Green Edge To Cold Edge

Warley Township: Halifax. A family-focused view of aspects of local history.

Ron Holgate

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Dedication

Green Edge to Cold Edge **is lovingly dedicated to my wife Moyra, whose extensive, detailed and painstakingly accurate research into Holgate ancestry has made this family-focused view of aspects of local history possible.**

Moyra's ability and determination to uncover and unravel, to connect and to match-up and to cross-reference and to cross-examine a mammoth tangle of facts, figures, falsehoods and false leads has never ceased to amaze. Rewardingly and importantly the outcomes of her research have not only provided vital and sometimes surprising information, but also have provided a valuable structure that runs parallel to the course of social, religious, economic, political and industrial history of both the era and the area.

In essence *Green Edge to Cold Edge* is just as much the product of Moyra's research as it is the product of the writer's task in linking the content that constitutes the text.

***'In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the parish (of Halifax) was a community of the middling sort: a relatively large and loosely defined congeries of independent rural artisans and small landowners which shaded up to a few substantial yeomen on one hand and down in to the ranks of the simple clothiers on the other. This community was a relatively prosperous one; its extensive rural textile industry (usually supplemented by pastoral farming) provided many of the parish's inhabitants with a degree of modest independence, an independence they carried over to other aspects of their lives'*.**
(J. Smail, *The Origins of Middle Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire 1660-1780*, p 222)

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Preface

'Where thu's muck thu's brass'. This northern observation of a fundamental truth was uttered from many northern lips in response to a plainly obvious consequence of the factory based industrialization of textiles in the North of England. Industrial grime equated with wealth. More and more new money was being made from more and more 'pollutant making' new businesses.

Arguably, 1780 to 1860 were the key years in the revolution of the textile industry in the North. Less arguable is the location of the key area in which the industrial revolution in the manufacturing of textiles took place - the Pennine hills and river valleys of Yorkshire and Lancashire. In this region, in this era and in the following decades, reputations were made and great wealth created.

Reputations and wealth arose from the grime. Yet in the eighteenth century and in the earlier years of the nineteenth century there was little 'muck' to speak of. The first textile mills were water-powered. Pollution was not a factor. But as the years passed by the situation began to change. Increasingly over time 'muck' became the operative word. Steam-powered, smoke-belching factories saw to that. Creating 'muck' was indeed making 'brass'. However, this came at a cost – a human cost. Often 'brass' was made on the back of pitiful, wretched families who spent their days slaving in dangerous and dreadful factory conditions; families who meanwhile were struggling daily to survive in densely overcrowded, filthy, obnoxious, disease-ridden town slums. This, for masses of textile workers, was the tragic human consequence of 'brass' being made from 'muck'.

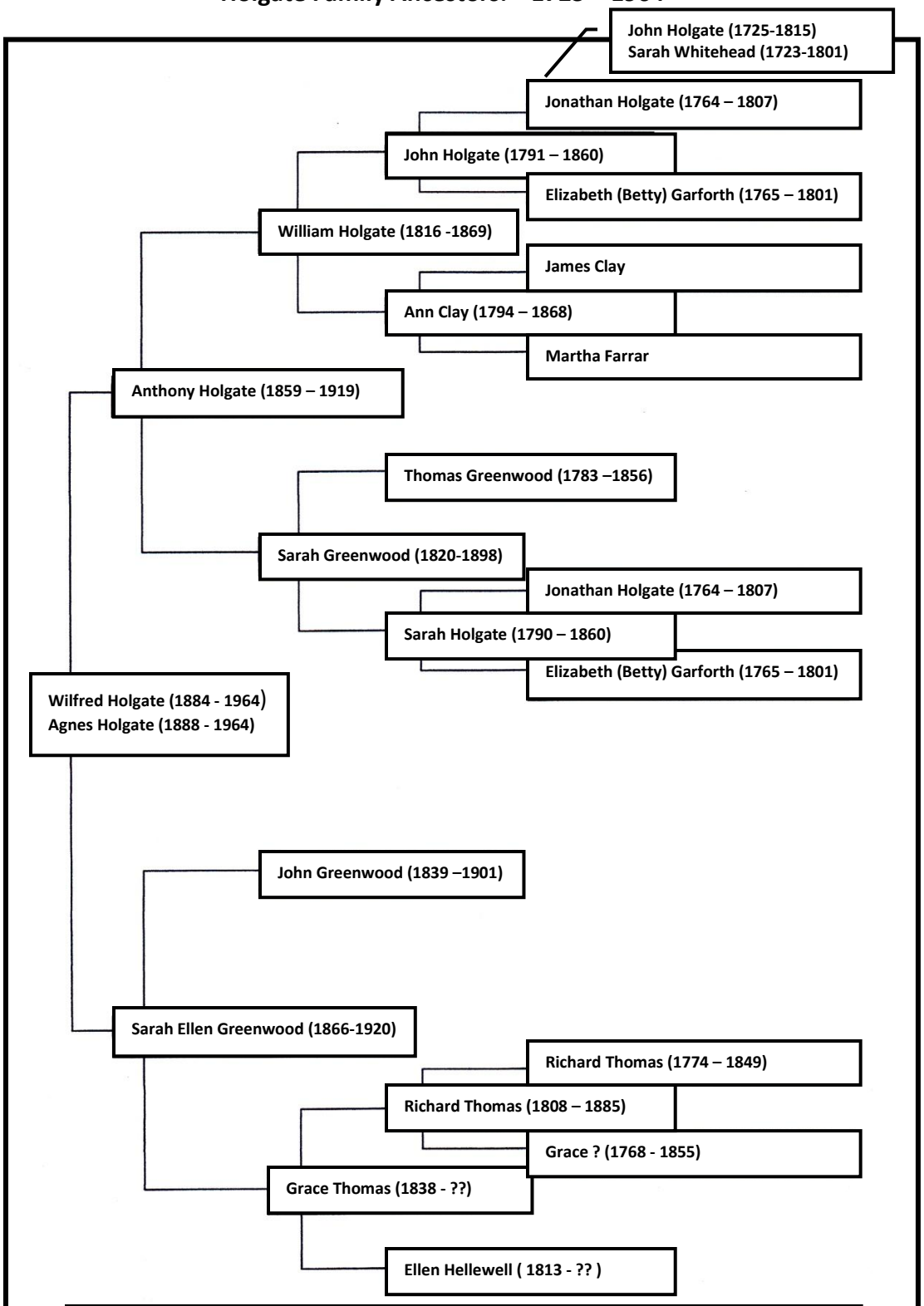
And yet human misery was not entirely synonymous with the age of soot-blackened chimney stacks. Sadly it had already existed in the industrialised years preceding the expansion into steam-powered technology. Human misery had already been a very evident feature in many of the water-powered textile mills. Here too, the creation of wealth had depended on the human 'work-horse'. Here too, many unfortunate families had, by force of circumstance, been subjugated to intense hardship, poverty, cruelty and deprivation. Indeed, from the very beginning of the revolution in industrial practice, it was always going to be a case of 'the haves' and 'the have-nots'. After all, a capitalist society is built upon such eventualities; regrettably exploitation is imbedded within capitalism.

It was always going to be the masses of operatives who made the 'brass'. It was always going to be the owners who spent it. But the really depressing reality concerning the saying, 'Where thu's muck thu's brass' was the sheer excess of human agony, that went alongside it. In truth, the appalling, inhumane consequence of making 'brass' - the suffering and despair of so many trapped and vulnerable people - is a truly shameful stain on the remarkable history of Britain.

It is against this backdrop that much of the following account has been written (page 9 to 115).
It is alongside national and international events that local development took place (page 7).
It is within the geographical context of the upper section of Warley township (Halifax) where most incidents and happenings occurred – particularly in, around and between the two distinctive localities known locally as Green Edge and Cold Edge (page 6).
It is in focusing upon six generations of direct-line ancestors – principally the life of John Holgate (grandfather x4) - that the story of human experience unfolds (page 5).

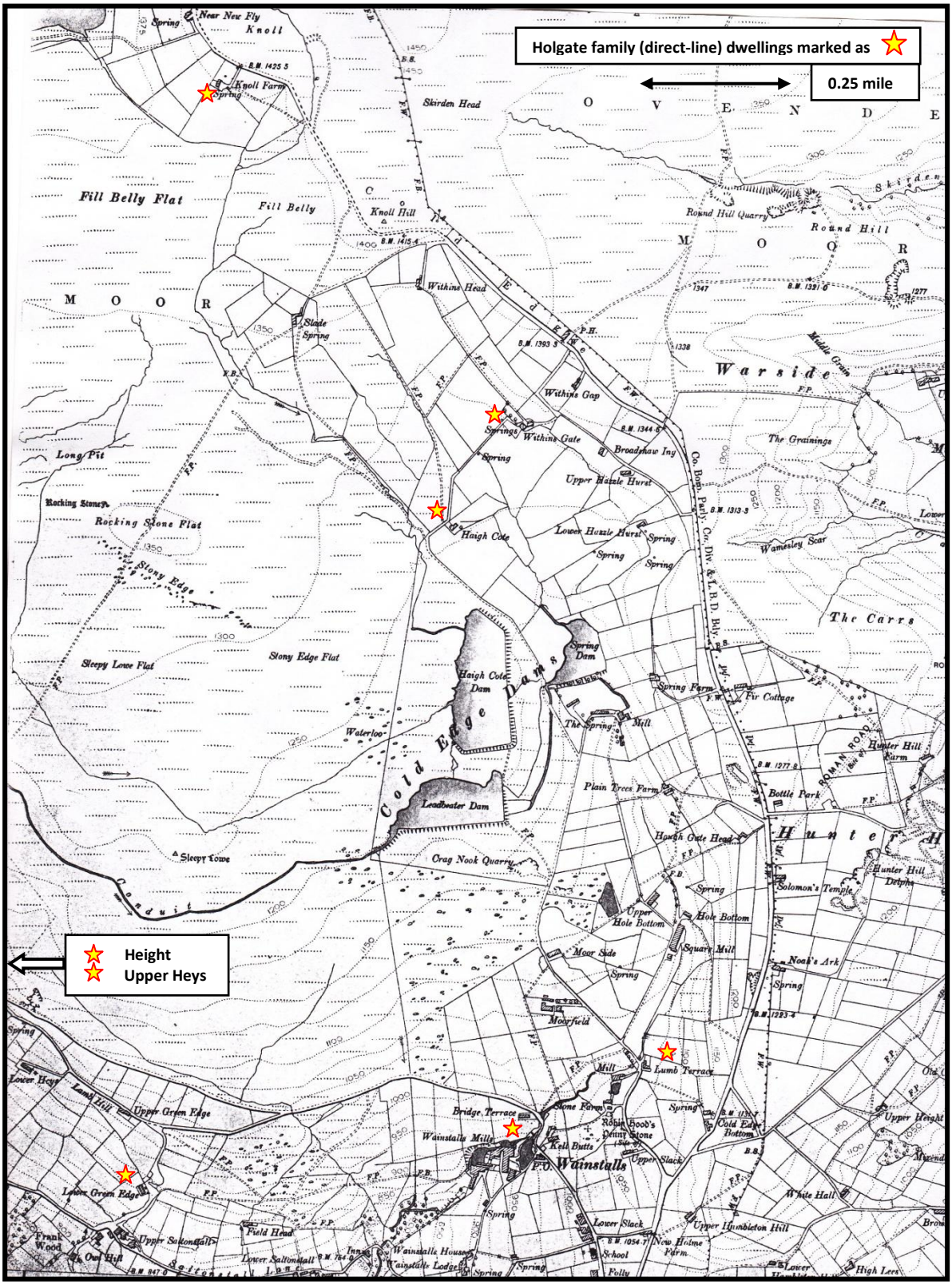
Ron Holgate (November 2012)

Holgate Family Ancestors: 1723 – 1964



A simple overview of the five generations of ancestors that preceded Wilfred and Agnes Holgate (grandparents). All six generations of direct-line ancestors were born, lived and worked within the upper section of Warley township – a time-span in excess of 240 years.

Upper section of Warley Township: Halifax (1892) – Holgate (direct-line) dwellings 1725-1964



National and International Events: 1760 – 1870

The time-line, *National and International Events: 1760–1870*, provides a flavour of events that occurred in the world at large. The list begins in 1760, nine years prior to the invention of the steam-engine and concludes in 1870 at a time when the great steam powered industries were well established and were already bringing environmental changes to planet earth.

Although the list is selective, limited in number and heavily weighted towards Britain it nevertheless covers a range of aspects including discovery, invention, health, education, transport, sport and the arts. Parliament, the monarchy, military conflict, protest and social factors also have their reference points. And it is such reference points that perhaps provide a small insight into the bigger world picture whilst focusing on developments in the Parish of Halifax and on local events and every-day community happenings in the upper section of Warley Township.

1760: George II dies.
1761: George III crowned.
1763: James Hargreaves invents the 'spinning jenny '– greatly accelerates cotton spinning.
1769: James Watt patents the 'steam engine'.
1770: Captain James Cook claims Australia for Britain.
1771: Encyclopaedia Britannica first published.
1775: American War of Independence begins – first battle with British troops at Lexington.
1776: America declares its independence from Britain.
1779: World's first iron bridge completed at Coalbrookdale by Abraham Darby.
Samuel Crompton invents the 'spinning mule' – enables the machine production of fine yarns.
1785: Introduction of the power-loom – heralds the start of the mechanised textile industry.
1787: Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) founded by a Yorkshire sportsman Thomas Lord.
1789: Revolution in France – 'Storming of the Bastille' in Paris.
Mutiny of the ship's crew on HMS Bounty.
1793: France declares war on Britain – William Pitt's Tory government jolted into action.
1796: First ever vaccination – Edward Jenner injects cowpox fluid to prevent smallpox.
1799: Parliamentary Combination Acts – trade unionism made illegal.
Income tax first introduced – to fund Britain's war with France.
1800: Great Britain and Ireland united by the Act of Union.
1802: Anglo-French peace treaty signed.
1803: Britain declares war on France – peace treaty had been constantly violated by Bonaparte.
1801: First ever census undertaken in British Isles – over 9 million people in England and Wales.
Formation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.
The 'Union Jack' unfurled – incorporating the Irish cross of St. Patrick.
1804: Parliamentary concern regarding the use of children as young as four to sweep chimneys.
Trevithick's steam locomotive first to be employed on a permanent track railway.
1805: Battle of Trafalgar – French fleet destroyed. Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson killed in action.
1807: Slave-trading abolished.
1811: 'The Luddites' - textile workers protest against low pay and unemployment (ends in 1816).
1812: Fleet Street, London is the first street in the world to be lit by gas lamps.
1815: Battle of Waterloo – Wellington defeats Napoleon in one of the bloodiest battles ever fought.
Napoleon Bonaparte exiled for life to the island of St. Helena.
1816: Invention of the stethoscope.

1818: First successful blood transfusion – by British obstetrician James Blundell.
Mary Shelly writes the gothic horror story Frankenstein.
1820: George III dies.
1821: George IV crowned.
Michael Faraday invents the electric motor.
1823: Rugby football invented.
1824: Repeal of the Combination Acts – trade unionism once again legal.
The National Gallery opens in London.
1825: World's first commercial passenger steam railway opens – Locomotion N° 1 completes journey from Stockton to Darlington.
1829: Robert Peel sets up first police force – in London.
Britain declares sovereignty over Australia.
1830: George IV dies. William IV crowned.
4000 miles of canals now completed since first Parliamentary Canal Act of 1759.
Parliamentary Beer Act - £2 licence enables anyone to open a beer house. 35,000 new public houses opened by 1833.
1832: Parliamentary Reform Act – now 658 MP's, but only one in five adult males eligible to vote.
Cholera epidemic kills over 20,000 people – until 1817 cholera had been confined to India but had spread to Europe along the trade routes
1833: Slavery abolished throughout the British Empire.
Parliamentary Factory Act – first effective act to regulate child labour in textile mills.
1834: New Poor Law Act – restricts outdoor relief in favour of parish workhouses.
House of Commons destroyed by fire.
1836: Issac Pitman invents shorthand writing.
1837: Victoria crowned Queen of Great Britain and Ireland – aged 18.
1838: First steamships cross the Atlantic – the Great Western and Sirius.
Michael Faraday discovers secret of electricity.
1840: Britain declares sovereignty over New Zealand. Queen Victoria marries Prince Albert.
'Penny Post' established – first adhesive stamp was the 'penny black'.
1841: Census reveals more than 16 million people registered in England and Wales.
1842: Boys and girls under 10 and women prohibited from working in mines.
First operation using ether to anaesthetise the patient.
1845: First iron hull ship to cross the Atlantic – S.S. Great Britain.
Irish potato famine (repeated in 1846).
1846: Repeal of the 'Corn Laws' – heavy import duties removed.
Abandonment of Britain's self-reliance on food –begins to build up industrial power instead.
1847: 10 Hour Factory Act – employment limited to 10 hours per day and 58 hours per week.
The Communist League founded in London by Karl Marx, Friedrick Engels and Stefan Born.
1848: 'The Year of Revolution' - revolution engulfs all of Europe outside of Britain and Russia.
1849: Major cholera epidemic.
1851: The Great Exhibition held in Hyde Park, London – celebrates Britain's industrial achievements.
1854: Second major cholera epidemic – bringing total deaths in Britain to over 100,000.
1855: First rubber condom.
1858: The London 'great stink' – drastically highlights the problems of industrial pollution.
1870: Elementary Education Act – gave birth to the English education system. Schooling was made compulsory (5-12). Mostly part-time. Only free to the poor. Took 10 years to fully implement.
The germ theory of disease finally established by Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch.

Green Edge to Cold Edge

Green Edge and Cold Edge – home to John Holgate (1791-1860) **The maps and plans provided as evidence in a West Riding Assize court case of 1874 identified a particular gritstone farm dwelling in a remote moorland expanse of Warley township, Halifax, as being Withins Gap or Withins.[1] Court proceedings concerned a dispute over a section of land. More specifically it concerned a right-of-way. This right-of-way, no more than a cart track, connected two neighbouring farm properties; Haigh Cote and Withins.**

Previously Haigh Cote and Withins were simultaneously occupied by John Holgate (grandfather x4); between 1817 and the year of his fatal accident in 1860. Indeed it is highly likely that he became the farmer-weaver tenant of at least one of these properties some years earlier, following marriage to Ann Clay the daughter of John Clay a nearby farmer-weaver. Both farmsteads were located in the most northern section of Warley township; an area known as Cold Edge. As a descriptive name, Cold Edge was most certainly well chosen. And it was at Cold Edge where - in this bleak but captivating moorland landscape, 6 miles from the centre of Halifax and over 1300 feet above sea-level - John Holgate worked, played and prayed for nearly fifty years of his 69 year life-span (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Cold Edge – viewed from the south. (2010)

However John's childhood and youth was lived out a mile or so to the south-west in the somewhat less exposed landscape of beautiful Luddenden Dean (Dean being Old English for valley and previously spelt as Dene). It was in the Green Edge area of 'the Dean', at the farm called Lower Green Edge, where John Holgate was born in 1791 (Figure 2).

From the time of John Holgate's birth, through twenty years of growing–up in Green Edge and through his early years of marriage and tenancy at Withins and Haigh Cote in Cold Edge, he would bear witness to four striking and momentous events - events that were enacted on both the world stage and the parochial stage. At the macro level there was a war, a 'golden age' for weavers and a revolution in how things were made. At the micro level there was a devastating family tragedy.

[1] **Overtime the name Withins has been spelt as Withens, Withings or Withins. For the purposes here the spelling Withins has been utilized, in keeping with *the Myers Map of 1834/35 – published midway during the tenure of John Holgate (1791-1860) at the Withins farmstead.***

Figure 2. Lower Green Edge farmstead in Luddenden Dean – viewed from the north. (2008)

War with France **The macro-level war with France ensued in the aftermath of the 1789 French Revolution and the subsequent formation of the First French Republic in 1792. The establishment of a French republican state had not only heightened the already present fears concerning revolutionary factions in Britain but had also increased public anxiety concerning a possible war with France; a fear which became a reality when France eventually did declare war on Britain – in February 1793.**

At this point William Pitt's Tory government was jolted into action. Twenty two years of military conflict followed. Firstly it was with the Revolutionary forces (1793-1802) and then secondly it was with the Napoleonic forces (1803-1815). These wars, combined with an additional two years of conflict in America between 1812 and 1814 created external pressures that had huge impact in Britain. These wars shaped British thinking, influenced government policies, affected trade and distorted the economy. Fortunately during this period of time, in the surrounding area of Green Edge and in the region of Cold Edge, handloom weaving families such as the Holgates were kept busy - very busy. The constant need to supply cloth for the making of British army uniforms ensured that. Therefore it is no coincidence that with the end of the Napoleonic War in 1815 the end came of the so called 'golden age' of handloom weaving.

The 'golden age' for handloom weavers – John Holgate (1725-1815) yeoman clothier **The second momentous event, the 'golden age' for handloom weavers, lasted for thirty five years; beginning c.1780. The 'golden age' overlapped most of the childhood years of John Holgate (grandfather x4), the married years of Jonathan Holgate (grandfather x5) and the latter years of John Holgate yeoman clothier (grandfather x6). Following the birth of John Holgate (grandfather x4) the three generations spent sixteen of these 'golden age' years as one family at the Lower Green Edge farmstead (Figure2). Here, as in previous decades, weaving and farming provided the household livelihood; a domestic dual-economy way of living that was centered both around and within the home and involved all those who lived there.**

From generation to generation the family income from weaving was based on the production of cloth pieces known as kerseys - a coarse fabric produced in widths of 1 yard and lengths of 17 to 18 yards

(B. Jennings, *Pennine Valley*, Otley 1992 p.82). Coarse this fabric may have been - but this did not hinder salability. Because it was cheap and kept out wet and cold, kersey cloth was consistently in public and military demand; the Parish of Halifax having the distinction of being the largest producer of kerseys in Britain. Indeed this region had been the market leader in the production of kersey cloth for three centuries or so; historically a typical farmer-weaver dual-economy household could have 'a piece' woven and ready for sale within the time constraint of attending the weekly cloth market.

The most senior member of the three generations residing at Lower Green Edge was John Holgate (1725-1815). Just like his father Jonathan (1689-1765), John Holgate was one of the middling sort (see bottom of page 1) - a farmer and a weaver of kersey cloth made for sale at the Halifax market. Just like his father he would be referred to as a clothier; very likely his father was known as a yeoman clothier. John Holgate certainly was.[1] And so were many of his contemporaries.

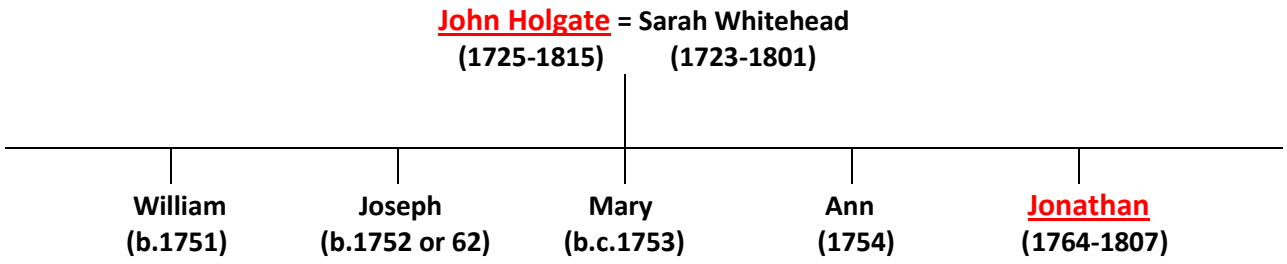


Figure 3: Known family of John and Sarah Holgate (grandparents x6)

Indeed there were many yeoman clothier families populating the upper Calder Valley; each with small farmsteads, all busily making their living within the domesticity of a dual-economy household - and all enjoying, to varying degrees, a level of independence. Over the years this independence had enabled a number of these yeoman clothiers to depart from their own domestic setting to pursue a textile business on a much larger scale. In so doing they were no longer directly involved in the making of cloth pieces. Now they were managers of workers, finance and processes and were being referred to in the world of commerce as manufacturers. Some became extremely wealthy. Meanwhile, most yeoman clothiers, such as John Holgate, continued as traditional clothiers - retaining their textile enterprise within the confines of their home environment. These yeoman clothiers were still anchored to the domestic system and thereby still rooted to the lower rungs of the commercial ladder. Their status as yeomen was very limited. In no way did it reflect the status accorded to the manufacturer, nor indeed the status accorded to the yeoman in the world at large.

Throughout most of the kingdom being a yeoman carried considerable status; many were land owning farmers. In the Parish of Halifax most were farmer-weavers. For centuries being a yeoman ranked a person just below the level of gentleman, implying that they had both money and influence. Furthermore it tended to make them distinct from their occupational counterparts - creating barriers and promoting a social and cultural divide within the community. By the time of John Holgate's birth

1. **'____ the last will and testament of John Holgate late of the same place Yeoman , Deceased ____'. Wording from the will of John Holgate – dated 10 June 1815. (Borthwick Institute, University of York).**

in 1725 the impact of yeoman status within a class-based society had been a characteristic of life in England for many past generations. But uniquely this had not been so in Halifax.

In this part of the world the yeoman clothier would have been both culturally and socially in a contented and comfortable state of easy relationship with all those he met , worked with and associated with – no matter the trade or occupation. Seemingly in Halifax social status below that of the gentry was undefined. Seemingly social roles were not exclusive. Seemingly social gatherings were unselective. As a result – unlike in the rest of the country where rights were unequal – in Halifax the principle of egalitarianism prevailed. Furthermore it seems that the broad picture of Halifax society was typified by a strong and unifying sense of social and cultural equality – which in the first instance had shaped and in the second instance continually reinforced the attitudes, behavior and engagement of the vast majority of its population. And seemingly this had been the status quo since way back in the distant past. However, this largely undifferentiated society was not to last. Inevitably egalitarian principles and the easy communal spirit of social relationships gave way to a social order where social status and social rules were clearly demarcated; akin to a social order found outside of Halifax.

