wool was bought at the London wool sales, and then sent on to Russia, where they made every type of cloth from blankets to fine worsteds. The mill was set up in the 1880's, we went out there in 1900 when I was 3. There were 50 or 60 Englishmen there who'd come over to teach the Russians how to run the mill, because they weren't at all industralised, very few were educated. We had 3,000 Russian workpeople, who mostly lived on the compound, in very crowded conditions. They were very backward and ignorant, (soldiers called up for the Fist World War didn't know left from right, so to drill them they had to call one foot "hay" and the other "straw", and chant "hay, straw, hay, straw" etc. They were also extremely superstitious. I had my own maid who filled me with all kinds of superstitions.)

The mill was colossal, bigger than Titus Salt's at Saltaire, with five stories and a huge facade, and three chimneys. It was fuelled entirely with wood, and there was many massive piles of logs in the compound. The mill was in this huge compound, the size of a small town, with just fields and the forests of Finland behind it, and only the Neva in front. We were isolated. There was nothing else on our side of the river. Across the river were lots of other mills, ironworks, electricity station etc. The Spasky Cotton Mill was across there, Coates the thread people were the owners, from Rochdale, and the bosses were mainly from Lancashire. Our compound had workers' flats, bosses' flats, and four beautiful houses – for the Thorntons, the manager (that was us), the paymaster-treasurer-accountant (Edwin Coates) and the lawyer (that was Edwin Coates' brother.)

The compound was surrounded by a high fence of stakes, with barbed wire on top to protect us, I suppose from animals in the surrounding countryside, but I think mostly because of the unstable political situation. There were three revolutions while we were there – in 1905 after Bloody Sunday, a small company of Cossacks was billeted with us to protect us. They had the run of the bale room, they were jolly, gave us turns on their horses, and burst into wonderful singing all the time. They gave daring demonstrations on their horses because they were so bored. We weren't allowed out of the compound because of the fighting close by.

On our side of the river we could take a little tramcar into St. Petersburg that pulled three cars behind, it made a terrific noise. Or we could go into town on a little steamer. We also had our own private *droshky*, a horse-drawn four-wheeled carriage; in summer we had our own trap, only Mrs. Thornton had a car. The mill had its own ferry, but when the river froze we could run across.

Everything had to come to us across the river so we were sometimes stranded in the winter, with no supplies for days, but we had enough. We had our own "refrigerator", a little building dug out six feet deep and stacked solid with huge blocks of ice. We just used to chip our little holes to put the milk jug in and so on, we never had anything go off, even during those hot summers. Mother made *prostokvasha* (clotted milk) every day, I couldn't abide it, it was just like sour milk to me.

Mrs. Thornton treated me like a daughter – her daughter Vera and I spent all our time together, we were like sisters. I used to call Mrs. Thornton "marraine", which means godmother. French was the polite language. I could speak five languages. Russian, German, French, Spanish and English – I spoke English with a foreign accent. I never went to school.

My mother in 1900 had to learn Russian, she could speak it well and other people came to her, she

helped at confinements etc. We had a hospital, and in 1915 Russian wounded First World War Soldiers were nursed here by Mrs. Shuttleworth and Millicent Pennington. The matron was Miss Mottershead.
Here's a photograph of Commander Locker Lamson M.P. He visited us with his armoured cars; he was a terrific chap. His right hand man and chauffeur Geoff Gauler was a grand chap too.
We entertained ourselves with plays and concerts and tennis. There was a tennis court outside the compound where we had tournaments with all the English people in St. Petersburg. We all met at the English Church every Sunday in St. Petersburg; our lot used to cross the river in two ferry boatloads and go *en masse,* and in summer we had cricket matches and in winter football matches. Every Easter I used to stay at the Hoe's *dacha* in Finland, and every summer I spent with Vera at the Thorntons' *dacha.* It was a marvellous life. Vera Thornton was engaged to a handsome American writer, Negley Farson, who wrote about the mill in one of his books, and I think he mentions Edgar Shaw (but not by name, you'd have to recognise him). Vera threw him over, and he never got over it. He wrote to me in 1960, here's the letter: "Yes, we all saw the end of an epoch. And I much prefer the old one. . . when I went back in 1941, Russia was just one huge state concentration camp. To me, horrible."

Dorothy Shaw

My parents went out in 1900, and I was born there, they were going to call me Neva after the river. There were plenty of foreign overseers at the mill, some Germans, until the outbreak of the First World War, when they were interned. Some of the West Riding people there were Willie Brooke, manager, Fred Pearson, wet finisher (also from Crosland Moor), Sam Sykes, Joseph Crosland, Crawshaw, Mennell from Leeds, Stead from Guiseley. I used to go with Mrs. Thornton outside the compound to exercise the dogs. The dogs we always got from England. I didn't go to school, but Mrs. Holdsworth taught nine English kids in the yard at her house.
My father used to say that the Russians could be cruel. If anyone displeased them they would jump on that person's toes. I don't think our overseers were cruel, and working conditions at Thornton's weren't too bad, although the Russian workers were extremely poor, and lived, as they still do, crowded into small apartments. They wore colourful clothes, full skirts and over-blouses, mostly cotton, with a small shawl on their heads, and elastic sided boots. The men wore their trousers tucked into high boots, and brightly coloured shirts, buttoned high at the neck. In winter they mostly had sheepskin-lined coats and high felt boots called *valenki.* They were very superstitious, and had a great many religious festivals.
Much of the land behind the compound was owned by the Thorntons. They grew feed for their horses. The horses and carts had to bring bales of wool and chemicals from the port of St. Petersburg, and carry finished cloth back. The mill made cloth for army uniforms, blankets, and goats' hair shawls, which were tartan, about 60" x 40". We had a private ferry to get workers across, two boats the Wanderer and Wanderess , though many workers lived inside the compound. We lived on the top floor of a three-storey brick apartment block, which held six bosses' families and their servants. Our servant was illiterate, like most, but was a very good cook. I loved real dark rye bread, also Russian pancakes, *blini*, served with sour cream, salt herrings, *pashka* and *kulich* (these were Easter treats). We had a good butcher's shop in the compound, and a store selling groceries, but lots of itinerant tradesmen came selling meat, poultry, fish, bread, cakes, fruit, milk, lace and fancy linens.
Every two years we came to England, to Huddersfield, from May to July, and I was always struck by how small the houses were and how big the breakfasts.
In 1915 the Germans sabotaged a munitions factory across the river, a huge explosion which blew 60 windows out of Thorntons' mill and blew Mrs. Brooke's windows open. She said "Willie, they've come, I knew they would while we were here." Our servant Zenia was yelling "Where shall we run?"
In early 1917, English sailors from submarines were stationed in Petrograd (as it was then got to be called), two officers practically lived with the Brookes. They hadn't been properly equipped, they probably thought they were going to the Mediterranean and plans had changed at the last minute, so they had no overcoats against the terrible winter and the Russians gave them theirs. A sailor called Walker from Huddersfield was walking down the Nevsky Prospect in his borrowed coat when he met a Russian officer. Now Russian ranks were supposed to step off the pavement if they met an officer. (Can you imagine a Huddersfield chap doing that?) Well the officer played hell with him in Russian, Walker replied "We British don't salute our officers after sundown, so *tek* yer flippin' coit", and he flung it down on the pavement at the officer's feet.
I'll never forget New Year's Eve December 31st 1916. Children were allowed out of bed at midnight to see the New Year in, and the servants, very superstitious, would burn the last leaf of the calendar in the first minutes of January 1st. But January 1st 1917 Zenia wouldn't burn it, she wouldn't come in because we had a guest she didn't like. When the Bolshevik Revolution happened nine months later she said it was all her fault.

The Mill and the Revolution

The writer Negley Farson, engaged to Vera, lived with the Thorntons in 1917, and describes how the Revolution affected the mill in *The Way of a Transgressor,* 1935 Gollancz. I quote from the 1942 Cheap War Edition.
According to Farson, many of the Englishmen in St. Petersburg enjoyed a perfect life of dissipation, treated as Milords, with hordes of servants, though they themselves were often the offspring of ordinary Yorkshire and Lancashire millworkers who had gone out as foremen when British capital began to develop

Thornton's Mill, St. Petersburg

Willie Brooke, mill-manager, in his office

Negley Farson and Vera Thornton

Russian First World War, wounded outside the mill hospital 1915

Mrs. Brooke is served tea by her maid

The Works' Manager's office

The Scott brothers, Fred, Arthur, Gerard, and Archie, whose father had just been killed by a boiling vat 1913

Arthur Thornton and Vera (middle)

Nellie Brooke and Vera Thornton in Finland

Mrs. Brooke, Hattie,
Dorothy and Edgar Shaw

Fruit and milk seller
inside the mill
compound

Fish seller by Willie
Brooke's house

textiles in Russia. "Even the war-time foremen in the woollen and cotton mills felt themselves vastly superior as human beings to any Russian Grand Duke." Servants were treated kindly, but shockingly underpaid, and "regarded as clumsy St. Bernards." (p 88)

The mill had been occupied by the workers in 1905, after Bloody Sunday, until Cossacks were stationed there to keep the peace. Ten years later the Revolution nearly started in 1915 in Moscow, the Army was ripe for rebellion, having been decimated by the Germans, with no proper food or ammunition, the populace was already queuing for food and boots, the transport system was in chaos and the German advance on Russia had started. "There was not a factory in Petrograd. . . whose workers would not have walked out at once." (p137) That included Thorntons' where the attitude of the millworkers was menacing, encouraged by the sullenness of the Russian wounded soldiers who were being looked after in the mill hospital. Supplies of wool to the mill were often interrupted, and Willie Brooke nearly went distracted.

The February Revolution began on March 8th 1917 (The Russian calendar was 13 days behind the West), when riots and strikes broke out in Petrograd and workmen mutinied at Thorntons' mill (p178-9). Negley Farson, caught in Petrograd when rioting starts, finds a cache of whisky in the cellar of the Hotel de France, and runs the gauntlet of menacing mobs, who have already started killing, to bring it, and an English secretary, (dangerously wearing the uniform of an officer in the Tsar's army,) back to Thorntons'. After a hair-raising ride, the Thorntons' sleigh-driver, Arsenie, using his whip right and left has to give the horses their head through the Schlusselberg Road mill district where angry workers try to stop the sleigh.

