LOCAL HISTORY PUBLICATIONS

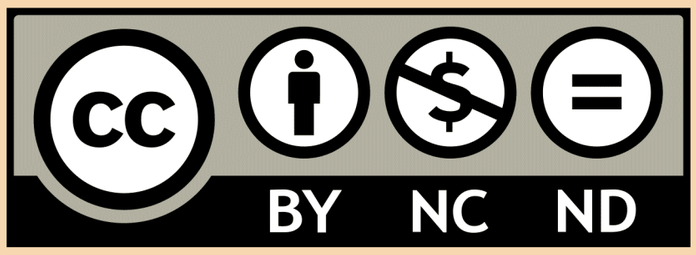
OLD WEST RIDING

SQUINT STAIRCASE,
THORNHILL LEES HALL

A COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES

edited by George Redmonds

vol.3 no.1 Spring 1983 price 1.75



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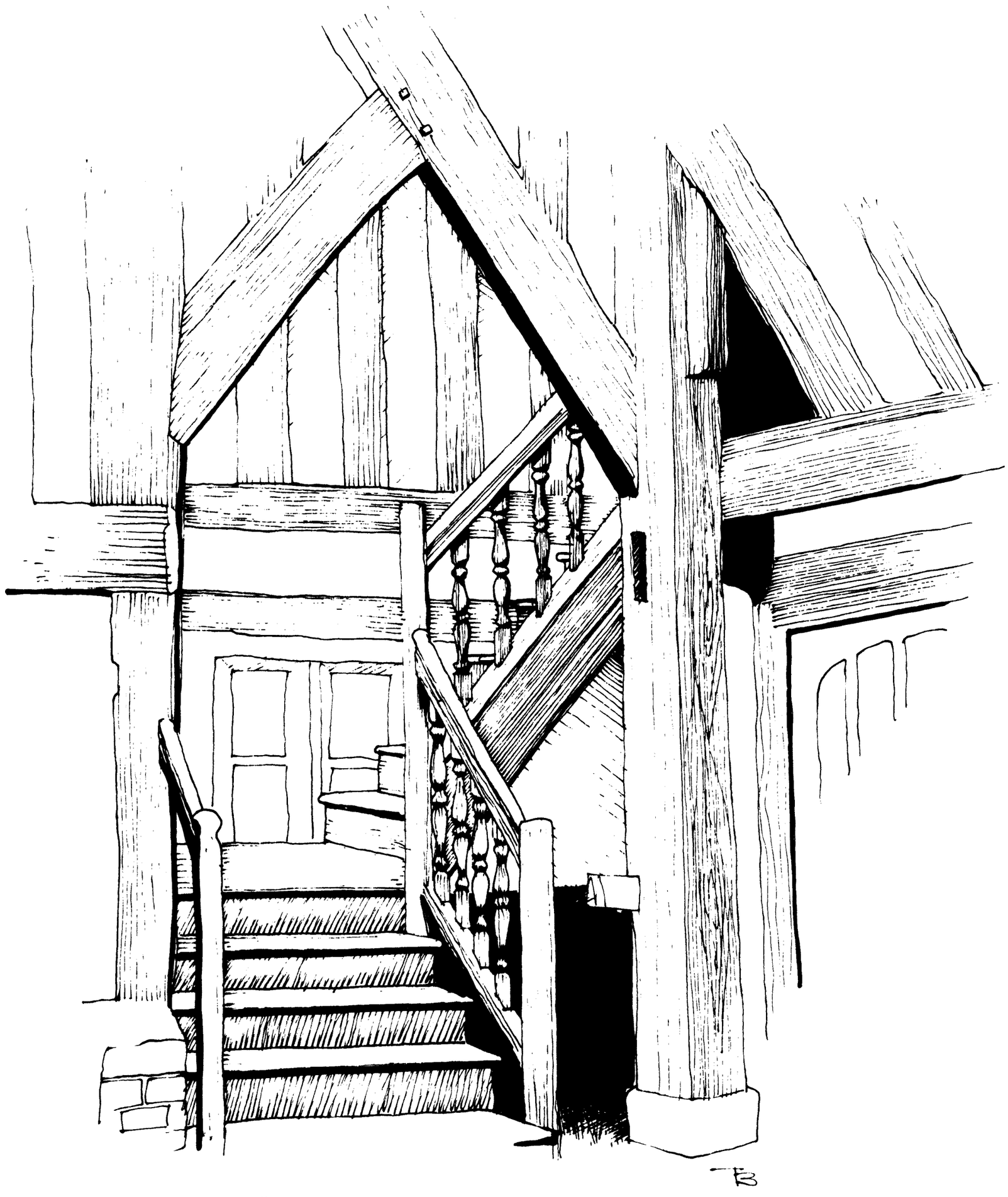

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INTRODUCTION

This is the fifth number of *Old West Riding*, and we continue to be amazed and delighted at the number and variety of contributions which you, our readers, are sending us. Especially pleasing is the fact that students in adult education classes continue to send work of a high standard - work which may otherwise have lain unpublished and forgotten once classes were over.

We would be happy to print more photographs, drawings and maps, and extracts from letters and diaries, if they illustrate some aspect of West Riding life past or present. Please let us know if you have these and are willing to lend them.

The topics covered so far include industrial and political history, transport, genealogy, dialect, surnames and place-names, architectural and gardening history, and the greatest number, which come under the general heading social history; all of which give us vivid glimpses into the life, work and pastimes of West Riding people.

The great value of these local studies is in the depth of their concentration – by focusing one's gaze on such a small area in the minutest detail, a vision of the wider implications develops like a halo round the limited visual field.

It is with regret in this issue we say goodbye to our associate editor Peter Watkins of Greenhead Books, who has retired. From the outset Peter has worked with great energy and enthusiasm to make this magazine a success, and we are grateful for his considerable help and support. We wish him every happiness in his retirement, in which we know involvement in local history will continue to play a big part.

One result of this change is that Greenhead Books will now be playing a less active role in the publication and sale of *Old West Riding*. The magazine will still be available in their Leeds and Huddersfield shops, but enquiries about back numbers and subscriptions should be addressed directly to the editors, who have taken on the responsibility of publication under the name Old West Riding Books.

We hope that readers will support us in this new phase of the venture and will bring the existence of the magazine to the attention of all local history enthusiasts.

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SHAKESPEARE IN SLAITHWAITE

Philip Charlesworth

It was fitting that on their recent visits to the West Riding the Royal Shakespeare Company should have played in Slaithwaite. Amateur dramatic activity has been widespread in the district during the past century, but only Slaithwaite has had its own Company — Mr. Elvyn Wood's Company of Shakespearean Players.

"It is characteristic of communities of intelligent young men and women that at some time in their lives they have a consuming desire to play 'Hamlet' or 'Othello' or 'Merchant of Venice' or some other equally immortal setting of human life in its varied phases." Thus wrote the 'Slaithwaite Guardian and Colne Valley News' in its issue of December 8th 1905. The occasion was the Grand Shakespearean Recital lately given in the National Schools at Slaithwaite and which took the form of an arrangement, by Mr. Elvyn Wood, of THE MERCHANT OF VENICE for eight of the play's fifteen characters, with Mr. Wood in the role of Bassanio.

Elvyn Wood was then twenty two years of age and none of his colleagues much older. Though later productions by his Company included members with varying degrees of higher education, the cast of this first venture was composed largely of young people with an elementary school background, employed in textiles or other local industries. Most of the men, however, had been evening class students (Elvyn and his brother Harry both studied Russian at Huddersfield Tech.) and the group was probably drawn together through this connection and the association of most of them with Slaithwaite Church. It is none the less interesting to speculate whence, eight or ten years after a limited formal education, these young people derived their enthusiasm for the immortal bard.

When, after a silence of fifteen years, we next hear of Mr. Wood and his friends, the chosen play is THE TAMING OF THE SHREW, performed this time in Linthwaite Church Schools on three nights in February and again in April 1920. Elvyn Wood played Petruchio in this full production of the play, with some of his original actors, notably his brother Harry and his cousin Dyson Cox, who were to stay with him for all the ten productions of this Company, billed sometimes as "The Colne Valley Company of Amateur Shakespearean Players', but more usually bearing the name of their founder and inspirer, Elvyn Wood.

On this occasion the 'Colne Valley Guardian' reported "the performance, judged from an amateur standard, as in justice it must be, was of undoubted merit and in some respects real excellence." It must have been pretty good, or the Company would not have been invited by Alfred Wareing, then Manager of Huddersfield Theatre Royal and later a Librarian at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-on-Avon), to give a matinee performance at the Theatre. But the players were unable to accept, no doubt because time off during a working day was not easy to manage for all the Company.

MACBETH followed in 1921 at Slaithwaite Liberal Hall where most of the subsequent productions were to be staged. Miss Marion Rhodes, as Lady Macbeth, played with the Company for the first time and was a distinguished leading lady in most of the later productions. Also for the first time Mr. Ryder Boys, a professional actor and producer from Manchester, "in addition to coaching privately the principal characters," the programme tells us, "has put the whole Company through the play." MACBETH was also performed in the Queens Hall at Leeds "by the invitation of a leading gentleman." "Mr. Wood's study", reported the press, "gives evidence of natural endowments far beyond the amateur standard."

Shylock was Mr. Wood's chosen role later in the same year when THE MERCHANT OF VENICE was produced at Linthwaite Church. As Portia Miss Rhodes was deemed "a decided acquisition to the Company."

It was now time for HAMLET, which was put on at Slaithwaite in December, 1922, but attendances were disappointing. However, the Company went on to give two performances at the Leeds Industrial Theatre, before large and appreciative audiences. The 'Yorkshire Post' wrote: "The Hamlet of Mr. Elvyn Wood was an artistic and nicely restrained reading . . . Mr. Wood has a clear voice and considerable power of expression . . ." The 'Yorkshire Observer' paid a high tribute and the 'Yorkshire Evening Post' said: "Remembering how often the tragedy has exposed the limitations of professional companies of repute, one must congratulate the Company on the considerable measure of proficiency they have attained." Another reporter wrote of the Leeds performance: "Many Shakespeare works have been presented during the season . . . but none have been played with more dramatic skill or attention to detail than by Mr. Elvyn Wood's Company." Mr. Dyson Cox's Polonius "went one better than his previous performances", wrote one reporter. The 'Yorkshire Observer' featured photographs of Hamlet, Ophelia (Miss Madge Roberts), Polonius and the First Gravedigger (Mr. Harry Wood) and these were reproduced in the 'Colne Valley Guardian'.

When T. W. Robertson's DAVID GARRICK was put on at Slaithwaite in February 1924 it was billed as by Mr. Elvyn Wood's Company of Amateur Shakespearean and Repertory Players. After producing two of Shakespeare's comedies and two of his tragedies, observed the 'Colne Valley Guardian', they had come to the conclusion that, financially, Shakespeare was not a successful proposition and that "to pander more to the popular taste the Company has come down several rungs in the classical ladder and paused, for the nonce, on Old English Comedy." The play was well received and attracted good audiences.

But next year it was back to the Bard, Elvyn Wood playing Petruchio to Marion Rhodes' Katarina in

THE TAMING OF THE SHREW. The 'Colne Valley Guardian' was unkind about Miss Rhodes's Shrew, which it considered "more physically emphatic than mentally subtle", belonging "rather to Castlegate (then a rough bit of Huddersfield town centre long since demolished) than to Edgerton." But there were other, more conventional appreciations.

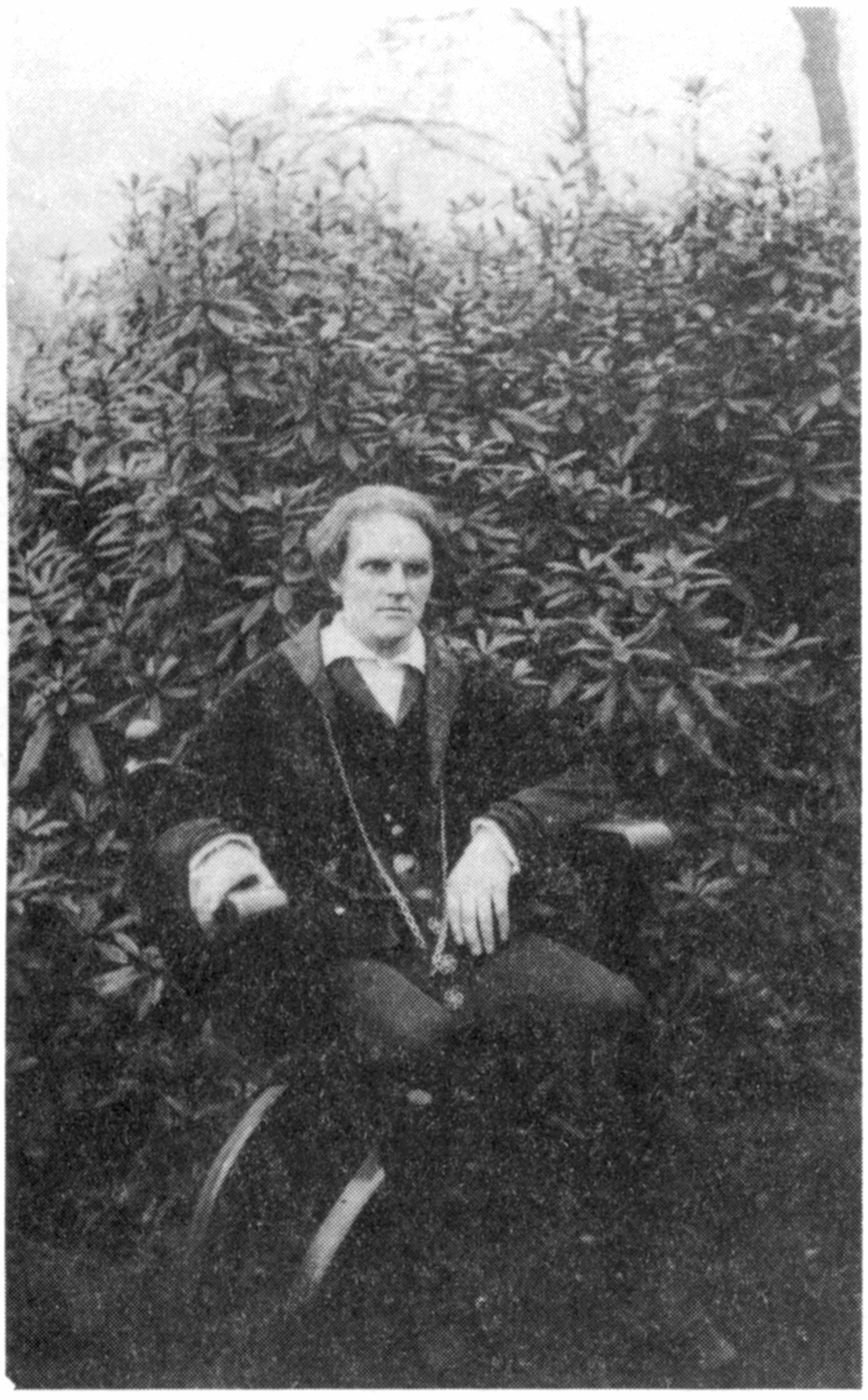
Goldsmith's SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER, given in 1926, saw Mr. Wood without a part. Hitherto actor-manager, this time he lightened his burden and was content to direct what the local paper called "one of the most successful and certainly the most humorous" plays yet produced. Mr. Dyson Cox as Mr. Hardcastle and Mr. Harry Wood as Tony Lumpkin were singled out for praise.

Perhaps by now the whole Company was tiring a little. A full Shakespeare play each year takes a toll of men and women who have to earn a living and attend to their family responsibilities. These productions were nothing if not ambitious, with heavy work both for stage managers and wardrobe mistresses and their assistants. Costumes, wigs and scenery came from Leeds or Manchester and sometimes from London. In ROMEO AND JULIET, which was produced in 1927, there were no fewer than twenty-one scenes entailing the deployment of much skill and more labour. Yet, though the press reported the performance to have surpassed anything previously attempted by the Company, there were only moderate houses during the week. Mr. Wood returned to the stage as Romeo.

February 1928 saw the Company's last production, MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING, with Mr. Wood as Benedick, a production which the faithful 'Colne Valley Guardian' said "equals in merit any of its predecessors . . . there were times when the work rose to really great heights." But it was Elvyn Wood's swan song as actor and actor-manager, and without his leadership and inspiration the Company died. Apart from three amateur productions in Marsden during the 'thirties, of which I have no details, no Shakespeare was performed again in the Colne Valley until the Royal Shakespeare Company came to Slaithwaite Leisure Centre in recent years.

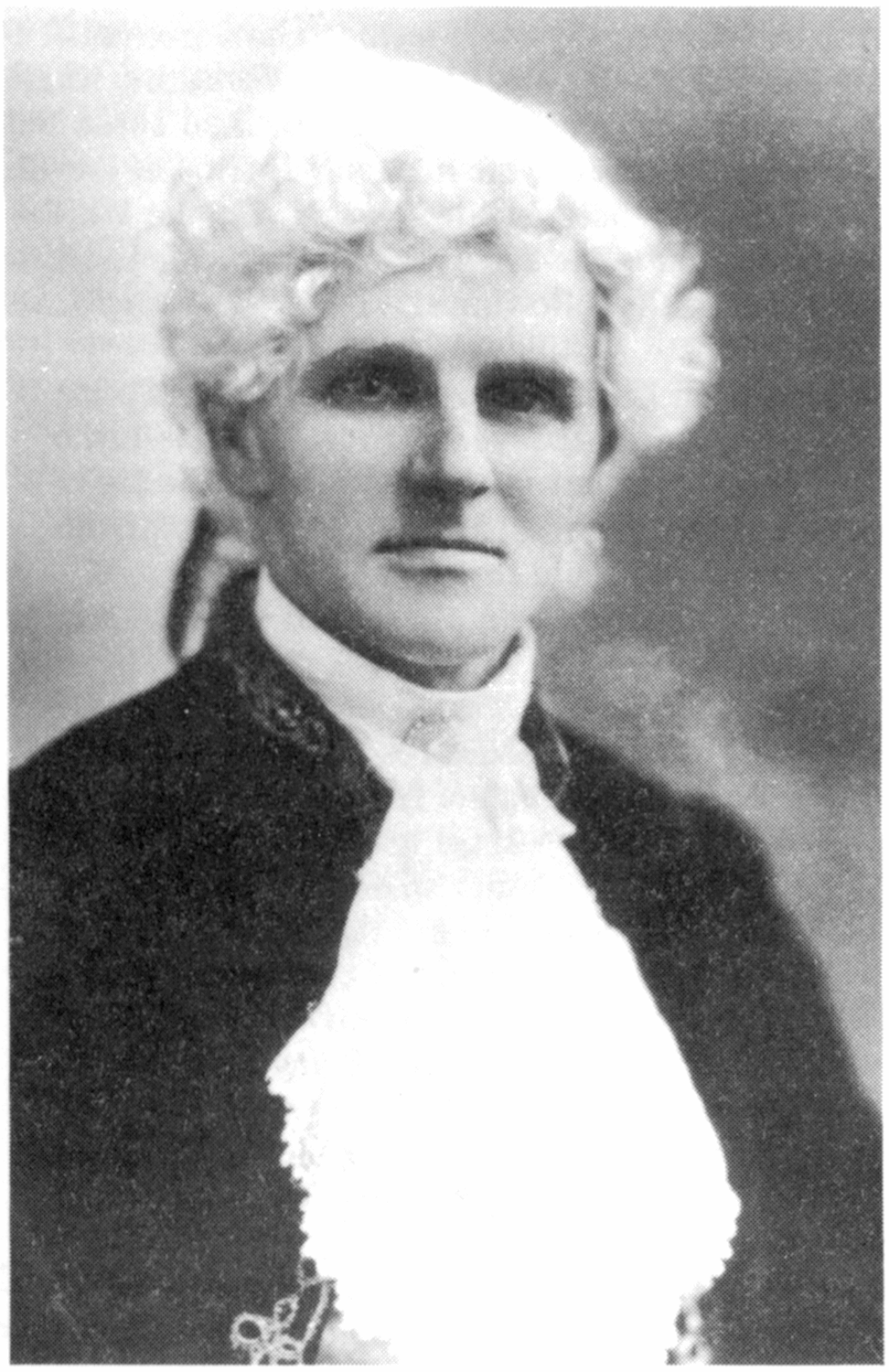
In a correspondence which ran in the columns of the 'Colne Valley Guardian' for some months in 1944-45 a pseudonymous 'Colne Valley Man' recalled the work of the Elvyn Wood Shakespearean Players and suggested a revival of serious drama in the Valley. Among those who took part in this correspondence was Mr. Wood himself, and to him we must accord the last word. After pointing out the problems of serious drama for amateurs he goes on: "To produce or play in a Shakespearean production after mastering the language and technique is an unforgettable experience, as all my friends will admit," and he expresses thanks that after a lapse of some fifteen years his efforts should still be remembered and appreciated. It is now over fifty years since Elvyn Wood and his friends played their last parts as Shakespeareans, but those who are still here to remember do so with pleasure and gratitude.