In his book *The Origins of Middle Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire 1660-1780* John Smail examines how, why and when this change to Halifax society occurred. Smail states: 'Between the late seventeenth and mid eighteenth century the economic backbone of the parish's society was transformed. A rural textile industry dominated by the production of independent clothiers who sold their goods to a local market became an industry that was increasingly dominated by the concerns of large-scale merchants and manufacturers'. A manufacturer organised and managed a supply chain of domestic weaver families who produced cloth pieces for him to sell in bulk at the weekly cloth hall or cloth market. His concerns with managing people, finances and processes were far removed from the concerns of the independent yeoman clothier who wove then sold his cloth as a single unit on his own account. It is therefore unsurprising that by 1750 – following eighty or so years of increasing economic activity by manufacturers – the concerns of independent yeoman clothiers such as John Holgate would now be regarded as fairly insignificant by the wealth creating manufacturer. The principle of egalitarianism that had been embedded within the Halifax textile community and its way of life had all but withered away.

But where did this leave Halifax's endemic social and cultural equality? Did John Holgate yeoman clothier, just like his ancestors, still experience an easy communality in all his encounters? Apparently not, for after 1750 'The economic change was accompanied by a cultural transformation that brought into being entrepreneurial attitudes and new social relations'. The broad undifferentiated social base of the past was being eradicated. Differentiation had arrived. A new social class was evolving – the middle class. 'Both aspects of these changes in the textile industry were crucial to the emergence of a middle class culture in Halifax. The wealth that economic development brought created a group of people who were capable of making a middle class culture; the attitudinal changes associated with that economic development created the basis for that culture'. (J. Smail, *The Origins of Middle Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire 1660-1780*, p 80).

From 1750 onwards the society in which yeoman John Holgate lived was being reshaped by a developing middle class culture; a society his forbears would not have recognized. In this era the yeoman clothier would not become wealthy. Neither would he have status. Neither would he have

much influence. Neither would he be part of a somewhat gentrified middle class culture. And yet he would be well aware of and come across those manufacturers who now formed the middle class. John Holgate for example would see this middle class culture in his near neighbour John Murgatroyd.

Occupying the adjacent farm at Upper Green Edge, John Murgatroyd scaled up from being a yeoman clothier to being a textile manufacturer; renting one of the 315 lockable and fire-proof manufacturers rooms at the magnificent Halifax Piece Hall (Figure 4). Now acknowledged as being one of Britain's outstanding Georgian buildings, the Piece Hall first opened its huge and imposing doors to trade on 2 January 1779. From his room, number 28A, Murgatroyd could sell the cloth pieces hand-woven on the looms of a cohort of local domestic weavers – cloth pieces transported by horse or mule along the pack horse trail into Halifax. In later years, Murgatroyd's son John erected the first Oats Royd Mill (1847) near the village of Luddenden, whereupon further stages of expansion followed - resulting in a great beast of a gritstone complex that stood exposed on the high slopes of Luddenden Dean. However, for the Holgate's at Lower Green Edge their success was much more modest.

In the years prior to the opening of the Halifax Piece Hall John Holgate would have journeyed the four miles or so to the cloth market situated to the north of Halifax town centre (Hall End). The sale of his 'piece' would return sufficient profit to enable the purchase of a quantity of new wool together with income for the family. From 1779 his journey would take several minutes longer – to the 'manufacturers hall', an edifice that symbolized the status of the manufacturing elite; a venue the opening of which coincided with the start of the 'golden age' for hand-loom weavers.

For John Holgate there would not be the prestige of a manufacture's room. For John Holgate it would have been the enclosed courtyard directly below the galleried landings. From here in the courtyard he could glance eastward towards 28 Arcade, the room rented by his neighbour John Murgatroyd. From inside the courtyard John would perhaps gaze up and around, in some awe and admiration at this unique and impressive gritstone structure - where each of the three galleried landings had its own individual visual identity and formal name: 'The Rustic', 'The Arcade' and 'The Collonade'. Over three hundred manufacturer's rooms available to rent, each facing onto a vast open space, where small scale clothiers such as John Holgate could take up their pitch.

Figure 4. The Halifax Piece Hall – one of Britain's finest Georgian buildings, in which John Holgate, yeoman, would have sold his cloth piece. (2006)

On any Saturday, sometime between 8.00 a.m. and 9.45 a.m. John would have had the opportunity to enter into the courtyard confines of the Piece Hall, set out his wares, pay a one penny fee for his cloth piece and await the 10 o'clock chime of the bell over the western gate. 10 o'clock – the bell chimed - trading began. 12 o'clock – the bell having continually chimed for a full five minutes - trading ended. From then until 4 o'clock buyers collected their cloth pieces. For John and perhaps in later years for his son Jonathan, there was some time left to socialize with fellow weavers in one of many town hostelries before heading homeward towards Lower Green Edge. Manufacturers – part of the commercial elite, part of the influential middle class - may have chosen to socialize elsewhere.

Meanwhile, either by cart or by packhorse, buyers and merchants would have their purchases transported nationwide or to the continent of Europe, for Halifax was indeed a pre-eminent textile hub. Textile merchants from Europe, in addition to those from Britain, were eager to trade in the town. In its time Halifax was a textile Mecca. In its time Halifax was a centre of excellence and John Holgate, with his son Jonathan, was a part of it! A small part maybe – but nevertheless, still a part of it and a contributor to an extraordinary period of history defined as the 'golden years' of hand-loom weaving.

The eventual end to this 'golden age' – which coincidently had begun so grandly with the opening of the Piece Hall - coincided with the historic defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1815; resulting in a much reduced need for military uniforms and therefore Halifax kerseys. And not only for British troops, for it was also reckoned that many soldiers in Napolean's disbanded army had also been clothed in uniforms made from Halifax kersey cloth. Unsurprisingly this curtailment in hostilities, when coupled with a reduced public demand for coarser fabrics, resulted in a fall-off in the market for kerseys. The 'golden age' for domestic handloom weavers was well and truly over. Decline followed. And once again there was a revolution. But this time it was on British soil.

This revolution was the second stage of a revolutionary event that had already been underway for several decades - led by both the upsurge in manufacturing practices and the invention of significant machinery and devices that speeded up the production processes of textiles. However this second stage of the revolutionary event expanded industry as never before and at a rate never before experienced in the history of the world. It first gripped, then squeezed, then crushed, then eventually strangled the domestic textile industry.

The Industrial Revolution **In the North it was a revolution that was first concentrated in the textile manufacturing heartlands. It was a revolution brought about by the introduction of an array of powered technology, firstly powered by water and then by coal. It was a revolution that maximized industrial output. It was a revolution that re-orientated society. It shifted a domestic rural trade to urban factory mass production. It shifted the population away from the countryside into the towns. It encouraged both national migration and Irish immigration. It systematically destroyed the familiar way of life experienced by most working families; a way of life that had barely altered throughout the centuries. In short it was a revolution that altered how people worked, played and lived – forever. It was a revolution that massively shaped world history. This was the age of the second stage of the Industrial Revolution.**

By the time John Holgate (grandfather x4) was born in 1791 the Industrial Revolution was well underway. Although there was no grand plan and no master strategy, the future course for textiles was well and truly set. Progress was now unstoppable with the relentless move through the gears of industrial change accelerating markedly throughout the period of John's 68 year life-span. If any economic event was of macro proportions then the Industrial Revolution was it. Nevertheless, macro or not, it would be events within the micro world of home and family that would create the biggest emotional and life changing impact upon the young John Holgate.

Lower Green Edge – family tragedy **Born on 19 June 1791 to Jonathan (1764-1807) and Elizabeth Holgate (1765-1801), John Holgate's 'golden age' arrival into the family home would no doubt have been gladly welcomed. As first male, he not unsurprisingly was given the name of his yeoman grandfather John, who still resided there. His place of birth, Lower Green Edge, was one of several established farms that were scattered intermittently across the hillside slopes of upper Luddenden Dean (Figure 5). It was a farm of approximately 10 acres and was situated north of and just above the small population cluster of Upper Saltonstall. In the Land Tax Survey of 1805 the farm was listed as having a house, a barn, a garden and a fold together with five fields, namely, Ing, Far Slowing Field, Rushy Field, Wood Field and Saltonstall Field. It was located in an area of great visual pleasure.**

Figure 5. Lower Green Edge - the home to three generations of the Holgate family in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. (2011)

The beautiful rural landscape of Luddenden Dean was primarily cattle country made up of a patchwork of small livestock farms where, by necessity, income was supplemented through engagement in textiles – woolcombing or weaving in particular. For John Holgate growing up in such circumstances meant an early introduction to the dual-economy livelihood, with engagement both in the practice of farming and the weaving of cloth pieces. This was a family concern based on a traditional way-of-life and traditional values. This was a family concern in every sense of the word. Family was at the heart of everything that took place. And what the family did together ensured the individual family member's personal sense of relative security and well-being. But unfortunately this was not to last. Firstly, following the death of John's mother in 1801 (36) and then secondly, following the death of his father in 1807 (43), family life as John had known it was curtailed (Figure 6).

Family of Jonathan and Elizabeth Holgate	Date of Birth	Date of Death
Jonathan Holgate - father	1764	18 March 1807
Elizabeth Holgate - mother	1765	24 Nov 1801
Sally Holgate	c.1785	unknown
Ann Holgate *	24 July 1788	unknown
Sarah Holgate	1790	23 Nov 1860
John Holgate	19 June 1791	23 Oct 1860
Ann Holgate	1792	unknown
Mary Holgate	1794	18 July 1801
William Holgate	5 Jan 1797	1854
Jonathan Holgate	1797	1878

* Ann Holgate presumably died as a baby or as an infant, since four years after her birth in 1788 a second child was given the name of Ann. For how long the second Ann survived is unknown.

Figure 6. The family of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Betty) Holgate – dates of birth and death. Only four of their eight children are known to have survived to adulthood.

John Holgate, having lost his mother at the age of ten and now having lost his father, was orphaned at the age of fifteen. Orphaned too, were his younger brothers Jonathan (9) and William (10). John's sister Ann may also have become an orphan – but since Ann's own date of death remains unresolved, her presence at this time is unknown. However, if a positive view is taken that Ann was indeed still alive, then she would have been fourteen at the time her father Jonathan passed away.

Sadly for the children not only had they tragically lost both parents but it seems likely that three or possibly four other brothers and sisters had already died at Lower Green Edge. Death at birth was common. Surviving the first year of infancy was less than one in twenty. Surviving the rest of childhood was not much better. Illnesses and diseases such as measles, smallpox, whooping cough and consumption would see to that. Unsurprisingly then, that of the eight children born to Jonathan and Elizabeth (Betty) Holgate, the only ones known to have lived into adulthood were John, Jonathan, William and Sarah – four in total. Ann's survival is merely a wishful assumption.

Family bereavement in the Holgate household had unfortunately been an all too common occurrence. 1801 had been a particularly catastrophic year, with the death of three female family members. Firstly there was the death of John's seven year old sister Mary (18 July). Then in rapid succession came the death of his seventy eight year old grandmother Sarah Holgate (17 November) and finally the death of his mother Elizabeth; seven days later on 24 November, aged thirty six. One home. One year. Three generations. Three deaths. On three occasions sinister shadows had encroached. And on three occasions three pools of sickening blackness had engulfed the Holgate household. The resulting trauma could have been nothing other than an emotional life-shattering experience; deep, intense and long lasting – the family grief unimaginable.

Following the first death, the death of seven year old Mary, a new burial plot was opened in the churchyard of Luddenden St. Mary's Church. Only four months later and in the same plot, the body of

Mary's mother was also laid to rest. Six years on the grave plot was again re-opened. This time it was for the burial of Mary's father - whereupon the headstone was carved with its final inscription.

Here lies the Body of Mary Daughter of Jonathan Holgate who Departed this Life July 18th 1801 Aged 7 years 22 Weeks ALSO Betty the Wife of Jona than Holgate who Departed this Life November 24th 1801 Aged 37 years ALSO Jonathan Holgate her Hus band who died March 18th 1807 Aged 42 years	

Figure 7. Inscription and photograph of the headstone for Jonathan, Elizabeth and Mary Holgate.

For John Holgate, his brothers and his sisters, the witnessing of their fathers burial in the same grave plot as their mother and their sister Mary would have stirred memories of family life as it had been. While the evocative sounds of Luddenden Brook busily bubbled in the background as it coursed its way past St. Mary's, the emotions of the mourners gathered at the graveside would have been deeply felt and confused. Overwhelming grief and sadness would have been intertwined with fear and anxiety about the future – none more so than in the heart and mind of each of the bereaved children.

Figure 8. Luddenden St. Mary's Church – location of several Holgate baptisms and burials. (2011)

For the now orphaned John, Jonathan, William and Ann this early-springtime funeral would have been an agonizing human experience. Tragically for the family, the fragility of human existence had been

for ever present in their home. By 1807 and the death of their father, life had already provided harsh lessons for the surviving Holgate children. Harsh lessons learnt within the micro-world of home and family, but nevertheless more dramatic, more momentous, more personal and more heartfelt than any macro-level 'golden age', macro-level war or macro-level Industrial Revolution.

Fortunately for the bereaved children there was practical and emotional family support at hand. Their elder sister Sarah (17) - now married to Thomas Greenwood (21) and living at the neighbouring farm Upper Heys (Figure 9) - could provide valuable care and support for two of the children; namely John and Jonathan. Most likely this would be a continuation of the family support she had already provided since the death of their mother some six years earlier. Seemingly, Sarah was an ideal sister to have in such tragic circumstances. Indeed her special qualities were clearly outlined in Whitely Turner's book *A Springtime Saunter* (p.15. Halifax, 1913). Within the text it stated, 'Tommy's wife Sarah (Sally he called her), little as her husband was big, lived the Christian life she professed. Gossiping she abhorred, and she discountenanced backbiting. Her sympathy and help could always be relied on by neighbours. Above all she was extremely mild tempered, which disposition sometimes was like oil on troubled waters ….'. Quite a glowing testimony for Sarah - reflecting well on a good, a kind and a decent woman.

Figure 9. Upper Heys Farm - the location where John Holgate and Jonathan Holgate served their time as orphan pauper apprentices. (2011)

Sarah, being not much older than her brother John, had married Thomas Greenwood, seven years her senior in 1805. But this was not the first inter-marriage between these two families. And it was not to be the last.

<u>Holgates and Greenwoods</u> **In attendance at the wedding celebration of Sarah Holgate and Thomas Greenwood would have been Charles Greenwood (born 1747) and Mary Greenwood (nee Holgate - born 1751). Theirs was the first known inter-marriage between the Holgate and the Greenwood families. Mary was a Holgate by birth and had married Charles on 9 June 1772. This union ensured that even before the marriage of Sarah and Thomas they already shared Charles and Mary Greenwood as their respective uncle and aunt. So now that another Holgate was marrying a Greenwood it would come as little surprise, considering the limited number of eligible males and females within the confines of upper Luddenden Dean.**

When Mary Holgate had married Charles Greenwood in 1772 she was living with her father John Holgate, yeoman, her mother Sarah and her siblings William, Jonathan, Joseph and Ann at the Height farm – which as the name implies was a dwelling on the high reaches of Saltonstall Moor. But whether this was at Upper Height or Lower Height is unknown. Both farms were close to each other at the very edge of the moorland margin (Figure 10). Also close by was the farm at Heys occupied by the Greenwoods (Figure 9). Two families, the Holgate's and the Greenwoods co-existed on each other's doorstep - two families whose similar life and work experiences would foster strong association, collaboration and socialization. Consequently it is easy to understand how playing together as children could develop into youthful attraction, courtship and eventual adult partnership.

Figure 10. Upper Height (left) and Lower Height (right) – viewed from the south-west on the farmland at Upper Heys. (2011)

It was a similar situation in later years when Mary Greenwood's birth brother, Jonathan Holgate, was tenant at Lower Green Edge. Nearby was Upper Heys - occupied by the Greenwoods. As before, association, collaboration and socialization would be the norm. But this time it would be even more so, since these activities now took place between two units of an extended family. In effect, Mary Holgate's marriage to Charles Greenwood would have transferred the two families from being on each other's doorstep to being within each other's kitchen – in the kitchen, right by the fireside.

Consequently any further union between a Holgate and a Greenwood would not be unexpected. Sarah Holgate's betrothal to Thomas Greenwood would therefore not be seen as out of the ordinary. However what does seem out of the ordinary was that when the marriage took place at St John's Parish Church in Halifax on 26 February 1805, Sarah was only fifteen.

Thomas was twenty two and well into adulthood. Sarah was only a couple of years past puberty. Was she pregnant? No birth was recorded to make this so and the suggestion of a miscarriage would only be conjecture. If therefore Sarah wasn't pregnant, why did her father Jonathan give permission for her to marry? After all, not only was she fifteen, but perhaps even more importantly, as the significant female in the home, after her mother's death, she would have been the glue that held Holgate domesticity together. But what must be remembered of course is that the Greenwoods were also part

of the extended family; an important and relevant factor. Therefore between the two families all would be considered, domestic arrangements made and continuity agreements reached - leaving both the Holgates and the Greenwoods to mutually and happily bless the union of Thomas and Sarah.

Ever since 1801 Sarah had been the focal domestic figure in the Holgate household at Lower Green Edge. But following marriage and her subsequent move to Upper Heys, Sarah was no longer the resident central domestic figure. Instead Sarah's father Jonathan and her fourteen year old brother John were left as the resident providers, carers and homekeepers. Consequently Sarah's continued support, involvement and domestic input remained vital.

With having been the central female figure for three years no doubt Sarah had developed a strong sense of family loyalty and keen sense of duty. Indeed Sarah, herself, would have probably insisted that a condition of her marriage would have been for her to continue attending to family needs. Seemingly it would have been well in keeping with Sarah's compassionate character for her to have willingly wished to retain her significant role at Lower Green Edge. After all from the very young age of twelve, following the death of her mother and her grandmother in the space of one week, she had been the 'mother substitute'. From the time of that tragic week in mid November 1801, Sarah's younger siblings, her father and grandfather would have been hugely dependent on her taking over the role of the central female figure and mother to the children. And her contribution can be neither underestimated - nor understated - nor undervalued.

The female roll regarding domestic duties and child care, together with aspects of farm work and the home textile trade were immense. Sarah's role was key. It cemented together all the disparate elements. Yes, marriage to Thomas and relocation of her base to Upper Heys would alter established routines, but the 'mother substitute' roll would have remained largely intact. And so it would remain until the spring of 1807 and the death of her father Jonathan Holgate (18 March).

Following Jonathan's untimely death the known remaining members at Lower Green Edge were grandfather John Holgate yeoman and the children, John (15), William (10), Jonathan (9) and, if presumed alive at the time, Ann (14).

<u>Lower Green Edge 1807 - changes to the family structure</u> **At this point the Holgate family divided. Whilst the two grieving orphaned older boys joined their sister Sarah and her husband Thomas Greenwood at nearby Upper Heys, grandfather John remained at the family home with his two other sorrowful orphaned grandchildren, William and Ann.**

Up till now John Holgate yeoman, had been the named tenant at Lower Green Edge. But sometime between 1807 and 1814 the tenancy passed over to William Wilkinson the husband of John's daughter Ann (born 1754) who had married William Wilkinson at St John's Parish Church on 29 December 1775 when the Holgate family home at the time was at Height (Figure 10). Coincidently, when the Holgate family was resident at Height, Lower Green Edge was being occupied by Jonathan Wilkinson and family - one of whom was most likely William Wilkinson, Ann Holgate's future husband.

William and Ann Wilkinson (nee Holgate) had at least three children – Samuel (born 1790), Ann (born 1792) and Jonathan (born 1796), the last named being registered as born in Lower Saltonstall. Since Lower Saltonstall was in very close proximity to the Holgate farm at Lower Green Edge, the two sets of cousins – Jonathan and Elizabeth Holgate's children and the children of William and Ann Wilkinson – would have known each other well.

It is therefore reasonable to conclude that both the Holgate and the Wilkinson families joined together as one household in 1807. William Wilkinson would then have been able to take-up the reins of his deceased brother-in-law Jonathan to become the significant male provider in the dual-economy household at Lower Green Edge. Grandfather John Holgate's daughter Ann Wilkinson would, in turn, have taken-up the role of significant female provider and carer. The Wilkinson's move to Lower Green Edge would therefore have been a very practical response to the Holgate's difficult circumstances. Both families would have benefited - with Ann becoming the new 'mother substitute' for the two orphaned children William and Ann, besides tending to her father's needs. Certainly her father John's will of 1815 seemingly gives credence to such a notion.

At the time of his death on 4 May 1815 John Holgate was no longer at Lower Green Edge. He was now residing in Southowram, 6 miles east of his family home in Luddenden Dean. He was 89 years of age and was being cared for in the house of his son William (born 1751). William, who had married Susannah (nee Akroyd) on 27 December 1768, was a handloom weaver and tenant farmer of 20 acres at Backhall.[1] Another dual-economy household. It was William who acted as executor for John's will, which when written in 1814 (2 April), probably indicates John's recent arrival in Southowram. The date also coincides with the date that William Wilkinson is first recorded as named tenant at Lower Green Edge (following the departure of John Holgate).

Two particular points of note in John Holgate's will concern his daughter Ann (Wilkinson) and the orphaned children of his son Jonathan. Firstly, in the bequest of the considerable sum of £70 to his daughter Ann he no doubt reflects his gratitude for her personal care and her role as 'substitute mother', following Jonathan's death in 1807. Secondly, in the bequest of the substantial sum of £30 to each of his orphaned grandchildren, only three were named as beneficiaries – John, Jonathan and William. All three were male. No female. No Sarah. No Ann. Granddaughter Sarah was certainly married and also, if still alive, probably granddaughter Ann. Did marriage into another family have a bearing upon the exclusion of the two granddaughters, Sarah and Ann, from the list of benefactors? Was this a convention of the time? Probably.

Although John lived out the last year of his life in Southowram, his previous span of years had been spent in the rural embrace of beautiful Luddenden Dean. And it was to Luddenden Dean that the deceased John Holgate, yeoman of Warley, returned, being interred on 7 May 1815 at St. Mary's Church Luddenden (Figure 10). On this day he was re-united with his late wife Sarah (1723-1801) and his deceased father Jonathan (1690-1765).

[1.] **Backhall was located on the western edge of Southowram township on the lower slopes above the Hebble Brook and facing the township of Skircoat.**

Although the headstone for Jonathan, John and Sarah no longer remains, the monumental inscription carved into the stone was as follows:

Here lies the Body of Jonathan Holgate
Of Warley who died 22nd day of February 1765
In the 76th year of his Age

Also Sarah the wife of John Holgate
Who died November 17th 1801
Aged 78 years

Also was interred the Remains of the above
Said John Holgate who departed this life
On the 4th day of May 1815
In the 90th year of his age

Figure 11. Luddenden St. Mary's Church. The burial ground was the final resting place for several generations of the Holgate family. (2011)

Unknown to the family mourners and unconsidered by John Holgate's grandchildren, not only were they witnessing the end of a family era, but they were also witnessing the end of the handloom weavers 'golden age' and the accelerating demise of the domestic textile industry.

<u>Orphan pauper apprentices</u> **Eight years previously, following the death of their father Jonathan (1807), the now orphaned children, John and Jonathan, would have made their emotional farewell to their sister Ann and their brother William. Leaving Ann and William behind in the family home at Lower Green Edge the two boys transferred their home base to neighbouring Upper Heys. Here at their new home they could readily be accommodated by their elder sister Sarah and her husband Thomas Greenwood. Having not yet started a family of their own the needs of these two vulnerable boys could no doubt be met. Presumably their presence would also benefit the Greenwoods, since the two boys could take on a share of the farm and textile workload, releasing Thomas to devote more time to the weaving of cloth pieces. In making a living through the domestic dual-economy of farming and weaving it was therefore a viable proposition for Thomas to take on two apprentices, particularly if, as would be expected the townships' Overseers of the Poor provided financial assistance.**

Financial assistance in the form of Poor Relief was available for the brothers through the annual rates levied on township households. Township overseers were duty bound to assist John and Jonathan - and all others who were identified as poverty stricken. Overseers and the churchwarden decided who was in need, what to give, how much to give and for how long to give. The breadth of the overseers remit was wide and embraced poverty in all its forms. They were local male residents, elected annually to serve the community. Often they were quite ordinary people pursuing quite ordinary lives. Yet no matter how busy they were in making their own living, the exercise of their duty was compulsory and their spending of money was accounted for. Furthermore they were untrained and unpaid.[1] Therefore unsurprisingly, some people's tenure as an overseer would be tarnished with a level of personal resentment. Others would be more positive and more genuinely charitable in word, action and deed. Hopefully for John and Jonathan it was the latter.

1807: Extracts from the Indenture of Pauper Apprentices in Luddenden Parish								
Date	*Name*	*Age*	*Parents*	*Residence*	*Name of Person*	*His Trade*	*No. of Years Apprentice*	*Overseers*
May 9th 1807	John Holgate	10 yrs	Father and Mother Dead	Warley	Thomas Greenwood Farmer	Ingon man	11 years	James Riley – Churchwarden. John Smith and Robert Sutcliffe - Overseers
May 9th 1807	Jonathan Holgate	7 yrs	Father and Mother Dead	Warley	Thomas Greenwood Farmer	Ingon man	14 years	James Riley – Churchwarden. John Smith and Robert Sutcliffe – Overseers

Figure 12. John and Jonathan Holgate. Extracts from the information contained in the Indenture for Pauper Apprentices in Luddenden Parish – 1807. West Yorkshire Archives – Halifax Central Library

So it was through arrangements made with the overseers and the churchwarden that John and Jonathan thereby became apprentices - township pauper apprentices, legally bound by contract to Thomas Greenwood, their master, until the age of twenty one years (Figure 12). Twenty one was in-line with the usual age of apprenticeship termination for boys (eighteen for girls), although marriage at an earlier age also brought release from the contract. But all was not as it appeared to be. The indenture information was incorrect. The age recorded for both John and Jonathan was false. Their age, as entered on the 1807 indenture, was well below their actual age. John, now fifteen and barely six weeks away from being sixteen, was recorded as being ten. Jonathan was recorded as seven instead of nine. But surely this wasn't an accidental error. Fifteen year old John could hardly be mistaken for a ten year old.