When they drove over the road which had been made across the broken pack-ice of the Neva, they found Arthur Thornton and his family at tea. "They might have been sitting down in Kent somewhere." Apparently Mr. Thornton thought it would blow over, as the previous troubles had done, and the only thing he got excited about was the whiskey from the Hotel de France. "He up-ended a bottle against his palm and rubbed it on his sleek black hair with a sensuous gesture. "This is all that matters!" he laughed. "His Russian wife was furious, however, for she was an "Intellectual" and a secret friend of some of the most courageous female revolutionists, who hoped that Russia would become a democratic republic. Their pretty daughter Vera seemed untouched by the troubles, although Negley Farson knew that the Revolution eventually changed everything as far as their relationship was concerned. (p 180)

The next day, all hell broke loose. From the window of Thornton's house, Farson sees smoke across the river, from the blazing Nicholas Station. Arthur Thornton fears the mill will soon be in a state of siege, as it was in 1905. Then the maid rushes into the room crying "They're coming!"

> My room faced out on to the private lawn that lay between the river and the great mill. When I put on my dressing-gown and went into the front room to look, I found Vera and her mother leaning against the window. Their eyes were fixed on what they saw going on over on the Schlusselberg road. Across the broken pack-ice I saw a long ribbon of black which was enough to show that the banks of the Neva were lined with people. But as I looked, I saw figures above the crowd – horsemen – and I saw the flash of swords. Then I heard the faint *pop-pop* of shots and these figures began to topple down. . . the crowd broke . . . it gathered in large blobs . . .

Three or four thousand people began to swarm across the pack-ice, workers from the Aboukoff Ironworks and the other mills that lined the other side of the Neva, all making for Thorntons'. As they watched, Vera said, "I suppose they will kill all the foreigners. We had a squadron of Cossacks to protect us in 1905." What the mob wanted was to get all Thorntons' workers out, then march into Petrograd. Percy and Arthur Thornton bravely face the 4,000 yelling Russians at the mill's wooden gates. Farson believed the two brothers could actually have sent the mob back (!) had it not been for students in a Ford rushing into the mill yard brandishing machine guns. "Put those down" shouted the brothers in Russian. "Fools! Do you want to shoot somebody!" It appeared the students, representing a Workers' Cell, were in command of this Schlusselberg road demonstration, and they ordered the Thorntons to release all their workers immediately, otherwise the mill would be destroyed. "All right," said the Englishmen, "take'em – and be damned to you!"

The workpeople poured out yelling, seven thousand strong streaming across the ice. A red flag waved from the top of the retreating Ford. "When I went back to the house I saw that the Englishman's wife had tied a red band around the elbow of her primrose-coloured jumper." Unbeknownst to her, the following night, Arthur Thornton risked his life to help a hunted police captain escape to the forest behind the mill.

The first eight days of the Kerensky Revolution in Petrograd were a frenzy of murder. Thereafter, the English millowners and managers had a most difficult time trying to keep going, trying to get operatives back to work, and there was a daily drama in every mill yard. The workers at Thorntons' had elected their own soviet, insisting on a say in the running of the mill, demanding an eight-hour day, and a huge increase in wages. Under the Tsar, they had been forced to live and work in intolerable conditions – in the Schlusselberg road district for instance, whole families had to live in one foul room, and their labour conditions at the mill were often far from pleasant. The English mill managers at first fobbed off the workers' demands with ridicule and tact but soon changed to compromise, they yielded slowly with as much grace as possible to each new demand.

No-one knew where this Revolution was going to lead the working class. The workers themselves were ignorant of outside conditions and working hours. Their leaders attemped to see how far they could get by trying it on, and the managers were almost driven mad.

Farson describes (p 187) a manager (Edgar Shaw ?) going through this ordeal day after day, standing on a table in the mill yard, trying to reason with his workers. He would begin by saying they were all running the mill together, which must make money so each could make a living. Now, they would not pay several thousand roubles a *pood* for their wool, would they? So why ask the mill to pay ridiculous prices for labour? Then one of the extremists would shout "Fools, why stand here and talk about it? The mill is ours. We will liquidate the situation and throw out these foreigners and run the mill ourselves. *Deloie boorjoie*!"

> This last cry – "Down with the Bourgeois!" – was the prelude to the real Revolution of Lenin's. It was not heard much at first, but to a careful observer these local committees of soldiers and workers' deputies were the centres for the final explosion that was coming later on. It was the cry that the foreign mill owners and managers were most in dread of because they knew it was no longer aimed at the Tsar but at their class.

The British mill foremen could afford to be more abrupt with the workers than could the owners and directors. When a self-appointed Russian boss came to them for help if a machine had broken down, the British forman might jeer "Isn't that too bad! . . . Well, Ivan Petrovitch – you're running the mill now. You fix the machine." This appalling lack of a Russian forman class gave the Revolution enormous difficulties.

When anarchy seemed inevitable as Lenin's Bolsheviks took over, Negley Farson had the foresight to turn his money into gold sovereigns, some of which he gave to Arthur Thornton to help get him and his family out of Russia when the storm broke. Farson's friend the celebrated John Reed eventually got them safely across the frontier with Bolshevid visas.

Dorothy Shaw was 13 when her family left. She describes their exit:

Sir George Buchanan, the English Ambassador in Petrograd, had instructed the English colony to leave with dignity, as if they would soon return, which meant not scuttling with everything. We left in September (October), I was wearing all my clothes, I couldn't bend my arms at all, and I had gold sovereigns stitched into my coat lining. Mother carried her precious silver-wedding teapot. Father stayed till December. He rolled our carpets in naphthalene to store in the mill (half hoping to go back), on the other hand, he gave all our linens and furniture etc. to Zenia our maid.

We went by train through Finland and Sweden to Norway, where we had to wait for a boat at Bergen. The other escape route was from Archangel. We got on the British S.S. Vulture and were escorted by two torpedo boat destroyers, and had to cut our engines many times during the forty-eight hour crossing to Aberdeen, because the North Sea was wick with German U-boats. Many people, like Mrs. Brooke, refused to go below decks, even though the temperature was sub-zero, because she said if we were going to be blown up she wanted to see where she was going.

We came back to Crosland Moor. Thorntons' paid my father full pay for two years after we got back.

Nellie Brook was 20 when she left with her mother:

We were not allowed to bring anything out except what we stood up in. We left everything, father was Quixotic, he said if the Thorntons and Directors were losing everything, so was he. (A Gledhill was manager before my father, this Gledhill came out just at the right time, 1900, with plenty of money and built his own mill at Longwood or Longroyd Bridge.)

In September 1917 the wives and children left first. We got to Bergen and had to wait three weeks for a boat to reach us. The "Vulture" came, and my mother wouldn't go below because of the German U-boats. The men stayed on at the mill; my father, like the captain of a sinking ship, stayed till the very end, (the following Easter) saw that all the men got away, then he was thrown into the dreaded Fortress as a prisoner, which was *awful*, they got him out, then he was put in again. Eventually Americans got him out, and gave him honorary decorations so he could get on a troop train with English sailors and soldiers. It was going to Murmansk, which took three weeks, a terrible journey, twenty degrees below zero and no heating on the train, very little food, he had to drink snow. He'd brought nothing out with him because of his principles. Back in England he was penniless, with no job.

Herbert Thornton ran a mill in South Africa. Vera married a Finn. She's dead now, they're all dead. It was all such a long time ago.

(THE PHOTOGRAPHS ARE PRINTED BY KIND PERMISSION OF DAVID VARLEY)

Note: **The Way of a Transgressor** will be published in paperback by Hamlyn, Spring 1983.

THE FROZEN MOMENT: Social History from the Records of the Sheffield Flood

Barbara Whitehead

The inhabitants of Pompeii, caught for posterity at one point of their daily lives, had more warning of danger than the inhabitants of one of the long valleys which, with their intervening hills, form the city of Sheffield. At about midnight on the eleventh of March 1864 after a day of violent gales, the embankment of the almost completed Dale Dyke reservoir gave way and a majestic wall of water, level with the roofs of three-storey buildings and containing at least a hundred and fourteen million cubic feet of water, began to roll down the valley of the river Loxley. It carried houses, factories, people, cattle, trees, rocks, all before it, bringing destruction and death down its eight mile route into the heart of the town.

The event was short and sharp; two to three hours after the flood began, the river Don at Doncaster was only "Higher than usual" as, their force exhausted in that spectacular journey, the pent-up contents of the dam slid by on their way to the sea.

The records of this flood can yield a tremendous amount of information about how people were living at the time, in two main ways. Firstly from the statements of what they were doing when the water reached them, and secondly from the claims for recompense made afterwards.

Most people were in bed and were wearing "Nightclothes". When specified these are usually a nightshirt for a man and a nightdress for a woman. A lot of the children seemed to sleep without nightclothes, and many of them must have undressed downstairs by the fire and then scampered upstairs naked to go to bed, because all their clothing was usually lost when the ground floor only was flooded. Some of the adults, particularly young men, were also sleeping naked. Most children seem to have possessed only one set of clothes at once.

In their attempts to escape, many adults had their nightclothes ripped from their bodies by the rush of water, or by other people who were being swept away catching hold of them. Some people had enough warning to dress completely.

Those who began to dress but could not complete the task, always seem to have begun by putting their stockings on (men and women) and then put on their trousers in the case of the men and their petticoats in the case of the woman.

Here and there industrial work was going on through the night but this was carried on by remarkably small groups of people. In Shaw's wire mill, three men and a boy were working all night. In Loxley Old Wheel, at the tilt hammer, there were a man and two boys aged fourteen and eleven. At Rowell Bridge Wheel only William Bradbury was there, the last of the other grinders having left at ten-thirty and eleven-thirty. At the Glass Tilt one man had just left and another was about to come, but fortunately for him he had not yet arrived. At Thomas Harrison's tilt and forge two men aged twenty and sixteen, were working. In the Philadelphia area of Sheffield at Mr. Joseph Rodgers flour mill (he also had a steel mill) some men were working all night filling bags with flour. At Crowley and Sons, iron founders, men had been working night and day for months but that night everyone had left at 10 p.m. At Kirkham Rolling Mills, one man was asleep at one end of the works and a group of men were eating their meal at the other. A man employed at the Coal Office at the Midland Station was sleeping there, and at Jessops Steel Works there was a man on duty – presumably a night watchman.

One thing of interest is the large number of domestic animals which were kept, even in the most built up areas.

A great many people kept a pig and one man and his wife both lost their lives trying to coax their pig out of its sty and to safety. The pig was drowned too. One old lady risked her life by going back for her cat and dog.