Elvyn Wood's Company in Taming of the Shrew



Elvyn Wood as Hamlet

Dyson Cox as Mr. Hardcastle in 'She Stoops to Conquer.'



Elvyn Wood as David Garrick

Elvyn Wood as Shylock in the Merchant of Venice. With him are his daughter Mavis Wood and nephew Ray Wood.

SPRING WOODS 1500–1800

George Redmonds

One of the commonest place-name elements in Yorkshire is 'spring', not in the sense of a well, but used for woodland. Spring woods were in fact coppice woods, culled at regular intervals, and sold for the most part to wood-colliers or charcoal-burners, tanners and sawyers. The decline in popularity of the place-name element almost certainly reflects the decline in wood management, and for many people its meaning is now obscure. Where it has survived it has often had to be remotivated: Wimpenny's Spring in Almondbury, for example, became first Penny Spring and then Penny Spring Wood.

The earliest history of the word is not yet well known, although it has been established that areas of woodland were being coppiced in West Yorkshire during the Middle Ages (1). It is my intention, therefore, in this essay, to concentrate on evidence for the years 1500–1800, when the spring woods' important role in the rural economy is relatively well documented. Curiously, 'spring' appears to have undergone an interesting semantic development during this same period.

Initially it seems logical to associate the word with the growth of the young trees during each cycle of the wood's life; the 'springs' being the new shoots or saplings. This is certainly the usual dictionary definition and it seems particularly appropriate in the cases where 'stovens' were listed amongst the trees to be sold: a stoven was a stool, or stump of a tree, from which the new young shoots could spring to provide wood of exactly the required measurements. This interpretation is supported by the wording of a lease (1766) which stipulated that, "the woods should be felled in such a way as to encourage the future Springing and Growth", and also apparently in a similar document saying that the woods "cannot be exactly measured untill they shalbe sprung" (1684). About the same time there was an injunction to the tenants of Tong manor "to sufficiently hedge and fence the woodes that are or shalbe sprunge" (1676) (2). In both the latter cases the word 'sprung' could be interpreted as 'having grown to the required height'. However, even in these two documents, there is at least a suggestion that 'to spring', through its use as a transitive verb, was developing or had developed an additional meaning; that it had something to do with the felling of young trees. The lease of 1684, for example, referred to "such parcell of woodes . . . as were reserved att the last fall or spring of the same" and later it recommended measuring the woods once they had been "sprung and the brush and underwood taken out." Even the reference quoted from the manor court rolls must be seen in the same light, for the bye-law regarding the need for fences was followed by an order "to repair the same from time to time, for the space of Five years next after (the woods) shalbe sprunge." If 'to spring' in this context were indeed 'to grow' it is not easy to see how it would be possible to fix an exact time when the trees had 'sprung', and here 'felled' makes better sense. Presumably, the hedging was absolutely necessary for the first five years after the wood had been felled, because it was during this period that the new growth was so vulnerable.

In eighteenth century documents this use of the word is more explicit. A lease of 1719 mentions trees which should be marked "at or before the Pilling or springing thereof." As 'pilling' referred to the removal of the bark, 'springing' was logically the felling of the tree. In 1743 the accounts of the Beaumonts of Whitley Hall record a payment of fifteen shillings to Joseph Dyson, "for springing Hutchen Wood" (3), and there is actually a deed of 1762 where the liberties granted to the tanners were listed as follows: "to pill, bark, Springfel, cut, peark and Stack." There can be no doubt that in this case to 'springfel' was to cut down.

Spring woods may initially have been thought of as 'new-growth woods', because of their role as coppices, but it seems that eventually they were also considered to be woods ready for felling. The semantic development neatly reflects the life-cycle of the trees themselves.

The felling rotation of coppice woods must have varied regionally, reflecting different needs. In some areas as little as four years' growth seems to have been sufficient (4), but in many parts of West Yorkshire, where the charcoal-burners in particular required cordwood of a certain diameter, the maximum period of growth seems to have been eighteen years. On the Whitley Beaumont estate the cycle varied from fifteen to eighteen years, as the following extracts from the accounts show:

1. Lepton Little Wood and Whitley Hall Spring was cut in the yeare 1648. Lepton Little Wood was cut in the yeare 1663, the barke was soulde for £15 (sould to Jo: Firth), the wood was sould to Jo: Parsafall for £18.
2. . . . Gregory Spring was cutt in the year c.1649
   Gregory Spring was pilled and cutt in the year 1665 and sould for £100, my Daughter Beaumont paying the tythe.
3. Whitley halle springe was pilled and cut in the yeare 1666 and solde for £60, I paying the tythe, sould to Tho: Pighels.
4. The Ballans wood and the Brearybank cutt in the yeare 1650. The Brearybank was pilled in 1667 and sould for £30, my Doughter to pay the tythe.
5. The Ballans Wood is to be pilled in the yeare 1668 and sould for £30 my Doughter paying the tythe (5).

This seems likely to be typical of the area; leases were granted on the Tong estate of the Tempests for

Shackleton, Black Carr and Hey Woods, first in 1672-3 and then again in 1690. A similar deduction is possible using the accounts of Colne Bridge iron forge (1692–1750) (6): charcoal from Gregory Spring at Mirfield was entered in 1698 and 1716; from Breary Bank in 1704 and 1721. These same woods were on the Beaumonts' estate and if the extracts from their accounts quoted above (1647–1680) are considered, along with the Colne Bridge records, there are gaps respectively of thirty-three and thirty-seven years. If an allowance is made for one fall of the woods in the meantime, the statistics again suggest a cycle of from sixteen to eighteen years.

The inference is that growth well in excess of eighteen years was inadvisable, and an interesting court case, described as Pilkington v. Wentworth, emphasises the point (7). One aspect of this dispute concerned a wood known as Helm Wood, said by several witnesses in 1727 to be of about thirty years' growth. The accuracy of this can actually be verified in Colne Bridge Forge accounts, for they had purchased the charcoal from Helm Wood in 1697. It is difficult to determine what damage the trees had suffered; according to Richard Eastwood there was "one Acre thereof . . . near the Highway which (was) Damaged and Brogg'd," but a second witness claimed that "by reason of its not being Cutt or Fallen when it was fit (it was) very much damaged as a Spring Wood." An estimate of the loss incurred was made by John Kay, who said, "The not falling the woods when they were so ready has been a loss to the Estate of several hundred pounds in respect to the future growth of the same woods as Spring Woods and to the Interest of the Money for which the said Woods fallen might have been sold."

Confirmation that the ideal cycle was eighteen years emerges, almost incidentally, from entries in the Kaye Commonplace Book (8). John Kaye, c.1587, was advising his son how to be sure that he always had enough kidwood (i.e. kindling or firewood) and the calculation, which took into account when various woods were sold for charcoal, came to precisely eighteen years (9):

> "How and where to have kyddwood for thy Howsse for ever.
> First the Cootbanke being well fencyd and kept for that purpose as yt is, will serve the Howsse well viij years.
> When the Carr is sold to be Colyd Reserve xij hundrith kydds to the Howsse use by Bargayn as I doo which will serve the Howsse iij yeares, But make them at the Best tyme for keping.
> In the Byrks next adjoyning to the seale Royd wilbe one yeare kydwod for thy howsse, if thow save it as I have done.
> Than Kyd thy Brome in thy Closis above as thow shall plowe them and they will well serve thy Howse vj years unto the Cote banke be Ready to fell agayn and be good fewell to make thy kydwod for many years."

One of the earliest explicit documents relating to spring woods in this area is a lease of 1527 between Sir Godfrey Foljambe of Walton and Richard Beaumont of Whitley Hall. Sir Godfrey held the woods, both of which lay in Denby in Kirkheaton parish, of the Abbot of Byland, and they are described in the deed as "two greafes of wodde that oon called holerhede otherwise holroide And that other Frere parke." They were being sold for charcoal and one of the interesting aspects of the lease is that each clause contained a reference such as "as it hath been accustomed," or "after the use of the contree;" the inference being that the agreement was based on traditional practices in charcoal-burning and woodmanship. To that extent it is of particular value in suggesting what the system was locally before the Bill for the Preservation of Woods was brought in in 1543 (10).

Most of the liberties granted to Richard Beaumont were quite clearly expressed: he was allowed an eighteen-month period to complete his work and had "free entree and issue" into the woods "with all manner of cariages", provided only that he caused no "vexation or trouble", to Godfrey and his tenants. This meant, of course, that the wood was felled, cut up and burned on the site, and Richard Beaumont, as lessee, had the right "to have sufficiently Turves and hillinges to cover his Charcole pittes." The restrictions placed on him were that he should "leaf sufficient stake and hedge wodde" and, more importantly, in order to ensure the future growth of the woods, he was "to leve them abilly waived", that is he had to ensure that sufficient good young oak trees or wavers were left standing.

The only point in the lease which is not absolutely clear is the initial statement that the sale included "all the wodde within the borders of the two greafes after the boundary." Presumably this should be taken to mean that any trees or hedges surrounding the springs were not deemed to be part of them and must therefore be left alone. The importance of hedges is clear from many documents of the period. In 1514, for example, Robert Brooke of Shepley was fined at the manor court for not repairing "the hedges between his Spryngewoddes and those of John Stone" (11), whilst in a lease of 1536 Robert Alott was instructed "to kepe and defende all maner of yonge wodds and springs" belonging to Bentley Grange, so that "thei be not eaten and distroyed of ther catalls." Where necessary he was "to hedge the springs and kepe them separately whill thei be sufficiently growen and waxen."

Local charcoal leases drawn up in the years immediately after the statute of 1543, contain additional interesting points but do not otherwise differ very much from the early deeds. Spring woods sold to Thomas Burnley in 1547 were described as being "set furthe, boundid, lymyted and appoyntid . . . by Edmund brouke and James Beamount, Deputies of Richard Beaumont." He was to "leave 50 yonge okes beynge of the olde wayifferes to abyde and growe." The number of young trees left to grow, mostly oaks as far as one can tell, was clearly an important aspect of wood management but, unfortunately, few precise details are given. A lease of 1720 reserved sixty wavers

and eight Black Barks to every acre, but often where the number of wavers was given the acreage was not, and it is impossible to work out what was normal practice, if indeed standards were applied throughout the area.

When John Rysheworth sold woods in Coley in 1548 to two Liversedge "smithymen" he was more explicit than most. In the spring called Oxheyes, for example, he reserved "to himself 100 trees called young saplings of the best there, over and beside all helder saplings and also all borders pertaining to the said wood, and "further the broyges or browes . . . with all manner of ashes, espys, hollynes and crabtrees." All this, apparently, was over and above the young trees destined to provide the next timber harvest. John Rysheworth's stipulation "that weyvers be laft convenyently, according to the most huse of such spryng woode," may mean that there was no absolute, but that the number was at the woodman's discretion.

In 1549, the heir to the Pilkington estate in Bradley was a minor and a ward of Edward VI. Acting for the King, Anthony Hammond of Scarthingwell then sold one hundred acres of Bradley Wood for £63.6.8 to a group of six local men. This was described in the grant as "one hundrethe Acres of Woods at Sex score the hundrethe." The partners were given three years to clear or avoyde the seyd woodes off the grownde and out of the lordeshyppe," and were not to include "in theyre mesure any suche woodes as had bene used to be felld for the Reparacions of the heges, nor any playnes or cokglades" (i.e. open stretches of country). Noticeably, by this time, all the terms of the lease had to be carried out "accordynge to the Kyng his Statute," but the "custom of the countre" (i.e. region) was still an important factor.

Most of the points made in the Tudor leases are repeated, with additional details, through to the end of the eighteenth century, but in the later deeds it is more obvious that tanners and charcoal-burners worked in close partnership, with the tanners going into the woods first to pill or remove the bark. This may explain why such leases contain more information about marking the trees.

A typical reference to this practice in the seventeenth century was simply to trees "marked and ringed about for standing" (1690), but it was not just the future timber trees which were affected: in 1762, trees in Bradley Wood were "marked and set out for sale . . . as proper trees to be cut down and Felled." A lease of 1704 granted the lessee the right to fell all "except the Lordings and Blackbarkes and as many Straight poles fit for standing as will make the same . . . to be chosen and set out by Lionel Pilkington (the lessor), his servants and workmen and marked for that purpose." The tanners' agents may also on occasion have carried out the marking, for another lease of 1719 details, "Polls and unpilled wavers, marked Ringed and sett oute for standing . . . by the Pillers, their Masters or Supervisors, at the Election of Sir George Tempest."

The earliest documents carry no hint of how the marking of trees was carried out, but a Thornhill lease in 1766 referred to "Trees, Polls, and Wavers . . . either numbered with White Paint or rung about with red Paint," precisely the same colours and terms used on the Tong estate sixty-eight years later, i.e. "Numbered Reserves with white paint to stand, Ring'd wavers with red paint to stand." Sometimes, however, trees in the Tong woods were "numbered with scrive irons" (1806) (12).

The partners who purchased the spring woods worked to tight schedules and consequently the tanners' agents could not remain in the woods after pilling the trees. Doubtless this created problems in the processing of the bark, and in 1672 the Tempests granted to "the tanners and their servants" the right "to sette their Barke to dry in the Lands of any of the Tennants . . . neare the wood." Other leases suggest how this may have been done, for a typical clause in 1672 allowed the lessees to "pearke the barke for drying therof in the pasture grounds lying neare the wood" and this word 'pearke', which survives in dialect, suggests that temporary wooden frame-works were erected by the tanners. The same term was certainly used in the agreements drawn up on other estates.

Provision was also made in some leases for the carpenters, for much of their preliminary work also took place within the boundaries of the woods. In 1717 permission was granted to the lessees "to Dig upp any part of the Lincroft or West Park for making of Saw Pitts . . . and working of the said Trees." Just what was meant by 'working' is clear from a later agreement which allowed the lessees "to square, work up and saw into Planks" the timber they had felled (1762).

The working sites of the wood-colliers, which were actually in the woods, were described in leases in a variety of ways, e.g. "Coale pitts" (1672), "Charcoalpitts" (1690) or "pit Steads for Coaling" (1795). It is not certain how deep the pits were but it is on record that in 1590, in Grimescar Woods, "Colyers . . . framynge a pitt to burn charcoales discovered a certain worke in the earthe" which turned out to be a Roman tile-works (13). It was clearly important that the workmen should "sett, order and place the fires for burneing of brush or making of charcoale" so as to "at least damnifie (the proprietor) by singeing or burning any of the trees or unpill'd wavers" (1762).

The production of charcoal demanded an oxygen-free atmosphere during the firing process and to achieve this the kilns had to be sealed. This explains why the colliers were also given permission "to cut up such sods and Earth as would be necessary for the covering and burning" (1762). The same idea is contained in the word 'hilling' used in the earliest documents, and the materials were usually dug up "in convenient parts of the said woods or on the commons or wasts" (1766).

Although the bark, charcoal and timber were often processed in the woods or their immediate environs, there must often have been heavy traffic on the access roads. The careful wording of the rights relating to these gives some indication of the problems which such traffic could cause. The earliest documents simply provided for the "lawful egresse and regresse" of the lessees "there workmen and theyre careeges" (1549), but later it was made clear that such ways

must not "leade through standing or groweing corn" (1672), and eventually explicit clauses prohibited "any Horse Mule or Ass or other Cattle" from being "turned loose in the woods without first being Muzzled"(1766). Finally it was expected that all the tasks would be carried out "in an orderly and workmanlike manner, according to the best and most approved method for encouraging the future growth of the woods" (1766): the sites had to be "fully cleansed" and all the refuse or 'Ramell' burnt (1704). The "white coale" or ashes arising from this had to be left on the premises (1720, 1766). The Thornhills, as owners, stipulated either that they should be paid full value for any "Polls and Wavers broken or damaged through negligence in falling" or that the lessees should "leave standing an equal number of their own" (1766).

In many of the later wood leases the lessee was required not only to maintain hedges and fences but "to make gates at all convenient places" (1672), or even "gates, stoopes and fleakes" (1686); occasionally stiles also were included (1690). Doubtless there were occasions when workmen took the shortest routes and did not use the normal entrances to the woods. This seems to be accounted for in an agreement "for fenceing of gapps to be left for leadeing or carrying away of wood, bark or charcoale" (1690).

Although it was not unusual for leases to quote an acreage when agreement was reached about the sale of woods, this seems to have been a working total, which was subject to adjustment once "a just and due survey" had been carried out (1672). Clearly this could mean that the sale price also had to be adjusted. Woods sold by John Tempest in 1672 were found after the survey "to be 39 acres and 29 pearches" not forty acres as envisaged and consequently £4.10.0 was returned to the buyers.

The custom seems to have been that the survey was carried out after the trees had been felled. A sale of woods in 1690 stated that they should be "surveyed with all convenient speede after they shalbe sprunge"; another made the proviso that Sir John Tempest should receive compensation if it were found after the survey that Shackleton Wood in Tong did "conteine above sixteene acres of wood measure." There is a letter from Joseph Dickinson, who surveyed and mapped the spring woods in Hunsworth in 1711, which provides us with some further insight into the procedure(14).

"I have herewith sent thee A Draught of the Lady Wood. It runs to some Roods above 50 acres, But shall not be positive in the overplus untill I have had an oppertunity to draw a line through the wood at some Convenient place: which we useally do for full Confirmation in a peice of ground thats preformed by perambulation as that was and could not be done other wayes unless the wood had been newly Cutt."

There seem to have been two surveyors who, in the judgement of the parties concerned should be "proper persons . . . experienced in the Surveying of lands" (1762). Their appointment and expenses were shared; in the words of one lease they had to be "indifferently chosen by the . . . parties and at their equall charges" (1690). More explicitly, a Pilkington lease stated that one of the two should be named by the landlord, the other by the purchaser (1762).

The surveyor of Black Carr Wood in Tong (some forty acres) made a charge of 7s.6d. in 1674 (15): over one hundred years later William Wilcock was paid only 5s. by Richard Beaumont "for valueing woods in Padam Aram and Crowroid" (16). Occasionally, however, there were disputes about the valuation and a letter from John Brooke in 1767 shows that Mr. Spencer had been far from content with his work (17). An indication of the scale of the surveyor's task can be had from a study of Beaumont Estate accounts. They show that in 1660 a Mr. Burgh was employed to survey some 360 acres of woodland, three-quarters of it belonging to Richard Beaumont, the remainder to his daughter. No fewer than twenty-four spring woods made up the total, spread through the townships of Lepton, Whitley, Kirkheaton, Mirfield and Crosland. The largest was Lepton Great Wood (66 acres) followed by Butternab Springe and Dungion, both over forty acres. The smallest were not given the name of woods – there were four "Launds" of one or two acres each, the "Piting reaine," also two acres, and just three roods of "Shrubs on the west side which now lyeth open to the Long Lands" (18).