[1.] **Not only did overseers have a responsibility for the needs of the non-working and working poor they also took care of such as bridges, highways, water courses and vandalism. Churchwardens took care of religious and moral welfare, the church and grounds, charitable funds and the extermination of vermin plus other sundry items and issues.**

Most likely there was some advantage to be gained by falsifying the age of John and Jonathan so markedly – a falsification in which the three township Overseers of the Poor, namely James Riley, John Smith and Robert Sutcliffe, would need to be fully complicit.

Seemingly the objective was to extend the length of the apprenticeship. Manipulating figures on the indenture would achieve this end. The apprenticeships were in reality to be completed at twenty six for John and twenty three for Jonathan. John recorded as ten - not fifteen. Jonathan seven instead of nine. John would serve eleven years as an apprentice. By rights he should only serve six years - being released at the age of twenty one. For Jonathan his fourteen years should have been twelve.

Certainly it was in the interests of these overseers to arrange and sanction John and Jonathan's over-lengthy pauper apprenticeships. Certainly 1807 was a bad time to become dependent upon township relief. The protracted war with France had created food and commodity shortages and at the same time increased prices. Hardship was far more prevalent. Poor Relief dependency had escalated. Rate increases for township ratepayers had risen sharply. Solutions had to be found.

In times like these, child pauper apprentices could quite easily become adult paupers once leaving their master. Thereby, as adults, they would once again become the responsibility of the township; a drain on resources and a cost to the ratepayer. In some cases this may be until eventual death. So the longer an apprenticeship was served the more it put back in time the possibility of future Poor Relief if needed. Unfortunately for John and Jonathan it seems likely that they were actual victims of this reasoning. But unfair and devious as it was, the extending of their individual apprenticeship term did provide a solution for the township. The resumption of Poor Relief – should either John or Jonathan require it as adults – would be delayed. In real terms John's eleven years apprenticeship would be terminated at the age of twenty six. Jonathan would serve until the age of twenty three. All-in-all this delay was a satisfactory outcome for the local overseers and the Warley ratepayers. However, it was a most unsatisfactory, unfair and unjust outcome for both John and Jonathan Holgate.

Then of course there were issues regarding the quality of care and the apprenticeship experience. Sadly for the pauper apprentice attached to a bad master, he or she would serve their time in near servitude - and perhaps cruelty, hunger and neglect.

So it was as a matter of expedience to the parish that John and Jonathan became pauper apprentices to Thomas Greenwood, their brother-in-law. Having received their entitlement to a complete set of clothing from the overseers, the two boys would begin to learn the trade of the ingonman. Happily this would not be in near servitude, neither subject to ill-treatment. The endearing nature of their sister Sarah's disposition would ensure that the boys would be well cared for. And happily through Thomas, who in later years became a well respected local preacher, the brothers would receive appropriate instruction and assistance in developing the skills of their new found occupation as ingonmen. Unfortunately however, it is unclear what these skills would be, since the definition of the roll of an ingonman seems to have melted into the mists of time. But since the word 'ing' was commonly used for meadow it could be that John and Jonathan's apprenticeship was connected with labour on the land and the rearing of the cattle; work that would already be very familiar to them.

In their work as ingonmen on the farm it could well be imagined that John and Jonathan worked long and hard to repay Sarah and Thomas for their support, care and guardianship – a support, care and guardianship in which Sarah and Thomas would without doubt allow the boys some personal time in which they could follow their youthful pursuits and interests.

The brothers' life was hard but not complex. Their range of interests and pursuits would by necessity be limited to those in the locality. And as in most eras and as in most societies, most of the activities they took part in during their youth and childhood years, would be gender biased and therefore similar to those of their male contemporaries. So just what were John and Jonathan's male contemporaries engaged in? Fortunately there is some useful information available in the writing of William Heaton – a handloom weaver who was born and bred in Luddenden Dean.

In his youth William Heaton spent most of his leisure time exploring the captivating country side around him. He was born in the small village of Luddenden in 1805 – fourteen years after the birth of John Holgate and eight years after the birth of Jonathan. Although by age he was not quite a contemporary of John and Jonathan, the experiences encountered by William Heaton in 'the Dean' would nevertheless be very similar to those previously encountered by the two brothers. And since the universal nature of many young males is 'to collect', then perhaps the following extract from Heaton's writing mirrors a period in the lives of John and Jonathan when their interests and pursuits followed a similar pattern.

Heaton relates: 'As soon as the lovely rays of the summer's sun have shone over the hills of my native valley (Luddenden Dean), have we wandered forth, especially on the Sabbath morning, by four o'clock, and have not returned till seven or eight at night; often having never tasted food all the day: we have brought shells, eggs and nests as well as insects home with us, and were as much, or more, pleased than if we had dined off the best. I believe I and a companion of mine (now no more) collected twenty two large boxes of insects; one hundred and twenty different sorts of British birds' eggs; besides a great quantity of shells (land and fresh water), fossils, minerals, ancient and modern coins and plaster casts of those coins we could not procure'. (W.Heaton, *The Old Soldier*, Halifax 1857 p.xix).

William Heaton and his friends were quite obviously avid and serious collectors. The number of items they collected is surprising and almost unbelievable – twenty two large boxes of insects and one hundred and twenty different birds' eggs. Surely John and Jonathan's youthful interests and pursuits never resulted in such outcomes. But just like William Heaton they too would have stolen the eggs of nesting birds. They too would have captured and imprisoned insect life. And yes they would have also sought, examined and removed fossils, shells and minerals. Such interests would be the shared experiences of most young males in 'the Dean'. But in addition to these pursuits it is inconceivable to imagine that John and Jonathan - living in the heartland of the wooded valley and with the vast moorland on their doorstep - didn't also engage in other activities. Surely they would hook or net fish. Surely they would trap or ensnare rabbits and hares. And surely they would chase and capture rodents, small mammals and birds. After all, the rural idyll in which they lived offered limitless opportunities for them to experience 'the thrill of the hunt' and 'satisfaction in the catch'. Such opportunities for interest, pleasure and excitement would not be ignored. They would take full

advantage of their exciting and interesting rural location, despite the need for them to fulfill all the work required of them as apprentice ingonmen.

John Holgate and Ann Clay **For John Holgate his apprenticeship as an ingonman would have been curtailed before attaining the stipulated age of twenty four. In fact his apprenticeship was probably ended around the time of his marriage to Ann Clay on 4 September 1811; having completed four years of his term. John was now twenty and already a father. Ann, at the age of seventeen, had given birth to his daughter Mary Holgate on 16 June 1811 – three months before eventual marriage. Obviously this marriage was one born of necessity, but hopefully it was also one born of love and John's willing acknowledgement of his responsibility to provide for both mother and child. And here once again family support would be essential. On this occasion it would be primarily the family of Ann Clay with the birth taking place at Cold Edge on Warley Moor, in the Clay family home at Upper Hazel Hurst.**

Together with the birth of John's daughter Mary Holgate and his subsequent marriage to Ann Clay, the young mother of his child, there also came other major changes to the personal circumstances of John Holgate. Firstly there was the relocation of his home from Green Edge to Cold Edge. The intimate shrouding beauty of Luddenden Dean was exchanged for the brooding wild solitude of a dramatic moorland landscape. Secondly, his brothers, sisters and extended family were left behind; during the course of time the Clay family would no doubt become of increasing significance. Thirdly, independence replaced a dependency upon Poor Relief and the ties of apprenticeship. Green Edge in Luddenden was now John's past. Cold Edge on Warley Moor was now John's future. 1811 most certainly proved to be a life-changing year for John Holgate.

Figure 13. Mount Zion New Connexion Chapel – enlarged in 1815. (2010)

In the following year, on 17 June 1812, the infant Mary Holgate was baptized at Mount Zion Methodist New Connexion Chapel.[1] This was the chapel in which Ann Clay had previously been baptized and which, in later years, became the destination chapel of Holgate ancestors (Figure 13). Located 2 miles away, across the bleak expanse of Ogden Moor, Mount Zion stood prominently and easily seen by all.

[1] **Mary could quite possibly be named after John's sister who had died in 1801 at the age of 7 years.**

Mostly rebuilt on a larger scale in 1815, the building currently standing in 1812 would appear to John and Ann as a simple, angular, honey-coloured, gritstone structure - set against the backdrop of a then largely treeless hillside opposite the Cold Edge ridge. Visited on more than one occasion by John Wesley in the late eighteenth century, Mount Zion became the natural choice for worship, baptisms and burials for many families living in the dispersed farmsteads of these moorlands.

A place for worship, a place for baptisms and a place for burials it certainly was. Of course Mount Zion's religious purpose was always paramount, but outside of the family home Mount Zion was also a primary centre for social activity. In these rural uplands Mount Zion was a magnet. Chapel and Sunday school anniversaries, open-air services, festivals and visits from acclaimed preachers were all reasons for people to attend in great numbers. And attend they did - in their hundreds. These were days to mix with friends, family and acquaintances. These were happy days. These were fun days.

But not only was there happiness and fun at Mount Zion; further afield there were similar events being held. Indeed families eagerly looked-out for opportunities to take part in mass social gatherings at other places of worship. Indeed such was the popularity of these occasions that in later years the churches and chapels staggered their events and celebrations to assure maximum attendance. These truly were the mass social occasions of the age. This is where people from far and wide met, mixed, and for some, especially the young, they matched. For some it was the first step to matrimony.

Probably it was in such a social mix, at some chapel event or other, that John Holgate and Ann Clay first met. And on this or on another occasion they subsequently matched. But if this was not the reality, then when and in what alternative circumstance did they come together?

Taking account of the date of birth of their daughter Mary, the latest date at which John and Ann could have initiated their relationship would have been in September 1810. John would have been nineteen and Ann sixteen. However it is reasonable to assume that they began 'seeing each other' earlier than this. But the question is, how could they have first met? John and Ann were not neighbours. They had not grown up together. John lived and worked at Upper Heys within the farming and textile community of upper Luddenden Dean. Ann lived and worked at Upper Hazel Hurst within the farming and textile community of Cold Edge on Warley Moor. Over a mile of wild and desolate moorland separated these two communities from each other. But this would not be much of a barrier. Although work limited time, there would be some opportunity in the summer of 1810 for John and Ann to make a first casual social contact out on the moors. This is a definite possibility.

When it came to chapel services there was no possibility whatsoever - for John and Ann did not worship together. Ann's destination chapel was at Mount Zion on Ogden Moor. John's place of worship in 1810 was most likely Booth Independent Church in the valley bottom of Luddenden Dean. Here he would attend services with his 'adopted' family, the Greenwoods. At least 3 miles of footpath separated these two places of worship - denying any opportunity for casual social contact.

However there is another possibility. Was it in attending one of the mass social occasions that John and Ann first came together? Having then met, the season of church and chapel events would provide opportunities where a relationship could be established and where a courtship could progress.

However, when and where their sexual encounters took place is another matter. Of course the long summer evenings of 1810 would enable them to see each other away from the crowds and onlookers. The wild and desolate moorland that separated them would no longer be a barrier; now it would be their meeting place. Now it would be their sanctuary. Out on the expansive heather-clad moors or in the woods of the valley there were many secluded places to be found. Secluded places - that could provide opportunities for courtship. Secluded places - that could provide privacy for satisfying sexual desire. Secluded places – in one of which, Mary Holgate could and most likely was conceived.

Mary's birth took place at Cold Edge, on the high northern ridge of Warley Moor. And it was in this area where John and Ann Holgate settled after their daughter's birth and their eventual marriage. Records of the place of birth and records of the baptism at Mount Zion indicate such a conclusion – a conclusion that is verified by the Land Tax Assessment of 1817. Significantly this assessment records John Holgate as being occupier of two neighbouring Cold Edge farmsteads. This is confirmed by a series of later assessments, between 1817 and 1831; assessments relating to Land Tax, Church Rate and Highways. These assessments confirm that he was simultaneously the named tenant at both the Withins farmstead and the Haigh Cote farmstead (Figure 14).

<u>Withins and Haigh Cote – a double tenancy</u> **To take on the tenancy of two farmsteads during the very early years of married life was unusual, if not a little surprising – especially since John had recently been an orphan pauper and regarded as destitute. In addition, rent and tax would be near doubled. However, by 1815 such a proposition became financially possible for at this point of time John not only had enough money to take on a double-tenancy but also he had enough money to obtain a stock of cattle. The £30 inheritance he received following the death of his grandfather John Holgate, yeoman, was more than enough to finance his needs. Therefore was it in 1815 when his grandfather died that John eventually took on a second tenancy? This seems most likely. In the first instance, sometime between the year of his marriage in 1811 and the year of his inheritance in 1815, John would have had just one tenancy. If so, this would have been Withins since it was in this farmhouse on this farm that John and Ann lived until at least 1841. Not until after 1841 did they move to the farmhouse at Haigh Cote on the land of their second tenancy. Therefore was the taking on of a second tenancy just a pragmatic use of some of John's £30 inheritance? Was the Haigh Cote tenancy an opportunity not to be missed? And furthermore was John placing a much bigger emphasis on farming than weaving in securing a livelihood for his expanding family? Undoubtedly his work on the farm would be labour intensive – the weather, the seasons, farm maintenance and the tending of cattle would see to that. Nevertheless was farming really John Holgate's main occupation at this time?**

Farm work would take up many waking hours for both John and Ann - particularly during their early married life, before their family matured and were able to assist. And yet significantly, in the 1821 Census John Holgate was not listed as a farmer – he was listed as a weaver. But this would not be as a weaver of the famous Halifax kersey cloth. Time had moved on. A finer worsted material was now in demand and would now be the product from John's loom. So with John being classified as a weaver in the census, he must therefore have been devoting a great deal of time and energy to weaving worsteds – whilst at the same time still successfully managing his double-tenancy farming at Withins and Haigh Cote; a tenancy agreement he continued with until his death in 1860 (Figure 14).

1826 to 1861: List of Tenants and Occupants at Withins and Haigh Cote					
Year	*Withins. Farm Tenant.*	*Withins. House Occupant.*	*Haigh Cote. Farm Tenant.*	*Haigh Cote. House Occupant.*	*Evidence*
1826	John Holgate	John Holgate	John Holgate	unknown	Land Tax
1829	John Holgate Joseph Whalley	John Holgate Joseph Whalley	John Holgate	unknown	Land Tax
1837	John Holgate Joseph Whalley	John Holgate Joseph Whalley	John Holgate	unknown	Land Tax
1841	John Holgate William Brear	John Holgate William Brear	John Holgate	unoccupied	1841 Census
1851	John Holgate	John Holgate(son) Joseph Holgate[1.]	John Holgate	John Holgate	1851 Census
1853	John Holgate	Joseph Holgate	John Holgate	John Holgate	Birth Certificate Ann d. of Joseph
1860	John Holgate (died-October)	unknown	John Holgate (died-October) Ann Holgate	John Holgate (died-October) Ann Holgate	Death Certificate of John Holgate
1861	Ann Holgate	unoccupied	Ann Holgate	unoccupied	1861 Census[2.]

[1.] The 1851 Census listed William Holgate as being an occupier in one part of Withins. However this was incorrect. William was in fact the tenant at Knowl and recorded as such in the census. It was William's younger brother Joseph who was the rightful occupier at Withins – not William.

[2.] At the time of the 1861 Census 67 year old Ann Holgate (recorded as being 69 in the census) was with her daughter-in-law at Spring Mill. However she was recorded as 'Farmer of 16 acres of land at Haigh Cote and Withins'. Haigh Cote was inadvertently omitted from the census list and Withins (Withings) seems to have been inserted as an afterthought since this particular dwelling's inclusion in the census list overlaps the data for the Greenwood family at Bradshaw Ing Top.

Figure 14. 1826 – 1861: List of Tenants and Occupants at Withins and Haigh Cote.

When John Holgate first took on the double-tenancy at Withins and Haigh Cote both farmsteads were owned by Jonas Foster. In fact Foster retained the ownership of Haigh Cote throughout John's lifetime. But with regards to Withins, Foster relinquished the property in 1818-19. Briefly John Tatham became owner, but from 1820 onwards it was Thomas Hitching. So there were three different landlords to whom John Holgate would have successively paid his rent. There were two different farmsteads on which he made his living. There was one farm dwelling in which he would choose to make his first home; this being Withins. And here he stayed until at least 1841 (Figure 14).

It was sometime between 1841 and 1851 that John and Ann vacated the Withins farm for Haigh Cote. Family circumstances no doubt motivated this change, with a number of the Holgate children now being of adult age. Son John (28), unmarried at this time, took over one part of the Withins farmhouse; this being a property that was in two parts. However his father John remained as the named tenant. Meanwhile, another son Joseph took over the occupancy of the second part of Withins with his wife Mary (nee Barrand) and their child William (1).

Figure 15. The Withins Farmhouse – Home of John and Ann Holgate c.1815 - c.1841 – viewed from the south. (2011)

During the time John and Ann's family resided in the Withins farmhouse it is unknown as to which of the two parts they occupied. Also it is unknown as to whether, during the passage of time, they transferred from one part of the farmhouse to the other. What is known however, is that in 1829 and 1837 the second named tenant at Withins was Joseph Whalley, while four years later it was William Brear (Figure 14).

Withins, (meaning willow) was probably an appropriately descriptive name at the time of the first build, c.1600. A nearby spring or stream may have encouraged the growth of some small willows from which the name derived. Today as if a legacy to the past, there are two or three small willows in the dry-stone walled garden at the rear of the house. However where trees have been planted (these being small in size or stunted in growth and few in number) they seem to stand awkwardly as uneasy guests, having little right to be present in this high moorland landscape. Here for the past four hundred years the gritstone farm dwelling of Withins - perhaps the first dwelling to have been built on these moorlands - has nestled into the base of the steep south-westerly descent from the Cold Edge ridge; providing some protection from the bitter blast of the winter north wind. From this semi-sheltered location at Withins, the steep ascent by means of a twisting rough cart-track, provides access to the Cold Edge ridge-top and the Cold Edge Road; a former pack-horse trail linking the Worth Valley with Halifax.

East of Withins another rough cart-track provides a route-way. Periodically flooded and often boggy in parts, this track links the Withins farmhouse to that of Haigh Cote, then beyond to the Cold Edge Dams and distant farmsteads. However, in the time of John Holgate's occupancy a more direct connection could be made between the two farm dwellings by means of a footpath. The 1847 Ordnance Survey map reveals such a footpath linking Withins with Haigh Cote.

Interestingly, several significant factors are known about this Holgate farmland, factors obtained through cross referencing the 1805 Warley Enclosure Map (Figure 17) and the 1829 Land Valuation Records. From these sources John's farmland perimeter can be identified and the enclosed fields within it. Enclosure acreage can be assessed and field names can be attributed. Furthermore, some reasonable assumptions can be made regarding John's agricultural practices and field use.

Figure 16. Withins – viewed from the west. (2011)

It is highly likely that the enclosure divisions shown on the 1805 Warley Enclosure Map were maintained up to and throughout most, if not all, of John Holgate's tenancy at Withins and Haigh Cote. Additionally, since the individual field numbers attributed to each enclosure in the various land valuation records are identical to the reference numbers entered on the 1805 map, it is certain that the early land divisions remained intact. Indeed, even when a comparison is made between the 1805 map and the much later Ordnance Survey map of 1892, any alteration to the original enclosure plan is quite minor; with the overall pattern of land division being constant and clearly recognizable. After all the re-positioning of a substantially built moorland dry-stone wall is no 'quick fix' - there being a real sense of permanence about these structures, which no fence or hedge could ever replicate.

Field Names
For
Withins (Lower Whithings)
and
Haigh Cote

1748a. Lane
1749. Ing Bottom
1749a. Allotment
1750. Ing
1750a. Croft
1752. Croft
1772. Upper Slack
1773. Intake
1774a. Upper Meadow
1775. Low Meadow
1776. Low Slack
1777. Middle Slack

Figure 17. 1805 Warley Enclosure Map – field names attributed for Withins and Haigh Cote.

There is also some sense of permanence about the enclosure field names too. Apart from the field named Allotment, lying adjacent to what had been common land before 1805, there is little doubt that all other field names listed in the land valuation of 1829 are as they were many decades previously – with most describing either location or purpose of land use.[1]

The 1805 Warley Enclosure Map reveals the extent of John Holgate's double-tenancy land holding (Figure 17). The area of land farmed at Withins was 9 acres, whilst it was 12 acres at Haigh Cote. In total this was 21 acres of land. To the south, the Haigh Cote boundary line lay in close proximity to the Spring Dam and the Haigh Cote Dam - both high visibility landmarks, particularly Haigh Cote Dam which provided a powerfully seductive presence in this remote moorland region. To the north the boundary of the Withins land holding was marked by a dry-stone wall that adhered closely to the cart track that became a disputed right-of-way in a West Riding Assize court case of 1874; where evidence was presented concerning John Holgate's residence and farm activity c.1820.

Within these boundary lines the Holgate farmland was largely devoted to cattle, as the enclosure names 'meadow' and 'ing' (meadow) so clearly indicate. These were the summer grasslands that provided the necessary hay for winter. Other enclosures such as Low Slack, Middle Slack and Upper Slack (a hollow), would be utilized for grazing. However, one field would possibly have been allocated for the growing of oats.

Adjacent to the Withins farmhouse were two walled crofts. These small parcels of land, each being approximately one third of an acre, were gardens in which essential herbs, potatoes, favoured root crops and brassicas could be grown. Of these two crofts it seems probable that it was the croft west of the Withins barn that was cultivated by John and Ann Holgate, since this directly abutted their farmland. If this were so then the croft on the north western side of the farmstead could have been at the disposal of Joseph Whalley (when also a tenant at Withins).[2]

Meanwhile outside of the croft wall, poultry would roam freely around the farmyard, in the barn and along the farm track. All-in-all, despite the harshness of the climate and the acidity of the soil, the farm provided the family with a range of food and an income. And whatever arrangements John made in achieving this end, his decisions would be essentially pragmatic. His decisions would be practical, sensible solutions befitting a knowledge-based, hands-on life, lived out in the challenging and demanding environment of Cold Edge on Warley Moor.

[1.] Parliamentary Enclosure Acts took away rights to use of common land. However allotments were awarded to qualifying land owners in lieu of their loss of common land rights. Such was the case of the award of the Allotment field to Haigh Cote in 1805 when the Warley Enclosure Act enclosed the vast tract of common moorland that became known as the Castle Carr Estate. Nationally the great majority of parliamentary enclosures took place between 1750 and 1830.

[2.] In later years when the only occupants at Haigh Cote and Withins were Holgates both of the crofts would have been available for use. However, it is highly unlikely both were used as gardens. Since the one surviving croft is the one at the back of the Withins farm it is possible that it was during the period of total Holgate occupation that this particular croft became the favoured one and therefore still exists today.

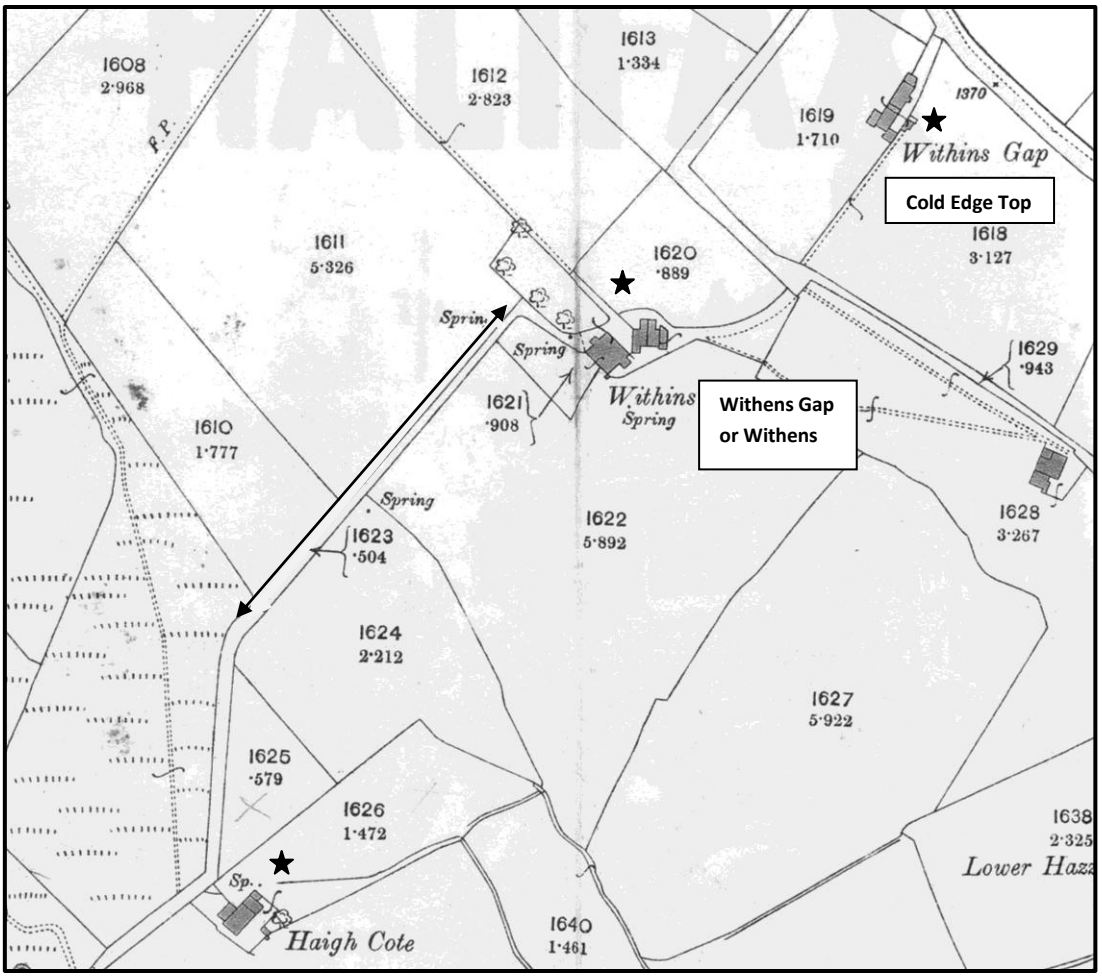
Figure 18. Haigh Cote, now extended, (left) and Withins (right) - viewed from the west. (2011)

<u>Haigh Cote to Withins - a disputed right-of-way</u> **It would be as a result of the pragmatic management of his double-tenancy farm holding that John, even from early days, would have seen the necessity for a horse and cart. In fact it was his use of horse and cart (c.1820) along the rough track bordering, but just outside the perimeter of his land holding, that had a major and maybe a deciding influence on a particular court judgment involving two Warley land-owners (Kitchen v Tattersall. West Riding Assize 1874). The contentious court hearing was a dispute regarding land and a right-of-way; a track linking Haigh Cote with Withins (Figure 19).**

The right-of-way was eventually upheld. The outcome was costly for the losing land-owner, Kitchen; £1600 and the sale of three farms, one of which was Withins. Most certainly the cost to Kitchen seems disproportionate to the access value of the track – since 'the road disputed was not (nor is now) any real public benefit'. For John Holgate, however, the track had been of great benefit; 'he went up and down the road in question with horse and cart' (W.Turner, *A Springtime Saunter*, p39). Thereby John accessed the far corners of his farm holding and cut 2 miles or so from his travels further afield. For Kitchen and Tattersall the testimony regarding John Holgate's track-use enabled the dispute to be finally settled.