Apart from the trains, transport was still provided by horses, ponies and donkeys. The small mills of the time usually had stables with several horses. At Mr. Joseph Rodgers flour and steel mill he had four horses in a stable and sixteen pigs in stys.

Widows who had to maintain themselves were more likely to keep a donkey than a horse. A widow with three children who made her living as a dairy woman had a donkey and a donkey-cart. An old man in Green Lane kept his donkey in the room next to his own.

Poultry are mentioned a number of times and also singing birds in cages; these seem often to have been hanging from nails on bedroom walls. Perhaps at night the family took their canaries and so on upstairs with them. Most people were sleeping in upper rooms except the old and infirm. The upper rooms were normally called chambers, although bedrooms and upstairs rooms are sometimes referred to. Visitors were sometimes accommodated downstairs, and some very poor people were in one-storey dwellings.

Once the flood was over and the dead buried – some two hundred and fifty people lost their lives – people had to be compensated. Apart from a quickly raised charity fund which gave relief, and help from the Board of Guardians who were told to act "without stint", the method was to claim from the Sheffield Waterworks Company for goods damaged or washed away.

There were claims for the death of relatives and 6619 property claims. These are entered in eleven large manuscript volumes, now in the Archives department of the Sheffield Reference Library. Like the inventories of more than a century earlier these give us an

insight into people's homes and way of life. In some areas we have information about upper floors, but in more cases lower floors only were flooded. Some people seemed to have set out to impress the Commissioners. Thomas Marsh of Neepsend began his list with "One harp, value £6," and went on to the value of "music for harp." Another man emphasized his piety by beginning with "Four large Bibles" and then listing religious tracts.

Mud left behind by the water was often twelve feet deep and in their assessments the Commissioners often deducted the amount claimed for cleaning, perhaps because the Corporation had supplied carts to take mud and debris away. It is often difficult to understand why one claim should be paid in full when another person only received a small proportion. There are all kinds of tradesmen; muffin baker, anvil maker, comb maker, powder flask maker, etc. Here is the claim for a delightful corner shop, that of William Batty, a grocer in Harvest Lane:

> "Lost, personal clothing and furniture . . . school books . . . pigs of fifteen stone each . . . stock in trade including 6 lbs. coffee, 4 lbs. Packet Cocoa, 7 lbs. candied lemon, 24 lbs. lump sugar . . . mustard, dates 3 lbs. ground ginger, box epsom salts, 12 lbs. Ricketts Black Lead, 1 box Blue, 1 gross Trelvetrees Washing Powder . . . 10 lbs. hemp seed, 1 box cigars, 6 doz. lead pencils, Buttons, tape, cotton, needles, pins, thimbles . . . 4 bags of flour and 100 lbs. of bread . . ."

John Bate, a glass cutter and photographer, claimed for:

> ". . . loss of 24 half plate paspertaux, Camera stand, chloride of gold, nitrate of silver; Steel engraving of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales favourite greyhound £1;24 Stereoscopic Pictures . . ."

Charles Hodkin, botanist, of Russell Street, had losses including;

> "3 hampers of herbs, Gamboge, Anniseed, Angelica Root, Burdock seed, Cherry bark, Gentian root, Golden Seal, Indian Pink, Mazarine Root, Marshmallow Root, Peruvian Bark, Lobelia, Poplar Bark, Pleurisy root, Polipodia, White Pond Lily, Scullcap, Senna, Sassafras, Bark, Valerian Root, Black Root, Una Visa, Cardigan Seeds, Cubebs, Dandelion Extracts, Motherwort, Allitertive Pills, Rheumatic Fever and cough powders, Female Corrective Powder and other articles . . . £6"

In a public house, you could have ordered, prior to the flood,

> "Ale, beer, bitter beer, Porter in bottles, Bass Pale Ale, Scotch ale, Port wine, Cordials . . . pickled lemons and pickled ox tongue . . ."

Most people had oilcloth on the floors of their houses, and a hearth rug. Skin rugs were common. If the ground floor only was flooded, people always seemed to have lost their boots, so these must have been left downstairs at night, as one might expect. Here are two typical working men's claims;

> "Mathew Greaves, grinder;- of Percy Street, Harvest Lane;- Hair seated sofa, Dresser, table, 5 chairs, fender and Irons, floor oilcloth, hearth rug, window blind, Maiden Pot, glasses, crockery, 1 pair Sunday boots, Plaid woollen Shawl, clothing for three children (frockjackets, shoes, petticoats, trousers, chemises, underclothing) Silk Handkerchief, 2 table cloths, ash pan, 1 ton coals, 2 pancheons of lard, Brushes Blacking and Black Lead, Sweeping brushes, Kettle, 3 saucepans. Claim £14:4:8, assessed at £6."
>
> "John Massey, hammer man of 173 Attercliffe Row:- Brussels carpet, 6 Mahogany chairs, Mahogany Loo table, Mahogany Chiffonier, sofa, Coals, crockery, brushes, pair of men's Boots, 2 water cans, Wash bowl, Hearth rug, mats, etc. Cleaning expenses of £1:5:0. Total £6:1:0 assessed at £4."

Mathew Gould was most bothered about his garden. He was a furnaceman at the Old Park Rolling Mill and claimed for:-

> "96 yards Quick Fence, 2 light frames, 40 gooseberry bushes, 1 large pear tree, 400 yards digging, 1 bed tulips (5/–) crocus, narcissus, and other bulbous roots in border."

Some unmarried women could be very poor, others were comfortably situated. Here is Mary Mulligan:- a widow, and a hawker of the Wicker; she claimed for the loss of:-

> "1 pair of boots, Dress, Skirt, Hawking basket with goods, Shawl and Bonnet. Total £2. Assessed £1."

Why was her modest claim halved at assessment? Here in contrast is the claim of Mary Rodgers, widow, of Penistone Road;

> **"In Parlour:** 1 case clock 60/–, 1 hairseated sofa 80/–, 1 easy chair, 6 Mahogany chairs, 1 Loo table, 1 Chiffonier, 1 small stand, 1 pier glass, 1 set Damask curtains, 1 Pole, 1 carpet and hearthrug, pictures, chimney ornaments, Fender and Fire irons, 2 hassocks, 2 large books.
>
> **Dining-room:** 1 sofa, 6 hairseated Elm chairs, 1 arm chair, Mahogany card table, 1 oak dining table, pictures, carpet and hearthrug, Fender and fire irons, 3 damask table covers, 1 set Moreen curtains.
>
> **Kitchen:** 1 dresser, 1 table, 4 chairs, 1 arm chair, 4 galls. Home made wine, 3 flitches of bacon and ham, 1 set knives and forks self-tip, glass, china, 6 cocoa mats and skin mats, towels and linen, 2 wash tubs and peggy, brushes, 1 load of coals washed from the door.
>
> **Servants losses:** Ann Bennet, 2 bonnets, satchell, black cloth jacket, Alpaca umbrella, linen, flannel, books (5/–) total for Ann, £2:4:6
>
> Mary Ann Rodgers, Bonnet, cloak, flannel, stockings, 2 aprons, boots, Total £1:2:0."

This is the kind of information we could never get elsewhere, even from such a good source as the 1861 census, just three years before. Here we have a representative sample of the population, for the flood was not selective. The records also contain one

illuminating example of the widely different meanings which can be attached to those two emotive words, gentleman and labourer.

James Drabble, gentleman, was the owner of leasehold property (12 cottage houses, and lessee of a hosier's shop and a pub) and he occupied one of his own houses, number 3 cottage House in Greystock Street. His claim runs:-

> "Damage done to furniture etc. in a cottage house in my occupation:- Oilcloth spoiled 10/–, Carpet 12/–, hearth rug 4/–, 2 skin door mats, **Cellar**:- 2 wash pancheons broken 2/–, Bread 3/–, load of coal spoiled 10/–, pots broken, 3 pairs of boots spoiled."

Only his ground floor and cellar were flooded. Now for the farm labourer, who was Joseph Hemshall of Hornet House Farm, Bradfield, whose upper floor was also flooded, so we see into the bedrooms too in his case:-

> "2 feather beds, 7 feather pillows, woollen flock bed, 2 mattresses, and bed tick, 4 setts bedsteads, 5½ pair blankets, 4½ pair sheets, 6 quilts, 5 clothes boxes, 2 oak chests, 6 chamber chairs, table, cradle, sofa, 8 day clock, 2 corner cupboards, oak stand, oak dining-table, square table, 2 round tables, 2 fenders, fire irons, 8 barrels, 2 churns, 14 Milk Pancheons, sieve, milk skimmer, 2 prints, 2 milk cans, bucket, kitchen utensils, cream pots, water pots, wash tub, peggy, clothes horse, chest of drawers, brushes, boiler and steamer, kettle, knives and forks, table, 10 spoons, knife and salt box, bellows, irons, 3 candlesticks, clothes press, pictures and other articles, 3 corves of coal, 3 stones of flour.
>
> **Farming Implements**: hedging bill, 2 axes, stubbing axe, mattock, 3 hammers, wheelbarrow, cart . . . harness for two horses, plough . . . etc . . . 17 yards Calico, waistcoat, 2 pairs drawers . . ."

But the losses from that pleasant household of Joseph Hemshall, farm labourer, are too many to quote.

Sources: History of the Great Flood at Sheffield, by Samuel Harrison, published by himself, 1864.
Bradfield Inundation Claim Register, eleven MSS volumes.

Sources: *History of the Great Flood at Sheffield,* by Samuel Harrison, published by himself, 1864.
Bradfield Inundation Claim Register, eleven MSS volumes.

BLAKE HALL GARDENS, MIRFIELD, AND JOHN HEPWORTH – LAST OF "SIX CLEVER MEN"

John Nussey

The recent Archaeological Survey of West Yorkshire (1) has very usefully brought together the bulk of published references and lesser-known documentary material concerning the existence and the role of gardens in this part of the country up to the year 1500. It is concluded that in mediaeval times gardens and orchards were not only of importance to the economy of the district but were also far more common than had previously been supposed, and more widely owned and cultivated by all classes of society. It remains generally true, even of later centuries, however, that any more particular knowledge of West-Riding gardens is hard to come by, and cases where private records survive are thus all the more interesting.