A survey on such a scale was no doubt intended to be a permanent source of reference to the estate owner. Once again Joseph Dickinson can be quoted: "I hold it very necessary to make an observation in the Survey booke what every particular Spring is worth per Acre at Twenty years Standing . . . And that will be serviceable for preventing an errour in sale of the wood for the future" (19).

Joseph Dickinson was also of the opinion that the survey should always be accompanied by a valuation, but it is not really possible to generalise about what spring woods were worth, for the rate inevitably differed from region to region and from time to time, just as the quality of one wood differed from another. It is, however, fair to say that large sums of money were involved and the Pilkingtons received over £2000 in 1704, the Thornhills £1050 in 1795. No doubt prices reflected scarcity and demand: a 1672 lease mentioned a "rate of five pounds tenn shillings for every acre" and less than one hundred years later the Bradley spring woods were sold at £20 per acre (1762).

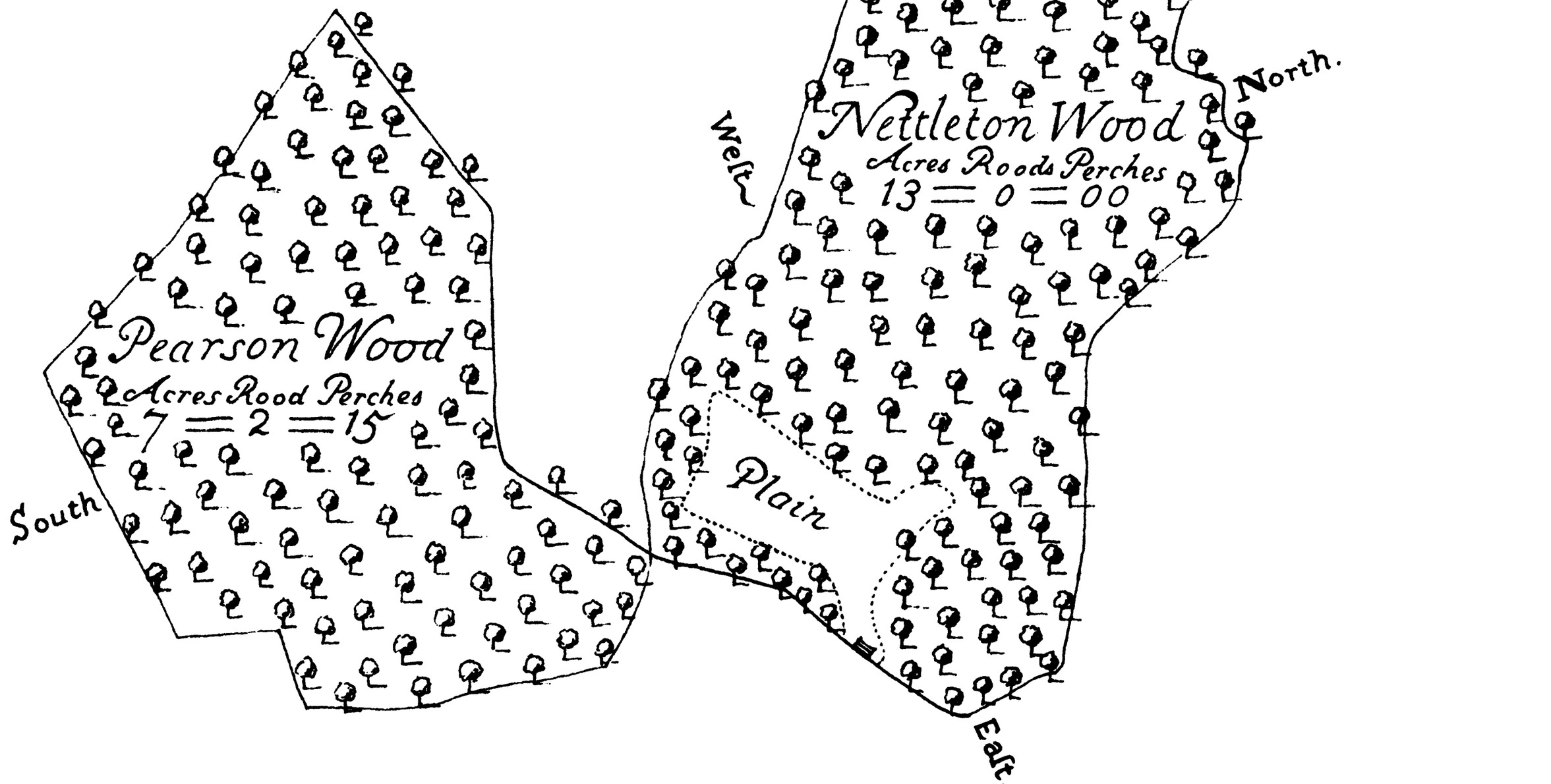
Although the wood leases tell us many things about spring woods, certain aspects of their management and details of the woodmen's craft are almost entirely omitted. One or two points emerge in other types of documents such as diaries and estate accounts, but most of what can be gleaned relates to woods generally and not spring woods in particular. However, it seems likely that John Kaye (c.1587) was talking about coppicing when he wrote for the month of April:

> "I think yt good sell Barke of wood in tyme before ye pill Who fellis wood lowe, the growfe I trowe, shall show the workman's skill" (20).

There is also a reference in the Beaumont estate's accounts which suggests that the area given over to spring woods was actually increased. In 1742, for

A Map of two Spring Woods in the Township of Hunsworth and parish of Birstall, Surveyed for the use of Sr. George Savill Barr. By

Joseph Dickinson. 1711.



A Scale of Gunter's Chains.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Taken from the original in Notts. Co. Record Office by G Redmonds 1983.

example, a payment of nine shillings was made to Thomas Lodge "for plowing two acres of land in Gregory Spring, to sow with Acrons" and shortly afterwards compensation was allowed for "land taken off the Lodge Farm and laid to Gregory Spring" (21). More detailed and explicit information, which touches on both the above points, is contained in a notebook kept by Henry Cholmeley (22). When he bought Newton Grange near Oswaldkirk in the North Riding in 1639, there was, he said, "scarse any wood upon itt," and he foresaw that scarcity of suitable fuel and a lack of wood for the maintenance of the fences were going to be real problems. Accordingly he went to the trouble of restoring spring woods on the estate and providing a variety of new trees.

Concerning one spring wood he wrote, "In November and January 1647 I cutt Upp the Spring in the Sawmans, but itt had bene soe spoyled with sheepe and other Cattle, during the warres, that itt doth not come on soe fast as the other did, nor will it come well till it be Cutt again." He had more luck with a coppice which he was able to deal with before the war began. "In November and January 1640 I did cause the starrat Spring (which had been used as a Cowepasture for 40 or 50 years before and had only some busshes in itt) to be cutt up close by the ground and preserved from Cattle. And now this present yeare 1650 there is such an increase of wood in itt that I doe not doubt but itt will be sufficient, if well ordred, not only to mainteine all the fences but alsoe to yeald a good quantity of firewood every yeare and hereafter of Tymber." Finally, in November 1650, Henry Cholmeley "cut up the Coweclose which had alwaies bene used as a Cowe pasture with the Starrant (sic) but was neglected."

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the notebook is the information it provides of how new trees were obtained. In 1647 Henry Cholmeley started by "sowing Ackornes and Sycamore chatts." Then in 1652/3 he "sett walnutts and chesnutts in the Cloathgarth," presumable saplings. This was followed in the next year by the sowing of "Ash chatts and Crab Cernells" in two localities, the first "on the Ditch on the moore," the second "by the gate of the head of the lane that lead to the house." Unfortunately such evidence is rare, and there are still many aspects of wood management locally which have not been satisfactorily explained.

It is clear nevertheless that spring woods served a variety of purposes, satisfying some of the landlord's domestic requirements and, especially in those areas where the iron-masters operated, providing a substantial income. Their value was clear to everybody and their maintenance an integral part of estate management. These points are certainly worth bearing in mind when we think of the way the landscape developed in the period 1500–1800. It may well be that one result of the importance of the iron industry in parts of the West Riding was the preservation of woodland areas, not their destruction. Many patches of small woodland which still survive doubtless owe their existence not to sentiment or aesthetics, but to earlier economic necessity.

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b) Tong MSS, Bradford Public Library: 1655, 3/267; 1672, 3/320 and 321; 1674, 3/320b; 1684, 3/372; 1686, 3/377; 1690, 3/381, 3/386; 1719, 3/505
c) Pilkington MSS, Wakefield County Library: 1762, M/248.
d) Spencer Stanhope Collection, Bradford Public Library: 1704, 2244/7; 1717, 2245/61
e) Thornhill Collection, Huddersfield Public Library: 1766, T/DD/XXXIII/1 and 2; 1795, T/DD/V/3
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1 e.g. *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, pp. 682, 686
2 Tong MSS., Manor Court Rolls, 8a/19
3 Whitley Beaumont Collection, WBE/1/18
4 O. Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape*
5 WBL/91.
6 Spencer Stanhope Collection, 2167
7 WBM/86
8 Microfilm, Huddersfield Public Library, Local Studies and Archives
9 c.f. 1655, "it shall be lawful at any time dureing the tearme of eighteene yeares now next following, to pill, fell, Cutt downe, etc."
10 For a discussion of this, see: P.J. Stewart, Tudor Standards, *Quarterly Journal of Forestry*, Vol. LXXVI, no. 3, July, 1982.
11 Wakefield Manor Court Rolls, Claremont, Leeds, MD/225.
12 Tong MSS., 4f/15, 4f/1
13 J. Camden, *Britannia* (1600), p. 613; quoted in various works on Huddersfield, e.g. I. A. Richmond, *Huddersfield in Roman Times* (1925), pp. 57-8
14 In 1711 Joseph Dickinson wrote, "Hessell, Birch and such like ramill," Savile Collection, Notts. County Record Office, 28/6/1
15 Tong MSS., 3/320b
16 WBE/1/74
17 Spencer Stanhope, 2218/2
18 WBL/91. A 'laund' was an open space in the woods, but some trees may have been growing there
19 It is worth noting here that he values the wood "at Twenty years standing."
20 See note 8
21 WBE/1/14 and 19
22 Tong MSS., 3/210

RUSSIAN WORKERS IN A BRADFORD MILL IN ST. PETERSBURG

Alan Brooke

Considerable interest has been shown in *A Bradford Mill in St. Petersburg* which appeared in our last issue. Many people have memories of the returning bosses and managers in 1917 (whose children were often more fluent in Russian than in English) and who had suddenly to adjust to a life without servants.
The life of tennis tournaments and tea-parties in St. Petersburg was supported by the hard graft of the Russian workers, whose wages, working and living conditions paralleled those of the Yorkshire and Lancashire textile workers at their most inhuman in the first half of the nineteenth century. Alan Brooke pointed this parallel out to us in the specific indictments against Thornton's mill which appear in The Collected Works of Lenin. (J.S.)

To anyone studying the local textile industry it soon becomes apparent how different are the lives and, as a result, the attitudes of employers and workers. In the case of Thorntons' mill, described in "A Bradford Mill in St. Petersburg" by Jenifer Stead in Old West Riding Vol.2 No.2, the cultural gap between the privileged Anglo-Saxon friends and relatives of the foreman, managers and bosses and the Russian workers is even more vast. A study of Thorntons' from *both* sides reveals in microcosm many of the factors which led to the Russian Revolution. We have seen what factory life was like for those who lamented the passing of the old epoch, let us now see what it was like for those who were striving for the new.
The connection between the Yorkshire and Russian textile industries is a long one. To quote one example from many, in 1802 a Gloucestershire manufacturer went to St. Petersburg, where he visited a mill built and run by a Yorkshireman called Edwards for the Russian government. Much of the machinery – carding engines, billies and jennies – had been brought from England. The workforce was of course Russian, they were earning about 6d. a day and to the Gloucestershire visitor they appeared to be literally slaves at the total command of their masters (1).
Every aspect of life in Russia was dominated by the Czars and their bureaucracy. Some more than others took an interest in the industrialisation of the country, and in 1800 it was reported that a school of weavers had been established at St. Petersburg to weave linens and worsteds, which at that time were being imported from England (2). Edwards's mill appears to have been part of this policy of encouraging home production and diminishing imports.
One of the main obstacles to industrialisation was serfdom which bound peasants to the land and prevented the free movement of labour. It's abolition in 1861 heralded the beginning of Russia as a modern industrial power. English, German and French capital poured into the country, particularly after 1880. Textiles was one of the least foreign-dominated industries with only about 20% of foreign capital, but outside investors like the Thorntons set up mills to avoid the protective tariffs which reduced the import of cloth to Russia from their own countries. They could also expect high rates of profit on account of the cheap labour.
Between 1887 and 1897 the number of textile workers more than doubled from 309,000 to 642,000 (3). Most of these were immigrants from the countryside, former peasants unaccustomed to urban life let alone factory work. Developments which had taken Britain a hundred years to achieve were imposed on Russia in a couple of decades. The new plants tended to be large concerns employing hundreds if not thousands of workers and were concentrated in a few industrial centres. The first effective factory legislation preventing child labour and establishing a Factory Inspectorate was not till 1882, (4) fifty years after its British equivalent.
Despite harsh repression and the lack of trade union traditions strikes broke out to improve working conditions. It became increasingly apparent to the anti-Czarist intellectuals, particularly under the influence of the ideas of Karl Marx, percolating from the west, that this growing industrial working class was a new social and political force which would, sooner or later, clash with the autocracy.
In 1895 a 25 year old lawyer, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, the leader of a small Marxist group in St. Petersburg, was already writing articles on factory legislation and conditions for workers in local factories. He was to become better known as Lenin and his group became one of the founders of the Russian Social Democratic and Labour Party, which later split into the Bolshevik and Menshevik parties. It was decided in 1895 to publish a paper *Workers' Cause* describing conditions in the factories.
One of those involved in this, a young woman teacher Nadezhda Krupskaia, (later to become Lenin's wife), who taught workers' education classes, described how they set about the task;

> I remember for example, how the material about the Thornton factory was collected. It was decided that I should send for a pupil of mine named Krolikov, a sorter in the factory who had previously been deported from Petersburg . . . Krolikov arrived in a fine fur coat he had

borrowed from someone and brought a whole exercise book full of information which he further supplemented verbally. This data was very valuable. In fact Vladimir Ilyich fairly pounced on it. Afterwards I and Appollinaria Alexandrovna Yakuba put kerchiefs on our heads and made ourselves look like women factory workers and went personally to the Thornton factory-barracks visiting both the single and married quarters. Conditions were most appalling. It was solely on the basis of material gathered in this way that Vladimir Ilyich wrote his letters and leaflets . . . (5).

The *Workers' Cause* was never printed for in December of that year Lenin was arrested. But their efforts were not wasted. In November Thorntons' 500 weavers went on strike and Lenin used his detailed knowledge to write a leaflet addressed "TO THE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF THE THORNTON FACTORY". From this we have a vivid picture of what conditions were like behind the barbed wire fence of the factory compound.

The grievances resulted from attempts by Thorntons' to reduce wages during a period of bad trade. As in Britain during the industrial revolution, and even since, the factory owner resorted to a variety of devious practices. The adding of noils (the shorter wool left from the combing process) to the yarn, resulted in the breaking of warps which slowed the weavers down. They had to wait longer for warps and as the length of the piece had been reduced from nine to five *schmitz* (a unit of about 11½ feet) it meant that delays were more frequent. The pay-books of some weavers showed that they were earning only 1 rouble 62 kopeks a fortnight.

Different rates were being given for different kinds of cloth called Bieber and Ural although they required the same amount of work from the weaver. There was no adherence to the legal requirement for a published list of rates informing the weavers how much they were entitled to.

In the spinning department two thirds of the mule spinners had been laid off, and in the dye house, where a 14½ hour day was worked, wages were being reduced by illegal deductions and the "foreman's inefficiency", to about 12 roubles a month.

The weavers were averaging about 3 roubles 50 kopeks a fortnight which might have to support a family of seven. Of this, each worker had to pay back to Thorntons' 2 roubles for their lodgings in the factory barracks, described by Lenin as a "filthy, smelly, crowded kennel always in danger of fire" compared to the usual rate in Petersburg of one rouble a month.

> They have sold the last of their clothes and used up the last of their coppers they earned by their hellish labour at a time when their benefactors, the Thorntons, were adding millions to the millions they already had. To crown it all ever-new victims of the employers avarice have been thrown out onto the streets before their eyes and the pressure has been regularly increased with the most heartless cruelty . . . we are merely demanding that we be given what all the workers of other factories now enjoy by law, the return of what has been taken from us by those who placed all their hopes on our inability to uphold our own rights (6).

Unfortunately we do not know what the outcome of this dispute was. The following year in May 1896 a strike broke out at the Kalinkin cotton-spinning factory which spread throughout St. Petersburg and most probably also involved Thorntons'. As a direct consequence of this the 11½ day was legislated in 1897, (7) exactly half a century after the Ten Hours Bill in England.

By the time Nellie Brooke daughter of Thorntons' manager, was old enough to be aware of her surroundings, conditions might have marginally improved – but it was not due to the philanthropy of the Thorntons. Given these circumstances, there was little chance she would be able to penetrate the mind of the Russian worker. That is why to people of her class both English and Russian, the Revolution was especially inexplicable. Thorntons' factory exemplifies the social and economic developments which contributed to that revolution. It also played an important role in the formative years of the Bolshevik Party. From Bradford to Bolshevism shows that there is certainly nothing parochial about local history!

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LETTERS FROM A MILL BOSS'S WIFE: RUSSIA 1902–3

Jennifer Stead

Annie Marshall went with her husband, a mill boss, to Bogorodski in April 1902, and while there wrote the following letters to her friend and erstwhile weaving partner, Eliza Donkersley. The mill in Russia is not specified, but most of Annie Marshall's connections appear to be in Oldham, so it may be safe to assume that the Bogorodski mill produced cotton goods.

The letters cover the first year of their three-year contract and give a good impression of the enforced leisure and boredom of the home-bound wife as opposed to the gruelling long working hours of the husband, (which are as nothing compared to those of the workers). She is pleased to have servants, on the other hand would much rather do her own housework.

Buying massive amounts of meat for the winter gives her a touch of conscience about the natives' lack of it, and she has a wry comment to make about Grandma's "current loaf" getting consumed in transit in the Russian postal service.

Mrs. Marshall writes in a lively unpunctuated manner, and gives a delightful example in her letter of April 4th 1903 of how an ordinary person is moved to metaphor by the awe-inspiring sight and sound of the spring break-up of the frozen river.

(Permission to print the letters has been kindly given by Mrs. B. Battye of Huddersfield).