Figure 19. Track from Withins to Haigh Cote (distance left) – viewed from the north-east. (2011)

<u>Withins – a curious anomaly in its name</u> **In presenting information to the court, the evidence provided exposed a somewhat curious anomaly regarding the name of the Withins farmstead. The Withins farmstead had by now adopted the name of its neighbouring farm – Withins Gap (Figure 20).**



Text boxes for Withins and Withins Gap contain the farmstead names attributed to these farmsteads c.1874.

⟷ Indicates disputed right-of-way between Haigh Cote and Withins.

Figure 20. Map section of Cold Edge – showing disputed right-of-way between Haigh Cote and Withins (West Riding Assize 1874: Kitchen v Tattersall).

Consequently Withins, the former home of John and Ann Holgate, was repeatedly referred to in court as Withins Gap. Furthermore, plans presented on behalf of both the plaintiff and defendant labeled the property as *Withens Gap* or *Withens* (as indicated within the text box in Figure 20).

In reality, apart from census returns for 1861 and 1871, all other census and map evidence identifies Withins Gap as being the farmstead to the north-east of and adjacent to Withins. This was the farm labeled on the court plans as *Cold Edge Top* (Figure 20). Meanwhile the census returns for 1861 and 1871 had referred to Cold Edge Top as Withins Gate. To add even further confusion this particular name, Withins Gate, was the name that had been allocated to Withins on Ordnance Survey maps for 1848 and 1888/92 (Figure 21).

1805-1901: Place-names attributed to the Withins Farmstead – home of John and Ann Holgate			
Source	***Date***	***Evidence***	***Place-name attributed to Withins****
Maps	**1805**	**Warley Map**	**Lower Withings**
	1834/35	**Myers Map**	**Lower Withins**
	1848, 1888/92.	**Ordnance Survey**	**Withens Gate**
Census Returns	**1841,51,61,71,81,91.**	**Census**	**Withings**
	1901,11.	**Census**	**Withins**
Warley Assessments	**1817,20,26,32.**	**Land Tax**	**Withins Farm**
	1829	**Survey and Valuation**	**Withings**
	1831	**Highway Rate**	**Withings**
Registry of Births	**1853**	**Birth Certificate of Ann - daughter of Joseph and Mary Holgate**	**Withins**
West Riding Assize Court 1874. Kitchen v Tattersall	**1874**	**Plans presented in court – Kitchen v Tattersall**	**Withens** **Withens Gap**
Particulars and Conditions of Sale	**1875**	**Sale of Withens Gap Farm (HAS/B:15/15/7)**	**Withens Gap Farm**

*** Original source spelling for Withins retained i.e. Withins, Withens, Withings.**

Figure 21. 1805-19011: Place-names attributed to the Withins farmstead.

As Figure 21 clearly reveals, from 1805 to 1911 nowhere did the name Withins Gap occur in any of the census, map and assessment data for Withins. Neither did it appear in the Registry of Births. Despite the data providing some degree of name variation – Lower Withings, Withings, Withins Gate and Withins Farm – Withins Gap was not one of the variant names.

Yet for some reason in the middle of the 1870's there occurred the anomaly of Withins being referred to as Withins Gap, previously the name of its neighbouring farm. In 1874 (West Riding Assize: Kitchen v Tattersall) and in 1875 (Particulars and Conditions of Sale for Withins Gap Farm) the Withins property was called Withins Gap – (shaded section in Figure 21). But why the change of name? Why adopt the previous name of the farm next-door? What purpose this served is hard to imagine.

Fortunately however common sense eventually prevailed. By the time of the 1881 Census the status-quo was reinstated. Withins was once again Withins.[1] And Withins Gap was also once again under its historic name.

[1] 2011: The original Withins Gap farm is still operating as Withins Gap. However the now dilapidated but still inhabited Withins has since been renamed Moorlands Farm.

Moorland mills – their local impact **In the very early years at Withins, when the children were still young, it would have been nothing less than a daily struggle for John and Ann to manage home, farm and family. Yet this was not all they had to deal with. What also must be taken into account is the effort and time put into obtaining their other means of income; income derived from weaving.**

Just like previous Holgate generations before them, John's household pursued a dual-economy livelihood. Farmers they may be, but in the 1821 Census John Holgate is listed as a weaver – along with the majority of the dozen or so other tenant farmers on Warley Moor. This is no surprise, as textiles would still be the predominant income provider in most if not all of these dual-economy households. Hence the large number of handloom weavers recorded in the census return of 1821. However, this number was about to change. Twenty years on, by the time of the following census in 1841, a very different picture was presented.

Of the eighteen households residing in the fifteen farmstead locations in the Cold Edge region of Warley Moor (including the area specifically referred to as Fly) only one head of family in the 1841 Census was recorded as being a weaver. This represented just 6% of the return. On the other hand there were twelve head of household who were farmers (65%), including John Holgate at Withins. Furthermore only four of the households had another family member engaged in domestic weaving. Included in this small minority was the family of John and Ann Holgate, whose daughters Sarah (27) and Elizabeth (16) were entered on the census as stuff weavers (worsted). Although the handloom at Withins still remained in use the legacy of a long and commercially important era was now drawing to a close. Indeed, in most neighbouring households the end had already arrived. The handloom had been removed, broken up or left as an idle relic. For these families domestic handloom weaving had already been squeezed out by industrialization and was no longer a viable home based trade.

But even as far back as in 1821, John and Ann would have been well aware of their vulnerability to the advancing changes in the production of textiles. The increased use of water-powered machinery, sited within the concentrated workplace of the moorland mill, had already altered the rural landscape of Warley Moor. As long ago as fifteen years before John had become a farm tenant at Withins, the first of three moorland mills had been erected.

Only a brief ten minute walk down-slope from the Withins farmstead was Spring Mill – three storeys high and built of local gritstone.[1] Active since 1800 and situated 1,150 feet above sea-level, Spring Mill with its accompanying reserve of water in the Blackfield Dam (later renamed Spring Dam), would have been one of the most remote, isolated and exposed manufacturing units in Britain. Its business at this time was the spinning of cotton. (In later years, along with other local mills, production would change to the manufacturing of worsteds).

Less exposed and downstream on the Kell Brook a second mill was also producing spun cotton by 1803. This was Lumb Mill (Figure 21). Built within a steep-sided hollow, Lumb Mill (now three levels) was originally a two story workplace. Like Spring Mill it depended upon a consistent and continuous flow of water to drive its huge water-wheel. Means of conserving water was therefore a necessity.

1. **Spring Mill has since been demolished.**

Figure 22. Lumb Mill on the Kell Brook – viewed from the west.[1] (2011)

In forming 'The Cold Edge Dam Company' (1806) the problem of conserving water was resolved, with Haigh Cote Dam being the first of two dams to be constructed just south-west of the Withins and Haigh Cote farmsteads. No more problems with weak water flow. No more problems in periods of drought. No more money lost through machinery lying idle. The dams – Haigh Cote (enlarged in 1831) and eventually Leadbetter (built in 1835) – were a success.

Meanwhile the third of the cotton mills in this moorland group had been erected. Hole Bottom Mill had been built c.1810 and was located midway between its predecessors; at the time perhaps the smallest of the three mills, being two storeys high and square in shape. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century Hole Bottom Mill was renamed Square Mill, coincidently adopting a name describing its original shape. However, by the time of the renaming, extensions to Square Mill had considerably elongated the premises - making this the largest of the three moorland mills and thereby disguising the historical appropriateness of its new name.

Figure 23. Hole Bottom Mill – later re-named Square Mill. (2008)

1. **In the late 1950's Ronnie Holgate (uncle) lived with his first wife Lillian in the cottage attached to Lumb Mill.**

At odds with everything around them, these three moorland mills symbolized Britain's future – a future in which the status, freedom and independence of the working man and woman was swallowed-up in the machine-driven, organized work-force of the twentieth century. The power machine dictated everything. It dictated hours of work and it dictated time spent at work. It dictated speed of work and it dictated regularity of work. It deafened the silence and its fibre-dust ridden air polluted lungs and damaged health. It endangered and it enslaved. On the one hand Lumb, Spring and Hole Bottom Mill were small symbols of the great industrial and economic powerhouse that Britain was to become. On the other hand, they were small symbols of the exploitation, insecurity, cruelty and human misery that would be life's lot for millions of the working poor - particularly in the North of England. But for John and Ann it was the here and now. The complete destruction of the endemic working practices of the upper Calder region had not yet materialized. Domestic handloom weaving still provided some status, together with independence, freedom and the major source of income in the dual-economy household. For although most other textile processes had been mechanized within the mill, the mechanization of both worsted weaving and woollen weaving was still to come.

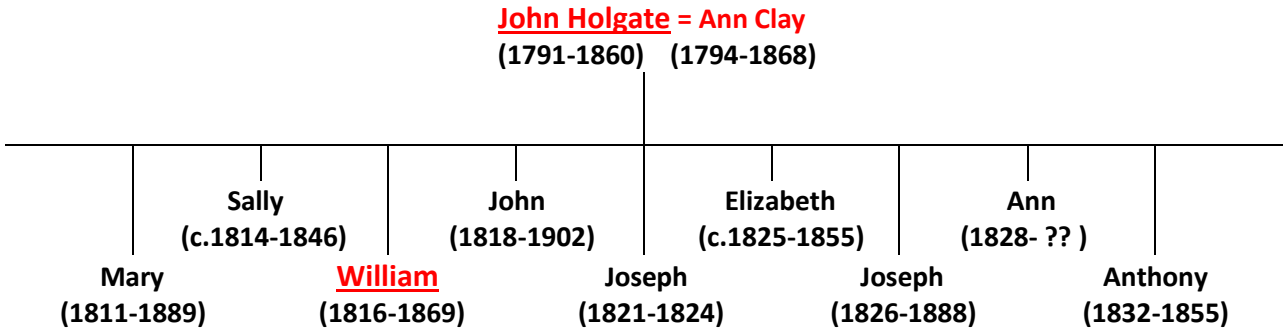


Figure 24. Family of John and Ann Holgate (grandparents x4).

Meanwhile, at Withins, the loom still clattered and the life and livelihood of a farmer-weaver family was maintained. Young though the children were, there being five children at the time of the 1821 Census (Sunday 28 May 1821), at least three of them would have already been integrated into the family orientated occupations of farm and home. Of the two other children, Joseph (born 5 March 1821) was still only a baby, while John (born 4 August 1818) was still too young to contribute meaningfully. However, both William (born 16 February 1816 and grandfather x3) and Sally, later known as Sarah, (born c.1814) would have adopted a working role – even at their ages of five and seven. Mary (born 16 June 1811) although still only ten would already have been heavily involved. Indeed the census return of 1821 records her as being in 'trade' – presumably having a specific roll in the production of the cloth pieces. And so with the handloom still operating and the land being farmed, the Holgate family continued to increase in numbers. Elizabeth (born c.1825) and Anthony (born 1 July 1832), became later additions to the family. Joseph (born 15 February 1826) was another – being named after his younger brother who had died two years earlier at the age of three years (May 1824). A daughter Ann was also born (1 November 1828) – but sadly, since Ann's name was not recorded in the 1841 Census she also probably died as a child. In total John and Ann Holgate raised nine children, with seven surviving to adulthood. Unfortunately for John these were two more

childhood deaths to add to the tragic circumstances of childhood mortality that he witnessed at Lower Green Edge – when three and possibly four of his brothers and sisters died before reaching adulthood.

Just how much the tragedy at Lower Green Edge remained with John is probably reflected in the use of the names of his brothers and sisters for those of his own children. His mother's name Elizabeth was also used. But interestingly, although he used his own name John, he didn't use Jonathan. Yet Jonathan had not only been the name of his father but also the name of his younger brother, who had joined him as a pauper apprentice at Upper Heys Farm in 1807. In fact the last of John and Ann's children received a name unconnected to the previous generation - Anthony. Poignant, so many family names were passed on. Puzzling, the very significant name Jonathan was omitted (Figure 24).

<u>The dual-economy – a 'buffer' against economic downturns</u> **As the Holgate family expanded in numbers during the 1820's, so did the numbers of people migrating to mill employment. With this came an increase in the mill based manufacture of textiles. With this came intensified economic pressure upon domestic handloom weavers as in the case of John Holgate. But fortunately for John and his family the 21 acres of farmland at Withins and Haigh Cote acted as a 'buffer'; off-setting some of the impact made on their standard of living brought about by their reduced income from weaving.**

Throughout the decades and successive generations practically all the essential resources for living had been obtained from farming, weaving and the local environment. In the best of times, when the climate favoured farming and cloth pieces could readily be sold at a decent price, the family's quality of life and well-being was assured. In other times, when circumstances were less favourable for one of the household economies, the second economy could act as a 'buffer' against excessive hardship. And if by ill-fortune the worst was to happen and it was a bad time for both farming and weaving, then at the very least 'all the family's eggs were not in one basket' – for significantly neither household economy was dependent on the other. Crucially and importantly farming and weaving were within different 'economic envelopes'.

Small-scale though it was, the family's domestic handloom weaving was within the national 'economic envelope'. National upturns and downturns, combined with technological advances and increased factory production, largely determined market conditions and prices; thereby determining the family's level of income from weaving. However the national 'economic envelope' that could so affect the returns from weaving had little impact on the outcomes and returns from Holgate farming. Fortunately farming was within an entirely different envelope.

Farming at Withins and Haigh Cote was contained within a local 'economic envelope' that determined both the degree of self-sufficiency achieved for the family's sustenance and the level of income obtained from a surplus. It was unfavourable weather conditions, pests, blight and disease that were determining factors here. But these were local issues and concerns - not national.

To have a livelihood that embraced a combination of 'economic envelopes' provided greater economic security as there was a greater potential for one or other of the domestic economies to act as a 'buffer' in times of need. Even in the worst of times it is therefore possible that a reasonable quality of life and well-being was maintained – unlike the fate of vast numbers of other working

families in the textile heartlands of the North; families who were desperately clinging-on to survival and defending themselves as best they could from the perils, degradation and evils of destitution.

The livelihood of these domestic handloom weaving families was solely dependent on the current state of the national textile economy. These families - with little or no land to farm - had only their skills and labour to sell. Increasingly these families were therefore sucked into the collective, organized work-force within the mill; with ever growing numbers of their children being employed. In the first instance the labour pool had consisted of adult workers supplemented by the employment of children. But cost cutting took its toll; there now came a time when an army of children became the 'foot-soldiers' of the textile industry. Adult labour, particularly male labour, was dramatically reduced. It was on the back of this huge army of mill children that the industry now moved forward.

For these mill children it was not much of a life; for many it was no life at all. For these mill children it was a life of long weary hours, hard sustained labour and mind-warping monotonous toil. It was a life that in many cases was subject to cruel inhuman treatment and dangerous life-threatening working conditions. All of this - at minimum cost. Many pounds profit for the happy contented employer – a few pennies earned for the unhappy wretched child.

But these were desperate times for the families of single income domestic handloom weavers. For those without the 'buffer' of farm income and produce, poverty was beckoning. Village handloom weavers without land, in Luddenden and Midgley for instance, would readily have recognized this unwelcome truth. Their choice was poverty or exploitation. Employers would argue otherwise.

Not only had the mill owners the people to spin their yarn and weave their cloth, they also had the people to spin and weave their version of what was right for industry; parliamentarians amongst them. Needless to say, for most owners their version of what was right centred on the employer – not on the employee. Manufacturers rights, not human rights. For not only had mill owners the people to tightly weave the threads of their cloth pieces, they also had the people to tightly weave the threads of their self-centered reasoning. Methodist clergy in particular helped to validate the reasoning for the enslavement of workers. Employers carried authority. Employees did not.

<u>Factory reform- what price on life?</u> In line with many other textile manufacturers, the mill owners at Lumb, Spring and Hole Bottom, would probably have resisted any factory reform. Furthermore any legislation concerning improvements in child labour conditions would probably have been an anathema to them. After all the industrial age was working! From the moorland heights to the valley floor progress was driving on. Migration to the factories and mills continued. Yes, there were dissenters. Yes, there were campaigners. Yes, there were activists prepared to show their muscle; witness the violent protests against low pay and unemployment made by the Luddite Movement between 1811 and 1818. And tragically, amongst these Luddite protestors there were those who sacrificed their freedom and indeed their life – as in 1812 when five Halifax men were transported to the colonies and six others were hanged by the neck until dead. Such was the price of their protest.

Nevertheless as time passed by, for whatever their personal reasons or circumstances, thousands of workers who were motivated by anger, grief and despair continued to make their voices heard; both

in private and in public. But thousands didn't. They wouldn't or they couldn't. In reality they were submissive and subservient to mill master, to factory overlooker, to mill owner and to the church. They toed the line, mostly out of fear – fear of physical harm, reprisal or being put out of work. These were the employer's ideal operatives and the clergy's ideal parishioners. However there were a few individuals prepared to lead. There were some figureheads willing to fight the cause of factory reform.

Prominent locally, was a Halifax handloom weaver, Ben Rushton. Being just six years older than John Holgate he was of John's generation and a contemporary in respect of his trade, his religious affiliation and his moorland residency. Ben Rushton deeply empathized with the desperate plight of the handloom weavers and passionately championed their cause.

Other champions included Richard Oastler and John Fielding; Oastler the steward of the extensive Fixby estate near Huddersfield and Fielding the owner of a large textile factory at Todmorden in the upper Calder Valley. The names of both men would be familiar to John Holgate in the 1830's and possibly some time much earlier. Probably John knew that both had influence, both carried authority and that both were pursuing campaigns at regional and national level. Indeed both were making their voices heard in the place where factory reform could be legislated – parliament. What John might also have known was that Oastler and Fielding were both seeking an Act of Parliament to reduce the working hours of all factory and mill employees to ten hours per day.

Factory Acts were already in place. The first, *The Health and the Morals of Apprentices Act* was passed in 1802. Aimed at regulating textile factory conditions it was targeted at the appalling treatment of pauper apprentices - which in other circumstances could so easily have included John and Jonathan Holgate. The Act made provision for limiting time worked to twelve hours per day; amounting to seventy two hours per six day week. Work was not to begin before 6.00 a.m. and not to continue after 9.00 p.m. In addition a few simple and fundamental rules were made relating to the factory workplace, the sleeping accommodation of pauper lodgers, clothing, education and religious teaching. Breaking regulations would result in employers receiving a fine somewhere between £2 and £5. However this particular Act of Parliament was of very little use.

Significantly there was no funded system of inspection to ensure compliance. Instead two unpaid 'visitors', unconnected with a particular mill, were to be appointed to monitor implementation of the Act; a clergyman and a magistrate. Of those that made a visit few applied any rigour. Most left the employer to his own devices regarding interpretation and implementation. Therefore, in reality, there was no enforcement of the law. Therefore there was no pressure to change. Therefore there was little impact. Thereby the systematically cruel exploitation and unfettered abuse of young children was free to continue. And so it did. John and Jonathan Holgate were therefore extremely fortunate not to have been placed as mill pauper apprentices in their particular hour of need.

As mills and factories increased in size and the migration of people increased in numbers, so did the number of adult and child operatives exposed to the worst excesses of the life-sapping working conditions. The mills and factories continued to suck in family after family and continued to spit out

those individuals who were not cost effective, those who were not subservient and those pitiful wretches who were too exhausted, injured, broken or dying.

Despite further Acts of Parliament thirty years elapsed before the first effective Factory Act (1833) was implemented. Even then it was a compromise. The movement to limit all textile work to ten hours per day was never going to happen, so campaigners focused upon women and children in the hope of also reducing men's hours by indirect means. But success was only partially achieved. The resulting act did manage to limit working hours to ten hours daily – but only for young people (13 to 18). The act also reduced working time to nine hours for children (9 to 12) – with the addition of two hours of education to be provided daily. But just how fit, how alert and how willing these children would be for their daily allotment of two hours of education, one can only guess. However with regard to women, there was no change. No ten hour working day for them. Another eleven long years would pass before there was parity for women with young people's hours of work.

In the years leading up to the 1833 Factory Act, John Fielding and Richard Oastler had continually drawn public and parliamentary attention to the inhumane treatment of mill and factory workers. Reducing working hours was one thing but improving working conditions was another matter entirely. Alarmingly, Oastler made reference to conditions of slavery. But his reference was not in connection with William Wilberforce and the high-profile campaign to abolish slavery throughout the British Empire. No, his reference to slavery was closer than that. It was in Britain itself. Oastler asked how '… well meaning people can campaign on behalf of slaves in a far off land and ignore the plight of children nearer home?' Good question. Slavery did exist in Britain. Slavery was on the doorstep. Slavery was here – yet either unseen, ignored, excused or condoned.

Slavery remaining unseen was understandable. But slavery being ignored or excused or condoned was contemptible. None-the-less the northern textile employers had for more than forty years fuelled their own self-interest on the back of slave labour. During this time moorland mills had continued to work up to sixteen hours per day. If the water was high and the turn of the wheel was so maintained, so the mill continued to operate. Driven on and on by the relentless pace of machinery and by the constant urge of the mill master, the mill lamp-lights still burnt towards the midnight hour.

John and Ann Holgate had lived their own forty years alongside a world such as this. They lived at a time when mill owners employed the youngest possible to work as long as possible and to pay as little as possible, whilst producing as much as possible. It was a world of endangerment and enslavement. John as an orphan pauper had by good fortune been apprenticed to his brother-in-law rather than being bound to the slave conditions endured by a mill pauper apprentice. And following the marriage of John and Ann, the dual-economy livelihood they established provided sufficient for their family needs; protecting them from ever being drawn into the living hell of the mill.

<u>Self-sufficiency – a better way of life</u> **At the Withins farmhouse the Holgate family was within sight and within easy reach of the mills at Spring and Hole Bottom. They may have had external connections with the mill, but they weren't within the mill. Neither were they dependent on mill wages, nor subject to physical exploitation by the owners. At Withins they had 9 acres of land and at**

Haigh Cote another 12 acres. A parcel of land would probably be arable, but in the main it would be either meadow, providing hay for winter animal feed or pasture for grazing. Certainly there was enough land on the combined farmsteads to support a small herd of cattle, a milk cow and a horse; the horse being essential for land tillage, haulage and transport needs. A field of oats – oats being the most resilient grain crop to grow in the cool, damp climate of Warley Moor – would provide both straw and essential cereal. And essential it was, for both porridge and havercake (oatcake) were principle components of the daily diet. Hens, chickens and perhaps a pig or two would be reared close to the Withins farmhouse. Additionally, in the nearby croft, herbs and vegetables would be cultivated. In total there was enough farm produce to sustain most dietary requirements, with perhaps enough income from the surplus to pay the farm rental and enough income from weaving to pay taxes and everything else. This was not a meagre, impoverished, subsistence level livelihood. Neither was it luxurious. In essence it was a solidly based livelihood that was managed and organized in such a way as to make the family totally self-sufficient.

Figure 25. Withins (foreground) and Haigh Cote (distance) – viewed from the north. (2010)

Self-sufficiency enabled John and Ann to retain the all important elements of personal well-being – their independence, security and freedom. As the decades progressed self-sufficiency enabled them to remain somewhat divorced from the obscenely iniquitous process that was Victorian wealth creation. Their labour was not that of the many appallingly impoverished urban working families in the North. Urban families such as these watched in a state of helplessness, hopelessness and hunger as the factory product of their sweated labour was manifested in the increased physical evidence of 'monuments to wealth' displayed all around them. Happily for John Holgate and his family self-sufficiency enabled them to see, feel and appreciate that predominantly it was their family alone that reaped the benefits from their enterprise, skills and labour.

And of course there were also important physical, emotional and mental benefits to be gained. Indeed for all the family there were considerable health and psychological rewards to be derived from their everyday task-orientated life experiences. For instance, although life was hard, they would benefit psychologically from having variety in the number of home-based and farm-based tasks they undertook; together with the flexibility in how and when tasks could be carried out. No externally

imposed hours of work here. No shift pattern into which they would need to fit. No daily same-task loop to numb their mind and spirit.

Furthermore their emotional well-being would profit from being involved in animal care. Likewise their emotional well-being would profit from being enveloped within a home environment of domestic sociability and security. And of course they all had ready and immediate access to the vast open moorland, which would contribute so much in providing their leisure and their pleasure.

Either consciously or sub-consciously they would connect with the land, with the sky, with the weather and with nature. Living during an age of fervent religious activity, no doubt they would occasionally marvel in awe at 'Gods wonderful world'. Here at Cold Edge on a windless day the deep intense silence of Warley Moor would be strikingly audible. Such silence was a sound in itself. Here on a windswept day the constant gush would drill its rhythm into ears and shudder the body. John's family could not ignore the moor – its penetrating silence, its invigorating air and its blanketing wind. And of course there was always the dramatic panorama. North, south, east and west, mile after mile, after mile, there were stunning distant views of valleys, of ridges, of hills and of endless sky. Here on top of the world they could wonder, reflect and connect with all around them. Enough stimulation here to make the presence of any god feel real.