The present account of the gardens at Blake Hall, Mirfield, is limited to the later three quarters of the nineteenth century, but from what is known of the history of Blake Hall (2) there can be little doubt that the property included gardens matched to contemporary needs as far back as the early years of the sixteenth century. At that period the Hall was owned by the Hopton family. John Hopton, chaplain and confessor to Princess Mary Tudor and later, when she occupied the throne, Bishop of Norwich, is stated to have been born there. It was rebuilt or enlarged by the Hoptons in 1570, but they ceased using it in preference for Armley Hall and it was occupied by tenants throughout most of the seventeenth century, in the latter half of which it also passed into other ownership. From 1713, however, until some thirty years before its demolition in 1954, it was successively owned and occupied by two families – the Turners and the Inghams (3).

The conveyance of Blake Hall to the first of the Turners in 1714 (4) mentions gardens and orchards, and it is likely that these had existed as long as the Hall itself. The Turners rebuilt and much improved the Hall in 1747, and probably took some pride in the gardens also at that time, but in the last quarter of the century they lapsed into financial difficulties and the property passed into the hands of the Inghams in 1784. For some sixteen years it was again occupied by tenants, and when the Inghams did begin to use it themselves the two members of the family concerned were an elderly couple. Mr. Ingham died in 1814, and his widow lived on there alone, in indifferent health and with her thoughts turned towards the next world, until her death near the end of 1824. It would not be surprising if the gardens had fallen into neglect by this time.

The situation was quite different, however, when Mr. Ingham's two grandsons then moved in with their mother and took over their inheritance. At twenty-three and twenty years of age they were young and eager, and money was not short. In Blake Hall gardens,

the activity of the "new broom" was marked by the building in or about 1827 of the gardener's cottage, which survived the Hall and indeed was lived in until recently. At first Blake Hall was shared between the two grandsons, Joshua and James. But Joshua married in 1831, and when James too married and moved away Joshua bought him out. After Joshua's death in 1866 the property remained in the hands of his widow until she retired to Torquay in 1879, after which it passed to her son E. T. Ingham. The surviving records of the gardens cover the part of this period from 1826 to 1892 (5).

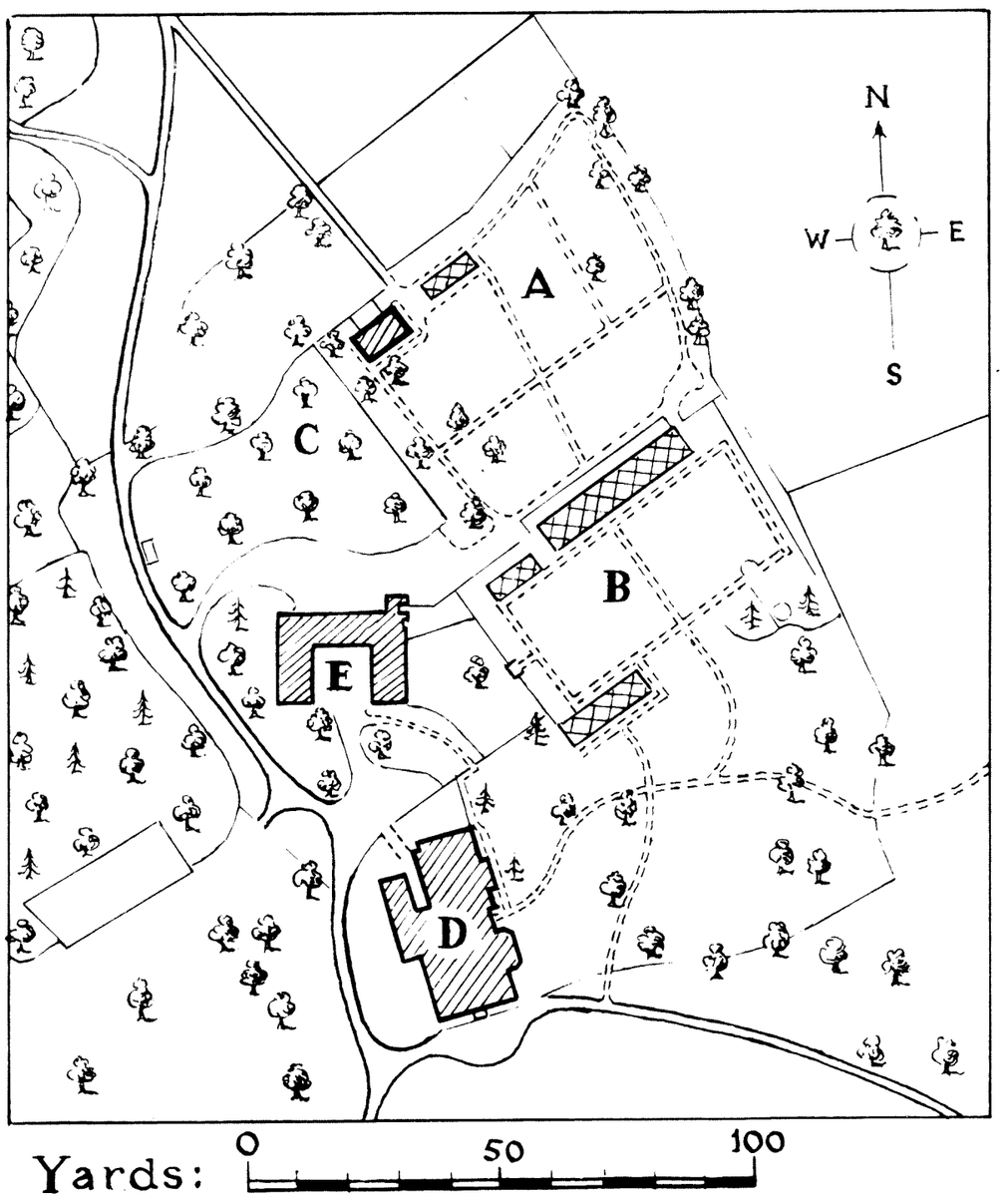
The first of the gardeners in this period was

Samuel Currie 1826 – 1831,

who was followed by

William Partridge 1831 – 1857.

William Partridge was born at Grasmere, in Westmoreland, and was thirty-two years old when he took charge. The circumstances of his engagement are not known, but when his first child, Sarah, was baptised at Thornhill in April 1827 he was described as "of Thornhill, gardener"; quite probably he was then Currie's assistant, coming in to Blake Hall for the day's work and returning home at night. He was one of the two head gardeners during the nineteenth-century period under the Inghams to serve as such for over twenty years, and possibly the ultimate plan of the gardens owed something to him.



For description see page 26

It was for nine months during Partridge's ninth year of office that Anne Brontë lived at Blake Hall as governess to the young Ingham children. She described her experiences there in her novel "*Agnes Grey*", in which there are several references to the gardens. Her first remarks on the subject after her arrival (set in late September in the novel) were: "The garden was a large one, and tastefully laid out; besides several splendid dahlias, there were some other fine flowers still in bloom: but my companion (young Master Bloomfield, alias Ingham) would not give me time to examine them: I must go with him across the wet grass, to a remote sequestered corner, the most important place in the grounds, because it contained *his* garden" (6). Thereafter, however, the gardens were more often than not the scene of embarrassing defeats for poor Anne at the hands of Master Tom and his sister, who refusing to be led by her, obliged her to follow them through wet grass, into the dirtiest corners, or to a well at the bottom of the lawn where they would dabble about until Anne was sure they must be seen from the house. This well was perhaps the small circle shown in the south-eastern corner of area B in the plan.

Towards the end of his period of office, in 1850, Partridge engaged as assistant Samuel Scholefield, who stayed on under the next head gardener,

Charles Gardener 1857–1866,

until May or June 1864. On 27th June 1864, to replace Scholefield, Gardener engaged as assistant John Hepworth. John Hepworth continued as assistant through the brief regimes of the next two heads

William Rogers 1866–1868

and

William Brown 1868–1870

and was then himself appointed head gardener:

John Hepworth 1870–1892.

John Hepworth was a man of diverse talents – gardener, businessman, historian, genealogist, churchman, and poet. He was born at Hartshead in 1847, son of Joseph Hepworth and his wife Ann Hirst. Through his mother he inherited Huguenot blood. His grandfather Hepworth, of Rawfolds, Cleckheaton (whose mother's family were the Broadleys of Rawfolds), was an Oxford scholar, and his grandmother Hirst was a friend of Mrs. Maria Brontë when that family lived at Clough House, Hightown, in the period 1813–1815. His mother was baptised at Hartshead by the Rev. Patrick Brontë.

His early years were not easy, for his father died when he was eleven; this prompted his mother to move to Ravensthorpe, where he attended school, though in the afternoons only. On 24th July, 1864, at the age of seventeen, he started work at Blake Hall in the service of Mr. Joshua Ingham. Two years later Mr. Ingham died, and the domestic management of Blake Hall and its gardens passed into the hands of his widow. John Hepworth remained in Mrs. Ingham's service until she left Blake Hall on 7th July, 1879. On her departure and "in remembrance of many years good service at Blake Hall", she presented him with two inscribed and signed leather-bound volumes of Macaulay's "History of England".

For a keen and successful gardener this might seem a strange choice of subject, but John Hepworth early became, and remained all his life, a scholar. After his

marriage he paid a man to teach him Latin. His journal records that on various occasions he took books "to Mrs Jeffrys" for binding, amongst them "Popular Educator" (6 vols) and "Parish Magazine" (2 vols), as well as "The Gardener" (1 vol). He was a keen historian, writing what is probably the first account of the origins of Ravensthorpe Church, from the time when services were held on Sundays in cottages. He located and recorded family tombstones, wrote on family history, and travelled widely.

As a gardener, John Hepworth was accounted one of the best in the county. He introduced the growing of pineapples to Blake Hall, and was an authority on the cultivation of lilies, the subject also of successful lectures. His notebooks and diaries record many aspects of his work at Blake Hall. For example:

1874: Pines (i.e. pineapples) changed Sep 28th.
Intended bedding display for 1875:
2 large centre beds – Glorious and Amy Hogg geraniums
Middle walk – Yellow pansies and blue lobelia

Long beds	Star beds
No. 1 Yellow calceolaria	No. 1 Blushing Bride verbena
2 White geranium	2 Purple King "
3 Christine geranium	3 Crimson verbena
4 Clown geranium	4 Yellow pansy
5 Mrs Pollock	5 White "
6 Little David	6 Dark "
7 Blue Pansy	7 Blue "
	8 White verbena

But in the event the weather was against him, for he recorded later:

1875: Poor season for flowers. Beds never looked what they ought to have done before Sept. Verbenas did very well during August. An abundance of fruit of all descriptions. On the whole a late, cold summer, with above average of rain.

In this year he had 274 "pines".