Bogorodski
July 21st 1902
English time August 3rd 1902

Miss E. Donkersley

Dear Friend

I thought I would write a few lines to you hoping they will find you in good health as it leaves us all at present we have been here 4 months now and I was thinking of old times and of you so I sat me down to write to you I should like to hear from you as a letter does feel grand from home and I hope both your Mother and Father and all are in good health I never thought I should ever come so far but we do not know what is in store for us I thought going to the Isle of Man was a long way but this is further away we started from home on the 8th April and arrived her on the 12th all on the train with the exception of one night sailing and it was very rough we were all glad when we got to our journey's end the snow was very thick when we landed my sister felt it very much and so did I parting but I hope God will spare us to meet again it is a very nice place only very quiet and I feel lonley at times but we have the children with us and it makes it better for us. there are woods all around and a very nice church right opposite to our house but you know we can not go as we can not understand them and they never sit down they say there is an English Church but it is a long way from were we are it takes the train 3 hours to go they do not go as fast as trains do in England we have been to Moscow and into the Church were the Czar were crowned and saw the monument of the late Czar and also the big bell it is a large one to we also went through the Holy gates and every man has to take his hat of while he gets through the natives has been very nice with us so far and when they see us in the street they raise there hats you would be surprised to see them different from what I ever expected we had all sorts of tales about them before we started but we have not been treated bad with the natives and we shall not say so unless we see different we can not speak properly to them but I can make the servant understand what I want and Ethel can do very well now they both seem to get better in the language every week but it does feel hard to learn the servant take to the children very well and they have many a out with her in the woods Mr. Marshall and I and Edith went into the woods yesterday and we got both strawberries rasps and bilberries there are plenty and mushroom there are a lot there are plenty of holidays one or two day but they call sunday a holiday they begin work at 4 o'clock in a morning and work while 10 o'clock at night of course Mr. Marshall does not work so long he goes at 6 o'clock and has 1 hour for break-fast and 1½ for dinner and 1 hour for tea and then comes home at 7 o'clock they seem all to work here the women seems to work the hardest the Marsters allowes us a yard man and a woman to come two days a week besides to wash or clean I can have her three day if I want when we are cleaning down so it is not bad of course all the water is to be brought in and all dirty water to be taken out I do not like being so far away but we have signed on for three years we can not say wether we shall be here all the time or not our Neighbour has been here 6 years but I hope I shall be in Old England long before that she says she does not care for the place as well as England but when she went to England 2 years since she wanted to come back of course she would have more work in England there are three rooms cleaned up when we come downstairs in a morning and we only do what we want but I would rather be doing my own work remember me to Joe and all I conclude with best love to you I remain your old friend A Marshall I enclose you a slip and you must not write on the envelope only put the slip on and it will find us allright we had them printed it takes 2½ stamp

Bogorodsky
Nov 10th 1902
English time Nov 23rd 1902

Dear Eliza

Your very welcome letter came today and I was pleased to hear from you it felt like old times. I have often spoken about you to my Husband and told him

what a good friend you were to me when as you say I worked when I was not able to do you kept my looms on many a time when I wanted my peice and I have not forgotten it nor I never shall. it made me cry when I read your letter it made me think what I have gone through but no one knows what I have had to go through but myself of course you have anidear you saw plenty of me but I thank God many a time for giving me better health. I have had a few years of illness since the youngest was born but I have had every thing money could buy to do me good, and I can but thank God for a good Husband if I had had to go on as I were doing I think I should not have lived but we do not know what we can do while we are put to it, it is a long time since you saw our Ethel well she is taller than I am. I do no know what she will be when she has done growing. Edith will be 8 years old in January it does not look so long since Ethel will be 13 years in April. Edith is not very tall I will send you a Photo before long I have one left it has been partly promised if we do not send it to you. I will send you one in a short time as we may have them taken in our winters clothes it makes us look quiet different you wanted to know what sort of a house we had it is a very large one. there is the belcony and lobby and 3 large rooms W.C. and the kitchen & servants bedroom downstairs and then there are bedrooms 3 large rooms upstairs and two bed in every room we have not to find any furniture it is just as it were when we came. the Marsters have been very good they have painted it through since we came and it was a job I can tell you with not being able to talk and about 6 men in the house at once we have 3 hen cotes and ice cellar outside as we have to keep all in ice in the summer. and a place to keep a cow if we wanted one it is very cold now the winter has begun it is very frosty I went out last Sunday morning and it froze my breath on my fur and my Husband had iceicles on his mustouch so you can tell it is cold and they say that is nothing to what it will be the sankys are out they never see wheels on carrages in winter it does look strange to us and the cooking is quite different they have not ovens as they are in England and no coal they fire up with turf or wood we have no fire in the rooms they are heated with steam and lamps. I have had to show my servant how we wanted things doing and do it myself if I can not make her understand they live a great deal on soup and black bread it is there principle meal you will be surprised when I tell you I bought 40 lbs of meat at a time I did last week we can not allways get it, and it gets frozen in the outplaces we have had to store a deal of things for the winter when the frost is on we can not get many things and there will be a month frost after the 14th and it makes it very awkward for the English as the natives does not eat meat all the time we are above 400 miles of the sea we can not get any fish only fish out of the river and I should not like that I think you did not say how Joe was getting on I heard about his Mother and I felt very sorry for her and I hope when the time comes for you dear Eliza to be married you will have every happiness as you deserve you speak about my troubles you have had yours also but not in the same way as mine you have had plenty. but at the same time you have a good Father and Mother I used to wish I had when you were talking to me about them I think many a time about when I used to bring Ethel and how comfortable you all used to be together do you ever here from Mary Ann Atkinson I have wondered many times were she had got to. do not be very long before you write as you have no idear what joy it gave me when my Husband came in and brough it the letters all go the mill and as soon as he comes in I say any letters and when he told me there is one from Eliza I could not wait while he took his coat of we had 3 but I read yours first I have spoke about you many a time while he calls you Eliza I know it will not offend you as it feel like you were near so I conclude with our very best love to you and give your Father and Mother my love and remember me to all there is no English Church here there is one in Moscow 40 miles away and the English people out here pay so much a year to support it. it is very nice to know there is one we may be able to go some time. I will tell you how we went on in Moscow in my next letter we have been once your ever true friend A Marshall

Bogorodsky
Dec 29th 1902

My dear Friend

It was with pleasure we received your letter it has been delayed as it was to heavy they will not send them when they are to heavy as they do in England I had to send our yard man two miles to the general for it I do not mind paying but it delays them two day as a rule we have had many a one to heavy this Christmas but we do not blame our friends as they do not know we can not send as heavy a letter as they can in England. we have had 3 this week to heavy. I was glad to hear you were all well as it leaves us at present we have not had the russian Christmas yet it will be on the 7 January English time but it is 25 Dec we are 13 days behind and it is half past 6 o'clock here and in England it will only be 4 o'clock we are having plenty of snow we shall be snowed up if it goes on but the natives seems to like it better than summer of course it get to hot in the summer well about Mary Ann I was sorry to hear she had not done as well as expected and dear Eliza you have no idear how a lot of them carries on in Lancashire Huddersfield is very quiet and Mary Ann will very likley get through more money than she would have done had she stayed at her old place all is not gold that glitters I have found that out coming here and they do get good wages that is true but what is the good if it takes it all, I do not belive in spending all one gets. I believe in making home comfortable but not to spend all we get it is best to put a little by for a rainy day as one never knows what is in store My Husband gets a good wadge but you would be suprised what it cost English people to live of course we are sending our spare money home as we are not entending to stop here over out time unless their is a great change considering everything not been able to

talk properly and not been able to see our brothers & sisters and our friends, I feel miserable some times and then I have to cheer up for my Husbands sake, as he is very good to me and the English here are not as they ought to be. they are rather to high and there is only four because my Husband does not go billiards playing & drinking with them, they do not seem to like it well I am glad he does not as if he begins he will get to like it he never did it at home I shall send you a Photo on. on saturday as I can not send it myself I shall have to get my Husband office boy to do it and it is to late when he leaves of work only saturday and then it is 4.30 and let me know as soon as you get it if it is alright you asked me if we could get English papers yes our friends in Oldham sends us some every week and comic papers for the children you will see by the Photo we had the youngest hair cut of last summer and it did spoil her as it was curly but it was so hot but it is growing very nicely but she has never look the same I shall not have it cut any more I do not think so I conclude with again thanking you for your kindness and we both join in wishing you every success in the coming year your ever true friend A Marshall

Bogorodsky
Jany 27th 1903

Dear Eliza

Your welcome letter to hand I was very sorry to hear about your poor father being so ill but glad he has got a turn for the better and I hope he will continue to keep so it will have been a very anxious time with him being away from home but it was better him being with your sister than strangers as he will have every care there you say it is very cold well we are getting used to it it is dreadful cold here but not damp it is healthy with it being so very frosty it is when the horses and sledges go across the river I have been across on a sledge 6 weeks since and it keeps on freezing. we have another two months and a half yet so we have a bit to go on with yet the snow began in October and it keeps coming I am very glad you got the Photo alright and I am glad to say my youngest is not delicate it is with having her hair cut she had some nice hair and it used to curl a bit and fall over her face it was very light before she had it cut it is light yet but not as light as it were before it were so hot last summer and I were afraid of her being ill but I have been sorry many a time since as every one said how different even the people here said what a pity we had spoiled her. but at the same time I do not care as long as she keep her health it is growing again very nicely. you think she is like her father and I think she is very much like my father in her eyes. her eyes are very dark also her eyebrows I am glad to tell you Toms Mother and his brothers and sisters takes to her as well as if she were theirs of course I learned her to call her Grandma when I saw how they took her in I thought they would have shown a difference but she came to Oldham when Edith were born and brought Ethel a little bed and said it was all her own it hurt me so I said right out well they are both mine and their will have to be no difference what one has the other will have to have whoever brings it, and my Husbands Mother were living then. and she said that was right and so it brought them more together we never make no difference at home what ever one has the other as much spent of her of course Ethel is a big girl she get hers in money instead many times and our Ethel does love Edith you would be suprised if you saw her no one will have to hurt her if she is anywhere about she plauges her many a time but it is only what we can expect in children our Emma said when we were coming out she would not care if we would leave her Edith. she thinks the world of her and so does Edith of her Aunt Emma she sent her a book at Christmas and we said to her I wonder who has sent it she says it will be my Aunt Emma I know so I said to her can no one send only Aunt Emma she said well it is Ethel Aunt Lizzie has sent them something but it has not landed yet and I do not think it will do now as they will not allow anything to come through not even a pocket handkerchief nothing whatever to wear Ethel Grandma said she would like to send us a current loaf I did laugh as it would be eaten before it got half way it is not wise to send such things I feel sorry she has sent it with us not getting it. she has sent them something ever Christmas for many a year and I expect she thought they should not be without with being in a foreign land. she thinks well of Ethel and it is no wonder under the circumstances. so I conclude with my best love to you and hopes your father is able to be home by this your true friend Annie Marshall

Bogorodsky
March 6th 1903

Dear Eliza

I received your very welcome letter and were glad to hear you had got your Father home again and hopes he will soon be alright again but March is a very trying time for anyone who is ill it is very hard to see them suffer but I hope he has got the worse over andwhen warmer weather comes it will be better for him we have not done with winter the snow keeps on the ground it begun raining last saturday we thought it was the begining of the breakup but we were taken in Monday it begun freezing again and the roads are like glass. I shall be glad when it goes away did you go to the ball. you did not say. I have felt many a time I would just like to go what sort of a Master does Joe Bottomly make he will have been at it a bit now. it brings old times back while I am writing there has been a lot of changes since we were both together at the ball we had a 3 day's holiday last week and we had a friend of ours came and brought his wife and family 2 girls and it did feel quite a treat I can tell you we went to the station with them when they went home just for the out. Mr Marshall sent for horses and there was no single sledges in so they sent us one that held us altogether what they call a troeker it had 3 horses in and you can imagin it is 2 miles to the station and we were back home again in 40 minutes it fairly flew over the ground we all enjoyed the ride. those two girls are coming to England next summer. one to go

to school and the eldest I do not know what she is doing to do. our Edith is looseing her schooling but I feel I can no part with them if I sent one the other will have to come to her dada says he will begin with her as soon as he can manage this lanuage. and keep them up with there English you would be suprised some words. when they are talking they will say. I forget what it is in English. we laugh at them many a time our next door neighbour is coming to England this summer. we shall be very quiet as she is the only married woman English besides myself of course when the weather is warm the children and I will have to go out more to pass our time on. I am getting my sewing done before the warm weather comes it gets so hot while we can do nothing give my best love to your Father & Mother also your sister and yourself I remain your true friend

A Marshall
Bogorodsky
April 4th 1903

Dear Eliza

Your welcome letter to hand I was glad to hear your Father was a little better and hopes he will improve as the weather mends of course you would not enjoy the ball the same with having so much trouble before as one can not shake it of I had not heard about Ethel Abbs. but I hope it will be a good day work for her I never hear from them at all and I do not think our Emma knows. she may do and forgot to tell me I have nearly forgot Ethelbert it is so long since I saw him I am glad to hear Joe and Ethelbert get on very well as it make things pleasenter when they have to work together you say how long have we been it is 12 months on the 8th April since we came so one year has passed we have 2 more years according to my husbands contract. we do not know how we shall go on after that time has passed but we shall come to England then all being well I do not know wether we shall keep the children all the time or not our next door neighbour is coming to England in three weeks. we could have sent them. but we shall keep them a bit longer yet as Ethel is very useful with picking the lanuage up so well and she is 13 years old to day. I can not fairly make Mary Ann address out. well the breakup as begun and it is a sight we shall never forget. My husband saw it from the mill window and sent for me to take the children to see the ice breaking up on the river and we went. they had to take the bridge away or the ice would have broke it as it broke a large iron pipe the children and the servant went again after tea and our Ethel says Mother do go and see it again so after supper my Husband and I and Mr & Mrs Holden went and such a sight large pieces of ice they say would be 10 yards square going down the river at such a speed and it just sounded like a lots of broken pots knocking together we stood watching it over an hour. they had to put a kind of raft on the river so the workpeople could come across as the river had overflown its banks fields after fields were under water Mrs Hoden and I went to town the day after and we had to cross the river on the raft also the horse and carriage when we got to the other side the horse were over its knees in water for about a quarter of a mile on the road I have read about the overflow but could not emagin how it would be but it is a grand sight. we thought we should have been thrown out many a time but I fairly enjoyed it I was glad to hear Mary Ann were a deal better and I think she is wise in not takeing a man where she knows she will have to work she might as well stay as she is and do not think your letter are to long I like a long letter it makes me feel I have a chat with you and seems to pass our time on I think this is 7th I have answered this week and we have never to many I suppose you will be busy shortly we saw it in the papers about those strong winds we do not feel it where we are surrounded with woods and the trees we have no foggy weather it seems very healthy but the natives say we are going to have a very warm summer they seem to go by the water at the breakup and I do not know how that will suit us as it was hot enough last summer. I think I have told you all this time hoping Father is still improving and all of you well I remain your faithful friend

A Marshall
Bogorodsky
May 5th 1903

My Dear Eliza

I received your welcome letter and were pleased to hear it was a good Easter our Easter was a week after yours the mill stoped 10 days it is a lot thought of here it rained for 4 days but since then it has been very nice. I have been very busy this last week. they have taken all the double windows out it is 7 months since they were put in now I expect we shall have it very warm before long it is warm already. I have had the house cleaned through all the certains and blinds washed and there are 25 windows you can emagin what washing there is cleaning time and it is not like being in England. I have not got a change for all the windows as we can never tell how things will go on we had not heard of the railway accident while your letters came but we saw it in the paper the day following it is a sad affair our papers are always a week old when we get them they do not come to us as quick as letters do and letters are 5 or 6 days. you will feel lost this summer without Sarah and I hope she will be safely delivered it does not matter which sort it is if all is right with both of them. our Emma is the same way only she expects this month and by what I have heard she has been very bad all along I feel very anxious to hear of her getting it over. it makes me feel it more being so far away I wish many a time we were back amongst our friends. I feel lonely many a time. I was sorry to hear your Father had got a cold but April and March are two very trying months but I hope when the weather get a little warmer he will get more strength Ethel and myself and Mrs. Holden went to the russian church on satuaday night before Easter Sunday at 11.30 and stayed while after 1 o'clock and it was a sight. I could not fairly explain it in a letter but they walked around the church as soon as it were 12 o'clock and every one had a candle lit. and

they all took bread and what they call a paska to be blessed. it was grand to see but if the Lord spares us to meet again and I hope he will I can explain it better to you and when they meet the first time after they kiss each other 3 times and exchanges eggs which has been boiled hard and coloured. My Husband had about 50 given Edith and Ethel had one each but not a right eggs they are very nice I will write to Mary Ann before long so I conclude with best love to you from your true Friend

Annie Marshall

A CASE OF INDUSTRIAL ESPIONAGE?

John Goodchild

In March 1802 a temporary peace was concluded between Britain and Napoleonic France. The negotiations leading up to this Peace of Amiens had of course been begun earlier and on their initiation one Henry Dobson had set out from his home and business in Rouen to visit England and inter alia to meet his sister in Yorkshire, whom he had not seen for twelve years.

Dobson was a Norwich man, by trade an architect and builder there for fifteen years (1) until he turned ironfounder upon emigrating to France; he was of a Roman Catholic family and had been educated in France. He was described as

> "a mechanical Genius, of good Talents and Understanding. – Above 12 Years ago, he emigrated from this Country, and went to France, where he lived during all that Time, obnoxious (sic) of course to the Dangers & Horrors of the late Revolution in that Country – He suffered much both in property and the Comforts of Life; but tho' he preserved the latter with much Difficulty and Hazard, he lost nearly all of the former – And though he managed to preserve himself & his Family in some Employ at Rouen in France, he yet became so disgusted with his Situation and the perils he laboured under, both from public and private Characters, as to determine him to return to his native Country as soon as by the Conclusion of peace betw. it & France he could be safe in so doing."

In December 1801 he sailed from Dieppe for England, leaving his wife and at least five children in France.

Dobson's sister Elizabeth, as a widow with a daughter dependent upon her, had been housekeeper to Matthew Bryan, woollen manufacturer at Coxley Mill and Horbury Bridge Mill near Wakefield, at his house Netherton Hall, until her marriage in May 1801 with George Archer of Ossett, textile machine maker, subsequent to which she and her daughter had gone to live at Ossett. There she found herself the stepmother to a family by Archer's own previous marriage and

> "she soon learned that the Marriage was not agreeable to her Husband's, Children by a former Wife; particularly to . . . John Archer, George's only Son (who, she claimed, she always treated) . . . with Respect & Kindness."

Dobson himself was said to have found his "Ironfoundery Business" in Rouen not answering financially, "there being no Iron or Coal there calculated to carry it on"; he declared to her frequently (as he did to others too) his "Disgust with France and Frenchmen particularly on Account of their Unfaithfulness in their Engagements with Englishmen", and was looking, he said, for a suitable opening in England. Indeed, he and others claimed, significantly in the light of slightly later events, that Dobson strongly urged his brother-in-law Archer, who had ideas of emigrating to the U.S. or to France, not to emigrate to the latter place.

Dobson had come to Ossett in February 1802 and lived there with his sister and her husband and family. Archer had found that the number of machinery manufacturers had rapidly increased during the previous three or four years and that business was increasingly difficult: he certainly found time to accompany Dobson on visits to view the wool-scribbling machinery in the area, particularly in Joshua Foster's two mills at Horbury Bridge nearby and at Matthew Bryan's Netherton mill. Dobson made drawings of machinery and discussed machinery with his brother-in-law, although certainly no drawings were made when the pair visited Foster's mills. As a machine maker, Archer had numerous models, made of wood and pewter, and tools of his own, and these were certainly seen by Dobson, who kept a notebook in which were sketches of and notes on a roasting jack, some textile machines, a washing machine and other machinery, and notes on making acetic acid, on increasing fermentation, on the use of bones for manure, etc. Dobson also had notes on, and an unfinished model of, a steam engine boiler, which when finished were to be presented to the Society of Arts which was offering a reward for improvements. Dobson carried with him letters recommending him to industrialists in the vicinity of Birmingham and at the Coalbrookdale Works.

On Sunday evening the 20th of March 1802 Archer's son John had supper with his father, his enemy the new stepmother and her brother Henry Dobson. Immediately subsequent to that he lodged an information before the Rev William Wood, a local magistrate, alleging that both Dobson and his own father were taking models and plans with intent to export them and that Dobson was attempting to induce the father to go into France: both were offences under an Act of 1781. On the evening of the following Saturday the Wakefield constable with six assistants came to

Archer's house in Ossett, searched the house, took away a basket full of Archer's models and Dobson's notes and his boiler model, and conducted Archer and Dobson as prisoners to the White Hart in Wakefield. Justice Wood could find no offence in regard to Archer and dismissed him; Dobson he committed to the House of Correction at Wakefield to await trial at the next Quarter Sessions to be held in Pontefract towards the end of the ensuing April. Dobson was to receive or send no letters which the Governor of the prison had not seen, and to have no visitors without a magistrate's order; a letter from his son in France to Mrs Archer was seized by the Constable. The defending lawyer, David Colvard, the "honest lawyer" of Wakefield, claimed in the brief to counsel which he prepared that in fact no offence had been committed by Dobson.