Figure 26. Panorama over Warley Moor from the Cold Edge Road - viewed from the north. (2009)

But more real and more fundamental to their future was what their livelihood at Withins gave them – a 'buffer' against increasingly desperate times and the spectre of mill misery. The reality was that through their enterprise and determination John Holgate and his family had everything they needed. They had land. They had a trade. They had more than one income source. They had retained their independence, freedom, security and status. They experienced a far more healthy, balanced and rewarding way of life than the masses slaving in the mills and factories. And this in turn had direct and lasting benefits for family relationships; John and Ann would have had a much more solid base upon which to build and sustain a fulfilling marriage. Together with their children they would have had a much better basis for family bonding, happiness and harmony. And importantly for the family, their 'life' could be clearly defined as being quite separate from 'work'.

Furthermore, the combination of their economic circumstances, their skills in farming, their skills in textiles and the location in which they lived and worked ensured that they were able to access all the key elements for survival – shelter, food, clothing, water and heat. The Withins home provided secure shelter. The farm, the countryside and the spending of income provided food. Clothing could be bought, made, mended and recycled. Pure fresh water was readily available from the moorland springs; with Withins being sited next to three such outlets. Indeed the bubbling gurgle of a gushing moorland spring would never be far from human or animal ears. And then there was heat.

<u>Right of Turbary – a valuable benefit</u> **Situated high on the exposed bleak moorland the Withins farmstead was subject to all the ravages of a northern winter. Ice, snow, heavy frosts, bitter winds, freezing rain and shivering cold were not totally unexpected conditions for an area named Cold Edge! Heat was therefore a life preserver. Access to fuel was essential. And as in the case of spring water the moors provided it – in the form of peat. Here peat lay in abundance. Here peat lay in great, thick, black blankets hidden away under the moorland gorse and heather cladding. Consisting mainly of decayed cotton grass this great moorland treasure reached a depth approaching six feet (Figure 27).**

John Holgate, as tenant occupier of Withins and Haigh Cote, would have possessed legal rights to extract the peat for his own use - without cost. This was John's *Right of Turbary*. In exercising this right John would have ensured that the farms peat-house was re-stocked during the summer months when the peat turves could be more easily cut, dried and stacked. But not only would this stock of peat be in preparation for the excesses of winter, it would also be there for providing heat throughout the year. A fire for daily cooking and boiling of water would be an everyday necessity, not to mention the need to combat seeping damp, draughts and the intensity of the early morning and evening chill. Indeed it is likely that the fire was kept alight twenty four hours a day by covering a peat block with ashes, enabling the fire to smoulder overnight ready for a quick start-up the following morning.

Figure 27. Delph at Fly – with exposed canopy of peat. The depth of the peat layer at this location is nearly six feet.

Evidence suggests that the nearest peat pit was less than one mile north of Withins - this being at Knowl Hill (Ordnance Survey map of 1848). Evidence also shows that just to the north-west of the Haigh Cote farmhouse there was 18 acres of land named as Haigh Cote Peat Ground (Warley Enclosure

map of 1855). Presumably it was here on the peat ground nearby Haigh Cote that John Holgate exercised his ancient *Right of Turbury.* From here John would have carted or sledged the fuel back to Withins. And no doubt as John's sons grew older they assisted in what must have been the strenuous work of re-stocking the peat-house. But his daughters, not to be outdone, would have also played their part.

For the daughters their function would have been to collect 'collen-bobs'. Mary, being the eldest would probably have been the first to collect and store away these clusters of moorland heather – an excellent kindling material for the lighting of the Within's home fire. For John, Ann and the children the provision of heat was therefore no worry. Their fuel and kindling lay in great abundance all around them and of course it was free.

Handloom weaving – a decline in income **Despite the Holgate family's life experiences and circumstances being better than those encountered by the masses of mill employees and the poverty stricken, making a living on the moorland margins would always be extremely demanding and difficult. And as the years went by, these demands and difficulties would be compounded by the decline in value of the domestic handloom weaver's cloth piece. Weaving income declined. Even in 1830 when there was still a demand for handloom worsted cloth, what John Holgate would expect to receive for his cloth piece was significantly less than what his father Jonathan could have expected thirty years earlier in 1800. And the spiral continued downwards. By 1832, when John's family had increased to seven or possibly eight surviving children, his trade income had further decreased.**

Less income from a cloth piece meant more income required from elsewhere. Would this mean millwork for some of the Holgate children? On the one hand the gritstone mills at Spring and Hole Bottom - so clearly visible from Withins - could provide much needed income. But on the other hand, for any child employee the mill would come to dominate their everyday existence. And strict time and work discipline imposed at the mill would be savage compared with that required in the domestic environment. Effectively mill work would provide little except the wage in hand. Most certainly mill work would not provide the quality of life, work and play that the Holgate children could reasonably hope to experience, whilst working alongside their family in their home at Withins.

Fortunately the original 21 acres of farmland at Withins and Haigh Cote still provided a 'buffer' to ward off mill exploitation. Rent and taxes could still be paid. In 1831 John Holgate was paying an annual rent of £9:10s for Haigh Cote and £8:8s for Withins. He was also paying a Highways Tax of 7s:10d and 6s:4d on each respective property. But crucial to maintaining the ability to pay rent and taxes and crucial to retaining the independent, domestic dual-economy livelihood was the now maturing Holgate family.

The eldest children, Mary (20), Sarah (17), and William (15 and grandfather x3), were of the age to be very productive workers whilst John (13) would also make a very significant contribution. What their primary work entailed in 1831 is speculative; but fortunately however the 1841 Census Return (Sunday 6 June 1841) presents a clearer picture. Still domiciled at Withins rather than Haigh Cote the family primary roles were as follows:

John Holgate	Head	Farmer	50 years
Ann Holgate	Wife		47 years
Sarah Holgate		Stuff Weaver	27 years
William Holgate		Woolcomber	25 years
John Holgate		Agricultural Labourer	23 years [1]
Elizabeth Holgate		Stuff Weaver	16 years
Joseph Holgate			15 years
Anthony Holgate			9 years

1. John was actually aged 22 at the time of the 1841 Census.

The eldest daughter, Mary Holgate (30), now married to Roland Aspinall (29), was no longer at Withins and was residing at Moor End in the township of Ovenden. Joseph (15), although not recorded in the census as being in work, was most surely undertaking a significant role on the farm or in the domestic textile trade. Meanwhile John Holgate senior, now classified as a farmer rather than as a weaver, no longer took the lead in textile activity, this being in the hands of Sarah and Elizabeth.

Both Sarah (27) and Elizabeth (16) were recorded as stuff weavers; in other words handloom weavers of worsted cloth. Their yarn would have been obtained from a local mill – although some use may still have been made of the family spinning wheel to spin yarn; even if only for domestic purposes. Whether there were now two weaving looms at Withins or a single loom shared between the two sisters is unknown. If it was the former and two looms were in operation then it would make sense, since although Elizabeth was only sixteen she would already have had many years experience as a weaver. Both Elizabeth and Sarah would indeed be proficient enough and efficient enough, to warrant their own loom. Furthermore, looms were relatively inexpensive to manufacture and the utilization of a pair of looms may possibly have doubled the family's income from weaving. However, it is also very likely that one or both of the sisters would need to devote some of their time to assisting their mother with the heavy work load required of females both in the home and on the farm. How much assistance was required would of course have had some bearing on how much time was devoted to weaving. Therefore the number of looms being employed remains uncertain. More certain is the case that when Sarah left home a year later, the number of looms in operation would be just one.

<u>Sarah Holgate and Jonas Wormald</u> During the year following the census of 1841, Sarah Holgate (27) married Jonas Wormald (21) six years her junior, the date being 6 February 1842. Jonas was a stone delver. At this point Sarah would have departed from the family home, leaving all worsted weaving totally in the hands of her sister Elizabeth. Abandoning her loom at Withins, Sarah, together with her husband Jonas, began married life 2 miles away at Mixenden Green in the township of Ovenden, where no doubt the newly married couple looked forward to a long and happy life together. And happy it may have been. But long it was not. Sadly, only seven years after their union both Sarah and Jonas were dead.

Sarah was the first to go. Having given birth to their only known child Ruth, on 31 May 1846, Sarah tragically passed away six days later (5 June 1846). The cause of death was given as phrenitis – a virus

induced inflammation of the brain.[1] A widower at the age of twenty five with a new born child to care for, Jonas would need all the support he could get from family and friends. But cruelly, only three years were to pass before his own life was taken away – his death resulting from 'putrid fever, effusion of the brain' (22 November 1849). Jonas was twenty eight years old. Orphaned Ruth was only three.

Fortunately for Ruth, it seems that her paternal grandparents, William and Mary Wormald, had responded to her needs, for in the 1851 census Ruth was identified as being at Ovenden Wood, her grandparent's home. But unfortunately once again her stay was not to last.

By the time of the 1861 Census Ruth had been taken into the home of her maternal grandmother, Ann Holgate. Sadly, Ruth had suffered yet another cruel twist of fate. William and Mary Wormald, her grandparents at Ovenden Wood had sadly both passed away. Thereby, through a series of tragic events Ruth eventually returned to the Holgate family farmstead at Cold Edge, from which her deceased mother Sarah had departed in 1842.

<u>William, John and Joseph Holgate – woolcombers</u> **In 1842 when Ruth's mother Sarah had left the Withins farmstead to begin her relatively short married life with Jonas Wormald, she would have said farewell to her closest sibling by age, her brother William (grandfather x3). William (26), two years Sarah's junior, was a woolcomber. Presumably William's work as a comber was based at the Withins family home. However since the hand-combing of wool was often a group activity and was evidently taking place at some of the nearby farmsteads, it is therefore a possibility that William worked alongside neighbours; at Upper Withins or Slade for instance (Figure 34). But most probably he worked independently - independent, but like the others, supplying finely combed wool to the worsted mills, as well as supplying the family spinning wheel, if still being used to spin yarn for the family loom. His work had a degree of skill; a skill that was easily learnt and improved upon. His work was labour intensive and extremely unpleasant. Nevertheless in previous years his work had carried status. In the past woolcombers like William had been the elite.**

For years woolcombers had been protected by their trade union. They had been highly organized. They had been highly paid. They had been in very high demand. They had dictated when they worked. They decided for how long they would work. But essential to this happy state of affairs was the union's ability to control the number of apprenticeships, thereby ensuring that woolcomber's skills were constantly needed and their payment kept at a premium. However 1825 had proved to be a watershed. The repeal of a protective parliamentary act and the eventual defeat of a mass strike in nearby Bradford neutralized the woolcomber's restrictive practices. Their position of eminence was swept away. Woolcombing was open to one and all. Thousands came to join the trade. But when these thousands came they didn't enter into or establish the workshops of old. They stayed put in their own homes. Their homes became their workshop and their fellow combers were their family.

So it was for William Holgate. For many combers their homes were hardly big enough to accomodate

[1.] Today the medical term phrenitis is no longer in use. Meningitis or encephalitis is diagnosed.

a workshop and family living space. But William was fortunate. Setting up a combing workshop on a farm such as Withins was a much more practical option. And by the time of the 1841 census it is reasonable to assume that William was very much established and already involving his younger brothers John (23) and Joseph (15) in the trade. In later years Joseph became a fully fledged woolcomber and worked alongside his brother William at Withins. However farming was to remain as the main occupational focus for John, although he also spent some time in the trade of woolcombing.

Informatively, in his book, *The Story of Old Halifax*, T W Hanson vividly outlines the process of woolcombing in some detail. Firstly a woolcomber such as William, John or Joseph would thoroughly wash a quantity of wool in soft soap and oil – perhaps with some family assistance. Then Hanson described the next steps in the process in the following terms: 'At home he had a small drum-shaped iron stove (16 inches high and 16 inches diameter) to heat his combs. The stove was called a 'pot' and often four men worked with one stove, and they called it a 'pot o'four'. An unsociable or independent man was nicknamed a 'pot o'one'. One comb was fixed to a pad, which in turn was fixed to a post in the middle of the room. The wool was thrown onto the hot comb and afterwards drawn off with the second hot comb'. What Hanson does not state, is that because the combs needed to be heated to such high temperatures the temperature in the combing room would be intolerably hot. The temperature would be constantly at a sweat-streaming 30 degrees centigrade. Working up to ten hours per day in such 'sweat-box' conditions would really take some getting used to. And not only did the fire produce excessive temperature it produced fumes hazardous to health. For the combers this would be a totally unpleasant, an extremely uncomfortable and a health damaging daily experience. Failing to mention this fact, Hanson continued: 'The wool was worked again onto the fixed comb and drawn off by hand into long slithers (sic. slivers). The slithers were placed on the woolcomber's form, rolled into balls, washed again, and wrung with rollers. These slithers were then brought back to the bench, broken into small pieces, sprinkled with oil, and re-combed. After the second combing the wool was drawn through a hole in a horn disc and twisted into a neat looking 'top'. (T.W. Hanson, *The Story of Old Halifax, p.203).*

The short wool that had been eliminated during the combing process was referred to as 'noils' and was unsuitable for manufacturing worsted yarn; being more suited to the making of coarser woolen cloths and blankets. On the other hand, the neat looking 'top' to which Hanson made reference, would consist of fine, long wool slivers, ideal for spinning into worsted yarn; a yarn made strong, through every fibre having been systematically combed out straight and parallel by experienced woolcombers.

This then was the unpleasant, unhealthy and uncomfortable trade of the handcomber of wool; the process outlined by Hanson being the very same process that William, John and Joseph would have followed. Undoubtedly the level of their skill would affect the quality of the woolen 'tops' they produced for the spinning of worsted yarn; wool that would be spun into yarn in the mill at either Spring, Lumb or Hole Bottom. Possibly some of the wool would be spun into yarn at home. Of course for Sarah and Elizabeth the quality of the yarn that could be spun from the home-combed wool 'tops' would affect the quality of the cloth piece they produced. The smoother and stronger the yarn, the more tension Sarah and Elizabeth could apply in weaving a stronger and more durable cloth piece. The

better the combing - the better the yarn. The better the yarn - the better the cloth. The better the cloth - the better the sale.

By the time of the 1851 Census Joseph was the only named woolcomber at Withins. Possibly, William's work and tools of the trade had been passed over to Joseph when William married and became the farm tenant at Knowl (1851 Census). But for how long Joseph himself continued as a comber is unknown. Significantly for him in the latter years of the 1850's he witnessed the introduction of efficient power-driven woolcombing machinery into the nearby moorland mills.

Perversely it hadn't been the lack of invention that had held back the mechanization of woolcombing. In these mills mechanization had been delayed because of the glut of handcombers. Since 1825 the number of handcombers had increased dramatically. Inversely, handcomber payments had decreased disastrously. Earnings had spiraled downwards. Consequently owners could be quite satisfied with what they had – cheap labour and plenty of it. Why invest in machinery? Furthermore why invest in machinery when in a period of economic downturn an idle machine made no return on investment. Alternatively a handcomber could be swiftly laid-off. No loss in an investment. Just as long as there were enough combers why should mill owners bother with machines?

But finally and inevitably the mill owners did bother. New machinery was introduced into the mills at Spring, Lumb and Hole Bottom. However, too many local handcombers remained. For Joseph Holgate it was time for a re-think. Consequently, following in the steps of his brother William, Joseph eventually returned to the land.

<u>The two families of Joseph Holgate</u> **With his wife Mary (nee Barrand), Joseph took up the tenancy of Moor Side, a 12 acre farm a little distance north of Lumb Mill (page vi). But sadly for the family their stay at Moor Side was marked by tragedy. In the early months of 1859, Mary died. She was only thirty one. Joseph (33) was now widowed and sole provider with three children in his care – William (9), Ann (6) and Joseph (5). The young family faced a most unhappy and uncertain future. Fortunately however, some degree of happiness was relatively soon restored and the future made more certain. Joseph re-married; his re-marriage taking place in the last quarter of 1859, the same year as the death of his first wife, Mary.**

Mary Ann Hiley (31), who became Joseph's second wife, had also been previously married. She too had lost her partner, her husband George having died two years earlier. Mary Ann, like Joseph, also had three children: Betsy (10), John (8) and William (3). Joseph and Mary Ann's marriage was therefore really a marriage of two 'ready-made' families, which was not a too uncommon occurrence. Such arrangements provided strength in a world where vulnerability could lead to poverty and perhaps the horrors of the dreaded union workhouse. In preventing such a disastrous outcome it is fairly likely that there would have been a measure of positive intervention and encouragement by the extended family of Holgates and the extended family of Hileys at Hough Gate Head (page vi).

Two families - each deprived of a parent. Two families - each having children of comparable age. So why not unite? So why not support and strengthen each other? This was a sensible and pragmatic solution. Yes their marriage would be one of convenience and necessity, but crucially it would also

offer the added value of being a companionate marriage. And evidence suggests there was even more. The subsequent birth of their daughter Emma in the second quarter of 1860 raises two questions. Firstly, since Joseph and Mary married only a matter of months before the birth of Emma were they aware of the pregnancy before the marriage? Yes almost certainly. Secondly, were the two families already cohabiting at Moor Side? Yes quite likely. Furthermore the birth of Emma indicates that not only would the marriage be companionate it would also be based upon emotional and physical need. Indeed another child, Charles, followed - although this was some nine years later.

Charles Holgate was born in 1869, one year before eight of the family of ten emigrated to the United States of America. Over the years many Halifax people had made the journey to the new world. Sailing departures and prices of passage were regularly reported in the Halifax newspapers. Encouraging articles regarding emigration to America were also featured. With this knowledge and for whatever their reasons Joseph and Mary Ann Holgate set sail from Liverpool, disembarking in New York on 6 October 1870. The ship passenger list for 'The City of Limerick' revealed that all but two of the children made this Atlantic crossing. William Holgate (20) and Betsy Hiley (21) remained in Warley, whilst their parents took up farming in the state of Massachusetts (1880 Census – USA). From then on the United States of America became the Holgate home; with Joseph (1888) and Mary Ann (1892) eventually dying in the Massachusetts city of Methuen.

In direct contrast Joseph's brother John remained within the parameters of Cold Edge and Fly for the greater part of his life. During this time his census occupation listing of farmer remained unchanged. Recorded as an agricultural labourer, aged twenty three (1841 Census) and living at Haigh Cote, John worked on both the Haigh Cote and Withins farmsteads with his father John. As his father's 'right-hand man', his tasks would be numerous and wide-ranging. Labouring on the land – jobbing in the barn. Tending the cattle – working the horse. Lifting and carrying by hand – loading and hauling by cart. Repairing equipment – maintaining tools. Walling and ditching. Seeding and haymaking. Collecting and storing of fuel – disposing and recycling of waste. Immersed in these and many other tasks, John would work for long, energy sapping hours. Strength and stamina would be essential. His skill levels, resourcefulness, knowledge, adaptability to changing circumstances and his response to both the demands of weather and nature would be vital elements of his work. All that he learnt and experienced here at his father's side would be invaluable to him when he eventually became a farm tenant in his own right; this being sometime during or after 1852, the year of his marriage.

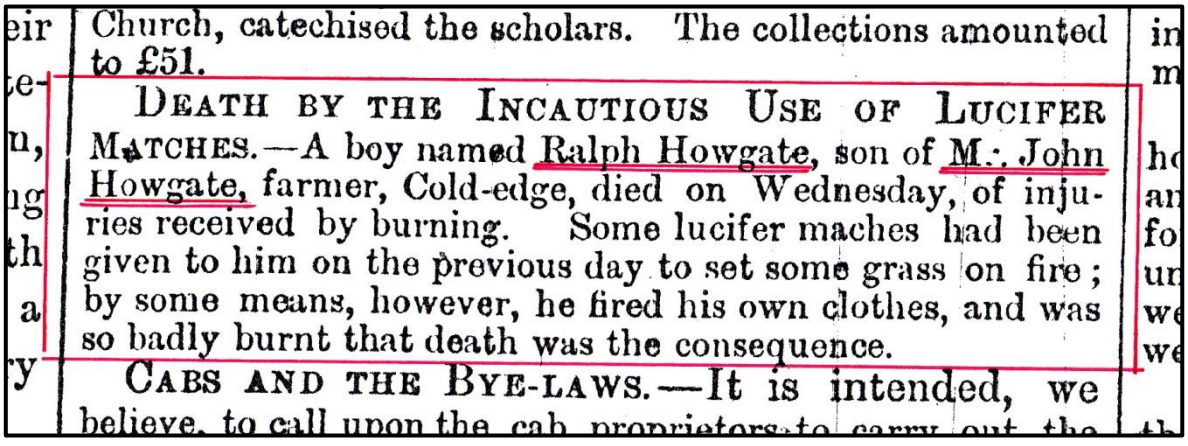
<u>John Holgate and Grace Crossley</u> **Prior to his marriage to Grace Crossley John had seemingly taken over the farming responsibility for the land on the Withins farmstead - being listed in the 1851 Census as the single occupant of one part of the Withins farm and farmer of 10 acres of land. Meanwhile his father, John, was still the named tenant at Withins, whilst continuing to farm at Haigh Cote. However at a later date, following John's marriage to Grace Crossley (7 June 1852), his tenant status finally materialized. But not at Withins. And not at Haigh Cote. With his wife Grace, John took over as tenant farmer of 8 acres at Cold Edge Bottom (Figure 28). Significantly however, his marriage certificate listed his occupation as woolcomber. Having presumably learnt the skills of woolcombing from his brother William and having assisted in the trade when his farm labouring duties allowed, this occupation would fortunately provide the second income in his duel-economy livelihood at Cold Edge**

Bottom (Figure 28). Eight acres was not sufficient. Another trade was essential. Woolcombing provided the answer; at least in the early years of the 1850's, before the mills mechanized the process thereby bringing forward the eventual demise of handcombing..

Figure 28. Cold Edge Bottom - viewed from the west. (2010)

During the 1850's the number of family members doubled. John and Grace became parents of two boys – Fredrick who was born during the summer of 1853 and Ralph who was born in the latter months of 1854. However, whatever happiness, contentment and reward they experienced as parents of their two sons, their state of well-being was suddenly shattered by an unexpected and horrifying event that occurred in the first months of the following decade.

Ralph, their youngest son, at the tender age of six years tragically died in an accident whilst 'helping-out' in a field adjoining the family home. On 2 May 1860 the word 'lucifer' – the name given to a common, but dangerous white phosphorus-based household matchstick – became, as the name implies, a devil's fire that created a personal living burning hell for the Holgate family. From the single stroke of a lucifer matchstick little Ralph died. From the single stroke of a lucifer matchstick the family's future irrevocably changed. Three days later, a brief report appeared in the *Halifax Courier* under the heading 'Death by the Incautious Use of Lucifer Matches' (Figure 29).



Church, catechised the scholars. The collections amounted to £51.

DEATH BY THE INCAUTIOUS USE OF LUCIFER MATCHES.—A boy named Ralph Howgate, son of Mr. John Howgate, farmer, Cold-edge, died on Wednesday, of injuries received by burning. Some lucifer maches had been given to him on the previous day to set some grass on fire; by some means, however, he fired his own clothes, and was so badly burnt that death was the consequence.

CABS AND THE BYE-LAWS.—It is intended, we believe, to call upon the cab proprietors to carry out the

Figure 29. Ralph Holgate – report of his tragic death. ***Halifax Courier*** **May 1860**

How the family coped with the tragedy, the heartbreak and the aftermath is beyond normal comprehension. Horrific images of their son's prolonged suffering would have been seared into the mind of John and Grace forever. Asking Ralph 'to set some grass on fire' would not have been regarded as being a highly dangerous request. As long as Ralph was cautious he would be safe enough. And perhaps this was not the first time he had carried out such an instruction. Furthermore children on neighbouring farms most likely did the same. Indeed, one can imagine that children would readily and eagerly volunteer. After all, what child doesn't like to see a good blaze? Therefore questions regarding parental responsibility, exercise of due-care and possible negligence were probably never asked. Even so, for John and Grace their personal apportionment of blame and self-recrimination would have been quite natural human responses. Furthermore, John and Grace would not and could not forget the six years they shared with their now departed son Ralph. Indeed, perhaps it was in response to the combination of their happy memories and great sorrow that John and Grace 'tried again' for another child. If this was so, their wish became a reality, when in the following year another son was born (13 September 1861). This child they named Anthony. And yet this was not to be the final birth.

Twenty or so months later in the second quarter of 1863 another son was born. It was now three years since the family catastrophe and perhaps in the meantime sufficient healing had taken place for John and Grace to consider naming their most recent family addition, Ralph. And so they did. Happily, once again there was a Ralph Holgate in the family. Emotionally motivated they no doubt felt this was a fitting reminder and tribute to the memory of their dear departed son. His memory lingered on.

But all was not well. Their second Ralph also died - whilst still an infant and in the same year of his birth (1863). A pervading air of deep despondency, woeful tears and perhaps profound disbelief, would have shrouded the grieving mourners as baby Ralph was laid to rest in the very same grave plot as his elder brother of the same name.

Ten years later Grace Holgate rejoined her 'two Ralph's'. Grace committed suicide.

GRACE
WIFE OF JOHN HOLGATE
OF COLD EDGE
WHO DIED MAY 28th 1873, AGED 45 YEARS
ALSO OF RALPH THEIR SON
WHO DIED MAY 2nd 1860 AGED 6 YEARS
ALSO RALPH, WHO DIED IN INFANCY

Figure 30. Headstone and inscription for Grace Holgate, Ralph Holgate and Ralph Holgate.

On her death certificate, Grace was declared as having an 'unsound state of mind'. Little wonder. The early and untimely death of two of her off-spring must have constantly nagged at her, gripped her deep in the pit of her stomach and weighed excessively heavily on her very being. The level of emotional baggage that she now dragged with her throughout her days would have been too much for her to bear. In such circumstances suicide is understandable. And in such an event, if forgiveness is needed, then it is easy to forgive. Thereby Grace's declared state of mind allowed her to receive a Christian burial, when she was re-united with Ralph one and Ralph two in the burial ground at Mount Zion (Figure 30). Thankfully she would no longer feel the pain she had endured for so long.

Presumably it had been as a means of alleviating Grace's mental pain and anguish, that following the death of their second Ralph, the family vacated Cold Edge Bottom. Indeed for the whole family it would have been necessary to escape the scene of the two deaths. But in what year this escape occurred – and escape it surely was - is not known. Certainly it was before 1871, for the census of that year listed the family as tenant farmers of 21 acres at Fly on the Castle Carr Estate (Figure 31). But since there were four dwelling locations each bearing the name Fly, which dwelling was it?