30th Nov. To Dewsbury to buy 22 pounds of wall nails at 3d per pound.
New spade 5/3d.
Chrysanthemums were, as usual with me, too late. I intend in the future to grow none but early ones.

1876: My bedding out this year is equal to any of my previous attempts, and some of my friends say better. My design and arrangement of the back border next the Flower Garden admired by everyone. Miss Ingham told me that she had seen nothing superior to it at Ripley gardens, nr. Harrogate, where she had been.

1877: 1st May – A very late spring indeed, scarcely a tree in leaf; wind in the east. Latest spring I ever saw. Nothing seems to grow.

All gardeners will sympathise with such comments. Two months or so before Mrs. Ingham finally left Blake Hall, he records:

1879: 2nd May – Apricots in full bloom
4th May – First blossom on the magnolia
5th May – Began mowing for the first time.

But alas! The early promise was not maintained:

12th June – Very heavy storm of thunder & lightning; also very heavy hailstorm. The ground was covered thick with hailstones; and apple blossom, strawberry blossom, and gooseberries were battered off and vegetables of all sorts were riddled with hailstones. Very poor outlook for fruit.

For description see page 26

On the same day that Mrs. Ingham departed, perhaps now looking forward to Torquay, John Hepworth signed up with Mr. E. T. Ingham, who a year later moved into Blake Hall.

In John Hepworth's care were also the vineries. These were evidently of sufficient value to be specifically mentioned in the description of the property when Major J. L. Ingham sold the Hall in 1924. One of John Hepworth's references to them runs:

1877: First dish of grapes cut in Bottom House June 18th for Mr William Brooke, Northgate House, Honley.

Mr. Brooke had married into the family a little under six years earlier, his wife being the fourth surviving Ingham daughter, Gertrude. He was, however, a manufacturer, and although an eminent one (7), was not regarded as on quite the same plane as coal owners and country squires such as the Inghams (8). He would be pleased with the grapes.

The diaries contain many records of comings and goings, and references to events both at the Hall and at the cottage. It would appear that John Hepworth enjoyed good relations with the family. In December 1858, when one of his young sisters, a girl of not more than ten years old, was paying a visit, the youngest Ingham daughter, herself just on seventeen, sketched the girl's head, and gave her the picture, signed Frances M. Ingham. It is still treasured by relations. Miss Frances acquired her second name Madeira from the circumstance of her being born on that island.

The fourth of the Ingham sons, William Bairstow, who inherited some of the better Ingham qualities, lost his life at the hands of natives on Brooker's Island, New Guinea, an event noted by John Hepworth in his diary: "Mr Willie said to have been murdered on December 5th, 1878, in New Guinea". Elsewhere, as in the inscription on the memorial window in Mirfield church – the East Window – the year only is set down; possibly the exact date remained uncertain. In May 1880 John Hepworth and his wife had a visit from Mr and Mrs Rogers, the William Rogers who had been head gardener in 1866-8. It would be interesting to know what he thought of the gardens now. One of John Hepworth's assistants, names Fretwell, must have caused concern by a habit of arriving late for work, for there is a table recording his arrival times and number of minutes late (ranging from 5 to 30) over the period 14th October to 5th November. Other points considered by John Hepworth as worth recording included the results of a poll taken on a question concerning the School Board on 11th January, 1879.

On 28th August, 1893, after fourteen years service with E.T. Ingham and a total of just over twenty-nine years at Blake Hall gardens, John Hepworth retired – retired, that is, from professional gardening, for he remained active in other directions. As a first step he took over from his brother-in-law a grocer's shop in Batley, a successful enterprise which remained in the family for about fifty years. It was, though, in the ecclesiastical field that his achievements probably became best known. He started a movement to establish a church and parish at Purlwell, hitherto part of Batley parish, and remained actively connected with its development, serving as a member of the Building Committee, later as People's Warden, and then as Vicar's Warden of the new parish (St. Andrew's). He was an elected member of the Central Board of Finance for the Wakefield Diocese, and of the Ruri-Decanal Standing Committee. He wrote a detailed history of St Andrew's up to 1917. When he died in 1918 – the year also of E.T. Ingham's death – the Bishop of Wakefield could write: "his death is a great loss to us all".

Life can be full of surprises, and however well we may think we know ourselves and our place in it, the unexpected will often take us unawares. The writer has a genealogical tree, not so much a vertical one of lineal descent as a horizontal one of marriage connections – perhaps it should be termed a hedge rather than a tree – which shows a valid if somewhat remote connection between John Hepworth and the Inghams for whom he worked. It is impracticable to include it here, but for the curious the relationship can be expressed in a reasonable space of words:

John Hepworth's great-grandfather was a brother-in-law of Benjamin Broadley of Littletown, Liversedge, whose brother-in-law Thomas Cockill (dyer, of Littletown) was connected with Joseph Greenfield of Soothill Hall by the marriage of their respective son and daughter: Joseph Greenfield was brother-in-law to Abraham Greenwood of Dewsbury Moor, who was connected with John Taylor junior of Purlwell Hall (Batley) by the marriage of their respective son and daughter: John Taylor's niece Martha Ingham was the mother of Joshua Ingham of Blake Hall in whose service John Hepworth first engaged.

When extended down the years, the same tree shows, amongst other connections, one between the writer and Mr Brian Arundel, of Ackworth School, who is a descendant of John Hepworth's maternal grandparents, and has generously provided the information about John Hepworth of which this article makes free and extensive use.

REFERENCES

1 *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, Vol. 3, Chapter 38, pp. 822-830

2 J. Nussey, "Blake Hall, in Mirfield, and its Occupants during the 18th and 19th Centuries", scheduled for publication in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 55 (1983)

3 The Turners were originally yeomen fulling-millers; the Inghams accumulated their wealth as cloth merchants, bankers and coal-owners.

4 West Riding Registry of Deeds (West Yorkshire County Record Office, Wakefield): Deed Memorial F. 406 550

5 The names of the head gardeners and their years of office come from a leaden plaque which was discovered in the loft of the gardener's cottage before it ceased to be used as a dwelling. Besides these particulars, the inscription on the plaque states: "This house was built about 1827 - Enlarged 1892"; and it ends with the words: "and to 6 clever men. they were here, they are gone", followed by: "J.H. July 1892". The inscription was recorded by Mr. Brian Arundel

6 Anne Brontë, *Agnes Grey*, chapter 2 (p. 381 in the Collins edition (reprint) of 1968, which includes also *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*). In *Agnes Grey*, Blake Hall and the Inghams are thinly disguised as Wellwood House and the Bloomfields

7 William Brooke's grandfather had built Armitage Bridge woollen mills about the end of the 18th century. The business was, and is still, carried on by the Brooke family under the style John Brooke and Sons, of Armitage Bridge. It is mentioned by George A. Greenwood in "Taylor of Batley", published in 1957, as being, since the demise of Theodore Taylor's enterprise, the oldest concern run by gentlemen manufacturers still continuing in business.

8 Susan Brooke (late granddaughter of the above-mentioned William Brooke), "Anne Brontë at Blake Hall", *Brontë Society Transactions*, Vol. 13, Pt. 68 (1958), p. 248

Illustrations

The map on page 24 illustrates the domestic environs of Blake Hall showing: *a b c* the garden area (glass-houses cross-hatched); *d* Blake Hall; *e* stables and coach-house; probably used at some time also for farm purposes.

The garden area accounts for about 1½ of the 4 acres, comprising the fenced area to the east of the carriage drive. (Plan replotted from 25 inch Ordanance Map of 1894).

The photograph on page 25 is of Blake Hall in the second half of the 19th century, showing the south and east fronts with one of the gardening staff in the foreground on a portion of the parsland.

PAWNSHOP RECORDS

Ian Dewhirst, G. Redmonds

The pawnshop used to play an important role in working-class communities, but is now almost a thing of the past. A set of accounts for a Keighley pawnshop has been analysed for us below by Ian Dewhirst and this is followed by the reminiscences of the editor's father, who worked in such a business as a boy. Both accounts touch on the period of the First World War and they offer interesting points of comparison.

Ian Dewhirst

"If you want any Brass,
We'll lend you it!
If you want aught to wear,
We'll sell you it!"

ran an advertisement for Uncle Chadwick's clothing stores on the corner of Low Street and Cooke Lane, Keighley. Uncle Chadwick's, during the Great War, prided itself on being a "genuine BRITISH FIRM" ("real Yorkshire and patriotic to the backbone") which had "Never Worked for Such Small Profits" and which offered such inducement as a 4s. in the pound discount to servicemen's wives and children. Ingham Chadwick, founder of the business, also kept the Waverley Temperance Hotel and was a warden at Keighley Parish Church.

Uncle Chadwick, as his soubriquet and his jingle suggest, doubled as a pawnbroker. His shop records which have recently been discovered in a cellar, throw a graphic light on the economics of earlier twentieth-century pawnbroking. The customer paid an initial halfpenny on a loan under ten shillings, or a penny on one above. A further halfpenny a month was charged on each 2s. or part of 2s. lent. Pledges not redeemed within 12 calendar months and seven days became the property of the pawnbroker, who could then sell them by auction. For the following three years, the pawner had the right, on payment of a penny, to inspect the pawnbroker's accounts and claim any profit arising from the sale of his former property. In practice, however, this seems to have been rare.

Most revealing of Uncle Chadwick's surviving records is a thick book of receipts signed by customers who, on reclaiming their property, found they had lost the pawn tickets which they were supposed to surrender. They therefore had to declare that they had "not sold or transferred the same" and indemnify the pawnbroker from any future claims arising. There were an inordinate number of such cases. Each receipt gives full details of the transaction: name and address of pawner; article pawned, with valuation; dates of pawning and redemption.

Undoubtedley, such records are biased. They tend to reflect the humbler strata of the business, since the greater the value of the ticket, the more carefully the pawner was likely to treat it. They leave obvious gaps. Yet they do offer a certain picture of pawnbroking.

A survey of 400 consecutive transactions between February, 1917, and June, 1923, shows that 338 were conducted by women, only 62 by men. Not infrequently, however, the women pawned items of men's clothing.

An overwhelming majority of customers lived near at hand, in the working-class streets of Keighley. In 366 transactions, they came from the town itself; another 27 from neighbouring Worth Valley communities like Haworth and Oxenhope, or along the Skipton road as far as Steeton and Eastburn. Only seven were from slightly further afield, Denholme, Glusburn, Bradley and Skipton (Ingham Chadwick had previously been a pawnbroker in Skipton, which may have encouraged a small amount of trade from that direction.)