Dobson appeared before the Quarter Sessions on the first charge, having already been committed to appear at the Assizes of July 1802 on the second of the counts against him – the enticement charge. George Archer had meanwhile become insolvent "and has fled from Home to avoid his Creditors, as is said". An Ossett volunteer was found to guarantee Dobson's defence costs – which by the end of the Quarter Sessions appearance already amounted to £27.6s.9d.

At the Quarter Sessions Dobson had been fined £200 and committed to York Castle for a year; John Archer was to receive half of the fine as a reward for laying the information.

At the Assizes a traverse was entered for Dobson on the second charge and he spent the ensuing year of his Quarter Sessions sentence in York Castle. At the Spring Assizes in March 1803 he appeared and was fined a further £500 and sentenced to another year's imprisonment. Immediately subsequent to being sentenced, he requested the Judge for "a separate Room at his Expence" to avoid a continuation of having to "associate with Felons, Pick-pockets, and Men of low and vicious Habits" and he also entered into a power of attorney to enable "my Friends", a French banker and his own bookkeeper to carry on the ironfoundry.

Nothing further is known of him.

REFERENCE

1 Dobson is not mentioned in Howard Colvin's Dictionary.

The MSS. upon which this essay is based are among the Misc. Textile MSS., in the Goodchild Loan MSS., in the Department of Archives and Local Studies, Library HQ., Balne Lane, Wakefield.

KEIGHLEY'S TURKISH BATH – ONE OF THE FIRST IN ENGLAND

Ian Dewhirst

At the end of the Crimean War, Keighley was visited on several occasions by a mysterious, middle-aged Scot called David Urquhart, vaguely described by slightly overwhelmed locals as "a sort of disappointed politician", formerly "a sort of attaché to the British Embassy in Turkey" and a man "extremely anti-Russia in everything".

Lacking his subsequent three-page entry in the "Dictionary of National Biography", probably they never fully realised David Urquhart's brilliance as diplomat and adventurer. He had been wounded in the Greek War of Independence, had undertaken secret missions in the East, and boasted more than two decades' experience of Turkish affairs. As Member of Parliament for Stafford from 1847 to 1852, he had attempted to impeach Lord Palmerston. The diversity of his publications (his style "was admirably lucid") reflected his interests: among them "Turkey and its Resources", "The Spirit of the East: a Journal of Travels through Roumeli", "An Exposition of the Boundary Differences between Great Britain and the United States", "The Mystery of the Danube", "The Occupation of the Crimea".

Urquhart visited Keighley, as he visited many other places, to lecture on foreign affairs with the object of forming societies. In Keighley as elsewhere, he so charmed a number of townsmen that a Foreign Affairs Committee was soon involving itself with the Treaty of Paris and debating such quixotic schemes as "chartering an English vessel to convey the Circassian Deputies back to their homes without danger from the Russian Cruisers".

But David Urquhart has another, and ultimately more durable, claim to fame – he introduced the Turkish bath into Britain. His praises thereof in his "Pillars of Hercules", published in 1850, had been instrumental in the erection of Turkish baths at Cork and London; and in 1857 he built one at Manchester. A short time later a small bath was opened at Keighley.

Keighley's original Turkish bath, like many another aspect of our history, remains sparsely documented. We might, however, conjecture as to its opening date from a short item on "The Necessity of Bathing" inserted in the temperance monthly, "The Keighley Visitor", for March, 1858.

"What is it," this asks, "that makes the Turks such graceful and handsome men, and the Turkish women so exquisitely lovely?"

"Nothing in the world," comes the artless rejoinder, "but their daily use of the bath."

Keighley's new enterprise was conducted by a Turkish Bath Company, was run by one Sylvester Birtwhistle, and was "reached by a doorway from the upper entrance to the Market Place". Thanks to a pseudonymous "Lover of the Bath" who wrote to the "Keighley Visitor", that May of 1858, we have a detailed picture

of its "different operations".
"First, you find a neat room downstairs supplied with papers &c., where you can interest yourselves whilst called for; you then proceed upstairs, and if you choose, you can have a small private room to undress. The Bathman supplies you with an apron, and when ready, you are conducted into a small room where the temperature is considerably higher than what you experienced outside."
After a few minutes here, the bather passed on to another room, feebly lit "and the temperature ranging from 130 to 160 degrees", wherein younger spirits "generally like to amuse themselves by leaping about which helps to produce speedy perspiration". Shortly the bathman entered "to render you any assistance you may require":
"When you begin to sweat freely he is then prepared to put you through a process which he calls 'Shampooing', and which consists in rubbing your joints, &c, causing them to move about with a freedom that perfectly surprises you. The amount of matter which is cast off by this process is really astonishing."
Next came the shower bath, the bathman meanwhile attending with soap and brush, "giving you either warm or cold water as you may prefer it, and as gently or as rapidly as you choose." After a rub-down with "a clean towel", the bather's apron was exchanged for a cloak, and he lay down on a sofa till he felt "perfectly cool"; then you could "put on your clothes and you are ready to work, walk, or talk with a clean skin and with such buoyancy of spirits as probably you never before experienced."
The editor of the "Keighley Visitor", who had himself twice been through this process, felt able to endorse the encomiums of "A Lover of the Bath". And so, for a few years at least, this unexpected corner of Keighley Market provided not only physical refreshment, but also a venue for intellectual and political discussion. Those "papers, &c." in the waiting-room were chosen, we may be sure, with care. Indeed, this latter circumstance would give David Urquhart yet another niche in local history. A contemporary described his groups of disciples throughout Yorkshire and Lancashire as "made up chiefly out of Old Chartists and Robert Owenities"; and it was one of his axioms "that working men must not depend for help on the classes above them in the State, but must rely upon themselves for an improvement in the conditions of life". Those debating in the amenable atmosphere of the Turkish bath were to include founders of the Keighly Co-operative Society. The first minuted meeting, on October 9th, 1860, of an "assembly of friends to consider the propriety of forming a Co-operative Society", was held in the Turkish Bath Rooms.

LUDDISM: A Re-interpretation from local sources

F. O'Brien

It is nearly thirty years since E.J. Hobsbawm first proposed a re-interpretation of machine breaking both before and after the high point of Luddite activity in 1811 and 1812 (1). He claimed that far from being a pointless, shortsighted reaction to the unemployment brought on by new technology, machine breaking during the period when the Combination Acts were in force was in reality a form of trade union activity: 'Collective bargaining by riot'.
Hobsbawm's research made virtually no mention of West Riding Luddism. My brief is to extend the rehabilitation to local machine breaking. Where possible contemporary accounts such as those in the unsympathetic Leeds Mercury form the basis of my thesis, though secondary sources such as those of Peel (2) and Darvall (3) provide frequent valuable insights. From these, five major features of local Luddism can be isolated:

1. Machine breaking was not indiscriminate.
2. Attacks were not just made against machinery, but against particularly unpopular employers.
3. Antipathy to these employers came, not only from workers, but also from other manufacturers as well as the bulk of the local population.
4. Luddism attracted great public sympathy from all classes in the locality.
5. Luddism became increasingly well organised.

The first attacks in Huddersfield were reported in the Leeds Mercury of Saturday February 29th 1812:

> "On Saturday last a number of persons assembled near the premises of Mr. Joseph Hirst of Marsh, with their faces blacked and their persons disguised. Having forcibly obtained admittance into the dressing shops they proceeded to destroy all the machinery, frames shears . . . the mill was completely demolished . . . The military were moved in on Monday and they comprised a troop of Scots Greys, a troop of cavalry and the second Dragoon Guards."

The following report appeared in the same edition:

> "At an early hour on Wednesday morning the depredators notwithstanding the presence of the military attacked the dressing shops of Mr. Wm. Hinchcliffe at Leymoor and broke in pieces all the machinery. The proceedings have occasioned great alarm in Huddersfield; and on the 25th a meeting of manufacturers was convened at which a number of special constables were sworn in and a reward of a hundred guineas offered for the apprehension of any of the persons concerned in these outrages."

There was a two week break before the correspondent

in Huddersfield again reported:

> "In the last week four houses in Slaithwaite were entered by the Luddites and the frames and shears destroyed. The names of the owners I have not learned, indeed there seems to be a shyness on speaking on the subject" (4).

It is important to note that the public were uncooperative in helping either the military or the press throughout the next months; this indicates how public opinion was firmly behind the machine breakers despite an attractive financial inducement to inform upon them. The final incident before Luddism began to spread to the Spen Valley was reported in the Leeds Mercury of Saturday March 21st 1812:

> "About 8 o'clock on Sunday evening a number of armed men assembled outside the premises of Mr. Francis Vickerman of Taylor Hill and announced their arrival by the discharge of a gun. They said 'Ned Ludd of Nottingham has orders to break this clock'. They proceeded to break twenty to thirty pairs of shears. They also wantonly laid a sheet of wool and two pieces of fine cloth upon the stove which were nearly consumed."

Two important facts emerge from this report: firstly that the attackers styled themselves Luddites and associated themselves with a movement in a distant part of the country, and secondly that they did not break new machines but broke traditional hand shears and burned cloth and raw wool. This aspect of Luddism was far removed from the fear of adoption of new machinery and, as in other parts of the country, this type of violence was used against unpopular employers like Mr. Vickerman, whether they introduced new machinery or not.

Meanwhile, the gospel of Luddism was spreading, and as later court proceedings were to reveal, a vital meeting was held at the St. Crispin Inn at Halifax at which Mellor the Luddite leader from Huddersfield, the delegate from the Halifax Luddites and a delegate from Nottingham were all present (5). It later transpired that at this inn some type of Democratic or Republican club had its head-quarters. It was led by one John Baines and the membership was made up of enthusiastic supporters of the principles of the French Revolution. The Luddites attempted to persuade the Republicans to fight the manufacturers instead of the aristocrats (6).

It was at this meeting that the plans were made to spread the activities of the Luddites out of Huddersfield into the Spen Valley. Special preparations were made to attack the mill of Mr. Cartwright of Rawfolds near Heckmondwike, an owner known for his harsh rule and boasts about the treatment he would give to Luddites who attempted to attack his mill (7). In preparation the Luddites stripped the area of arms and planned to attack Cartwright's mill on Saturday April 11th. Meanwhile at Nottingham assizes the punishments meted out to machine breakers were much less harsh than the manufacturing classes had demanded. This may have strengthened the resolve of the Huddersfield Luddites in their bid to extend the scope and scale of their activities. From this date discipline was improved in the movement, and a start was made to emulate the Nottingham Luddites in systematically exacting subscriptions to finance the organisation (8).

The attack took place as planned, but reports suggest that Cartwright anticipated something of the sort as he had made elaborate preparations: there were at least nine armed guards, and a dog to warn of possible attack; troops were billeted at the nearby inns. The gates and inner doors of the mill were heavily fortified and reinforced with iron bars. To prevent anyone reaching the first floor rollers with spikes sixteen to eighteen inches in length were fixed to the stair case, and at the head of the stairs a hugh carboy of vitriol stood ready to be poured over the rioters. The Luddites neared the mill on the Thursday night and planned their mode of attack. They moved in three ranks, the front rank being armed with guns, the second with hatchets and the third with huge hammers with which to smash machinery. The Leeds Mercury of April 18th reported the incident:

> "At Rawfolds near Heckmondwike Mr. Wm. Cartwright has a mill used for the purpose of dressing cloth. On Thursday night the sentinel at the mill observed several signals that were supposed to indicate an approaching attack. On Saturday night at 12.30 am firing was heard from the North and answered from the South. Ranks of men made a violent attack upon the mill, broke the window frames and discharged a volley into the premises at the same instant. This roused the guards and the alarm bell was rung while those inside the mill flew to arms. For twenty minutes the engagement continued but the attackers were unable to break down the main doors and seeing their plight they retreated . . . On the morning after the engagement a number of hammers, axes and two masks and a powder horn with a bullet mould were found upon a field which was stained in several places with blood."

The wounded were taken to nearby Roberttown where the onlookers were described by the Leeds Mercury as being sympathetic to the attackers. Government spies keen to elicit information regarding the ringleaders were greeted by silence from the nearby inhabitants who it was also claimed helped many of the attackers to escape and gave them food and shelter (9). The Luddites retreated to Huddersfield by various routes, and in the next few days the town was:

> ". . . all hurry and confusion . . . a special session was holden here on Monday last and several persons underwent examination regarding the late desperate attack . . . but nothing material could be discovered" (10).

Luddite attacks were increasing in other areas at this time and the Mercury described it as a "new era of insurrection" with attacks in Birmingham, Oldham, Rochdale, Carlton, Manchester and Sheffield (11). On the 18th of April the same Mr. Cartwright came

to Huddersfield for the trial of one of the soldiers who had refused to fire on the Luddites during the attack the previous week. As the manufacturer made his way home after the trial an attempt was made to murder him, which failed, and which was greeted by the following comment from the Leeds Mercury:

> "Surely the followers of General Ludd cannot approve of private deliberate murder" (12).

Anthipathy towards Mr. Cartwright was strong even among the middle and trading classes, who were surprisingly sympathetic to the Luddites. This was shown when thirteen pairs of shears sent by Cartwright to Huddersfield to be sharpened were broken and returned to him (13).

The failure of the attack upon Cartwright's mill and the attempt upon his life did lose the Luddites some of their considerable local support. To revive their prestige the machine breakers realised that they would have to perform a deed of considerable magnitude against a large local manufacturer; they chose as their victim the very unpopular William Horsfall who had introduced new machines into his cropping shop thus antagonising the hand-croppers who subsequently combined to form the bulk of the local Luddite band (14). It was known that Horsfall had taken great precautions to protect his mill on the same lines as Cartwright, yet was careless when it came to his personal safety. It was therefore decided that an attempt upon his life would be less dangerous for the Luddites and would create more publicity to revive interest in the cause (15).

The attempt on Horsfall's life was made as he returned home from the George Hotel in Huddersfield to his mill at Ottiwells near Slaithwaite. The attackers chose Ratcliffe's plantation near the Warren House Inn at Crosland Moor. The report in the Leeds Mercury of the following Saturday May 2nd ran as follows:

> "Attrocious Murder! Mr. William Horsfall of the Wells near Slaithwaite cloth manufacturer, was returning home from a meeting in Huddersfield when four men with horse pistols appeared in a small plantation close to Warren House at Crosland Moor and inflicted four wounds in the left side of their victim. The murderers walked to the distance of some yards, and soon after briskening their pace they ran towards dungeon wood and entirely escaped . . . They were all wearing masks, dark course woollen coats and appeared to be working men . . . A reward of £2,000 was offered immediately to any person who will give such information as will lead to conviction of any one or more of the four men concerned in the murder" (16).

This daring murder increased the prestige of the Luddites locally, though the authorities had now to renew their efforts to catch the leaders as the murder was a sign of an escalation in their activities. Magistrates in other parts of the country were more successful than those in Yorkshire in arresting machine breakers, but feelings were running high and talk of a general rising continued during the whole of June. Raids for arms took place throughout the West Riding, especially in Huddersfield, as the Leeds Mercury of May 9th reports:

> "The Luddites were active in collecting arms from houses in Almondbury, Woodale, Farnley, Netherton, Meltham and Honley. The military have not been fortunate enough to discover the depot of the Luddites."

Large bodies of men were seen frequently at nights performing military exercises, and great numbers of leaden vessels were stolen to melt down for bullets (17).

Suddenly, around the middle of June, the government spies who had been working in the area since before the first major Luddite attacks, denounced several local men as Luddites, notably James Oldroyd of Dewsbury who had been involved in the abortive attack upon Cartwright's mill. It is symptomatic of local support and sympathy that Oldroyd was able to prove an alibi to satisfy the jury, and thus be liberated, even though the government spy swore positively against him. Baines, the leader of the Halifax Luddites and of the St. Crispin Republican Club, was also denounced by government spies who had infiltrated his organisation, but it took two to swear to his guilt before a jury would convict.

Because of this rash of prosecutions the Luddites went 'underground'. The four members were still free despite the huge reward of £2,000. Also at this time the success of the murder was seen, for the machines at Horsfall's mill were removed and replaced by hand-cropping.

The silence was suddenly broken by the following paragraph in the Leeds Mercury of October 24th:

> "A man has been taken up and examined before that indefatigable magistrate Joseph Ratcliffe Esq., and has given the most complete and satisfactory evidence of the murder of Mr. Horsfall. The villain charged has been frequently examined before, but always discharged for want of evidence. The man charged behaved with great affrontary until he saw the informer when he changed colour and gasped for breath. When he came out of the room after hearing the informer's evidence he exclaimed 'Damn that fellow he has done me'. It appears that this man and another have been the chiefs in all the disgraceful transactions that have occurred in this part of the country. This will lead to many more apprehensions."

The accused was George Mellor the leader of the Huddersfield Luddites right from their birth in Wood's Cropping Shop in Longroyd Bridge. The informant was Benjamin Walker who had been Mellor's chief accomplice throughout, and who turned 'King's Evidence' in order to take the reward of £2,000. On his evidence the other two involved in the murder, William Thorpe and Thomas Smith, were apprehended. A fortnight later another Luddite turned informer and nine more ring-leaders were arrested. Other arrests followed and before the close of the year sixty four were imprisioned in York castle. Although their leaders were captured some isolated incidents continued, notably the attempted murder of one of

the key witnesses in the trial (18).
The trial took place at York before Mr. Baron Thompson and Mr. Justice le Blanc on January 2nd 1813. The chief witnesses were Benjamin Walker the informer, Joseph Armitage the landlord of the Warren House Inn, Henry Parr and Joseph Banister who saw the incident, Rowland Houghton the surgeon who attended Horsfall at the Inn before he died, Joseph Snowdon with whom Mellor had left the guns after the attack and Mrs. Martha Mellor his cousin's wife, with whom he had sought refuge after the incident. When all the evidence had been heard and the judge had summed up, the jury retired at 7.30 pm and returned twenty five minutes later finding all three guilty. They were sentenced to death, and on January 8th at 9.00 am they were executed (19).
With the executions Luddism lost much of its impetus. After 1815, however, the privations caused by the economic dislocation at the end of the Napoleonic wars involved the working class in more civil disturbances in which Luddite techniques and strategies were revived. On the 8th and 9th of June 1817 while a rising was taking place in the traditional Luddite centre of Nottingham, a simultaneous rising was planned in Huddersfield where several hundred cloth workers marched on the town from the Holme Valley. The leader was reported as saying the following by the correspondent of the Leeds Mercury:

> "Now lads, all England is in arms, our liberties are secure, the rich will be poor, the poor will be rich." (20)

The ensuing fracas at Folley Hall was a short-lived affair with the townsfolk and the military forcing the attackers to retreat. Though this attack had few consequences, it is interesting to note that of the twenty four men charged nine were croppers; members of the trade which had made up the bulk of the Luddite membership in 1812 (21).
On the 16th of August 1819, on the same day as the Peterloo Massacre, the cloth workers of Huddersfield met in the same field at Cooper Bridge near the Dumb Steeple where the Luddites had met before their attacks on local factories, including Cartwright's, in 1812. The plan to storm the town came to nothing when news of the military preparations caused the would-be attackers to disperse. The plan was not forgotten, and the Leeds Mercury reported an attempt to capture the town in 1820 in which the magistrates were to be arrested as a signal for a general rising of the workers all over England. The attack was to be four-pronged, with workers from Kirkheaton, Grange Moor and Kirkburton forming the Southern division assembling at Almondbury Bank, those from Mirfield, Hartshead, Hightown and Colne Bridge forming the Eastern division met by the Dumb Steeple. Workers from Dalton, Rastrick, Thornhill and Brighouse, the Northern division, assembled at Fixby Park, while the Western division from Lindley, Quarmby, Outlane, Ripponden and Barkisland met at Lindley Moor. When the beacon on Castle Hill was lit each contingent marched to the old Luddite meeting place at the Dumb Steeple. Travellers on the Leeds-Huddersfield road saw the gathering, and reported it when they arrived at Huddersfield. The magistrates called a public meeting where the Watch and Ward Acts were put into operation. The shops were closed and barricaded and the townspeople were armed. In all probability, when the workers came to march upon the town they far out-numbered the troops and armed citizens, and would easily have taken over. They were, however, misled by informers who told them that there were more troops in the town than was actually the case, and that even more were coming to reinforce them. Believing this the attackers decided to flee, returning to their villages. The story of Luddism and its off-shoots in the Huddersfield area had come to an end. Just four years later the Combination Acts were to be repealed and trade union activity again became legal.
Upon closer scrutiny, West Riding Luddism does not appear to be the mindless response of ignorant men to economic and social changes that were beyond their comprehension. Rather, it was a calculated, well organised campaign, against manufacturers who were harsh and unacceptable masters, some of whom, like Vickerman at Taylor Hill, had not introduced new machinery at all. Local commands, secret oaths and rituals were all the hall marks of Luddite organisation, just as they were in much later legitimate trade union activities (22). There is evidence that from March 1812 West Riding Luddism became more insurrectionary than that in other areas, with this link continuing in later attempts to seize Huddersfield in which old Luddite methods and meeting places were used.
Other employers, professional people as well as workers, were sympathetic to the Luddite cause and hostile to their victims and informers. Surgeons and ministers refused to pass on information to the authorities after the Rawfolds attack. Benjamin Walker, the informer, found his neighbours and local tradesmen treated him like a social leper. Organised antipathy towards him was so widespread that he died a discredited pariah. Luddites who died at the attack on Cartwright's mill were treated as martyrs, their funerals being attended by huge crowds, demonstrating popular support.
The Leeds Mercury, organ of West Riding Whiggery, remained hostile towards Luddism. However, between the lines of their correspondents' stern reports of Luddist activities, we can see a picture emerge of desperate working men beginning to organise themselves for the first time against oppressive employers in a far more aggressive way than heretofore. They had learned that mere withdrawal of labour, at a time when blacklegging was unavoidable, and when there was no proper provision for the subsistence of strikers was hopeless. This aggressiveness, funnelled into Luddism, was a continuation and culmination of the eighteenth century disposition to riot. It was a transitional movement in the process by which working class culture gained greater independence and complexity than in the eighteenth century. It only came to fruition as effective trade union organisation began.