Figure 31. 1. Section of the Castle Carr Estate. (1874)
2. Detail of the Fly farms north of the farm at Knowl (Knoll). (1874) **Castle Carr Sale Plans 1874**

The 1871 Census lists three of the four Castle Carr dwellings as uninhabited. Certainly two of these uninhabited dwellings were at the Old Fly farm; with sale particulars for the Castle Carr Estate (1889) referring to the farmhouse and its adjoining cottage as being in bad repair and used for farm

purposes. The third unoccupied dwelling was seemingly Far New Fly (re-occupied in 1875 by Samuel Sunderland and his celebrated wife Betty o' th' Fly – Turner, *Springtime Saunter* p.70-76). These three unoccupied dwellings were straddled between Fly Cottages (next to the beerhouse 'Delvers Arms') in the north and Near New Fly in the south. Through the process of elimination it can therefore be established that Near New Fly was the home of John and Grace Holgate (Figure 31). However, Near New Fly was not a 21 acre farm as recorded in the 1871 Census. Near New Fly was far short of being even half that size. So where did the additional acreage come from? Did John Holgate farm additional land belonging to the adjacent uninhabited farmstead at Old Fly? Reason suggests this to be so. Both farms were on the Castle Carr Estate; taking on an additional tenancy would therefore be no problem.

However, evidence provided on the Castle Carr sales particulars reveals that even when combining the land at Old Fly with that of Near New Fly the total acreage would still only be 14 acres. Presumably parcels of land from yet another uninhabited farm must have made up the shortfall; namely the farm known as Far New Fly. Here the enclosures identified as grass fields (numbers 176 to 179 on the Castle Carr Estate map of 1874) would have accounted for an additional 7 acres. In total 21 acres - as recorded on the 1871 census return. In total 21 acres - covering three separate Fly farmsteads and encompassing all the fields from number 162 to 179 (Figure 31).

The amalgamation of the land from three farmsteads had no doubt prompted the renaming of Near New Fly. At this time it bcame known as South Fly Farm (recorded as such on the death certificate for Grace Holgate). Accordingly, being re-named South Fly Farm probably helped to establish this enlarged farm in its own right. However since Ordnance Survey maps and Castle Carr documentation still retained the original names of each Fly farmstead the South Fly home of John and Grace Holgate should also remain named as Near New Fly for the purposes of this account.

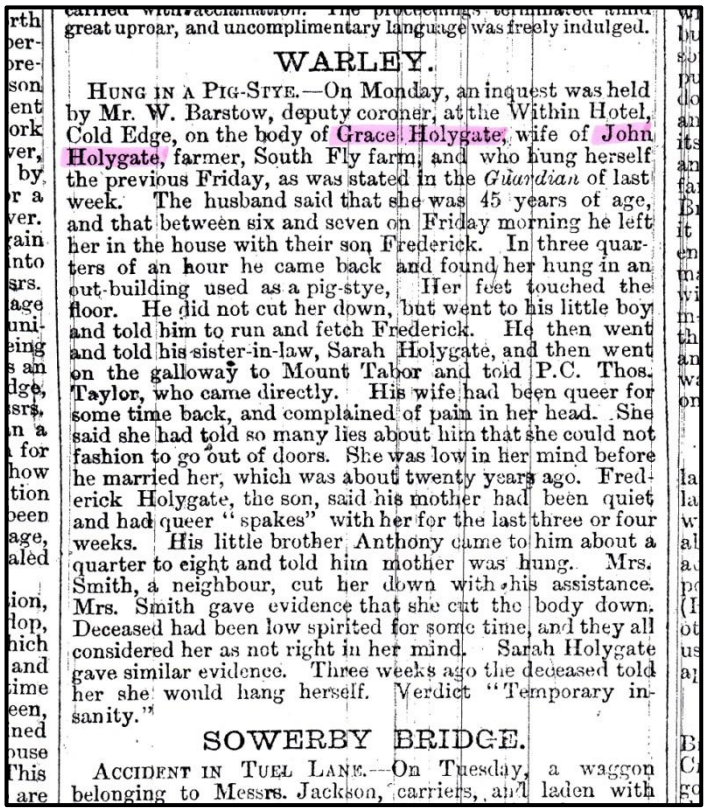
Their home at Near New Fly was situated adjacent to Cold Edge Road which hugged the 1400 foot contour line that ran parallel to and above all the Fly farms. The stone built farm, consisted of two rooms and a lean-to kitchen at the rear. On site there was a barn, a mistell for twelve cows and a lean-to shed. On the adjoining farmland that John Holgate also tenanted - uninhabited Old Fly - there was a mistell for six cows, a stable, a piggery, a lean-to shed and a wash-house. Possibly John stabled his horse there. Possibly he also made use of other farm buildings.

Significantly, for John and Grace their home at Near New Fly was next-door to William and Sarah Holgate's farm at Knowl (Figure 31). Coincidence? Surely not. There would be a real sense of inner security and comfort gained from having close relatives nearby. Support for the family when Grace's mind was on edge. Support through periods of melancholy. Support through bouts of depression. In desperate times such as these, whatever help could be offered would be gratefully welcomed.

Time they say is a great healer – but sadly not for Grace. Unfortunately for Grace her mental well-being had been questionable for more than twenty years. Even before her marriage to John she was regarded as 'low in her mind' (Figure 32). On occasions her mental state would be viewed by some as bordering on insanity. Certainly she was a troubled individual. Certainly she had been cruelly treated by fate. Certainly she lived with the personal torment of her children's death – a personal torment

that continued right up to the early morning of 28 March 1873 when at Near New Fly she entered the pigsty and placed a death noose around her weary neck. Three weeks earlier Grace had threatened such action. Now she had done it. For Grace it was all over. Her ordeal was finally laid to rest.

But for John Holgate and his two surviving sons, Frederick (20) and Anthony (11), it was new torment. It was a new ordeal. Their already battered lives were once again shattered. And once again a Halifax newspaper, the *Guardian* reported another Holgate tragedy to the world at large (Figure 32).



great uproar, and uncomplimentary language was freely indulged.

WARLEY.

HUNG IN A PIG-STYE.—On Monday, an inquest was held by Mr. W. Barstow, deputy coroner, at the Within Hotel, Cold Edge, on the body of Grace Holygate, wife of John Holygate, farmer, South Fly farm, and who hung herself the previous Friday, as was stated in the *Guardian* of last week. The husband said that she was 45 years of age, and that between six and seven on Friday morning he left her in the house with their son Frederick. In three quarters of an hour he came back and found her hung in an out-building used as a pig-stye, Her feet touched the floor. He did not cut her down, but went to his little boy and told him to run and fetch Frederick. He then went and told his sister-in-law, Sarah Holygate, and then went on the galloway to Mount Tabor and told P.C. Thos. Taylor, who came directly. His wife had been queer for some time back, and complained of pain in her head. She said she had told so many lies about him that she could not fashion to go out of doors. She was low in her mind before he married her, which was about twenty years ago. Frederick Holygate, the son, said his mother had been quiet and had queer "spakes" with her for the last three or four weeks. His little brother Anthony came to him about a quarter to eight and told him mother was hung. Mrs. Smith, a neighbour, cut her down with his assistance. Mrs. Smith gave evidence that she cut the body down. Deceased had been low spirited for some time, and they all considered her as not right in her mind. Sarah Holygate gave similar evidence. Three weeks ago the deceased told her she would hang herself. Verdict "Temporary insanity."

SOWERBY BRIDGE.

ACCIDENT IN TUEL LANE.—On Tuesday, a waggon belonging to Messrs. Jackson, carriers, and laden with

Figure 32. Grace Holgate – report of her death in a Halifax newspaper. ***Guardian*** **April 1873**

The tragic loss of Grace as wife, mother, home keeper and farm worker at Near New Fly (South Fly in the *Guardian* report) would have been immense – the immensity and importance of her role being concealed beneath the somewhat patronizing term 'housewife' that appeared on the two census returns since her marriage (1861 and 1871). The absolutely crucial and pivotal role undertaken by Grace and other wives that occupied the remote moorland farmsteads was most certainly understated. Worse still, back in the 1841 Census a wife's role was completely omitted.

So it was that in the 1841 Census list of Holgate family occupations at Withins the key role of Grace's mother-in-law, Ann Holgate was not recorded. Yet Ann's role was of primary importance. It could not be overlooked. But as far as the census was concerned - it was. In common with other married mothers, the census return for Warley did not identify Ann as either having a profession, trade or employment. Not listed even as a housewife, and yet what work activity could be more exacting or more necessary when there was a family of nine to keep at the Withins farmstead?

Ann Holgate – her essential role as wife and mother **All daily work activity at Withins was task-orientated – tasks focused on textile activity, farming, household duties and chores and the rearing and training of children. At Withins the number and regularity of hours worked mattered for little; the progress made towards completing the job mattered for everything. And crucially, all of this was underpinned by Ann's role. Indeed in the home and on the farm the number and range of tasks undertaken by Ann would exceed the number and range of tasks undertaken by any other family member. For the large part these tasks would be labour intensive. Many required the application of developed skills. Many occupied a great deal of time. And fulfilling these tasks would take from early morning until well into the night. Leisure time for Ann was therefore both little and infrequent.**

So despite the deliberate omission of Ann Holgate's role on the census data of 1841 there is no doubt that Ann was the significant working female in the house. It could well be argued that she was the significant working person in the household. She was certainly the focal figure in family domesticity. In essence she was the yarn that held together the family fabric.

In 1841 Ann's primary role as mother was still active. Anthony (9) and perhaps Joseph (15) and Elizabeth (16) would still be under their mother's wing. And when it came to illness, no doubt even John (23), William (25) and Sarah (27) still received their mother's care, attention and remedies. From colds to fevers – from sunburn to chilblains – from constipation to diarrhorea - Ann would most likely prepare a traditional homemade 'cure'. In the nearest shops the range of off-the-shelf medicines and ointments would be extremely limited.[1] Perhaps none at all. Furthermore, the closest specialist pharmacy would probably be in Halifax.

Doctor's treatments were expensive, so for those in the town of Halifax who sought prepared remedies, the pharmacy was the answer. For some Halifax people 'Jepson's Family Aperient and Antibilious Pills' may have been a must-have preparation. Based at 6, Silver Street, Halifax, W. Jepson Dispensing Chemist advertised these pills as being 'For habitual Costiveness, Head-Ache, Bilious Complaints and other disorders arising from Indigestion and Irregularity of the Bowels' (J. Walker, *Directory of the Parish of Halifax 1845*). Jepson's range of own-brand prescriptions no-doubt attracted many customers in search of a cure for their ailment. Indeed there may have been the odd occasion when a town pharmacy such as W. Jepson provided the answer for a member of the household at the distant Withins farmstead. And if not Jepson's prescriptions, the pharmacy's blood-letting service perhaps?

The cause of many illnesses was put down to having an 'excess' of blood. Consequently the use of leeches was big business for the pharmacists. Even so, up to mid 1860 'blood-letting' and the medical products, pills, ointments and potions on offer, were largely unproven as cures. Valid proof of cure did not exist. In most cases proof was not sought. For most of the public at large an assurance of good-intention and professionalism sufficed.

[1] According to *Walker's Directory of the Parish of Halifax 1845*, the nearest shop was at Stones, a distance of 1 mile from Withins – Mitchell Dewhirst, shopkeeper. Three more shops were at Kell Butts (William Dewhirst, shopkeeper), Slack (William Crowther, beer seller and grocer) and Wainstalls (Nathaniel Priestley, shopkeeper).

W. Jepson, perhaps in recognition of the need for such assurance made clear that 'All Prescriptions and Family Recipes confided to the care of W.J. dispensed under his immediate inspection, with Medicines of the utmost purity and freshness, and with the most scrupulous accuracy' (Walker, *1845 Directory of Halifax*. p.15). In some respect this was W. Jepson's mission statement. In essence it was a confident and believable assurance such as this, coupled with a large degree of blind faith, which motivated people to buy and try.

However Ann Holgate's traditional home remedies for certain health problems would be just as valid as some of the pharmacy preparations at W. Jepson and the various off-the shelf cures that were available at the time. Perhaps in some cases Ann's cures were even more effective; wild plants, natural herbs and flowers being basic ingredients in her preparations; the cultivation of medicinal herbs such as sage would be essential. And the cost would be marginal since what she selected from the garden or the countryside was a totally free resource. Of course during winter her family's continual exposure to the moorland elements would increase the number of ailments. Furthermore, winter would exacerbate the debilitating effect and pain associated with rheumatism, arthritis, pneumonia and bronchitis. Particularly at this time of year the family would rely upon Ann's expertise in preparing the necessary medicines and compounds to help prevent, control, ease and make better.

In both times of sickness and in times of health, Ann provided for her family and especially her children. She nurtured them. She organized them. She taught them. She trained them. For twenty four hours in every day – for seven days in every week – for fifty two weeks in every year, Ann was the mainstay of her children's development. No day school for education. Little help in times of illness. No holidays away. Little respite from the task of motherhood. Ann Holgate's role as mother of nine was constant, continuous and highly demanding and yet it was only one aspect of the many work activities she undertook.

Most work was concentrated on the family and the home. But Ann would also carry out daily tasks on the farm. Poultry and pigs required feeding, the cows would need milking and the garden would need tending. Seasonal tasks would also feature; in particular, the haymaking fortnight in early July. At this time in the farming season life was extremely hectic and the pressure to cut, to dry, to gather and to store was very intense. Everyone needed to be involved.

In the maintenance of the home Ann's duties were many and varied. Some were daily. Some were weekly. Some were intermittent and some were periodic. Many of the chores, such as laundering, cleaning and tidying were regularly undertaken, systematic in their procedure and time consuming in their execution.

The physically demanding and labour intensive weekly laundering would have taken more than a single day. The centre of activity would have been in the scullery. The scullery, also acting as a mini dairy, bakehouse and brewhouse would have been wet with steam and perspiration as Ann set about her work. She would carry inside pail after pail of fresh soft water from the nearby Withins spring. She would set alight and tend the enclosed fire underneath the deep copper set-pot, which would provide all the heated water she required. And of course she would select the right soap for the job.

Significantly this would be soap that she had previously made - made through a process of boiling and liquefying animal fat, to which she would have added a solution of caustic soda and a quantity of salt. For Ann, as with all those in working class households, commercially manufactured soap was too costly to buy; it was heavily taxed. Ann would regard commercially manufactured soap as an extravagant luxury item – until 1853, at least, when the soap tax was finally abolished, at an annual cost of well over £1 million to the exchequer. From then on the ensuing mass manufacture of non-taxed soap meant it became an affordable everyday commodity. The home-making of soap was now no longer a necessity for Ann. It was much more convenient to purchase ready-made soap bars or blocks from the provender man who periodically trailed his cart from farm to farm supplying animal feed and general practical household products. Otherwise a purchase of soap could have been made on a visit to Wainstalls.

So with soap in hand – home-made or manufactured – Ann would commence the weekly laundering. She would boil-wash, she would scrub, she would remove stains, she would wring-out, she would dry and she would flat-iron. Backbreaking work. Exhausting work. And all without mechanical aid.

During this weekly labour, Ann would no doubt make a judgement on the condition of the fabrics she was washing. The torn, the ragged and the 'holed' would require fairly immediate repair. The threadbare and worn-out would need eventual replacement. Replacement would necessitate 'making' - by and large this would be a winter task when the nights were long and the daylight hours for housework and work on the farm were short.

In winter much attention would be given to bedding and garments. Under the flickering flame of the oil lamps and candles Ann would make, sew and mend. From flannel underwear to top smocks and britches, Ann would put her skills to good use. But not only Ann. This was also the work of her daughters. From the age of five or so, the daughters, Sarah, Ann and Elizabeth would all have learned these very essential skills and been very much part of the household process of making and repairing.

The daily cleaning and tidying were most likely morning chores. The making of beds, the emptying of chamber pots and the sweeping of floors would figure amongst these early-day routines. Weekly cleaning no doubt included the removal of soot deposits left by the open fire and the cleaning of the kitchen range. Periodically, Ann would pay particular attention to the beds. Beds meant the hidden menace of bed bugs. Bed bugs meant blood-sucking bites. Blood-sucking bites meant irritation, swelling and soreness. Bed bugs were detested and unwanted parasites that could only be kept under control by intensive cleaning. In using a solution of turpentine and salt, Ann's thorough cleaning of the bed frames and the mattresses would fortunately lessen the problem. Just as in the case of laundering, cleaning and tidying the control of pests required application and sheer hard work.

Application and hard work were also the order of the day in feeding the Holgate family. Meals may often have been simple. The menu may not have been too varied. The range of food produce available may not have been too great. And the methods of cooking may have been limited. But nevertheless, Ann's knowledge and skill-base regarding food selection, preparation and cooking would have been relatively extensive – not to mention her knowledge of hand-me-down recipes, her ability to preserve

meat, vegetables, fruit and berries and her know-how regarding the brewing of ale. Men and their families required good cooks. John Holgate and his family would be no exception.

Most of Ann's knowledge and skills would have come by way of her mother and learnt during her years in the Clay family home. Passed on from generation to generation, these traditional skills would have been practiced by Ann with the same kind of traditional tools, implements and utensils as her ancestors. And in turn the Holgate daughters would use similar equipment when they became recipients of their own mother's teaching.

In learning how to skin, joint, bone and gut and how to prepare and cook head, brain, feet, tail and offal, the daughters would follow traditional methods. Whether the meat was from cattle, pig, sheep, foul, rabbit or game, little was left to waste. Meat, which was generally boiled or roasted, would have been cooked by means of an open-range fireplace. Since its introduction (c.1780) the iron open-range had revolutionized cooking. Whilst meat could still be spit-roasted and liquids boiled over the open fire, food could also now be slow cooked, baked and kept warm in the adjacent heavy framed iron oven. However, spit-roasting, the century's old preferred method of cooking meat probably wasn't an option for Ann. Peat fuel was abundant. Peat fuel was free. But peat smoke, like that of coal was acrid. And acrid smoke left spit-roasted meat unpleasant to taste. Unless the family had occasional access to wood, in what was predominantly a treeless landscape, there would be no spit-roast meat on the table. However, Ann would be able to oven cook the meat; although with oven temperatures being difficult to control the cooking process involved fairly time consuming regular inspection.

It was a similar situation with baking. And there would be plenty of baking - mostly in the form of oatcakes. Locally known as 'havercake', Ann would prepare and bake the oatcakes on a 'bakstone' (bakestone) in her scullery; where, before baking, she would have left the prepared oatcakes suspended to completely dry. Eaten warm or cold, with or without other food, oatcakes were perhaps most enjoyed by the family when served with hot broth.

Oats was the staple grain crop. Oatcakes and porridge were staple foods. Staple foods maybe, but nevertheless judgements were made on how well these foods were prepared, made and tasted. Remarkably Ann's sister-in-law Sarah Greenwood (nee Holgate) was so skilled and admired for the way she cooked porridge that she was entered into the annals of local folk-lore history.

Sarah, often known as Sally 'was renowned for her quality of porridge'. Recalling a time in his youth a former farmer's-boy of Thomas Greenwood recollected: 'Sally's porridge wer' th' thickest aw ever 'ad ta band; yo cud eyt 'em wi' a knife an' fork; in fact, if yo gate a spooin into 'em – lead 'un, yo kno, ther wer nooa sooart else then – yo culdn't get it aght ageean baght cruck'nin't. Ay Sally's porridge wer' like potted meyt fer stiff when they flopped aght o' th' pan' (W. Turner, *A Springtime Saunter*. p.17).This testimony acknowledged that the consistency of Sarah's porridge was so thick and stiff that when retracting a lead spoon from it, the spoon would bend out of shape. The comment was intended as nothing other than praise for Sarah's expertise. Substantially solid porridge was seemingly much admired and desired.

On a daily basis porridge and oatcakes provided most of the bulk and the slow release energy in the family diet – a diet which included meat, seasonal vegetables, foraged fruits, eggs, butter and cheese.

Of course the ready access to cow's milk ensured a constant supply of dairy produce. And just as in all other aspects of her work, Ann would involve her daughters in the lengthy cheese and butter making processes. Not only was another pair of hands useful, but this hands-on experience is where most of the teaching and learning took place. If Sarah, Ann and Elizabeth were to become competent and effective wives and mothers it was during the shared activities like this that the foundations were laid.

Through joint participation the daughters would acquire the skills and knowledge relating to every aspect of housework and family care. They would become familiar with the essential routines and pragmatic management of the home and farm. They would internalize disciplines related to laundering, cleaning and the 'doing of chores'. They would develop the skills to make, mend and sew. They would become practiced in the preparation and application of home-made remedies and the treatment of ailments. They would learn how to process and preserve vegetables and foraged fruits for the long winter. They would learn how to prepare meals, how to cook and how to bake. They would become adept in the making of butter and cheese and the dry salting of meat. And they would possibly learn how to brew ale. Furthermore in all this learning, Sarah, Ann and Elizabeth would come to understand the key and pivotal role that a wife and mother played in the lives of their family.

Of course throughout this time of home learning, the three daughters would also be engaged in the domestic textile processes undertaken at Withins. Even at the age of four years each daughter would have wound the yarn onto bobbins. However between 1831 and 1841, as the daughters grew up, physically developed and emotionally changed, so the economic climate developed and changed; thereby testing the families resolve and enterprise. In response the family adopted new working practices. They changed some roles. They pursued some different courses of action. The combination of weaving and farming alone was no longer enough to sustain the well being of the family.

A domestic triple-economy **From the domestic dual-economy of weaving and farming, that for numerous generations had supported the livelihood of family antecedents so well, there now evolved the triple-economy of weaving, farming and woolcombing. With the introduction of woolcombing into domestic practices there had also come the need for some change of occupational role, with first Mary and Sarah and then later Elizabeth, taking over the weaving role from their father. Importantly, it was this ability to introduce a new trade and change roles that enabled the family to continue sustaining the family livelihood and well-being. Woolcombing now sat alongside weaving within the national 'economic envelope' with farming continuing to provide a buffer to help cushion the family through the worst affects of national economic downturns. The introduction of woolcombing as the third element within the domestic economy would not only further secure the families self-sufficiency but perhaps also increase the level of income they derived from surplus. Furthermore this triple-economy would ensure the retention of the Holgate independent family working unit – the primary factor that provided the family's strength, freedom and security. And all this within the familiar and healthy environment of the remote and rural Warley Moor.**

Contrast the independently orchestrated life-experiences of John Holgate and his family with the appalling life-experiences suffered by those shackled to the mills in the urban textile centres of the North. For many of these mill-dependent families the domestic structure, as they would have once

known it, had been dismantled. For many, family life as they had once known it had been destroyed. Textile industrialists had seen to that.

<u>Mill dependency – the dismantling of family life</u> **Fundamental to the dismantling and destruction of family life in the mill-shackled homes were three factors. Firstly there was the manufactures exploitation of females, working-age children and youths. Secondly there was the manufacturers dramatic cut-back in the number of placements for male adult workers. Thirdly there was the manufactures abdication of concern regarding the needs and welfare of their employee's babies and little children. Shamefully the consequences for their employee's families were psychologically painful, emotionally harmful, physically damaging and life-threatening.**

In 1844 Frederick Engels brought direct attention to these facts and consequences.

'The employment of women at once breaks up the family; for when the wife spends twelve or thirteen hours every day in the mill, and the husband works the same length of time there or elsewhere, what becomes of the children? They grow up like wild weeds; they are put to nurse for a shilling or eighteenpence a week, and how they are treated may be imagined. Hence the accidents to which little children fall victims multiply in the factory districts to a terrible extent.'

'That the general mortality among young children must be increased by the employment of the mothers is self-evident, and is placed beyond all doubt by notorious facts. Women often return to the mill three or four days after confinement, leaving the baby of course. M.H., twenty years old, has two children, the youngest a baby, that is tended by the other, a little older. The mother goes to the mill shortly after five o'clock in the morning, and comes home at eight at night; all day the milk pours from her breasts, so that her clothing drips with it.'

'The use of narcotics to keep the children still is fostered by this infamous system.'

'A mother who has no time to trouble herself about a child, to perform the most ordinary loving services for it during its first year, who scarcely indeed sees it, can be no real mother to the child, must inevitably grow indifferent to it, treat it unlovingly like a stranger. The children who grow up under such conditions are utterly ruined for later family life, can never feel at home in the family which they themselves found, because they have always been accustomed to isolation, and they contribute therefore to the already undermining of the family in the working class. A similar dissolution of the family is brought about by the employment of the children.'

'In many cases the family is not wholly dissolved by the employment of the wife, but turned upside down. The wife supports the family, the husband sits at home, tends the children, sweeps the room and cooks.' (Frederick Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, London 1981 p.171-173).

In many mill worker homes family life had indeed been destroyed. Family values had been eroded. Family cohesion had all but been eliminated. And family domestic practices related to raising a family had largely been discarded. Opportunities for nurturing, mothering, baby-care, child-care and loving relationships were being cruelly denied. Where was even the barest shred of quality in family lives such as these? Seemingly 'family' was now little more than a word - for in these circumstances it had very little real substance.