Most commonly pawned were articles of clothing:— 237 transactions covered the entire wardrobe from vests to men's bowler hats. Another 64 involved footwear, usually boots. There were 26 watches, 20 rings, and 13 other items of jewellery. 21 customers brought bedding. Only 19 offered miscellaneous articles such as clocks, knives and, after the Great War, medals. A medal raised 1s. 6d. and "5 War Medals", in 1919, 10s.

On 250 transactions, sums lent amounted to less than 5s. Lowest (but not markedly so) was 1s. 6d. for a medal or some ear-rings. 143 raised 5s. to 10s.; 46 between 10s. and £1. Only six pawners were lent more than £1, only two of whom got more than £2. Largest loan was a spectacular £4.10s.0d. on a "gold Bracelet, 9 ct. Necket & Pearl Beads" pawned by somebody from Glusburn in 1920. The popular clothing and footwear seldom came anywhere near a 10s. valuation, except suits which could raise at least 16s., sometimes as much as 19s. Rings and watches were seldom valuable.

Most pledges (268) were redeemed within the month, 183 of these within a week; 66 remained in pawn for one to three months; 50 from three to six months; and only 16 from six months to a year.

Social changes occasioned by the Great War, its close and its aftermath show no apparent effect on pawnshop trends. Indeed, the ratio of female to male customers very slightly increases during the period, and the proportions of sums lent remain generally static throughout.

Of the 400 transactions, 95 represent pawners who used Uncle Chadwick's only once, whilst 59 more or less regular customers accounted for the other 305. Five women between them pawned 85 articles (and contrived to mislay 85 tickets!), principal of whom was a Mrs. Whiteoak. Between December, 1920, and May, 1923, Mrs. Whiteoak pawned some singlets, a child's vest, women's boots, women's shoes, men's shoes (twice), "knickers & jumper", a skirt (five times), a shirt or shirts (nine times), a chemise, a vest, a frock, a suit, a sheet (twice), a shawl (twice), and a "costume" (five times). Most of these were for very small sums and for very short periods: her only decent pledge was the suit, which raised 17s.

The costume, assuming that it was the same one, charts a poignant course of devaluation. The first three times she pawned it, it raised 5s. The fourth time, she only got 3s., and the fifth time, it was down to half-a-crown.

Ronald Redmonds

In 1915 I was fourteen years old. My working hours at North's in Manchester Road, Bradford were 7.30a.m. to 8.00p.m., but usually it took an extra half-hour or so to get rid of late customers and clear up the shop. I was free on Sunday and got away on Wednesday at 1.00p.m.

Pawnshop were very busy places in those days and there was always a hard core of regulars, who usually came in on a Monday or Tuesday. Mainly they brought the same parcels every week and redeemed the articles on the following Friday or Saturday. The weekly interest charged was a halfpenny for every shillings or part shilling and it was limited by law. In addition a halfpenny was deducted from the cash loaned, ostensibly for the ticket, which was essential if the goods were to be redeemed.

The goods most often pawned were men's suits or boots, shawls, quilts, blankets and even underwear. All the pledged articles, apart from jewellery, were made into a parcel and stored in small square sections of open shelving in the upper storey. Actually the paper wrapping was the real reason for the halfpenny charge.

The law demanded that these goods, including jewellery, which was kept in the safe, should be held for a full twelve months before becoming the property of the pawnbroker. In fact most "Uncles", as the shops were generally called, kept goods for thirteen months, as they were better redeemed than put into the shop's second-hand department. It was my job every Thursday morning to go up the Jacob's ladder and bring down all the articles in the compartment dated thirteen months earlier. The clerk had a rough idea of their selling value and each item was ticketed. I took the jewelley into the front shop and the other goods into the second-hand shop.

It was this system which brought to light a trick which had been played on us by two women. For a year they had "borrowed" ten or fifteen shillings a week on the "security" of our own goods. To show how it was done I have drawn a diagram of the lay-out of North's shop.

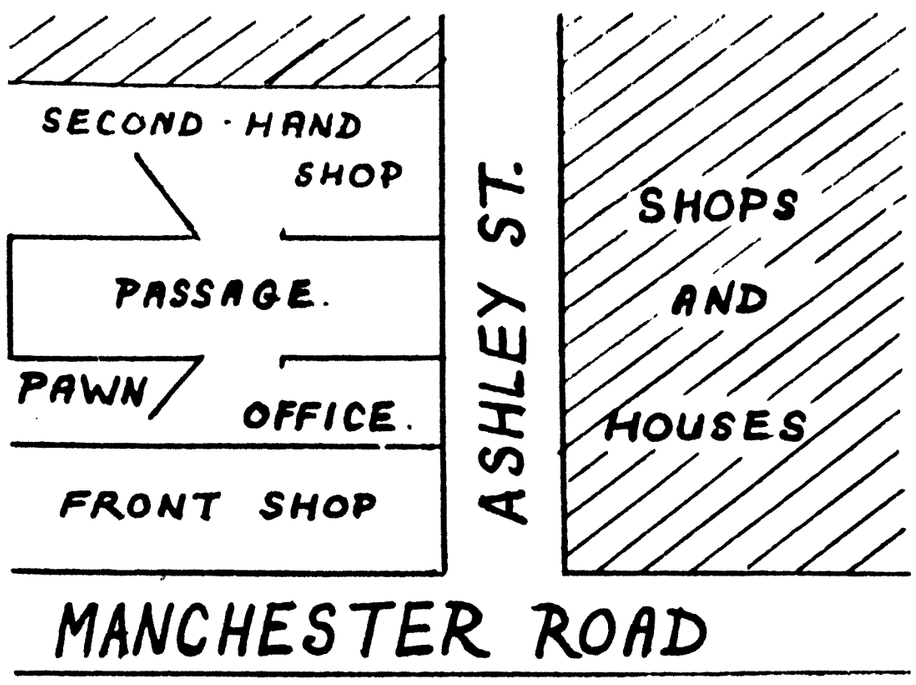
At that time an old chap was in charge of the second-hand shop, having replaced a man who had joined up. The two women who were regulars used to come in when he was having his tea and whilst one of them kept him talking the other had "a look round for bargains." Shortly afterwards she would bring some small item to the counter and pay a few pence for it. Wishing the old chap a cheery "Goodnight" the two would then cross the passage and enter the pawn-office. Here they produced a shawl or some similar article from under their pinafores. This was not at all unusual, for nearly all working-class women wore their pinafores all day. They then received a loan of up to six shillings and left the shop. It was the manager who later noticed that every week shawls were coming into the shop in the two women's names, but were not being redeemed. He was shocked to be told the two had left the district "recently".

I got a lot of amusement from noting the difference between regulars and casuals.. The former, mainly women, came in without any embarrassment, but a casual, usually a man, would walk up the street slowly and pass the entrance furtively two or three times before bursting in and mumbling some long explanation of sudden financial emergency.

On one occasion a woman who had pawned her frying-pan on Monday morning came into the shop later in the week, begging us to lend her the pan for a couple of hours. Her husband had come home demanding a fry-up and then gone to the pub for a pint. She hadn't enough money to redeem the pan, but as she was a regular we got it out of its package and she went away swearing that Bert, with whom I worked, was the world's number one gentleman. The pan came back the next day but was never included in her pledges again.

"Ladies of the Streets" frequently offered items of obvious masculine property but these were almost always refused. It was amusing to hear a lady's declaration that a "gentleman" had given her the item, but pawnbrokers had to be careful. They could lose their licence for taking in stolen goods.

One evening I was required to stay on at the shop to take stock. I worked from 8.00p.m. until 12.30a.m. and was given fourpence for my tea. When my father heard this he called the shop the next day, gave the boss a piece of his mind and took me home. He took me to where he worked and I was given a job in the pattern room.



CLIFFORD MILLS

John Goodchild

The pleasant rural village of Clifford in the West Riding was the location of a specialist outlier of the widespread linen industry of that County in the form of the shoe-thread manufacturing firm of the Grimston family. Their business was to become probably the largest of its kind in the country and was to survive at Clifford for almost half a century.

The exact date of the foundation of the business at Clifford is uncertain, although in a letter of 5.1871 Thomas Grimston stated that his firm had been trading for forty years. A trade directory published in 1834 does not refer to any Grimston in the vicinity of Clifford although it does mention Robert Grimston, a fellmonger living at Landleed House, Waterside, Knaresborough and both Ralph and Thomas Grimston were natives of that place – the former born there in about 1797 and the latter in about 1802. There were by c.1834 several thread-manufacturing firms in Knaresborough.

The 1835 West Riding poll book lists the then three partners in the mill at Clifford: Thomas and Robert both living at Clifford and Ralph at Knaresborough. They had then recently taken the tenancy from the Bramham estate of Clifford Mills, old-established water-powered corn mills lying in fact in large part in Bramham but closely adjoining upon the village of Clifford. In 1806 these mills had been conveyed for the use of Michael Maud, described as a thread merchant, who was "of" Clifford Mills in 1808. In 1819 Maud conveyed his Clifford Mills property to James Fox of Bramham Park, but he is referred to in the trade directory of 1821 as a miller, thread manufacturer and flax spinner at three mills close to Clifford and including Clifford Mills.

The 1838 trade directory of the West Riding refers to the Grimstone as "patent yarn & shoethread" manufacturers at Clifford Mills, where they also became farmers, purchasing some property themselves. By 1848 "At Clifford Mill, in this township, is Messrs. Grimston's old established manufactory for patent shoe-thread – the superiority of which, over similar articles, has long been recognised." A report of 1852 on the Bramham estates suggest that Clifford had increased in value owing to the location there of the Grimstons' mills and their employment of large numbers of persons. Certainly the population of the township of Clifford cum Boston increased with the establishment of the mills and decreased subsequent to their closure, although a number of other factors were also involved:

1841	1566	1881	2604
1851	1834	1891	2330
1861	2153	1901	2416
1871	2374		

In 1857 the presently surviving mill was erected wholly in Clifford and still approached by New Mill Lane. It was described in the 1861 directory as "a handsome red brick building, with stone quoins; it is fitted up with machinery, combining every recent improvement, and is lighted with gas made on the premises." In fact the New Mill is fourteen bays in length and three storeys in height. At the time of the immediate following national census, that of 1861, the Grimstons employed 300 hands; Ralph Grimston was aged 62 and lived at The Lodge at Clifford with his 65 year old Lincolnshire-born wife and two servants, while Thomas, aged 59, lived at Springfield House (now demolished) with his 63 year old Masham-born wife and their unmarried 26 year old Clifford-born son (Augustine) and a cook. Both the Grimstons were described as flax spinners and farmers – Thomas occupying some 200 acres. The 1861 census also indicates the large proportion of Irish-born persons employed by the Grimstons and they themselves were strongly Roman Catholic: they had contributed largely to the building and decorating of the great R C church at Clifford in the later 1840s and the tombstones of several of the Grimstons are still to be seen in the churchyard surrounding that church.