For References see page 34

BEN O'BILLS MEETS SHIRLEY OR THE LUDDITES REDISCOVERED

Cyril Pearce

The literature produced by the tourist industry purporting to introduce the visitor to the history and traditions of a particular place is not, on the whole, remarkable for its scholarship. Quite the opposite: it is often unbearably superficial, journalistic (in the worst sense) and patronising to both visitor and visited. In its frequent pursuit of a lowest common denominator of content it has a tendency to trivialise and sensationalise. On the other hand, that literature which tries to avoid this approach has too often tended to retreat into an antiquarian's blind alley of factual detail; dark, dense and totally lacking in illumination. The Department of the Environment's guides to the historic sites are a case in point here.

For myself and, I daresay, many others, history, even the tourists' guide book version, is a lot more than just a vicarious thrill at the "juicy bits", a kind of antiquarian's page three or a "News of the World" version of "1066 and all that". Similarly, it is not simply about an obsessive pursuit of facts for their own sake. That way lies the dilemma of not being able to see the wood for the trees. The best written history, the best taught history and, for that matter, the best guide-book history, is that which has a sense of the wider issues, the significant issues which reflect light onto aspects of the human condition. The best history helps us to learn something real, not simply indigestible facts, not just a cheap thrill, but something to encourage a better understanding of human society past and, more particularly, present.

How refreshing and reassuring it is then to come across a new publication aimed at the tourist market for the West Riding which is both scholarly in its attention to detail, accessible in its style and presentation and, above all, has a breadth of vision to lift its subject matter out of the more "quaint" and "fascinating" into the significant and true-to-life. Such is Lesley Kipling and Nick Hall's *"On the Trail of the Luddites" (Pennine Heritage Network, The Birchcliffe Centre, Hebden Bridge, 1982, price £1.50).*

What is particularly welcome here is the way in which Lesley Kipling and Nick Hall have taken this very familiar theme and have given it a number of new twists in terms of approach and interpretation and, in so doing, suggest new insights. That is not an easy task with a subject such as the Yorkshire Luddites. They appear regularly on local history lecture programmes, in the local press, "Old West Riding" has printed a number of Luddite and Luddite-related pieces as has "Pennine Magazine", and the local history books for the West Riding textile area inevitably devote substantial sections to them. Even the heavy-weights of the academic history world, Edward Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm and many more, have touched on this subject as have numerous school text books and teaching packs. The word "Luddite", as Lesley Kipling reminds us, has even entered the language, inaccurately as is often the case, to describe mindless opposition to technical change. As Mrs. Kipling also suggests, working people have seldom been opposed to new machinery itself but have opposed the unemployment, wage cuts and more unequal division of wealth that, hitherto, new machinery has usually meant.

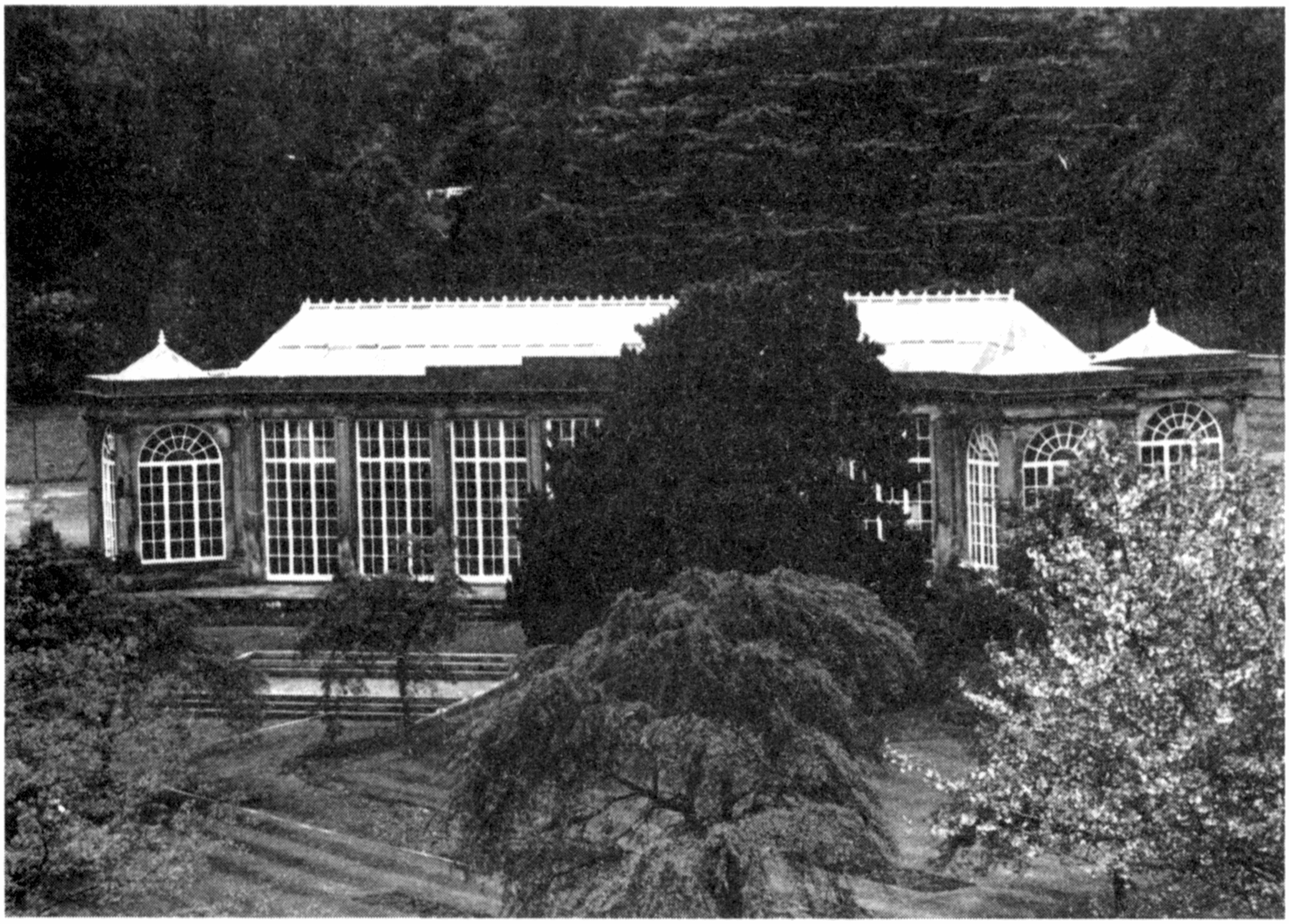
The major innovation in "On the Trail of the Luddites" is the attempt to weave the West Riding Luddite story around an extended trail or self-guided tour. This is a very ambitious undertaking, largely, I gather, Nick Hall's idea. Although the device creaks a little in places and isn't one hundred percent successful, in failing occasionally it succeeds in an awful lot of other ways. The book takes the events of the Luddite years 1811 to 1813 and fits them not always chronologically but often usefully, into a route which begins in Marsden in the Pennines to the West of Huddersfield and runs to Roberttown and Liversedge to the East; a crows-flight distance of at least fifteen miles. At appropriate places along the way you are invited to stop and consider the various Luddite connections aided by useful sketch-maps, photographs and drawings of buildings, people and places past and present. The connections with the story may be people, places or events. For example, Milnsbridge House, home of Sir John Radcliffe the scourge of the Luddites still stands although in much reduced circumstances; the site of Horsfall's murder is known but now, much built-upon, is known as William Horsfall Street.

The book's lay-out is also helpful. Pages of background information telling the whole Luddite story are in a light brown paper while the trail details are on white. It is therefore possible to find your way round the book, let alone the trail, fairly easily. The background information section is, on the whole, well and accessibly written. Mrs. Kipling does not try to blind her readers with science nor does she under-sell the realities of the Luddite years. I found the additional sections useful: the chronology of events, the short biographies of principal characters, the alibi evidence offered at the trial. In fact this is such a well-written contribution to our knowledge it is worth buying for reading by the fireside as well as for the rigours of the trail experience.

Apart from the trail format the other useful and illuminating new insights are provided by Lesley Kipling's scholarly account of the Luddite story. Not only does she add the extra dimension of an account of Luddite activities in Lancashire but she puts a totally new slant on the trials of the alleged Luddites at York castle in 1813. No one before this has, to my knowledge, seriously advanced the view, supported by meticulous reference to documentary evidence, that perhaps those hanged for Horsfall's murder were innocent. Lesley Kipling does this most

convincingly and, in so doing, suggests not only that many of the Luddites accused were innocent but that the authorities knew it and didn't really care. The object of the show trials was, as so often before, to strike terror and put a stop to the disturbances. In this the authorities were successful. For developing this line of argument alone, "On the Trail of the Luddites" is worth anyone's £1.50.

While I have reservations about Pennine Heritage Network's excessive enthusiasm for the idea of tourism as a solution for the West Riding's economic ills – I, for one, don't wish to be gawped at as a "local native" by curious "foreigners" – they are to be congratulated for this venture. I believe the first print run is by now almost sold out. Might I therefore recommend all those interested in the Luddite story to order now and guarantee a second edition.



Bretton Hall: Camelia House

THE BRETTON ESTATE

Cyril Pearce

Part I: Geography, historians and documents

The village of West Bretton, near Wakefield, (a mile from M.1 access point 38) is rapidly becoming something of a tourist centre. In the last ten years it has been the site for a number of developments which have drawn visitors from many parts of Northern England and much further afield: Bretton Lakes Nature Reserve (1973), Yorkshire Sculpture Park (1977) and Bretton Country Park (1978). Bretton Hall itself, once the dominant influence in the community, has been, since 1949, a College of Higher Education taking in students from all parts of the United Kingdom.

How different then, is this picture from that which was true for West Bretton for the preceding five or six hundred years. What is now a publicly-owned resource to which all have access was originally built and for centuries developed as the exclusive preserve of those who owned Bretton Hall and its estate. In the middle ages it was the Dronsfields; from 1406 to 1792 the Wentworths and from 1792 until the sale of the Hall and parkland in the late 1940's, the Beaumont family. In 1906 the family was ennobled first as Baron and later Viscount Allendale.

Yet despite the recent and growing interest in Bretton and despite the Hall's occupation, since 1949, by students in varying forms of higher education, the history of Bretton Hall and its estates is still only sketchily understood. Surprising as it may seem to the visitor Bretton still has no authoritative and comprehensive history. While this article can in no way remedy this lack it may help to draw attention to what needs to be done and to the splendid range of source materials now available to the brave scholars who may take up the challenge.

That is not to say that the Bretton estate and its owners have been totally ignored by historians; nor is it to suggest that there are no published accounts of its history. Over a considerable period of time there have been numerous contributions to our knowledge by a variety of scholars and enthusiasts. However, these accounts do tend to be fragmentary and, no matter how scholarly, reveal one major problem: From the 1770's onwards, the Bretton estate was more than just the Yorkshire properties, it included substantial agricultural land, moorland shooting, urban property and, above all, lead mines in Northumberland. The centres of this other estate were at Bywell Hall, Hexham and Allenheads. This division between Yorkshire and Northumberland is reflected in both published and unpublished studies. Local historians, whether amateur or professional, have tended to concentrate on one area or the other, never both. This, understandably has denied the economic integrity of the whole estate and the reality of its social, political and personal complexities. Such accounts have produced a one-dimensional and lop-sided version of its history. This has not only distorted reality but has also under-valued the estate's real wealth, power and importance.

The Northumberland estates have perhaps attracted marginally more recent scholarly interest than those in Yorkshire. Part of the reason for this is the deposit of many of the lead mining documents at the Northumberland County Record Office, and the presence in Northumberland of a strong local interest, much of it emanating from Newcastle University. When one considers that the Beaumont Lead Company was one of the two major British lead companies in the nineteenth century this attention is not surprising. Nor is it surprising to find both Newcastle University post-graduate students and professional historians such as Arthur Raistrick exploring Bretton's Northumberland lead interests (1). Similarly the parts played in North-Eastern politics by successive heads of the Bretton estates and their sons have attracted historians' attention. The first substantial record of this appeared as early as 1895 (2). Yet, detailed and useful though these studies are, they only give us the perspective from Northumberland; they say little of Northumberland and Yorkshire together. Indeed, from reading much of this material it hardly seems possible that the Yorkshire estates existed at all.

As for the Yorkshire estates, the picture is, in a number of ways, rather different. To begin with, the Yorkshire estates can trace their history far beyond the 1770's and well into the middle ages. The Northumberland connection, although ancient in its own right, came to the Bretton estates rather late in the day. Secondly, since the 1940's the Yorkshire estate's documents have been dispersed and difficult to use. Thirdly, unlike the North-East, the West Riding's universities and polytechnics have, hitherto, shown remarkably little interest in Bretton's history. This may be because, in contrast to their Northumberland activities, the owners of the Bretton estate appear not to have made dramatic contributions to the economic or political history of Yorkshire. It may also be that the owners of Bretton have been overshadowed by their neighbours: the Earls Fitzwilliam at Wentworth Woodhouse or the Spencer-Stanhopes of Cannon Hall. If this is correct then it is sad, not only because the scholarly picture largely ignores Bretton but because in doing so it misses so much. The Bretton estate wielded enormous influence over a substantial part of the West Riding. The detail of this doesn't stand out to demand attention in the obvious way of the Northumberland issues but it is, none the less, substantial and important to our understanding of the history of this part of Yorkshire.

Nevertheless, Bretton's Yorkshire estates have attracted a good number of scholars over the years. Perhaps

the first useful study was published in 1831 by Joseph Hunter in Vol.II of his "South Yorkshire" (3). As was customary for historians at that time, this account is primarily a genealogical one concerned with the descent of the estate from the earliest times. It offers only fragments of other issues relating to the extent and fortunes of the estate and to the succession of buildings at Bretton. Since then, until fairly recently, students of Bretton's history have had to make do with often oblique references in the local histories of neighbouring towns, newspaper cuttings and occasional magazine articles (4). In the 1920's, Sir Charles Clay, a noted medieval historian and antiquarian, did take extracts from some of the medieval and Tudor Bretton estate documents for publication in the Yorkshire Archaelogical Society's Records Series but, as far as we know produced no other work on Bretton (5). Not until the 1970's has Bretton attracted the interests of other than local scholars whose work has yet to be published. Dr. Derek Linstrum has made significant contributions to our knowledge of the history of the buildings at Bretton Hall and elsewhere on the estate. His work has been published in a number of forms most notably in his study of the career of one of Bretton's architects, Sir Jeffry Wyattville (6). Recently the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit's work has added to our appreciation of the history of Bretton before 1500 but, to date, the period after 1500, with the exception of the Hall's architecture, still awaits detailed study (7).

Perhaps now we can talk with a little more confidence than was possible hitherto of the right moment having arrived to put the Bretton estate's history into better order. There are three central reasons for this. First, there is more interest than ever before in the subject of local history. There are more students in local history classes, more local history tutors and more schools, colleges and universities incorporating local history material in their history courses. Secondly, in the wider sense, the eyes of more professional and academic historians are turning to look more closely at the great landed estates. Until twenty years ago and the appearance of F.M.L. Thompson's "English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century", much of the writings on the landed estate combined an often sycophantic antiquarian's preoccupation with genealogy with detailed architectural histories of great houses (8). Recently, however, a more systematic and thorough-going approach to the history of England's landed elite has emerged and has come to light in numerous important publications by scholars such as Mee, Mingay and Spring (9). Such contemporary scholarship is looking beyond family and house to deeper issues of estate administration, economic power and social and political influence.

Finally, no matter how right the academic climate nor how many eager local historians there may be, their work is only as good as the source material available. As far as the documents for the Yorkshire estates are concerned the picture is now much clearer than it has been for many years although it is still, regrettably, a story of a divided and damaged collection.

The precise history and location of all the documents generated by the administration of the Bretton estates over several centuries since the middle ages, is not clear. In 1947 a large collection of Bretton estate material was deposited with the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in Leeds (10). The remainder, we presume, remained at the Estate Office in West Bretton until it closed in 1958. At this point the story becomes confused although certain elements are clear. Many of the documents in the Estate Office were packed into five large crates and despatched to Lord Allendale's house at Bywell Hall where it remained untouched until 1975. At the same time a great deal of material relating to coal mining on the Bretton estates, principally maps and plans, was handed over to the National Coal Board's Yorkshire region archives department at Rawmarsh near Rotherham. Perhaps because the crates weren't big enough, or for other unfathomable reasons, there was also a bonfire. How many documents perished in this way we have no way of knowing. One former estate worker got so tired of it that he took some sacks of documents home to light his own fires. These were put in his greenhouse and forgotten until his grandson rescued them some years later. At the time various items fell into private hands. Some of them have been traced but how many other people may have Bretton material, or who they might be, is impossible to tell unless they are prepared to volunteer the information.

The story of the five crates sent to Bywell Hall is less depressing. In the March of 1975, together with a fellow tutor from Bretton Hall College, I went to Bywell to make a preliminary examination of their contents and of a number of other boxes Lord Allendale's agent, Major J.G. McGowan, had unearthed for us. We discovered two crates crammed to the lid with office stationery, mop heads and surveying tools, one crate similarly crammed with Northumberland material and two full of Yorkshire documents.

Lord Allendale subsequently agreed to loan the Yorkshire material to the College where it is now stored. The College in turn agreed to list it, repair it and make it available for College use and for the general public. Since 1981 it has had a thorough and useable catalogue which, it is hoped, will be augmented in 1984 by a computer-based information retrieval system. Access to the collection is by arrangement with the Curator, Bretton Estate Archives, Bretton Hall College.

The extent and quality of the Yorkshire collection now back at Bretton is impressive, to say the least. As a collection, particularly when taken together with the section deposited with the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, it ranks with the best in the country for its chronological range, geographical spread, and its representation of documentary types.