A life-purpose in common **Happily the family circumstance at Withins was steeped in substance – despite their family livelihood and welfare being exposed to the vagaries of weather systems, extreme weather events, economic depressions and the commercial demands brought about by the advancement of the industrial age. And reassuringly they were not alone. The climatic, economic and commercial conditions exerted on Holgate family life were also echoed and endured in the neighbourhood farmsteads; for although these families were not close together they were nevertheless bound together. And what bound them together was not just a shared environment and common ways of organizing and managing work - binding them together was a common life-purpose. They all needed to be forward looking. The seasonal nature of the life of these families ensured that. Much of what these families did was of their own making and in their own time. They had much to do. They had much to share. They had common purposes related to their desired outcomes. And 'family' was at the very essence of it all. Indeed no family group in this remote corner of Warley township could survive in isolation - particularly the discrete group of fourteen farmsteads north of Spring Mill.**

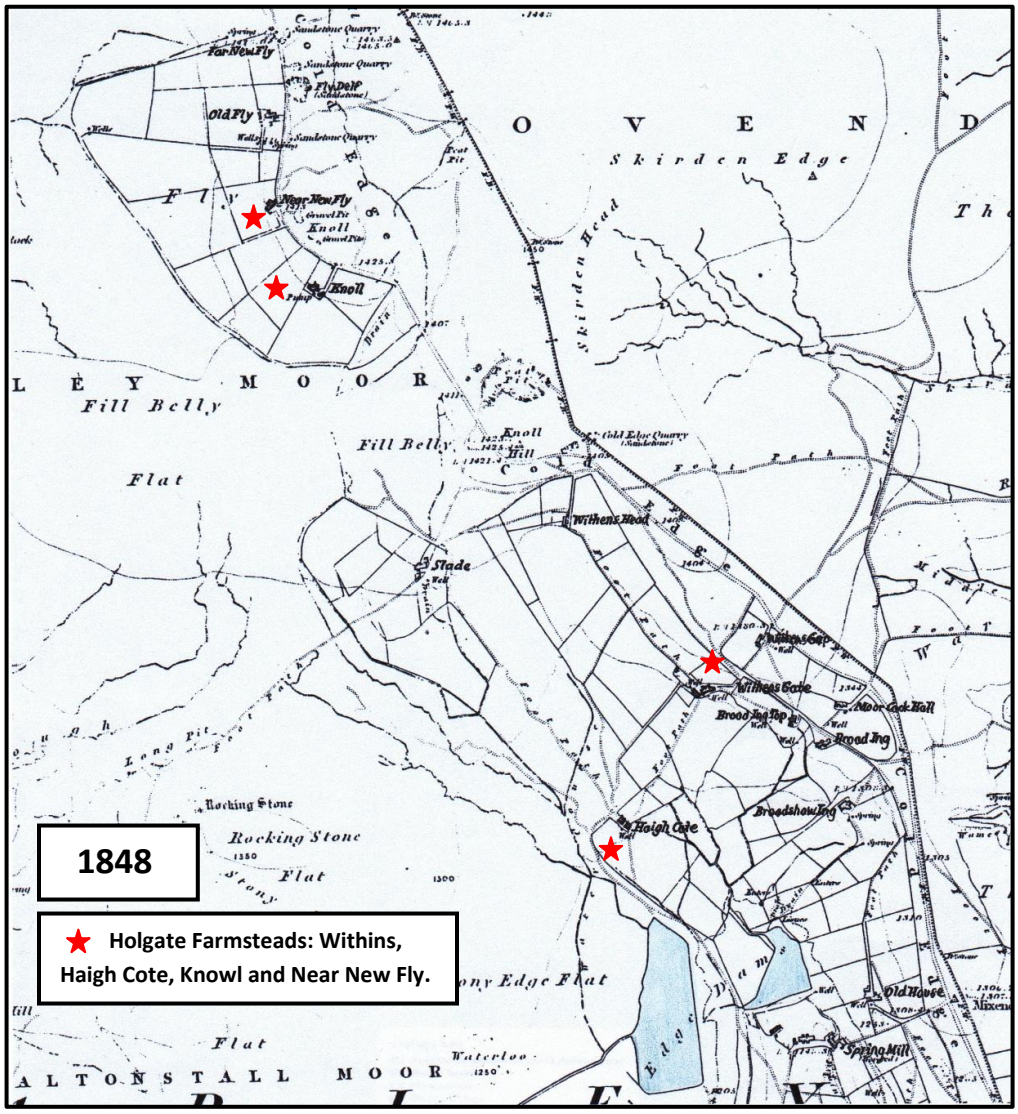


Figure 33. Cold Edge: The Fourteen Farmsteads located North of Spring Mill. Ordnance Survey 1848.

Here in this discrete group of fourteen farmsteads (Figure 33) one farmer's dilemma was very likely another farmer's dilemma. One family's problem was very likely another family's problem. One solution very likely assisted many. So how each household responded to the power-driven industrialization of textiles and the squeeze on their way of life and means of livelihood would be similar to that of a neighbour. The 1841 Census shows this to be clearly evident.

In this group of farmsteads one farmhouse (Haigh Cote) was unoccupied, whilst three, including Withins (labeled on the 1848 Ordnance Survey map as Withins Gate) were occupied in more than one part. These three double-occupancies resulted in sixteen households within the group of fourteen farmsteads at the time of the census.

Traditionally the families in these sixteen households had made their livelihood through the dual-economy of domestic weaving and farming, with the head of the family being classified as a weaver rather than as a farmer. This was clearly illustrated in the 1821 Census. In this census the six head of household listed either side of John Holgate at Withins were all weavers – thirteen in total, making a 100 per cent return for weaving as the primary occupation. Furthermore this would have been the same situation throughout many previous decades with handloom weaving having been the main income source for the inhabitants of these Cold Edge farms. However by the 1841 Census there was a very different story to tell (Figure 34).

In the 1841 Census sixteen families occupied dwellings in the Cold Edge area of Warley township north of Spring Mill - from Spring Mill House (Old House) in the south to the Fly farmsteads in the north. Of these sixteen families eleven head of household were now listed as being farmers. Three others were stone delvers, quarrying at Fly. One, a widow, was listed as independent and one other as a woolcomber. In percentage terms 69 per cent of household heads were farmers. Notably not one head of household was a weaver; representing a dramatic change from the 100 per cent weaving census return of 1821. No longer was this the characteristic dual-economy of farming and weaving. It was now the dual-economy of farming and 'something else'. In some instances, as with the Holgate household, it was a triple-economy. Furthermore, not only had domestic weaving completely disappeared as the primary income source, it was also disappearing as a subsidiary income provider. As revealed in Figure 34, only three of the sixteen households continued with family members working the looms. However, John and Ann Holgate's household was still one of them. Here at Withins, Sarah (27) and Elizabeth (16) operated the loom, whilst some members of other families at Knowl (x2), and Bradshaw Ing Top (x1) were also engaged in weaving. But this was only five people in all. Each one was a stuff weaver (weaver of worsted cloth). All were female. Weaving was no longer the work of men.

Nevertheless, in these three dwellings, handloom weaving was managing to cling-on. Female operation of the loom was ensuring the survival of the trade. But painfully obvious to all was the simple truth; these were the twilight years of the domestic handloom weaver. The sun had already set. And by the 1851 Census – pitch black. No weaving. No cloth pieces produced. Not one loom continued to operate in the locality of Cold Edge. North of Spring Mill domestic handloom weaving was dead.

Cold Edge: Farmsteads and Households North of Spring Mill. 1841 Census (Warley Township) [1.]			
Farmstead [2.]	*Head of Household*	*Occupation of Head*	*Occupation of the Family*
Spring Mill House	Abram Pickles	Woolcomber	Woolcomber (x4)
Haigh Cote	Unoccupied		
Hazel Hirst	Jonathan Greenwood	Farmer	Stuff Weaver (x2)
Upper Hazel Hirst	James Clay	Farmer	
Broadshaw Ing Top	John Sunderland	Farmer	Stuff Weaver Delver (x2)
Withins	John Holgate	Farmer	Stuff Weaver (x2) Woolcomber Agricultural Labourer
	William Brear	Farmer	
Upper Withins	William Eastwood	Farmer	Worsted Spinner Agricultural Labourer (x2) In Worsted Mill
	George Harrison	Stone Delver	Stone Delver Woolcomber
Slade	John Greenwood	Farmer	Woolcomber (x3)
Knowl	Thomas Wade	Farmer	Stuff Weaver (x2)
South Fly Brass Laithe	James Parker	Farmer	Woolcomber (x2) Agricultural Labourer
Old Fly Brass Laithe	William Stanworth	Stone Delver	Stone Delver
	James Stanworth	Stone Delver	
North Fly Brass Laithe	Matthew Fernhill	Farmer	Woolcomber
Withins Gap	Kersten Pilling	Farmer	Woolcomber
Moorcock Hall	Nancy Rothery	Independent	

[1.] Each farmstead is listed in the order that the enumerator visited the dwellings, which is the order in which information was recorded on the census return. However a query remains as to whether a visit was actually made to uninhabited Haigh Cote since in the census document Haigh Cote seems to have been inserted as an ammedment.

[2.] The 1847 Ordnance Survey Map labels ten of the above farmsteads with a different name – Spring Mill House/Old House, Hazel Hirst/Broadshaw Ing, Upper Hazel Hirst/Broad Ing, Broadshaw Ing Top/Broad Ing Top, Withins/Withins Gate, Upper Withins/Withins Head, South Fly Brass Laithe/Near New Fly, Old Fly Brass Laithe/Old Fly, North Fly Brass Laithe/Far New Fly, Withins Gate/Withins Gap.

Figure 34. Cold Edge: Farmsteads and Households located North of Spring Mill (1841 Census for Warley Township – Sub-registration District of Luddenden, Sunday 6 June 1841).

Protest, activism and reform **But handloom weaving did not die without a struggle; a struggle that spanned many years during the 1830's and 1840's and encompassed both the years of economic depression and the famine years of 'The Hungry Forties'. The most acute problems and the severest hardship was being experienced by the single trade handloom weaver, who was devoid of any other income source 'buffer' and relied solely on a monetary return from weaving. But there were also other textile outworkers whose trade was increasingly being put under severe pressure. Both the handloom weavers and these other textile outworkers were taking part in a struggle to survive. And together they were all part of a bigger and wider movement that was centred on protest and reform. But their voice of protest and demand for reform was fervently opposed by the great majority of the men of power; from the manufacturer to the aristocrat. In essence new money and old money formed an unlikely alliance in resisting the wishes, needs and pleas of those with little money, those who were poverty stricken and those who were destitute.**

The protests against the Corn Laws and Poor Law Act of 1834 were particularly vehement and protracted. So too was the reform agenda that related to factory hours and parliament itself - evoking a passionate up-swell of opinion and support.

In the textile heartlands as elsewhere, masses of workers became restless and desperate for change. Their restlessness and desperation led in turn to agitation. Radical movements and campaigning organisations gathered momentum – their petitions and pamphlets being supported by well attended meetings, long marches and mass rallies. Sides were taken. Propaganda abounded. And leading the propaganda for protest and reform was a West Riding of Yorkshire publication, the *Northern Star.*

From the latter months of 1837 this Leeds based weekly newspaper purposefully presented the case for the working man. Over the years the *Northern Star* devoted many column inches to highlighting their plight. Many column inches of editorial were also devoted to organisations and movements that sought change. A popular letters page also encouraged and fed debate; no more so than in relation to the Chartist movement. At its core the *Northern Star* was in fact an out-and-out Chartist journal, subscribing to the Chartist radical ideology which demanded parliamentary reform. The newspaper had a country-wide circulation; often being placed in taverns and inns to increase readership. Its content was eagerly digested not only by those who were able to read, but also by those to whom the content had to be read.

In these circumstances being illiterate was not much of a barrier to knowledge since there were many willing volunteers to relay a message that was loud, strong and persistent. Transfixed eyes and attuned ears would have devoured the political and social debate together with the latest news concerning protest meetings, marches and rallies - especially the eyes and ears of the oppressed domestic handloom weaver. Such information and news of events would be of particular interest and relevance to the families in the duel-economy farmsteads at Cold Edge, where fortunately for these households the return from their farm would cushion them from the worst excesses of hardship and poverty.

As elsewhere the attention of the families at Cold Edge would continually be drawn to the activities of the Chartists. By 1840 the movement had become a formal national organisation that was divided into localities; taking its lead from the organisational structure of the Methodists. Warley township formed its own association wherein its members vigorously promoted the six principles of *the People's Charter*, paving the way for the making of a modern democracy in Britain. The six points, emblazoned on posters and pamphlets, were clearly stated: a vote for every man, election by secret ballot, no property qualification for MP's, payment for MP's, equal constituencies, annual parliaments. Warley township would have its own fair share of such pamphlets and posters.

The members of the Warley division of the Chartists, together with the wider community with whom they shared their message, would be positively encouraged by the rhetoric and the reasoned arguments of activist leaders - prominent amongst who was Ben Rushton from the neighbouring township of Ovenden. Indeed the handloom weavers of upper Warley would have been fully aware that Rushton acknowledged, understood and empathised with their plight. After all he was also a handloom weaver whose family was enduring the very same stress and hardship as they were.

At this time Ben Rushton was well known as a Methodist New Connexion lay preacher as well as a radical political thinker and speaker of great fervour. His name would have been very familiar to John Holgate from as far back as 1820 or even earlier. Furthermore, since John Holgate's family worshipped at a New Connexion chapel (Mount Zion) less than one mile from Ben Rushton's cottage, it is highly likely that their paths crossed on any number of occasions. It is also highly likely that John Holgate's family empathised with Rushton's reasoning and the tenor of his message. However, whether John or any member of his family had the opportunity, or indeed the inclination, to attend a mass meeting or a rally is unknown. However it is reasonable to assume that even if only occasionally, a family member attended activist gatherings in the more immediate locality of Warley township.

Whether a Holgate family member journeyed 4 miles to Luddenden Foot on Monday 15 August 1842 is again unknown. Here at the foot of Luddenden Dean more than 10,000 of the working poor were addressed by leading Chartists. Here, amongst other speakers, the impassioned voice of Fergus O'Connell (proprietor of the *Northern Star*) would stir passion. Here the empathetic words of Ben Rushton would resonate and inspire. And here, at periodic intervals, the distinctive rumble and rattle of steam locomotives, wagons and carriages would alert and distract the attention of the vast crowd as they engaged with each other and listened to the words of their leaders.[1]

Most of the assembly were striking Yorkshire and Lancashire mill workers, but domestic handloom weavers and other outworkers made up the rest of the number. Indeed there is a distinct possibility that at least one Holgate family member attended the Luddenden Foot assembly, since even as far afield as the remote moorland farm at Withins the exhilarating news of the previous weekend's marches and rallies would have travelled swiftly.

[1.] In 1841 Luddenden Foot Railway Station came into being as part of the very first trans-Pennine railway - the Manchester-Leeds Railway. The Summit Tunnel linking Yorkshire with Lancashire was constructed by George Stevenson and at the time was the longest tunnel in the world. At Luddenden Foot road, rail, river and canal ran in close proximity along the narrow valley floor bottom, sheltered by the steeply inclined slopes of the Calder Valley.

Also travelling swiftly would be the astounding news of disturbances, the mobilisation of cavalry and enforced mill closures - events later referred to as the Plug Plot or Plug Riots.

<u>The Plug Plot</u> **In essence the Plug Plot was the working man's response to the poverty, starvation, humiliation and despair arising from short-time working, wage cuts and unemployment. The response was to take strike action on mass. The response was to prevent mills from operating. If needs be, mill dams were to be emptied. If needs be, plugs were to be withdrawn from factory boiler water tanks. And effective this response most certainly was. The action taken caused a disturbance alright. Down the upper Calder Valley marched the galvanised strikers and their impassioned supporters. This way and that way, up and along the Calder's tributary cloughs and valleys, the determined strikers broke off in groups to 'persuade' mill owners to silence their machines. Where 'persuasion' was ineffective boiler plugs were withdrawn and mill dams emptied.**

Warley township would be alive with emotion, curiosity, excitement and for some, a level of fear and trepidation. Way up into Luddenden Dean, agitated, committed men carried out their mission. But did the agitator's mission eventually reach the moorland mills at Lumb, Spring and Hole Bottom? Perhaps. Perhaps not; for despite the urgency to close down every textile mill before them, the remote location of these particular mills could have been a distance too far or an uphill climb too challenging. Nevertheless the impending possibility that this may happen would have weighed heavily on the minds of the moorland mill owners. Furthermore it is probable that news of such highly charged events taking place, combined with the distant noise of clamour and confrontation, drew at least some of the moorland inhabitants down into Luddenden Dean and the Calder Valley throng.

The Plug Plot marchers certainly drew the crowds in Halifax. Several thousand more joined the demonstrators. Unsurprisingly the cavalry was deployed. Boiler plugs were pulled at the notable Akroyd's mill, although its dam was prevented from being emptied. Seventeen men were arrested. The disturbance in the town became national news. So did events on the following day.

On Tuesday 16 August 1842 an attempt was made to release the arrested men. By means of two horse drawn carriages the seventeen prisoners were being taken to the Elland railway station, from where they would be transported to the court at Wakefield. The prisoner's carriages, escorted by a cavalry unit of the 11th Hussars, were obstructed and way-laid and the escort attacked by an angry mob; an attack which proved to be unsuccessful. No doubt the attacker's anger, being further fuelled by their failure, prompted a desire for revenge. And revenge they most certainly took. The returning escort and drivers of the empty carriages were met with vicious violence. At Salterhebble along the steeply inclined, twisting road into Halifax a planned ambush took place. From higher ground a volley of rocks and stones were directed at the cavalry unit below. Some of the unit were dismounted by brutal force. Punching, kicking and beating followed. Only by the use of swords and guns did the riotous attack subside. More than thirty men were arrested – with bullet wounds in three of them.

Publications printed illustrated accounts of the incident, which were distributed for national consumption. At a more local level the story of the Salterhebble riot together with accounts of the disturbances, marches, rallies and action taken at the various mills, would dominate conversations for

weeks to come. But if the domestic outworkers expected change they would be disappointed. It did not alter their demise. For the handloom weaver in Warley township, as elsewhere, his trade continued to erode away through the use of the power-driven loom.

<u>Cold Edge – a woolcombing hot-spot</u> **Yet, although handloom weaving was dying, the domestic textile industry in the upper reaches of Warley township lived on – in the handcombing of wool. Instigated by the switch to the production of worsted yarns in the nearby mills, woolcombing had been a thriving and expanding domestic occupation even before the onset of 1840 and was in full swing during the time of the Plug Plot. Indeed it remained as such into the 1850's. The increased demand for combed wool in the mills at Lumb, Spring and Hole Bottom had increased the demand for local woolcombers. In response many of the households at Cold Edge changed their domestic textile operation from weaving to woolcombing – or as at Withins, in part at least. Here at Withins, William and Joseph Holgate had entered the trade. After all, they knew that handloom weavers competed with power-machinery, whilst woolcombers, as yet, did not.**

So great was the response to the increased demand for combed wool that by the 1851 Census the number of woolcombers in the Cold Edge area had increased from nine (1841 Census), to twenty three. This was an extraordinary level of expansion (Figure 35). In direct contrast the number of domestic woolcombers south of the mills at Spring and Hole Bottom was minimal. Here in the south, in the direction of Wainstalls and beyond, work at the mill, not work at home, was dominant.

Cold Edge: Occupations of Tenant Families North of Spring Mill.[1]
Census Data for 1841, 1851 and 1861.

Year	*Farmer or Agric. Lab.*	*Weaver*	*Wool Comber*	*Stone Quarry Worker*	*Carter or Waggoner*	*Mill Worker*	*Other*
1841	17	10	9	7	0	4	0
1851	13	0	23	10	3	6	2
1861	14[2]	0	1	11	0	5	3

1. **The occupation of house worker has been omitted. Entries in the census returns for 1841(0), 1851(5) and 1861(3) did not reflect the extent of this very necessary occupation.**

On rare occasions an individual was listed as having two occupations. Where this occurred only the primary occupation has been included.

2. **Includes one female farmer - Ann Holgate (67) who was listed in the 1861 Census as a farmer of 16 acres at Haigh Cote and Withins. At the time of the census, Ann, now widowed, was recorded as head of household at Spring Mill (Old House on the 1848 Ordnance Survey map –Figure 33). With her were four of her granddaughters – Sarah Ann Turner(18), Emma Turner(15), Ruth Wormald(14) and Ann Holgate(8).**

Figure 35. Cold Edge: Occupations of Tenant Families North of Spring Mill – (1841, 1851 and 1861).

Most certainly the primary concentration of woolcombers was in the locality of Cold Edge. This was indeed a hot-spot. But by 1851 this hot-spot was already over-heated. Over recruitment had been the problem. Worker supply had over-shot product demand. Consequently earnings were low.

By now William Holgate (grandfather x3) had retreated from full-time combing. By now he had taken on his own farm tenancy at Knowl, to the north of Withins (Figure 33). By now woolcombing, if indeed William continued to comb, would become just one part of a dual-economy livelihood, taking a subsidiary place to farming. Yet in the region of Cold Edge, twenty three woolcombers still plied their full-time trade - but not for long. With the installation of power-driven combing machines in the 1850's there came the inevitable demise of the full-time moorland handcombers. And William's brother Joseph Holgate was one of them. Just like William before him Joseph would abandon full-time combing to take on a farm tenancy. The combination of the machine combing of wool and the poor financial return for the handcomber would see to that.

By the time of the 1861 Census only one woolcomber remained. Cold Edge was no longer the remarkable hot-spot it had once been, when domestic handcombers prepared wool for worsted spinning in the mills at Lumb, Spring and Hole Bottom.

Opportunities for farmers **Significantly, whilst these moorland mills had engineered the rise and eventual fall of domestic woolcombing and had also contributed to the strangulation of domestic weaving at Withins and neighbouring farmsteads, these very same mills had also breathed life into an occupation totally unconnected with their business. This was farming – although 1851 Census figures do not seem to reflect this. Compared with 1841 figures there was an actual decrease of four in the numbers of those classified as 'working on the land'. However this was not because of a reduction of those classified as farmers (Figure 35). The decrease was in those who worked as agricultural labourers. Agricultural labourers had switched to another occupation. Most likely it was work as a woolcomber or stone delver. Needless to say, those that were farmers would enlist all the help they needed, when and as they required. Certainly there was potential for farmers to increase their income; even those with small families and therefore 'less hands' available to provide help on demand. Such circumstances existed at Haigh Cote in 1851, when John and Ann Holgate had only their youngest child Anthony (19) still living in their home.**

For John Holgate and his neighbours the mills provided opportunity. Mills needed operatives. Operatives had families. Families needed feeding. The mill workers families were a ready market for farmers. They were within easy reach. They had wages to spend. The demand was right there on the doorstep and the Holgate farmstead, along with other farmsteads north of Spring Mill, could help to supply the demand for meat, eggs, milk and dairy products. Additionally there would also be a demand for corn in the form of oats and a market for seasonal vegetables. But since the Cold Edge and Fly area was essentially cattle country it is more likely that cereal was mostly supplied from elsewhere; a travelling provender merchant, or a local store perhaps. Certainly there were four small shops in the vicinity. In the 1845 *Walkers Directory* four shopkeepers were listed; situated at Wainstalls, Slack, Stones and Kell Butts. But supplying most vegetables, meat and dairy products would be in the hands of local farmers. Perhaps John Holgate was one of them. Since his Haigh Cote

farmstead was only a matter of minutes from the small settlements near the mills at Spring, Hole Bottom and Lumb taking this opportunity made sense.

Economically this would have been a reasonably good time for John Holgate and neighbouring farmers at Cold Edge. Not only was there a ready local market of mill worker families, there was also a rapidly expanding urban population in the valley bottom of the Calder and particularly in Halifax. Here in the urban areas rural livestock would be in great demand. And seemingly John Holgate assisted in satisfying this demand. Hence the 1843 marriage certificate of his son William to Sarah Greenwood (grandparents x3) identified John Holgate as a cattle dealer.

As a cattle dealer John would probably have attended the livestock market at Halifax Green (now called Cow Green). Certainly the increased demand for cattle would provide very good business for him. So good, that in 1843 John regarded himself as a cattle dealer rather than as a farmer. This in itself was a significant sign of the changing times. Yes, although industrialization was eroding the dual-economy of farming and textiles, in return it was creating an expanding food market for John and other like-minded farmers who were capable enough, willing enough and resourceful enough to feed the nucleated masses – farmers such as the twelve on the remote moorland heights of Cold Edge.

Economic depression **Unfortunately whatever enterprise was undertaken by any of these twelve farmers, their endeavours were constantly set against a backdrop of national economic fluctuations. There were good years. There were bad years; such as those encountered during the economic depression of 1837. This depression, which straddled over into 1838, resulted in periods of short-time working in the mills and factories. Indeed short-time working became the norm. Inevitably there was unemployment. And even when the subsequent recovery came and there was re-employment and the re-instatement of full-time work, it was short lived. Recovery was brief. Recovery didn't even see out the final months of the decade. Economic depression resumed - for another four years.**

Heavily compounded by food shortages and food price increases – created by a number of poor harvests between 1836 and 1843 – the consequences of the subsequent 1839-43 depression were far more deep and far more severe than previously experienced. Desperate times for many. The Poor Law Act (1834) didn't help either; the detested parish workhouse was most certainly not the place to be. Anxious times for all. Most vulnerable were those enslaved to the mills and factories. In many cases whole families were dependent on one source of income. There was no cushion against short-time working. No real option when unemployed. No wonder these particular years of depression earned the unwanted but entirely appropriate label, 'The Hungry Forties'.

Nevertheless, despite the seven years of economic turbulence and 'The Hungry Forties', the farmers at Cold Edge continued to make their living. Of course, where farming families had several dependents there was always the need for a secondary income. This had certainly been the case at Withins, where the census return for 1841 had shown a mature family of eight in number. A large family – not a large enough farm. The twenty acres of double-tenancy farmland was too small to provide work for everyone. Increasing the acreage had been a non starter. Immediately north, south and east of the Holgate farm holding all land was taken-up, whilst to the west there was enclosed moorland.

John Holgate – carter **Throughout the years, limitations on expanding the acreage had re-enforced the continuing need to provide additional income through the pursuit of domestic occupations alongside farming. Hence, at Withins they pursued the triple-economy of farming, weaving and woolcombing. But the family's enterprising spirit didn't stop there. John Holgate was also involved in the carting of goods – an occupation, which at the age of sixty nine, sadly killed him.**

Utilizing a horse-drawn cart for general transport and haulage needs would have been part of John's working practices since at least the early 1820's. Carting and the deployment of a horse would have been an essential feature in the day to day management of his double-tenancy farm. His farm management would necessitate frequent use of the narrow, rough track that linked Haigh Cote with Withins – for 'When John Holgate occupied part of Haigh Cote and Withins he went up and down the road in question with horse and cart' (*A Springtime Saunter*, p39). Although the prime purpose of John's carting would have been related to farming, there would also have been other uses. On occasion there would have been a domestic use. Sometimes there would be the transportation of family members. At other times, when William and Joseph were in the business of woolcombing they too would have made use of the farm cart; transporting their combed 'tops' to the mill at Lumb, Spring or Hole Bottom, returning later with a new load of wool ready for combing. But there would also have been times between 1820 and 1860 when the use of the horse drawn cart could possibly have provided an additional income. Work related to the three Cold Edge Dams for instance.