The personal copy letter book of Thomas Francis Grimston survives for the period April 1866 to May 1876 and reflects many of the interests of the business and its owners. In 1866 Ralph Grimston, Thomas's brother, managed money matters relating to the mill and the farm and the firm paid £300.2s.0d a year rent to the Bramham estate in 1868 and 1873. Thomas banked with the Yorkshire Banking Company and possessed property of his own in 1866 in Bishop Wilton (East Riding) and at Golden Bridge, apparently near Dublin. The partners insured the mills in 1866 in the Sun Office, and in June 1867 a great fire occurred, breaking out in the middle of a Saturday morning and probably caused by the (in fact prohibited) use of matches in one of the packing rooms. The firm's own fire engine took some time in getting to work, as it was "out of repair", but the fire-fighting was helped by the aid of a small engine sent from Bramham Park. The loss by the fire was said to be some £2,000. The suggestion by Harry Speight that the mills were not worked after "the great fire" of 1867 is possibly correct in so far as the Old Mill is concerned, but apparently not otherwise.

The letter book refers to the Grimstons' political sympathies and a subscription to the Tadcaster Conservative Registration Association; they were also farmers, supporting the Yorkshire Agricultural Society's Show, and in 1875 Ralph Grimston, who occupied nearly 300 acres, was using steam ploughing tackle. His brother Thomas supported a variety of Roman Catholic causes, although in November 1867 he had to turn down an application for aid, writing that

> "Things are really in such a depressed state just now, and the future prospects of trade are looking so very gloomy, that manufacturers are

compelled to husband their resources as much as possible."

Being in the depths of the countryside posed some transport difficulties for a major business, even though the Grimstons' raw materials and finished products were relatively light in relation to their bulk. In 1870 the firm used a traction engine to pull their waggon(s) and were about to remove their traffic to Newton Kyme railway station. The engine was described in May 1871 as being of 8 h p and working "exceedingly well"; it had been used since 28 November 1870. The engine demanded when in service the attentions of a driver, a stoker and a flag boy. The partners had a branch mill at Mickley, another water-powered site on the banks of the Ure near Kirkby Malzeard, where they were operating by 1861. In 1871 their products were stated to be threads, twines and yarns and in the previous year they were having some difficulties with a customer in Spain. In 1873 they had used a Manchester agent for some forty years.

Some comments on the state of trade were committed upon occasion to the private letter book: in August 1871 an offer to appoint a Scottish agent was turned down as business had for some time not been so active – although in the previous month T A ("Austin") Grimston was about to move into the nearby mansion of Toulston Lodge as tenant. In October 1873 business in town was reported as being poor:

"we have not ourselves very much to complain of. Our Workpeople being country folk, quietly disposed & remove from Town agitators are tolerably peaceable and do not give us reason to complain of them."

A few years later, in May 1876, a "character" was given to John Wiseman, who had been in the firm's employ for thirty years:

"a good Workman, honest, industrious and fairly steady. He left us, with some others, owing to a difficulty as to price of work."

For some years prior to 1873 the firm's income tax return had been for £2,000; 1871 was a busy year and the return was raised to £3,000. However, in 1872 both the mills were much less successful and much of the machinery stood idle: the turnover was less by £12,000 and the tax return was suggested at £2,500. Thomas Grimston, at least, invested parts of his own profits in railway shares, English and foreign.

Ralph Grimston died in December 1876 aged 79 and Thomas Francis Grimston in March 1883 aged 81; both were buried in the graveyard of the R C chapel. Latterly Thomas Grimston carried on the business with his son Thomas Augustine (Austin) Grimston, who carried it on alone after his father's death. However, the decline in West Riding rural (and indeed in urban) flax spinning adversely affected the business and on T F Grimston's death in 1883 the firm owed the Yorkshire Bank Company £11,489.13s.9d. The Mickley Mills had been mortgaged in 1877 to a relative for £4,000 and Austin Grimston, had borrowed (a further?) £2,400 from the mortgagor. Finally in 1887 Austin Grimston, then described as a flax spinner and farmer at Clifford Mills, decided to hand over the business to trustees so that it might be wound up and sold for the benefit of his creditors. The firm then owned property at Clifford, Knaresborough, Farnham and Mickley.

Austin Grimston, the last owner of the business, died on the 20 October 1913, aged 79. The great new mill of 1857 still survives: the old mill, just across the beck and later used as a saw mill, is now demolished, except for its breast waterwheel and the great and now silted dam which fed the wheel. The new private housing estate stands on the site of Thomas Grimston's parkland of Springfield House.

The major monument to the Grimstons of Clifford Mills survives in the form of the great R C church in Clifford, described by Pevsner as "remarkable indeed." It is a curious structure of neo-Norman design built in 1845-48 to a design of a Scotsman of the name of Ramsay and at a cost of over £15,000. Money was given by a variety of wellwishers led by the Grimstons, and subscriptions also came from the Pope, the Queen of France, the Grand Duke of Parma and the King of Sardinia. In January 1846 the incumbent of the new Church of England church at Clifford wrote to the Bramham estate agent that

"the Flaxdressers are much constrained by a desire to obtain the favour"

of one who was apparently the mill manager and that the Grimstons

"intend to raise £5 a fortnight from their work people for building the new Romish Chapel"

by a so-called "voluntary" contribution. One Churchwoman, a spinner in her own home, had agreed to contribute 2d. a fortnight – presumably the workpeople were then paid fortnightly. She claimed that

"Mr. Thomas Grimston desired that all who received work under him should contribute something from their wages towards the building of the new Chapel."

The information contained in this essay is derived from the Clifford Mills estate letter book in Wakefield Distict Archives, Goodchild Loan MSS and from West Riding trade directories, census returns and poll books.

PUDSEY WORKHOUSE

Bruce Strong

In February 1840 the 40 inmates of the Pudsey workhouse celebrated Queen Victoria's wedding. All were regaled with roast beef and plum pudding, the traditional festive fare. The men were also treated to "good old English ale", whilst the women made do with "excellant tea and buns". But all joined to drink Her Majesty's health "right merrily", with punch (1).

Eight months later the workhouse was closed, a victim of the efficiency ethic of the New Poor Law. The inmates were moved, complete with their beds and bedding, to the improved Bradford workhouse at Barkerend Road.

For most of its existence the Pudsey workhouse had functioned under the old Elizabethan Poor Law which made the parish, or later the township, responsible for its own poor, and enabled a poor rate to be levied. Early references to the working of the poor law in Pudsey are slight, but when William Mitchell died in 1616 he had 12/– "towne lay – in his hand", suggesting that Pudsey already had a poor rate (2). This income was augmented by bequests made during the 17th Century to "the poor of Pudsey".

The only references to how the poor rate was actually spent come from the records of the Quarter Sessions. In 1639 the church-wardens and overseers were ordered to provide "howseroome and harbour" for Stephen Braithwaite and his wife and "to allow such other necessaries – as their necessities shall require" (3). And in 1663 the township officials were required to build "a Cottage house – upon ye Waste "to accommodate Isaac Gaunt, his wife and 3 small children, "not any of them being able to help themselves" (4). The fact that these cases came to the notice of the Quarter Sessions suggests that the overseers and church-wardens had been neglectful, but nevertheless the humanely individual help ordered by the Justices reflects a community where poverty had not become a mass problem.

However, by the second decade of the 18th Century the town's population had begun to rise steeply and less personal ways of accommodating the destitute became necessary. A bequest in 1741 by Joseph Fenton, a Lowtown innkeeper of: "my uppermost cottage and dwelling house called the workhouse wherein the poor of Pudsey are now maintained" suggest that already the town officials had found it more economical to house the impotent poor under one roof (5). It was probably to this establishment that the widower William Hudson and his 5 young children had to move in 1761. As a Moravian he was visited by the Pudsey 'labourer' who reported on "the lamentable and deplorable condition (of) the whole family of Brother Hudson – in Pudsey workhouse". Within a year he recorded: "Little Paul Hudson went Home the 13th March", and 2 months later "The tabernacle of little John Hudson was interred at our Burying Ground aged 4 to 5 years" (6).

As a result of this distressing episode the Moravians pressed the town officials to improve the conditions in the workhouse. At a subsequent meeting of freeholders it was decided to build a town workhouse on the commonland at Littlemoor. The scheme was to be financed by enforced loans which it was optimistically believed would be repaid, with interest, within 3 years, the profits accruing from the labour of the inmates. The Moravians share was £20. Considering the likely calibre of the clientele it comes as no surprise to find no record of their getting their £20 back (7).

A painting by W.J. Noble of the workhouse in 1889 shows it to be a substantial, two storeyed building with a narrow aisle at the back and with the corner stones typical of the 18th Century. There are 5 symmetrical upper windows, one of which is lengthened as a 'taking-in' door and has a hoist above. This, together with the stone steps to the first floor at the back, remembered by a Pudsey octogenarian, illustrates the intended role of the workhouse, the manufacture of woollen cloth. A committee room was incorporated at the east end in which township business was transacted. The Moravian Brother Charlesworth records in 1765: "I met some gentlemen of the Town at the workhouse –" (8).

Many of the provisions for the workhouse were bought at the Moravian shop at Fulneck. The shop accounts, meticulously kept, afford valuable glimpses of life in the workhouse in the late 18th Century. About 20 lbs of treacle was consumed weekly, presumably on oatmeal porridge, and on the oatcakes which would be cooked in the traditional manner on the 'bakestone', which was also bought from the Fulneck shop. Senna and spanish juice were occasionally bought, and chamber pots, at 2d each. Hops were supplied in large quantity, as were clay pipes and various types of tobacco, shag and pigtail for the men (4½d for 2 oz), and ladies twist for the women. This was slightly more expensive. Occasional purchases include 2 pennyworth of lettuce seed, a mousetrap (4d), bed cord (for stretching across the wooden bed frames), and a "leathern inkstand" for the committee room. Semi luxuries such as tea, sugar and dried fruit, absent from the main account, occasionally apppear in a separate order for the workhouse 'Dame'.