The chronological range covers seven centuries from the thirteenth to the twentieth. As Sir Charles Clay discovered, there is a good body of medieval, late-medieval and sixteenth century material. All of that which Clay used for his extracts has survived the

Bretton Hall: Stables and Coach House

Bretton Hall: The Mansion

crisis of 1958, and is intact at Bretton and in remarkably good condition. It reveals as much about the narrowness of Sir Charles' pre-occupations as it does about late medieval and Tudor Bretton. He used edited transcripts for the Record Series rather than the full text and in so doing missed details present-day scholars would consider crucial. Some of these omissions may shortly be remedied. A number of the documents in the collection relating to the iron-working activities of the Cistercian abbeys of Bylands and Rievaulx at Bentley, Emley and Flockton are to be published soon in a major new work on the Cistercians in Yorkshire. The authors of the piece, Dr. John Addy and Dr. Allan Young, have re-worked much of what Sir Charles chose to omit and have discovered new material he overlooked.

From these rich beginnings the collection runs, admittedly rather unevenly, through to 1925. After this date material relating to the Yorkshire estates is subject to a closure and has been returned to Lord Allendale at Bywell. The unevenness of the collection particularly with respect to sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century material, manor court material and the like is complemented by the Bretton collection at the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, although the fit is not a precise dovetail.

The geographical spread of the material is, as might be expected, most consistent in the immediate area of West Bretton itself and incorporates all, or substantial parts of, the settlements along the line of the River Dearne from Darton, Kexborough and Barugh near Barnsley to Denby Dale and Cumberworth at its source. It extends to cover Emley, Flockton, the much re-named Shitlingtons (Netherton, Middlestown, Midgley), Horbury and parts of Woolley. From time to time, however, the estate has stretched much further and has not only incorporated parts of Holme, Scholes and New Mill near Holmfirth but also Birstall, Cleckheaton, Gomersal and Morley. Until the middle of the nineteenth century it also included a substantial estate in the Wibsey, Odsal and Low Moor area of what is now Bradford. In fact the famous Low Moor Iron Company leased land and mining rights from the Bretton estate during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

It would be impossible here to list exhaustively the types of documents surviving in the Bretton estate's Yorkshire collection currently at Bretton Hall. It contains, as might be expected, a good range of family papers, dating from the fifteenth century to the late nineteenth century, and consisting principally of wills and marriage settlements. But these are not confined to the major family at Bretton. Many of the bundles of documents remain intact as they were used in the Estate Office and, therefore, include other wills, marriage settlements and inventories and the like, as part of the deeds to particular properties acquired by the Bretton estate.

Sadly, the collection has within it no personal papers generated by the owners of the Bretton estates themselves. There is only one diary, a small one, covering the years 1740–1742 but it was not written by a member of the Wentworth or Beaumont families. In fact it is still not certain why it comes to be in the Bretton estate collection at all. It was written by a Major George Lestanguet who, despite his French name, served with the ill-fated British expeditionary force to the West Indies between 1740 and 1742. This revealing insight into eighteenth century social life, military and naval affairs, incompetence and disaster is to be edited and published shortly by Philip Woodfine of Huddersfield Polytechnic's History Department (11).

As might be expected the collection has much in it that relates to land transactions and the business of buying, selling and valuing land. This includes conveyances, mortgages, leases and the like from the later middle ages to the early twentieth century. There are also maps, valuations and rental records for various periods – sadly, not a comprehensive run – plus other miscellaneous material generated by the administration of the estate. In particular there is a fine collection of nineteenth century correspondence dealing principally with matters of estate management but also giving the occasional revealing insights into the social and political events of the time. The poverty of the hand-loom weavers in Cumberworth in 1830 is graphically described as are the riots in Barnsley in the same year and there is even an account of a curate dismissed for backing the wrong side in a local election.

For the architectural historian the collection is particularly rich. Although it does not have the complete drawings of the various phases of building at Bretton Hall after 1720 it does contain sufficient to piece together more of the history of the place than Derek Linstrum found possible when writing in the late 1960's and early 1970's. There are here drawings by John Carr of York and his pupil Lindley; drawings by William Atkinson, by Jeffry Wyatt (later Sir Jeffry Wyattville) and by George Basevi Jr., designer of the Bretton Hall Stables which, somewhat transformed, still stand.

The chequered history of the Bretton estate's documents and the way that historians of all kinds have approached the study of the major landed estate hold lessons for us all to learn. It would be tedious for me to enumerate them here once more since most have been developed fairly clearly above. Nevertheless, having survived great uncertainty the collections of Bretton estate documents both here in Yorkshire and in Northumberland are now, with minor exceptions, in a position where we can begin to redress the errors of the past. Perhaps the fruits of these rich collections will eventually be gathered in years to come by more and more amateur and professional scholars piecing together the estate's history. When this is completed then we may be able to make a more balanced judgement of the Bretton estate's proper place in English history.

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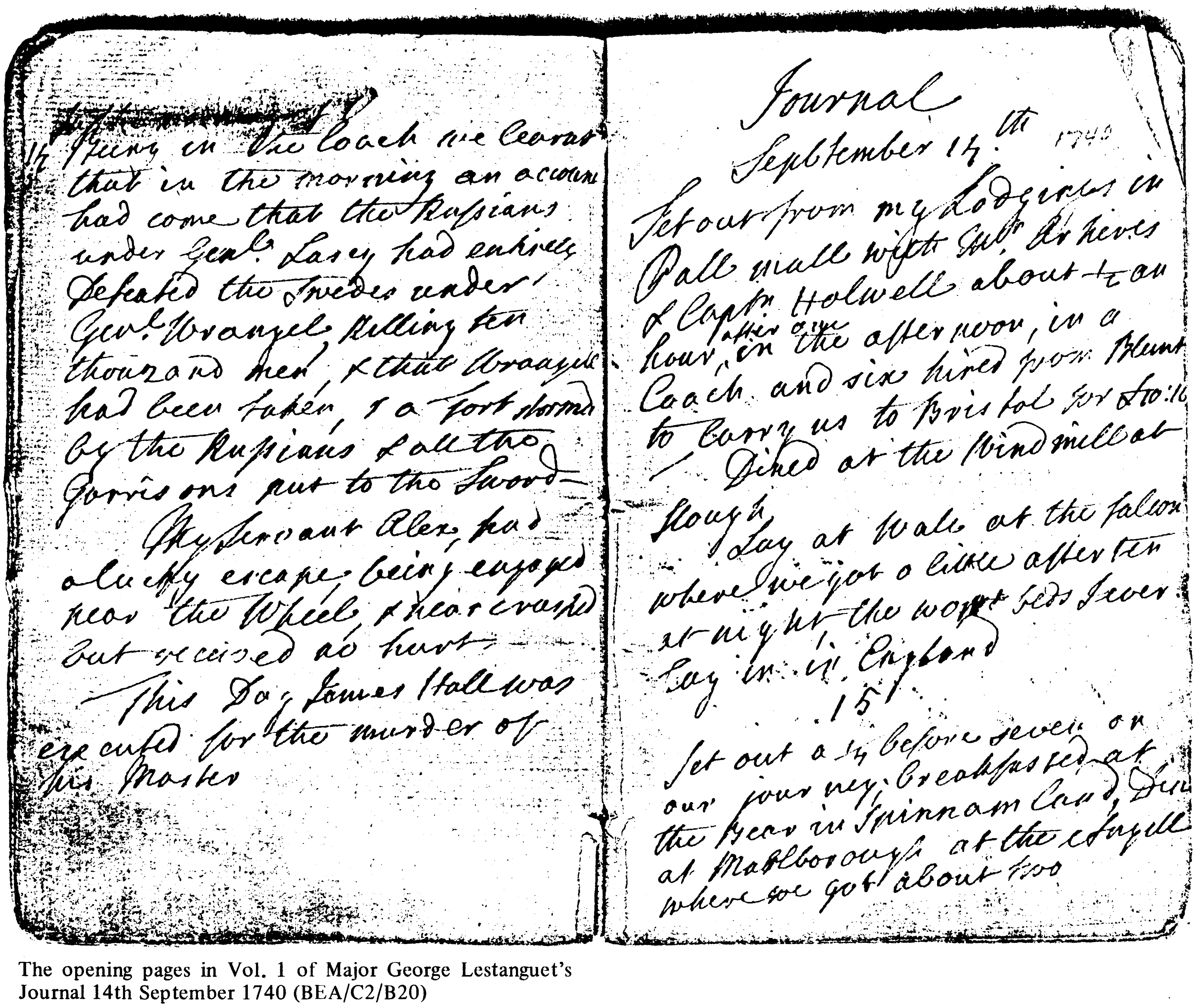


Being in the Coach we learnt
that in the morning an account
had come that the Russians
under Genl. Lacy had entirely
Defeated the Swedes under
Genl. Wrangel killing ten
thousand men, & that Wrangel
had been taken, & a fort storm'd
by the Russians & all the
Garrisons put to the Sword
My Servant Alex had
a lucky escape being engaged
near the Wheel & near crush'd
but received no hurt
This Day James Hall was
executed for the murder of
his Master

Journal
September 14th 1740
Set out from my Lodgings in
Pall mall with Sub. Archers
& Capt. Holwell about ½ an
hour after one in the afternoon, in a
Coach and six hired from Blunt
to carry us to Bristol for £10:10
Dined at the Windmill at
Slough
Lay at Wale at the Falcon
where we got a little after ten
at night, the worst beds I ever
lay in in England
15
Set out a ¼ before seven on
our journey, Breakfasted at
the Bear in Spinnam Land, Din'd
at Marlborough at the Castle
where we got about two

The opening pages in Vol. 1 of Major George Lestanguet's Journal 14th September 1740 (BEA/C2/B20)

THE PAPER HALL, BRADFORD

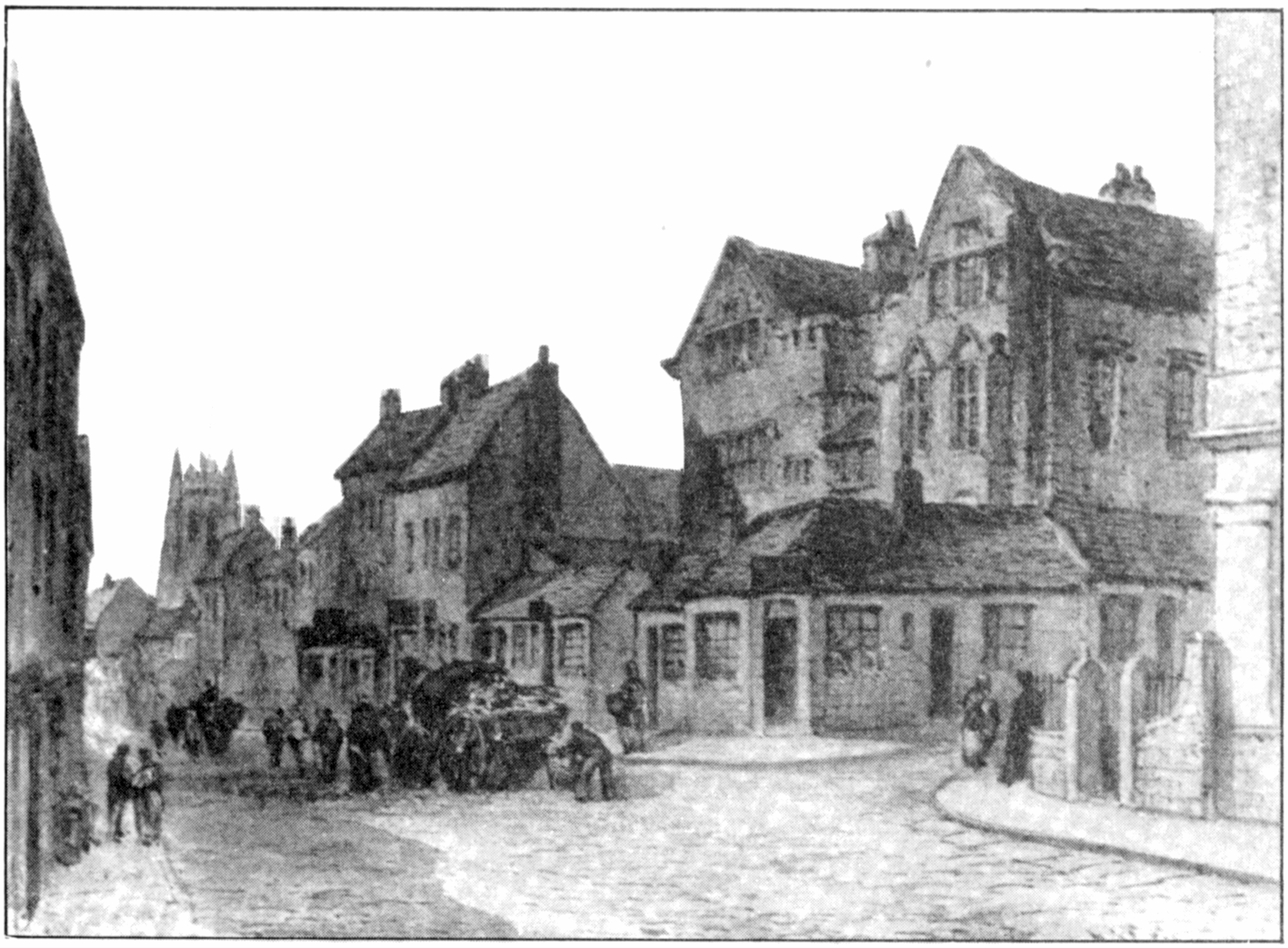
The cover illustration of Old West Riding, Vol.1, No.2, was a view of Bradford's Paper Hall, drawn by Tony Burke. The building, which was for many years under threat, stands empty and in disrepair, but a Society exists to promote its preservation and in order to support their efforts we print below a short account of the Society's aims and an illustration from a leaflet issued by the Bradford Antiquarian Society. Anyone wishing to contact the Directors of the Paper Hall Preservation Society for further details, should write to the following address: 128 Sunbridge Road, BRADFORD BD1 2AT (Ed.).

Paper Hall Preservation Society

Patrons: Mr. and Mrs. J.B. Priestley

No one knows how Paper Hall got its name. It was built in 1643 and is the only 17th century building close to the centre of the city of Bradford. Though it is doubly protected as a Department of the Environment listed building and as an ancient monument by the Royal Commission it has been allowed to deteriorate very badly over many years. Now the Paper Hall Preservation Society, a limited liability company and a registered charity, under terms of an agreement to lease with the owners Bradford Metropolitan Council, has begun restoration work. This work is assisted by a grant from the Historic Buildings Council for England which is claimed pound for pound against public subscription. Generous donations are beginning to come in now that some progress can be seen but much more is required to cover the main phase of restoration for which detailed plans have been prepared. The Society is looking for £80,000 to achieve the main part of its restoration plan. It is negotiating to secure ownership of the Hall which would simplify agreements during further restoration work, a proposal originally put forward by the owners but not proving easy to secure.

Paper Hall has played an important role through its owners in the political and religious as well as industrial life of the region. The first spinning machinery in the district was installed in the house in the 18th century and for this reason it is regarded as one of the most historically important buildings in Bradford. The members of the Society are confident that, with continuing financial support, they will restore an important part of the City's heritage and a building which will provide valuable facilities to local commerce and industry.



A KNARESBOROUGH ACCOUNT, 1421-1422

Sylvia Thomas

During the last three winters I have been running a Workers' Educational Association evening class in Leeds at Claremont, headquarters of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. For many years the Medieval Section of the YAS has helped to put on palaeography classes to teach people who wanted to read original documents how to go about it, and some of our group felt they had reached the stage where they could put their learning into practice. We therefore selected a fifteenth century account roll from among the large collection of Slingsby papers deposited in the YAS archives and set about transcribing and translating it from the original Latin into English. By no means all the members of our group were fluent in Latin; some indeed had never done any before. However, as is so often the case with medieval Latin documents in local history, the range of vocabulary used in the accounts is fairly limited and their format is fairly standard, so that it was not long before everyone was able to follow the sense.

The roll (1) contains a set of ministers' accounts for the honour of Knaresborough, which consisted of the forest and liberty of Knaresborough and also Aldborough and Boroughbridge. The honour of Knaresborough was and still is part of the vast possessions of the Duchy of Lancaster, since 1399 held by the monarch but always administered separately from other Crown lands. The revenues (rents, farms, profits of courts etc.) from these wide estates were collected on behalf of the Duchy by receivers. Richard Popeley was to become receiver for Knaresborough, Pontefract and Tickhill in 1422, but in our accounts he is simply collector of rents and farms (2).

The portion of the accounts reproduced here forms the beginning only of the account for the castle and manor of Knaresborough, consisting of receipts for Knaresborough itself. The expenses come later in the roll and so do not appear here. The castle and manor were part of the liberty of Knaresborough, outside the forest. The rents are of various types, payable at set times of year: the assise or fixed rents payable on the demesnes (i.e. the lands formerly cultivated by the lord, but by this period being let to farm); new rents, charged on assarts (i.e. newly cleared land) presumably brought into use since the drawing up of the last rental (although some of these 'new' rents were for lands first entered in 1367-8); these lands, as well as other villein lands and wastes, were usually held 'according to the custom of the manor'; rents of free land including eighty-eight burgages in the town (though these were farmed out together with the market and other tolls and the proceeds of the borough court).

The free tenants were liable for boon works in addition to their rents, but these have been commuted to money payments. There are also a few payments in kind recorded, although these too have been commuted, apart from the pound of pepper which was delivered to the Duchy auditors as their fee. The cottages were also subject to boon works and payments in kind (also commuted) as part of their annual rent. Some of the manorial wastes let were quite extensive, but many were small areas rented or leased for specific purposes, such as the setting up of a lime kiln or the excavation of a chapel. (This, incidentally, is probably the chapel of Our Lady of the Crag near Low Bridge, and this reference shows that it was first excavated in 1407-8) (3). It is important to remember that the size of an acre was not standard throughout the honour, being roughly four times the statute acre in parts of the forest, though not so large in the liberty (4).

After our translation was completed we spent some time studying the background to our accounts. Susan Howdle and Percy Brookman compared various associated accounts for 1296-7 (5), 1393-4 (6), 1406-7 (7), 1407-8 (8), 1411-12 (9) and 1471-2 (10) which are either published or available in the YAS archives. Hilda Dearnley and Peter Mawson extracted the place and personal names and other information from the roll. This helped us to see, for instance, that of two families prominent in Knaresborough life in later centuries the Birnands are already much in evidence in our accounts, while the Slingsbys are found only once. Percy Brookman, John Fleeman and Leonard Cooper made detailed analyses of the accounts, which have made the extraction of information very much easier. Barbara Lee, Joan Preston, Leonard Cooper and John Fleeman have also checked the published *Calendars of State Papers* for background material on the area in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and have discovered that these were often violent times in the forest of Knaresborough. Last, but not least, Stephen Whittle, who is an expert in Latin, checked the various doubtful readings in the text.

In making our translation we have used the following abbreviations: ac. = acre, r. = rood (¼ acre), mess. = messuage. Words in square brackets are editorial additions. We have converted numerals in the account from Roman to Arabic and expressed regnal years in shortened form, e.g. 1 Hen.IV. We have preserved the spelling of all place, field and personal surnames, but modernised Christian names. We have reproduced in inverted commas any English words in the original text.

In the course of our work we have found invaluable the magnificent books on Knaresborough and Nidderdale (11) produced by Professor Bernard Jennings and his WEA classes, and the English Place-Name Society's volume on Upper and Lower Claro wapentakes (12).

We are grateful to many people who have helped us, especially to Joanna Dawson, Mary Mann, Arnold Kellett, John Symington and Maurice Turner, to Philip Ralph of the WEA Yorkshire North District

and to the YAS for allowing us to publish the accounts.

THE CASTLE AND MANOR OF KNARESBURGH

The account of Richard Popeley, collector of rents (? and) of demesne lands, free tenants, cottages and wastes from Michaelmas in the 9th year of the reign of King Henry V [29 Sept. 1421] until the last day of August in the 10th year of the same king on which day he died, and from the said last day of August until the Michaelmas thereafter next following in the 1st year of the reign of King Henry VI for 29 days, and so in total for one complete year [29 Sept. 1422].

Rents of assise

The same [Richard Popeley] answers for 32s. 10d. rent for 49ac.1r. of demesne land in the furlong of Pelwell at the terms of Easter and Michaelmas at 8d. an acre. And for 7s.7.1/8d. farm of 8ac.1r. of demesne land in the furlong of Rysfalbergh at the same terms. And for 22s.2d. farm of 33ac.1r. of demesne land in the furlong of Garcarflate at the same terms. And for 24s. rent for 5ac. of demesne meadow called Hungreholme between the water of Nyde and the park of Bilton and for the Foyleshousclous demised to John Ysakson this year as in the preceding years. And for 18s.7½d. rent for 51ac. of demesne land in Gobetclyf at the terms of Easter and Michaelmas which was accustomed to pay 19s. a year, and no more because 3r. of land, formerly in the tenure of Thomas Danby, which were accustomed to pay 4½d. a year, are in the hand of the lord for lack of tenants; and formerly they were accustomed to pay 20s.6d. a year, but 18d. of this is mitigated. And for 5s.0½d. farm of 10ac.1/3r. of demesne land on Esclyf at the same terms. And for 14s. farm of 8ac. of demesne land in Aldkeldflate at the same terms. And for 11s. farm of 5ac. of demesne land in Keldflate at the same terms. And for 4s.3d. farm of 3ac.3r. of demesne land in Brereflate at the same terms. And for 4s. farm of 1 mess. 4ac. of escheated land in Andrewcroft at the same terms. And for 19s.2.3/8d. farm of 16ac.3½r. of demesne land in Overflate including 6d. farm of Wyverbank at the same terms. And for 33s. rent for 16½ac. of demesne land in the furlong called Welfordflate at the same terms. And for 34s.9d. rent for 17ac.1½r. of demesne land in the furlong of Lambeflate at the same terms. And for 24s.2d. farm of 2 mess.10ac. of [demesne] land, 1½ac. of demesne meadow in the furlong of Welsikflate at the same terms, out of which [sum] the farm of the said meadow is 3s.4d. And for 31s.2½d. farm of 26ac.3r. of demesne land in Arbaldflate at 14d. an acre at the same terms. And for 16s.10d. farm of 17ac. of demesne land in Southowflate at the same terms. And for 13s. farm of 19½ac. of demesne land in Crakhorneflate at the same terms. And for 6s. farm of 6ac. of demesne land in Iveflate at the same terms. And for 15d. farm of 2½ac. of demesne land next to the gate of the park of the Hay at the same terms. And for 32s.4½d. farm of 37ac.3.2/3r. of land in the furlong of Hillflate at the same terms. And for 10s.11d. rent for 16ac.1½r. of land in the furlong of Stubum at the same terms. And for 3s. farm of 5ac. of demesne meadow in Ulmyre at the same terms. And for 47s.7½d. farm of 31ac. of demesne meadow in Makmyre at the same terms. And for 13s.4d. farm of 9ac. of demesne meadow in Brounmyre and Sandwathsike *etc.* at the same terms.

And for 1d. new rent for 1 old ditch with a certain parcel of land of the lord's ground adjoining and opposite a certain mess. lately Robert of Nesfeld's in the fields of Knaresburgh, to be held to him and his heirs according to the custom of the manor in severalty for the purpose of restoring a hatchery [*vivarium*] there and making a fishery [*piscaria*] to be kept there from the said ground of the lord [which was] to be enclosed at their own costs, thus demised to Richard Brennande by the court rolls of Knaresburgh of 1 Hen.IV. And for 3d. new rent of Roger Skynner for 1 parcel of waste at Milnehill containing in breadth [ ] (13) feet and in length [ ] (14) feet, to be held to him and his heirs and assigns according to the custom of the manor by the court rolls of 11 Hen.IV. And for 1d. new rent of John Lacy and Alice his wife for 1 parcel of waste of new assart containing in length 20 feet and in breadth 16 feet, to be held to them, their heirs and assigns according to the custom of the manor by the aforesaid rolls. And for 4d. new rent of William Qwhas for a certain waste next to his house, to be held to him and his heirs according to the custom of the manor by the court rolls of 1 Hen.V. And for 2d. new rent of William Clerk of Knaresburgh for 1 waste in Beaupire next to the water of Nede containing in breadth 34 feet and in length 60 feet, to be held to him and his heirs according to the custom of the manor at the usual terms by the court rolls of 1 Hen.V. And for 3d. new rent of William Waite for 1 waste below the quarry opposite the water of Nyde next to the 'Stonbryg' this year, demised to him by the court rolls of 7 Hen.V at the terms of Easter and Michaelmas.

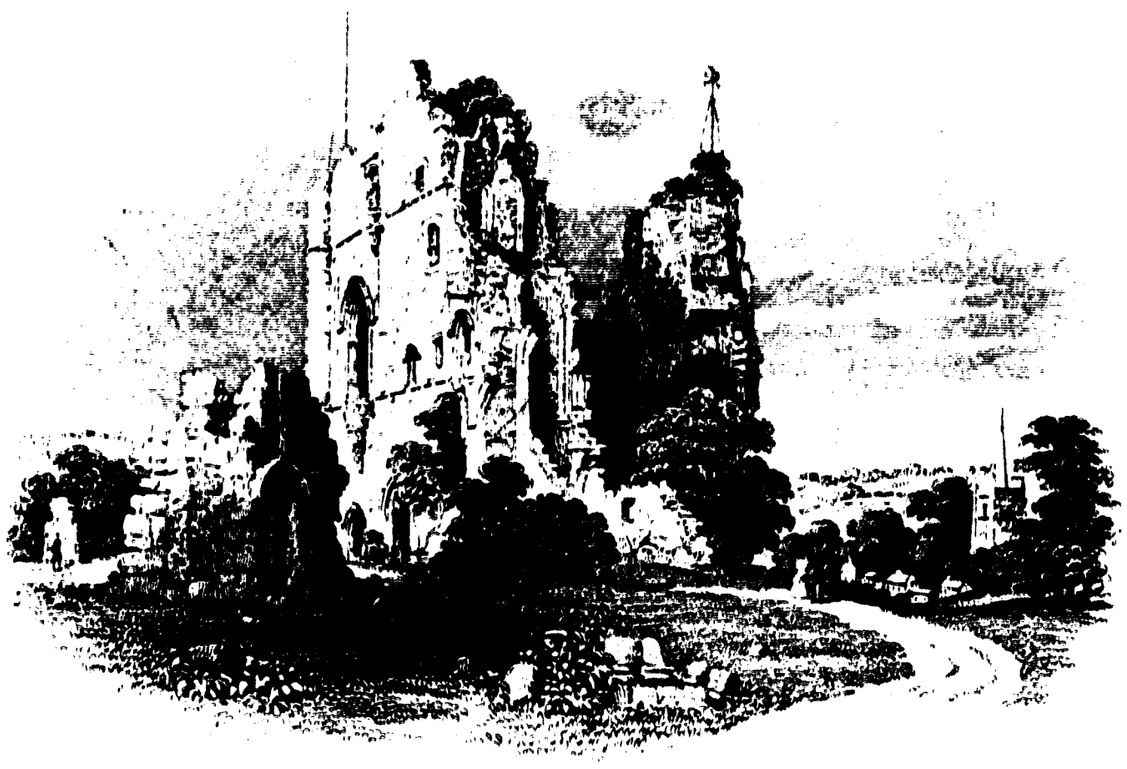
Total £21 11s. 4d.

Rents of free men, cottages and wastes

For 7s.4d farm of 88 burgages of the town of Knaresburgh at 1d. for each burgage [payable] at the term of Michaelmas only, nothing [appears] here because it is demised to John Brynnand and his associates together with the borough court there and the tolls of the markets and fairs of the town of Knaresburgh and the toll called 'Doretoll' (15) within the forest, for £4 0s.20d. And for 12s.8½d. rent of the various tenants for 7 mess. 97ac.1½r. of free land there at the same terms (it is charged in the receiver's account) (16). And for 4s.8¼d. rent for the boon works of the same tenants at the same terms. And for 4s. rent for 1 toft 6ac. of free land there in a certain plot called the Howe at the same terms. And for 19s.3d. rent for 3 tofts 18ac. of escheated land in Knaresburgh at the same terms. And for 8s.6d. rent for 5 escheated mess. there at the same terms. And for 4s.6d. rent for 5 mess. and 1 free plot there at the same terms. And for 1d.

for 1 pair of gloves, free rent for 2ac. of land there at the term of Christmas this year only. For 1lb. of pepper, free rent for 4ac.½r. of land there at the term of Michaelmas only, nothing is paid because it is delivered to the auditors for their fee. And for 13s.6d. rent for 1 toft, 10ac.½r. of villein land in Knaresburgh at the same term. And for 27s.5d. rent for 31 cottages, 1 kiln, 2 forges at the terms of Easter and Michaelmas and no more insofar as 1 cottage which was accustomed to pay 2d. a year is in decay for lack of operators [*conductores*]. And [for] 15d. for 10 hens, yearly rent for 1 cottage. And for 6d. for 120 eggs, yearly rent for 2 cottages. And for 12d. rent for 2 cottages there at the same terms. And for 9d. for 6 hens, yearly rent for the same 2 cottages. And for 15s.2d. rent for 9 cottages 11ac. of land there at the same terms. And for 2s.9½d. for the boon works for the same cottages and lands at the term of Michaelmas only. And for 18s.4½d. yearly rent for 56 plots of waste there at the terms of Easter and Michaelmas. For 1 mess., 11 cottages, 5 plots of waste there, which were accustomed to pay 7s.9½d. a year, nothing [appears] because [they are] in decay for lack of tenants and are vacant as in the preceding account. And for 1d. new rent of Adam Erneys for a certain plot of waste next to his burgage containing in length 8 feet and in breadth 4 feet, to be held for the term of his life at the same terms by the court rolls of the 41st year [of Ed.III]. And for 1d. new rent of John Dobbesson for 1 plot of waste in the town dyke demised to him for a 'lymekylne' to be built thereon as appears by the court rolls of 7 Ric. [II]. And for 2d. new rent of John of Waldeby, mercer, for 1 plot of waste in Knaresburgh demised by the court rolls of 8 Ric. [II] and containing in length 30 feet. And for 2d. new rent of John Thorneburgh for 1 plot of waste demised to him there according to the custom of the manor as in the court rolls of 12 Ric. [II]. And for 4d. new rent of William Wrangle and Agnes his wife for a certain portion of the town dyke at the end of their dwelling house [*mansio*] demised according to the custom of the manor as in the court rolls of 15 Ric. [II]. And for 4d. new rent of John Barcar at the terms of Easter and Michaelmas for licence to make a strong fence on the north side of his house [*domus*] next to the lane which leads from Tenturgate to the fulling mill, so that the lord's wild animals and other beasts may not get out of the park of Bilton through lack of repair of the same fence. And for 3d. new rent of Thomas Smyth for 1 waste (2d.) (17) in the 'Marketstyde' in Knaresburgh containing in length 32 feet and in breadth 20 feet, and for another parcel of waste (1d.) (18) annexed, containing in breadth 20 feet and in length 16 feet thus demised by the court rolls of 2 Hen.IV. And for 4d. new rent of William Wrangle and Agnes his wife for a certain parcel of the town dyke of the borough of Knaresburgh next to his burgage in which he [*sic*] lives on the west, to be held to him and his heirs according to the custom of the manor by the court rolls of 6 Hen.IV. And for 2d. new rent of John Mason for a certain waste below the quarrry next to the 'Stonbryg' of Knaresburgh with licence to mine within the aforesaid quarry for a certain chapel [which was] to be had there, thus demised to him at the terms of Easter and Michaelmas by the court rolls of 9 Hen.IV. And for 2d. new rent of John Urry for 1 waste in Knaresburgh for the enlargement of his forge, demised to him and his heirs according to the custom of the manor at the terms of Easter and Michaelmas by the court rolls of 10 Hen.IV. And for 1d. new rent of Walter Barbour for 1 plot of waste on the bank of the water of Nyde containing in length 43 ells and in breadth from the common way as far as the said water, to be held to him and his heirs and assigns according to the custom of the manor, as appears by the court rolls of the preceding years.

(*pro rata* £14 4s. 4d.) (19) Total £6 16s. 7¾d.



Knaresborough Castle

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12 A.H. Smith 'The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire' Part 5, *English Place-Name Society* 34, 1961
13 Blank in text
14 Blank in text
15 A toll on beasts driven through the forest. See Jennings *Hist. of Harrogate and Knaresborough* p. 90
16 Interlineation
17 Interlineation
18 Interlineation
19 This is probably an auditor's note. There are a number of these in the accounts, but their significance is not clear

THE MEN WHO BUILT THE CANALS AT HUDDERSFIELD

E.A. Hilary Haigh

The Sir John Ramsden Canal from the River Calder to Huddersfield was started in 1774 and the Huddersfield to Ashton Canal in 1794. By the time the Standedge Tunnel was opened in 1811, thirty seven years had been spent in constructing a waterway which crossed the Pennines. There is much published information about these canals, but little as yet about the men who built them.

The Ramsden Canal was promoted by the Trustees of Sir John Ramsden, Bart., at that time the owner of Huddersfield (except for one house) (1). The Huddersfield Narrow Canal, to Ashton under Lyne, was promoted by the Huddersfield Canal Company, a group of local landowners and businessmen who bought shares and invested in a new and fashionable enterprise. Engineers were engaged to design and plan the canals; masons, miners, labourers, carpenters and blacksmiths were hired to build them.

Involved in the design and planning of the Ramsden Canal were Luke Holt, Joseph Atkinson and a Mr. Gilbert. Their expenses in 1773/1774 included £10.4s.8d. for taking levels, making plans and estimating costs and a further £42 for making plans, estimates and attendance in London (2).

Once the Act of Parliament was obtained in 1774 the plans could be translated into reality. The excavation work for the Ramsden Canal was undertaken by Messrs. Crowther and Bradley, who, between 1774 and 1782, were paid £2142.8s.0d. for digging. Some mason work in this same period was undertaken by Messrs. Armitage, Haigh & Co. and cost £2414.0s.11d. Further masons' work by Messrs. Riley, Aspinal & Co. cost £1084.12s.2d. (3).

Teams of craftsmen were hired to construct the nine locks along the canal. The carpenter, Joseph Brooke, received £102.7s.0d. for his workmanship: blacksmiths William Eastwood, Thomas Sinkinson, John Hobson and Joseph Hawkyard received respectively £99.0s.4d., £99.2s.3d., £46.18s.11d. and ten guineas for their work. The hinges for Hillhouse Lock cost £3.8s.0d. Other contractors were employed in the carriage of timber, lime, stone and earth and the supply of lead.

Not all those employed on the canal were necessarily local. A sum of 9s.8d. was spent on placing advertisements in the Leeds newspapers. Unfortunately, the individual wages' records for building the canal are not available, but it is known that there were occasional bonuses. For instance £6.6s. was given to diggers and masons for drink at different times and a further £2.2s. was given to boatmen and labourers for the same purpose. The total bill for wages to workmen, materials, damages and surveyors was £10,080.8s.1d. (5).

Some payments to workmen were for less enjoyable purposes, however. Inevitably the construction of the canal proved to have its dangers and men were injured. The proprietor offered some compensation; Barker, a mason, who was hurt in the quarry received £2.2s. and the same amount was paid to Hepworth, a labourer hurt by a fall of earth (6).

By 1778 the Ramsden Canal was navigable from Cooper Bridge to Aspley. A contemporary map (7) shows the Navigation warehouse at Aspley and also shows Mr. Atkinson's "new wool warehouse". (The latter still stands by the side of the canal alongside Wakefield Road, Huddersfield).

The Huddersfield to Ashton Canal, or the Huddersfield Narrow Canal as it is known, was started after the passing of an Act of Parliament in 1794. More ambitious than the Ramsden Canal, the Huddersfield Narrow involved the crossing of the Pennines and a distance of 19¾ miles. Benjamin Outram was appointed as the Huddersfield Canal Company's consulting engineer. Originally a land surveyor at Alfreton, Derbyshire, he became a civil engineer with the canal era. He was also the consulting engineer on the Peak Forest Canal, but the Huddersfield Narrow is considered to be his most spectacular waterway. For his work on it he was to receive three guineas per day plus £10 for expenses. Each canal company paid him £150 to £175 for six months' attendance. His estimated cost for the Narrow Canal was £183,000 (8).

The site engineer appointed by the Huddersfield Canal Company was Nicholas Brown of Saddleworth. In charge of the day to day work, he was appointed surveyor, book-keeper and superintendent of works on 11th July 1794. His salary together with that of his assistant was £315 per annum. The Company employed labourers, masons, and blacksmiths, but details of their names and accounts are not available. Much of the work was contracted out to local employers. For instance, Jonathan Woodhouse had a tunnelling contract with the Huddersfield Canal Company which gave him a £400 bonus for every month saved but carried a £200 forfeit for every month lost (9).

The tunnelling aspect of the Huddersfield Narrow Canal made it spectacular. The Standedge Tunnel was to be the longest canal tunnel in Great Britain (3 miles 171 yards long) and constructed at the highest level. Its construction was dangerous and the workmen required were hardy. Over fifty men were injured during the seventeen years it took to build and tragically nine men were killed.

> "June 5th 1803: The death of one George Spark, a respectable member of society, who was killed in the tunnel in an instant by the explosion of gunpowder; and one Thomas Whitehead of Puleside, who was killed at the same time. Upwards of 1,000 people attended the interment.
> June 5th 1803: Thomas Whitehead of Puleside who was unfortunately killed in the Tunnel at the same time that George Spark was killed.

Both miners" (10).

Among the other deaths in the Tunnel recorded in the Marsden Parish Registers was Robert Whitehead of Stonefolds, a mason, who was buried on 10th March 1796, and John Hall of Stanhope in Weardale, killed in the Tunnel in 1810.

It is evident that the men who built the Huddersfield Narrow Canal and the Standedge Tunnel were for the most part locally born or from other parts of the north of England. Labourers were paid 16s. to 18s. per week and semi-skilled operatives were paid 31s.6d. to 42s. per week on piece work. Compared with agricultural wages of the time the rates were good.

The dangers of the work were obvious. Accidents were to be expected and were apparently so commonplace as to be not worthy of recording in the Canal Company minutes. The digging was largely done by hand, using pick and shovel, although a good deal of gunpowder blasting was necessary to build the Standedge Tunnel. Where the workmen are mentioned in the company minutes, the style is so impersonal as to appear callous:

> "Resolved that the Surveyor be directed to pay the sum of 1 guinea towards the expense of burying a workman who died on the line of the canal" (11).

The company did, however, pass this resolution:

> "Whereas several of the workmen of this Company have been much hurt and bruised in the Company's works, it is thought that Mr. Rooth should subscribe to the Manchester Infirmary" (12).

The men who had no homes locally were provided with them by the Company. On Pule Hill, for instance, a settlement was built on land bought by the company in 1794:

> "Resolved that Mr. Walker, Mr. Whitacre and Mr. Holroyd be and are hereby authorised to contract . . . for the purchase of land near to Red Brook on which to erect Cottages and other necessary Buildings for Workmen and for Gardens and Homesteads for such Cottages, such Lands not to exceed 20 Acres" (13).

By 1796 it was reported that "two dwellings, a carpenter's shop and a smith's shop are erected near Red Brook pit and one house finished and eight nearly ready for roofing at Gilbert's Intack. These will furnish residence near the respective pits for the miners and other workmen" (14).

The Standedge Tunnel took seventeen years to build instead of the estimated five years. The whole Huddersfield Canal project had been dogged by financial problems but when the Tunnel was opened on 4th April 1811 the occasion was seen as a celebration of a great engineering achievement.

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