As well as supplying food and hardware the Fulneck shop also provided sewing materials. Harding, a coarse linen at 9d a yard, was made up into shirts for the men and shifts for the women. Wolsey, a softer, warmer fabric with a flax warp and woollen weft, costing 1s 3d a yard, was used for petticoats and shawls for the women and children. This slight insight of life in Pudsey's new workhouse suggests a relatively benign institution with a resident 'Dame' and the inmates at least allowed the simple pleasure of their clay pipes.

Harvest failures and crisis in the woollen industry

caused great distress in the first years of the 19th Century. In January 1801 a Moravian 'labourer' reported: "Much outward distress —. It is not uncommom to hear of such as are perishing by hunger." The Moravians were obliged to begin an additional 'watch' because of the "many plunderings" (9). The pressure on the poor rate must have been severe and was probably related to the decision in February 1802: "to discontinue the poor house and the occupants dispose of as soon as possible." Within a fortnight the workhouse was contracted out to John Cooper, a cloth manufacturer who was to be paid 3/— a week to find board, including 2 meat dinners a week, and 'fire' for each inmate (10). John Cooper was then free to use the workhouse and the labour of the inmates for his own cloth manufacturing business. Although the workhouse was to be inspected periodically the officials soon seemed to slip into the attitude that their responsibility ended when the contractor had been paid. Certainly what references there are to the workhouse during the next 35 years reveal it as an utterly sub-Dickensian establishment. In 1817 the Moravians determined not to "suffer (Ann Willey) – to remain in such a place of wretchedness as the workhouse seems to be" (11), and many years later a man recalls having seen "large black bowls filled with oatmeal porridge and milk, and a big podgy person who figures as master filling black earthenware mugs with a ladle, and the poor miserably clad people hobbling away with their meal to their room, which was not very tidy or overclean" (12).

There seem to have been only about a dozen burials from the Pudsey workhouse between 1813-1837, and these were mostly of the very old or of the babies of unmarried women. This suggests not only that there were few inmates but also gives some hint as the sort of people they were. Another category of inmate is mentioned by Joseph Barker who on visiting the workhouse on a preaching engagement in the early 1830's found that the adjoining room was where "the idiots and maniacs were confined" (13).

The 'Governor' for much of this period was Martin Crowther, another cloth manufacturer and a partner in at least 2 scribbling and fulling mills. It is unlikely that the labour available in the workhouse would be much use to him although he seems to have used the surplus accommodation for his own benefit.

With the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 the responsibility for the poor passed from the townships to the new Poor Law Unions, administered by Guardians elected from the constituent townships. Pudsey became part of the Bradford Poor Law Union which in 1837 arranged for the 5 workhouses in the Union to be visited as a pre-requisite for bringing them up to the standard demanded by the new Act. Having visited Calverley and Idle workhouses which were found to be "comfortable and clean" the delegation proceeded to Pudsey. Here it was reported: "we found – a very differnt state. Both the inmates and the house were in a very dirty state which perhaps may be partly attributed to the workhouse master carrying on the Business of Cloth Manufacturing in the House" (14).

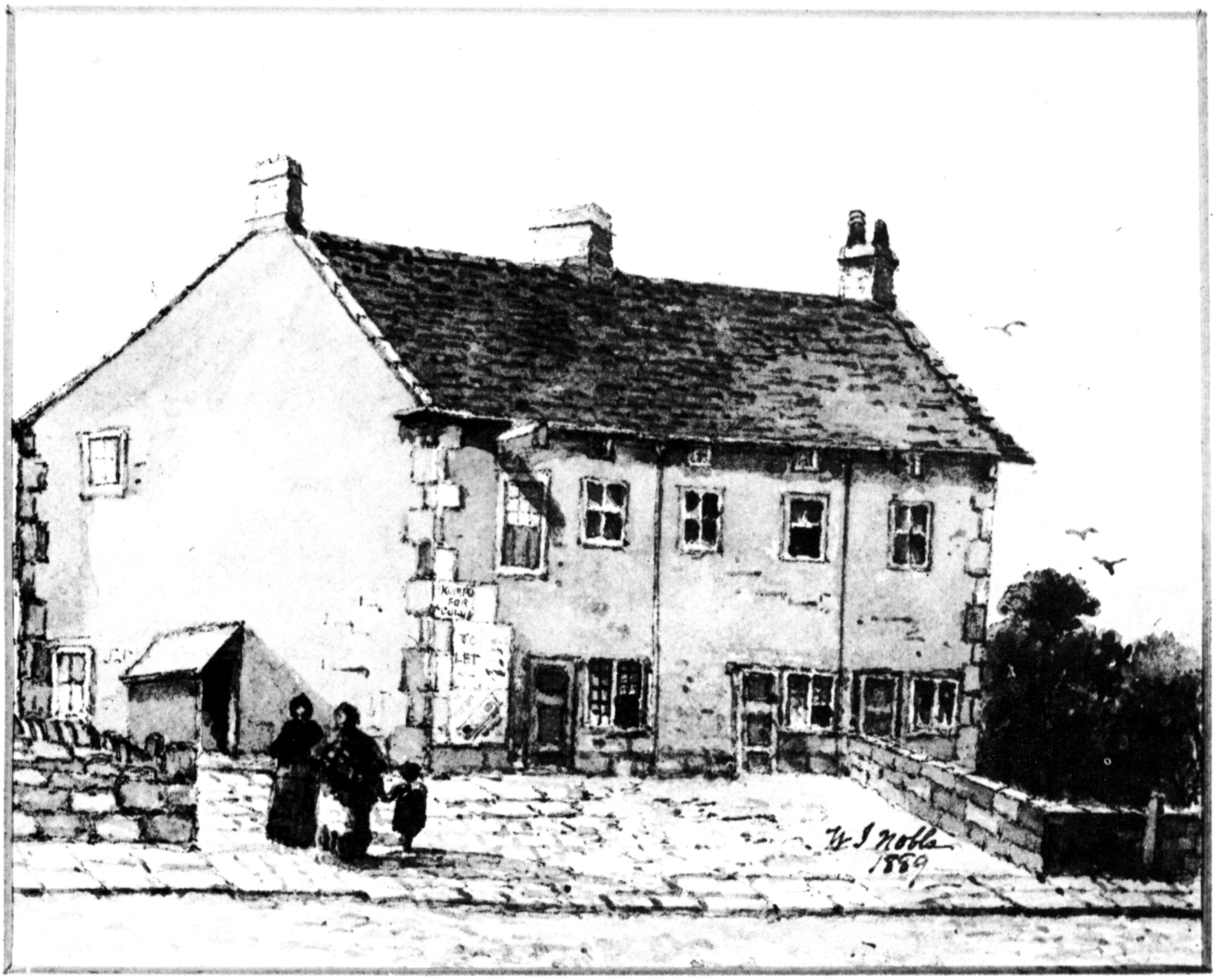
An advertisement soon appeared for a new master. The requirements were: "A middle-aged couple without family" who were required "to reside constantly in the workhouse" and were to receive an annual salary of £25. Criticism regarding the paucity of the renumeration was countered by the nice calculation of a Pudsey Guardian that the sale of the 'wesh' (15), would yield a regular further 2/– a week (16). After a second advertisement John Rogers and his wife were appointed (17).

A major tenet of the 1834 Poor Law was to stop the drain on Poor Law expenditure by out relief. Only those who entered the workhouse would receive help. Certainly the population of the Pudsey workhouse quickly rose to nearly 40, but in Pudsey as elsewhere such a rule was found impracticable. Obviously it was much cheaper and less trouble merely to give the poor a weekly allowance, or, as in the case of Mary Barrett, to give food direct. For a time she came daily to receive her 2½d allowance of bread; it would have cost 5d a day to maintain her in the workhouse. This arrangement ceased however when she developed "the habit of coming for it in a state of intoxication and of using indecent violent language to the master and paupers" (18).

Tenders for provisions for the workhouse in 1837 reveal some changes since the 18th Century. Cast-iron bedsteads had replaced the less hygienic wooden frame beds, and tea and sugar were part of the regular diet. However, hops were still supplied in quantity, the contract for supplying all the Union workhouses coincidentally going to Benjimen Troughton, a member of the Pudsey workhouse committee (19). Other items included: beef (not serloin) (8), mutton (not leg); straw bonnets, and worsted yarn for knitting stockings. Specially bought for the Pudsey workhouse was a weighing machine, to be used in conjunction with the master's account book to keep a check on the supply of meat (4½d worth per inmate weekly) and on the master's honesty. And £4.10.0 was spent on a "clock and case."

There were three changes in the post of medical attendant in as many years, suggesting that despite a fee of 7/6 per case it was not a sought after job. Certainly his services were in little demand, although there averaged eight deaths a year from the workhouse. Perhaps a cheaper alternative was leeches periodically supplied for "medical relief." The Union supplied coffins in two sizes, large 8/6, and small 3/6, but the contractors were liable to deliver the wrong size, which caused difficulties at at least one funeral.

Gradually the local character of the workhouse began to be eroded. With the closure of the North Bierley workhouse in 1837 Pudsey took its share of the inmates, and as places in Pudsey's workhouse became vacant they tended to be filled with paupers from other parts of the Bradford Union. Likewise Pudsey paupers were sent to the Bradford, Calverley or Idle workhouses (20). Moreover all the Union's pauper



children were sent to Calverley workhouse because of the master and matron's: "capabilities and fitness to undertake the instruction of Youth" (21).

But despite these changes after three years the workhouse still did not meet the requirements of the new system. In June 1840 the Board of Guardians resolved: "in consequence of misgovernment – the establishment should be dissolved and the inmates removed to other and better conducted establishments". The news led to an angry meeting in the Town School, where bold resolutions were passed condemning the "interference of strangers" in what had traditionally been township matters. There was a burst of festivity, the church bells were "set a-ringing", the Tory band played its most rousing tunes and the cry was: "Down with the New Poor Law". The natural indignation was vigorously fanned by local Tories eagar to make the most of a popular cause to match the Liberal's anti-Corn Law campaign (22).

Yet petitions could not change the decision of the Union, which itself was beholden to the Poor Law Commissioners. The following October the workhouses at Pudsey and Calverley were both closed; John Rogers and his wife received a golden handshake in the form of the three year old workhouse clock.

The building then had various uses, as a flock warehouse, possibly as a hospital during the 1849 cholera epidemic (23), and finally as the cottages depicted by W. J. Noble. It was demolished in about 1900 and today the old town workhouse is almost forgotten.

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