Certainly in the enlargement of the Haigh Cote Dam (1831) it is reasonable to assume that John Holgate took some part. After all, this dam was 'on his doorstep'. This dam actually abutted the western perimeter of the farmstead he tenanted. Sometimes glistening, sometimes reflective and sometimes brooding, this expansive sheet of dam water would catch John's eye at every turn. The presence of this particular dam could not be ignored (Figure 36). The opportunity to earn would be difficult to overlook. Surely, when it fitted in with his weaving and farming, John would have provided his labour in the enlargement process of the dam; perhaps also assisting in the haulage of stone blocks to the site. Similarly, when the neighbouring Leadbetter Dam was constructed (1835-36) there were further opportunities for casual work on site or carting.

Figure 36. Haigh Cote Dam. In the background lies the Haigh Cote farmhouse (center left) and the Withins farmhouse (center right) – viewed from the south. (2010)

Millstone Grit – a stone for the industrial age **Indeed as the years passed so came an increasing requirement for local moorland gritstone – and with it employment. But unlike in the past, the need for stone now came from further afield than the local rural area. The need for stone now came from the urban settlements. As urban industry expanded so did rural quarrying. Urban building and construction projects placed a huge demand on the regions natural resources; a demand that could be met, in part, in the moorlands of Warley. Here the gritstone bed (geologically referred to as Rough rock) was readily available and not too distant from the industrial clusters and the population centers in Halifax and the upper Calder Valley.**

Rough rock is classified as the first or top grit of millstone grit. Being extremely dense and therefore resistant to splitting it could withstand the downward pressure exerted by the huge and heavy shuddering steam-powered engines of the day - ideal for use as factory engine room flooring. Its special qualities as a building stone were also recognized, being celebrated as such in a presentation paper entitled *Halifax Stone*. The paper stated: 'The grit is of a fine quality of warm brown colour, sometimes white: some of the finest buildings in the North of England are built from it, its texture standing the acids prevalent in the atmosphere of manufacturing towns very well' (*Halifax Stone* – The Surveyors Institution Annual Meeting 1903). Of course years earlier, during the period c.1860 to c.1880, in which the delving of rough rock reached its zenith, such expert opinion was unknown. At that time this particular gritstone's high level of resistance to the erosive impact of industrial atmospheric pollution was largely unconsidered and unrecognized. Nevertheless even without this knowledge, the rough rock gritstone of Warley was highly regarded. Warley gritstone was thereby systematically extracted. And Warley gritstone was thereby transported - far and wide. It truly was a stone for the industrial age.

The core of activity was firmly located on the northern section of the Cold Edge ridge at Fly and the adjoining Nab Hill. Never before, had there been such a heavy concentration of human endeavour in these remote moorlands. It was nothing less than a most extraordinary piece of local history. Fifteen delves were opened. As much as 40,000 tons of stone per year was excavated. Huge quantities went to Halifax. Huge quantities were transported nationally. Huge quantities were exported abroad.

Fly delves – a hive of industry **In his book *A Springtime Saunter* (first edition published 1913) Whitely Turner reflects back to this remarkable period of time in the following terms: 'What a hive of industry Fly was less than forty years ago! Even comparatively young people remember the time when fifteen quarries were in full swing in the neighbourhood, employing more than three hundred men and requiring between fifty and sixty horses'. However it is the reflections that Turner made eight years prior to the publication of his book that provide most detail regarding 'the hive of industry' at Cold Edge.**

In 1905 Turner had written a series of twenty five articles entitled '*A Springtime Saunter – with side-light glimpses*'. All were published in the *Halifax Courier* of that year. Article number viii relates: 'Time was within the space of forty years, when no less than fifteen quarries were here in full swing, employing, all told, some 300 hands, three owners alone each regularly keeping busy between 30 and 40. To more adequately comprehend the enormous amount of business transacted in stone unearthed from these regions let us for a moment glance at the hut before us. Here are the names of a dozen persons, quarry masters and private individuals, jointly owning between fifty and sixty horses, all of whom, at the self-same period were constantly engaged in executing the leading. Many an old resident , still living, dotingly delights in describing the long line

of teamers that could then daily be seen wending their way down the steep incline towards Luddenden Foot, there to dispose of their heavy freights, to be thence conveyed to their destination by the boats in waiting, on the Manchester and Liverpool Canal; a very small percentage of the traffic at that time being conducted through the railway company. Since then things have completely changed'. (*Halifax Courier*, 22 July 1905).

Turner's article is a confident account that is both informative and illustrative. However, it is accepting without question, the number of men working at the delves. Such a number seems amazingly high; 'some 300 hands', or as revised in his book*, A Springtime Saunter*, 'more than three hundred men'. Yet the location and character of the Cold Edge area – its geography, terrain and accessibility, coupled with the distance of the delves from population clusters – certainly raises a question regarding the likelihood of such numbers. Indeed, eight years after writing the *Courier* article, Turner saw fit to include in his book the statement: 'We look and wonder where men and horses came from'. (Turner, *A Springtime Saunter*, p69). Wonder indeed. So many men employed. Where is the evidence for such a number? The census returns perhaps?

Since Turner stated that it was 'within the space of forty years' that 'some 300 hands' were employed in quarry related activities, the most appropriate census return from which to obtain evidence would be that of 1871. Data recorded here would have been recorded thirty four years before Turner's series of articles were published in the *Halifax Courier* (1905). The 1861 Census would have been too far in the past (forty four years) and the 1881 Census too recent (twenty four years). Accordingly the 1871 Census would therefore seem to be the best-fit regarding Turner's 'within forty years' time-frame.

Certainly the most immediate source of labour for the Fly and Nab delves at Cold Edge would be the adult male population that populated the surrounding area. This would encompass the northern part of Warley township, the north-western part of Ovenden township, the eastern part of Wadsworth township, the northern part of Midgley township, the southern part of Oxenhope and the extreme western section of Denholme. Yet within a 2 mile radius and in whatever direction, the great majority of this high moorland was sparsely populated:

Upper Warley had its characteristic dispersed farmstead community interspersed with the occasional small block of mill worker housing.

The small village of Wainstalls and the tiny hamlet of Saltonstall lay 2 miles from the delves.

The southern section of Oxenhope had a scattering of farms and several small population clusters.

The adjacent section of Ovenden had a large tract of uninhabited land.

The closest section of Wadsworth was for the main part devoid of inhabitants.

Furthermore, the number of men setting off to work at the Cold Edge delves from the distant Midgley township and from far-away Denholme would be few, if any.

All-in-all the picture was somewhat bleak. Within a 2 mile radius, the townships of Wadsworth, Midgley and Denholme would supply few men, if any, for work at the delves. Warley, Oxenhope and

Ovenden were much better sources. Even then it would seem highly unlikely that 'some 300 hands' could be found. And an examination of the 1871 Census supports such a conclusion.

1871 Census of England and Wales						
Delvers and other Quarry Related Occupations within a two mile radius of the Cold Edge Delves						
District	*Delver or Quarry Worker*	*Mason*	*Mason's Labourer*	*Owner or Stone Merchant*	*Carter or Wagoner*	*Occupation Total*
Warley	32	9	3	1	12	57
Ovenden	36	5	0	1	6	48
Oxenhope	63	17	2	0	10	92
Total	131	31	5	2	28	192

Enumeration Districts from which data was obtained:
Warley (1,2) Ovenden (12,13,14) Oxenhope (9,10,11,12)

Figure 37. 1871 Census: Distribution of Delvers and 'Other Quarry Related Occupations' within a two mile radius of the Fly and Nab Delves at Cold Edge.

The pattern of population distribution within a 2 mile radius of the delves indicates that by far the main source of potential labour would emanate from Warley, Ovenden and Oxenhope. Yet the 1871 Census data for the relevant enumeration districts of Warley (1 and 2) lists remarkably few delvers. Only thirty two were recorded. Even when other quarry related occupations are included the total figure for Warley is only a modest fifty seven (Figure 37).

The Ovenden return (Enumeration District 12, 13, 14) was similar – thirty six delvers and twelve other quarry related occupations making a potential total of forty eight workers for Ovenden.

Oxenhope figures were somewhat better – for in relative terms the greatest population density lay in this area. Sixty three delvers were recorded (Enumeration District 9, 10, 11, 12). And with the inclusion of twenty nine other quarry related occupations the number of potential workers at the Fly and Nab delves was swelled to ninety two for Oxenhope.

The data in Figure 37 for Warley, Ovenden and Oxenhope reveals that as many as 192 men could possibly have been employed at the delves - of which 131 could have been delvers. Realistically, however, these figures didn't project the whole picture. For instance the sixty one men engaged in occupations under the heading 'quarry related' needn't necessarily have been directly involved in work at the delves. On the one hand, masons were just as likely to be involved in building or maintenance projects elsewhere: most if not all probably were. Carters, on the other hand, were required daily for the collection, transportation and delivery of a whole range of commercial goods and produce in the towns, villages and countryside. Furthermore, the fact that a man was listed as a delver does not automatically mean that he was employed at one of the fifteen delves at Cold Edge. Such would have been the case for the thirty delvers listed in Ovenden Enumeration District 13 who

realistically could all have been employed in another locality – namely, at the substantial Hunter Hill delph . This delph was practically on the 'doorstep' of this particular cohort of delvers. Most likely this is indeed where these thirty Ovenden delvers were employed.

Undoubtedly a distinctive feature of the moorlands was the number and the spread of gritstone delves that pock-marked the landscape. Hence here and there, delvers were in constant demand. Therefore taking all factors into account, a more realistic number of Warley, Ovenden and Oxenhope men employed at and living within a 2 mile radius of the Cold Edge delves would be in the region of 120. Quite possibly there were even less. All-in-all this was not an overwhelming contribution to the workforce in excess of 300 men.

So where were the 'more than three hundred'? To make up this number the majority of workers must have come from further afield than the 2 mile radius. Extending the radius to 3 miles would, because of the geography, terrain and limited access routes effectively mean some workers actually travelling a much further distance than a 3 mile straight-line requirement. In reality an actual walking distance of 4 miles or more may have been required. Therefore when surveying the population distribution - and when considering the competing employment opportunities, particularly in factory industries, on the farm and more accessible delves – it is necessary to consider just how far men would be regularly prepared to walk to their place of work.

1871 Census of England and Wales						
Delvers and 'Other Quarry Related Occupations' within a four mile journey of the Cold Edge Delves						
District	*Delver or Quarry Worker*	*Mason*	*Mason's Labourer*	*Owner or Stone Merchant*	*Carter or Wagoner*	*Occupation Total*
Warley	41	19	5	1	15	81
Ovenden	162	23	0	9	36	230
Midgley	7	2	1	0	4	14
Wadsworth	3	0	0	0	2	5
Oxenhope	70	31	2	0	14	117
Denholme	9	6	0	0	2	17
Total	292	81	8	10	73	464

Enumeration Districts from which data was obtained:
Warley (1,2,3) Ovenden (7,11,12,13,14,16,17) Midgley (9) Wadsworth (6) Oxenhope (7,8,9,10,11,12) Denholme (16)

Figure 38. 1871 Census: Distribution of Delvers and 'Other Quarry Related Occupations' within a four mile journey of the Fly and Nab Delves at Cold Edge.

A distance of 4 miles was a long way to travel on foot each day. A distance of 4 miles would take over one hour in normal circumstances. But the steep and uneven moorland incline was not a normal circumstance. The vagaries and harshness of moorland weather was not normal either. Then there

was the return journey to consider – a daily total of 8 miles. Even so, perhaps some hardy souls did travel such distances – but this would be a minority. For most people, if there was a choice between work nearer home in the valley and work in a quarry at the summit of a bleak windswept moorland hill, the decision would be a 'no brainer'. Nevertheless in the quest to establish the whereabouts of the 300 plus workforce it is probably necessary for a 4 mile journey on foot to be taken as a benchmark distance for travel to work. For carters and wagoners however, this may have been different. After all they did have the transport to cover greater distances from their home base.

The 1871 Census indicates that there were as many as 464 men living within or just outside the benchmark walking distance of 4 miles who either worked as delvers or worked in quarry related occupations (Figure 38). 292 of these men were delvers. Potentially a large pool of labour was available. On these figures, Turner's 'more than three hundred' could therefore be met.

However this was only possible, if firstly, men were prepared to journey up to 8 miles or so each day.

Secondly, it was only possible if the great majority of delvers were not working at more locally convenient quarries, as in the case of those at Ovenden. Already the delph at Hunter Hill has been identified as an employer of perhaps thirty Ovenden delvers. But there were even more delves to consider in the township. For instance, readily accessible to those men listed in the 1871 return for Ovenden Enumeration District 7 were the large delves at Moor End and Sentry Edge. A huge total of 111 delvers were listed in this particular enumeration district. Also listed were twenty three employed in quarry related work. Quarrying occupations therefore numbered 134. It is fairly conceivable that most, if not all of these 134 men, worked in their more immediate locality. In this instance a daily round-trip of 6 or more miles to the Cold Edge delves would be avoided by these men if there was a nearby alternative. Delves at Moor End and Sentry Edge were such alternatives. The number of delvers in the Ovenden section of Figure 38 who worked in the more local stone quarries could therefore be as many as 141. If so, then only twenty one were potentially available for Cold Edge, thereby reducing the overall total number of delvers in Figure 38 to 151. Of course if the rate-of-pay was more attractive at the Cold Edge delves this would have had a bearing on decision making.

Thirdly, Turner's 300 plus was only possible if a reasonable number of those in other quarry related occupations were not engaged elsewhere. Although a good percentage of the seventy three carters and wagoners listed would be transporting stone from the Fly and Nab delves it is probable that a majority of the eighty nine masons and masons labourers would not be at Cold Edge. Work at other more local delves as well as employment in building, construction, repair and maintenance would demand their specialist skills. If this was indeed the case then it could be assumed that of the 172 men employed in quarry related occupations (Figure 38) less than half worked at the Cold Edge delves.

All-in-all, if the above factors relating to journey distance, to locally convenient work and to quarry related occupations did have real significance upon the number of workers engaged in activity at Cold Edge it would result in a total number somewhere in the region of 200 to 250 men.

So what about itinerant workers? Did migrants from other parts of England fill up vacancies? Most certainly large numbers of unemployed were eager for work and were prepared to relocate with their

families. Were itinerant workers from Ireland another possibility? Year after year thousands of Irish men sought seasonal employment in England to help support their family back home. So did temporary itinerant Irish workers make up the numbers at the Fly and Nab delves? Significantly there is no evidence to suggest this. Census returns reveal absolutely nothing on this score. However since the 1871 return was compiled on Sunday 2 April did the information gathering date precede the temporary influx of seasonal workers? Most likely it did not; itinerant workers would already be here.

Surely a seasonal influx of itinerant workers would have been noted and documented. Surely this yearly event would not have been forgotten. Certainly there would have been many tales to tell. At the very least there would have been some reference to itinerant workers in '*A Springtime Saunter'.* Therefore, if indeed there was any periodic swell in the numbers working at the quarries it was most likely from more local sources - farmers and farm labourers in particular. As the farming cycle ebbed and flowed so did the availability of those who worked in farming – as in the case of John Holgate (grandfather x4) who carted stone from Cold Edge c.1860.

Reason suggests that all possibilities have to be somewhat stretched to make the case for Turner's 'more than three hundred' – particularly the distance men were prepared to travel. To make the case anywhere near feasible a substantial number of workers must have made a daily journey to work that was in excess of 4 miles, with some journeying 5, 6 or perhaps even 7 miles. A round-trip in excess of 10 miles seems incredible. However reason suggests that Turner's case is difficult to make unless this were so. Seemingly, Turner's statement: 'We look and wonder where men and horses came from.' could only possibly be resolved by looking and gazing mile, after mile, after mile, over 360 degrees, from the moor-top Fly and Nab delves at Cold Edge. This particular employment net would need to have been cast very far and very wide indeed.

But one final question remains. Is the three hundred plus somewhat of an overestimate? Did the 'hive of industry' just seem to be so great in numbers? Was the workforce number perhaps a romantic exaggeration? In other words does 'more than three hundred' owe something to an overestimate and/or regional folk-lore?

Overestimate folk-lore or factually correct, the simple truth remains, that an extraordinarily large number of adult males were engaged at the delves in one capacity or another. Overestimate, folk-lore or factually correct, the Cold Edge delves were indeed a 'hive of industry'. Unsurprising therefore, that in the vicinity of Fly and Nab, the impact on local income and the local economy was to the great benefit of many. Unsurprising also, was the deep scaring impact of the delves on the local landscape. Along the summit of the Cold Edge ridge, at Fly and Nab, the jagged, strata-marked delph craters were highly visible and would remain as a visual legacy of nature's resource and man's endeavour - for all time.

The observation that 'Halifax was built on stone and built of stone' was therefore clearly an evident truth. From c.1840 to the end of the century the tenant families at Cold Edge would bear testimony to this fact. After all, either directly or indirectly, members of these tenant families provided some of the blood, some of the sweat and some of the tears that went into extracting and transporting stone to be

utilized in building the infrastructure, the industrial premises and the townscape of Victorian Halifax and its urban satellites. John Holgate was one of them – in a time period leading up to Turner's 'more than three hundred'.

John's contribution was made as a carter of stone. For John, as with some others in the locality of Cold Edge, the delves provided supplementary income. In some of these moorland families the young men had been directly employed in the delph for decades – with seven, ten and eleven being recorded in the respective census data for 1841, '51 and '61 (Figure 35). In 1851 three men were recorded as being either a carter or a wagoner. No doubt all three transported the quarried stone. However, John Holgate was not included in this number, since although he too would probably have been engaged in the carting of stone his primary role was still that of a farmer.

1857 – a quite extraordinary year for chapel and church **Busy and demanding though John's life was as a farmer and carter, it is conceivable that when the local community was called upon, in the year 1857, to assist in the building of the Mount Pleasant United Methodist Chapel in Wainstalls , he offered, or felt compelled to offer his services. This chapel was for the people of the locality. This chapel was for the community's benefit. And judging by the response its construction was of great local significance and presumably of great local pride (Figure 39). Fourteen local men raised sufficient funds to purchase the chosen site. Local quarry owners donated stone. Local carters collected and transported stone free of any charge. Possibly John Holgate carted some of the loads. Despite an affiliation to another chapel – that at Mount Zion – he may nevertheless have participated in this community endeavour. Indeed it might have been very difficult to resist.**

In direct contrast with the building of the modestly designed Mount Pleasant Chapel in rural Wainstalls the year 1857 witnessed the completion of one and near completion of another altogether more impressive place of worship in the town of Halifax. Here two 'competing' churches were erected; both were elegant, impressive and dominating structures. Both were gothic in design. Both projects were driven forward by eminent textile industrialists of considerable wealth. However each church represented different values regarding church authority, governance and accountability. And each church was synonymous with the name of a single prominent philanthropic family – for one church it was Crossley and for the other it was Akroyd.

The Crossley family was making considerable profits from their carpet factories in Dean Clough.[1] They were committed non-conformists and were instrumental in the building of Square Congregational Church. Situated in the centre of Halifax, outside the east wall of the Georgian Piece Hall, this edifice to God was a monument to Methodist values. Furthermore it was a model of its kind – its crowning glory being the Crossley funded 275 foot tower-with-spire that majestically pierced the smoke-filled industrial skyline.

[1.] Carpet production continued to grow to such an extent that in the twentieth century there were 11 mills contained within the Dean Clough complex covering over 1.25 million square feet of factory space. Crossleys, although no longer owned by the family had become the largest carpet manufacturer in the world.

Not to be outdone, the spire of the 'competing' All Soul's Church was capped at one half foot higher than the spire on Square Congregational Church; an intentional move made by the Akroyd family. But not only was All Soul's taller, it was visually more impressive than its rival. And rival it surely was. This was a Church of England place of worship and its clergy were there to compete vigorously for the heart, soul and mind of the people of Halifax. Having the grandest of churches would have been seen by them as an aid to this cause. Designed by the nationally celebrated architect Sir Gilbert Scott, All Soul's was favourably and conspicuously placed on the slope of Haley Hill north of the town center. It overlooked Akroyd's textile mill, the scene of aggressive action during the Plug Plot of 1842 (p.60). Furthermore it overlooked many other mills in the town of Halifax. This was indeed a commanding position. The church's presence could not be avoided and why should it? After all Sir Gilbert Scott himself, regarded All Soul's as one of his finest churches. The Akroyd family could justifiably be proud of what they had achieved. The huge success of their nearby worsted factories had enabled the commissioning and funding of the church and now all could marvel at it.[1]

Meanwhile the tower-less, spire-less, understated box construction of Mount Pleasant would never elicit such a sense of awe. Nevertheless, its presence and its function within the village of Wainstalls would be no less appreciated by its congregation than those who filled the pew seats at Square Congregational or All Soul's. Pride in the Mount Pleasant Chapel would arise from a sense of ownership, community teamwork and community endeavour - and the knowledge that it was only through local generosity regarding funds, labour, transport and materials that the chapel came into being. A single philanthropic industrialist family played no part here.[2]

Figure 39. Wainstalls: Mount Pleasant United Methodist Chapel (now a private residence). (2006)

1. All Soul's Church was built to accompany the ambitious and visionary Akroydon model housing development nearby. N.B. The writer of this account spent his childhood and teenage years in Akroydon at 1. York Terrace.

2. Mount Pleasant Chapel retained its independence throughout its existence as a place of worship (1857–c.1980). Unlike many chapels, at no time did it become part of a Methodist circuit.

Luddenden Valley – proposal for building a railway **Over the decades it was for the large part industrialist families, like the Crossleys and the Akroyds, who were often responsible for, or behind the reshaping and enlarging of Halifax and its satellite towns and villages. Churches, civic buildings, factories, schools, hospitals, houses, parks and gardens all came into their remit.[1] And with this, the extraction, removal and transportation of stone became really big business for the many delves that pock-marked the landscape of the Parish of Halifax. No more so than at Cold Edge - at the fifteen Fly and Nab delves. So big was the business here, so huge was the volume of stone moved and so great the tonnage carried, that at one time, plans were made to construct a branch railway in the lower section of the Luddenden Valley. Effectively this would eliminate more than one third of the 5 mile journey from Fly to the railway station at Luddenden Foot**

The newly formed Luddenden Valley Railway Company of 1864-65 envisaged constructing a branch line that would connect with the already existing Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway line that wended its way down the Calder Valley. From a junction near to the Luddenden Foot station it was intended to run a branch railway up into the narrow valley of Luddenden Dean to the village of Luddenden and then beyond to a railway halt near Holme House Bridge north of the hamlet of Booth. This was both a pragmatic and an ambitious venture. Profitability and a healthy return for the shareholders would come not only from the tonnage fees for stone, of which more than 30,000 tons per year was forecast, but also from the tonnage fees for coal. Stone would travel southbound to the canal and railway at Luddenden Foot, whilst coal, with 40 tons per day needed to stoke the furnaces of the steam-powered mills in the Luddenden Valley, would travel northbound.

On the face of it the idea to construct the railway was sound. Indeed, on 26 May 1865 a parliamentary act sanctioned the proposal. But that was that. Although the plan was sanctioned, parliament required the company to extend the proposed line (almost 2 miles in length) to the neighbouring Worth Valley as soon as practicable. But practicable it was not. Factors relating to the prohibitive cost of tunneling, the sparseness of the population along the route of the extended railway and the inconvenience of a main road level crossing at Luddenden village brought an end to the scheme. Consequently the Luddenden Valley Railway never materialized.

Road haulage of stone – costly and dangerous **Without a rail line nothing changed. Road haulage prevailed. Yet this was not without some real difficulty; unfortunately these roads were generally poor in construction and suffered badly under the pressure of heavily weighted carts. In particular, damage occurred from the impact made by the mammoth stone-wagons drawn by a team of four, six or even eight horses. And this had been the state of affairs since before 1840.**

The 1854 Ranger Report for Warley township revealed that between 1848 and 1853 the highway costs associated with the 4 mile stretch of road from Luddenden to the the Fly delves at Cold Edge averaged out at £252 per annum; by far the largest expenditure in the township. The report indicated that in total there were 28 miles of highway in Warley. However, the road from Fly to Luddenden accounted

. [1] **The impressive orphanage building funded by the Crossley family later became Crossley and Porter Grammar School – where the writer received his secondary education (1956-1963). Following the amalgamation of two schools it is now known as Crossley Heath Grammar School.**

for less than 15 per cent of this mileage. Yet it absorbed nearly 48 per cent of highway maintenance expenditure. In explaining the reason for this disparity, the report stated: 'This large outlay was chiefly owing to the carriage of stone from the quarries to the canal, which amounted sometimes to as much as 100 tons per day. The roads being steep, the carters were obliged to lock the wheels of their wagons, and the road was thus cut up more than it otherwise would be'. (W.Ranger, *Report to the Board of Health on a Preliminary* Enquiry *of the Township of Warley.* 1854). Sometime later, and in response to the report, the highway board for Warley instigated a different approach to road surfacing.

Thick durable flagstones, quarried near to Halifax, provided a solution. Laid out in two parallel lines, the flagstones proved to be resilient and long lasting – evidence of which still remains on the section of Cold Edge Road north of the Withins Hotel (Figure 40). In contrast and unusually, the one mile stretch of Cold Edge Road descending to Wainstalls was laid with a parallel set of cast iron plates each 18 inches in width. In affect these plates were the inverse of a railway track, with cart wheels travelling within the plate rather than on top of the track. Just like the flagstones, these plates also provided a durable surface upon which the heavily laden horse-drawn carts and wagons could make their long, dangerous and wearisome journey from Fly towards Halifax or to the railway station and canal at Luddenden Foot.

Figure 40. Flagstone road surface laid for the use of horse-drawn carts and wagons on the Cold Edge Road north of the Withins Hotel – viewed from the south. (2010)

Long, dangerous and wearisome were certainly the operative words – for man and beast alike. And of course bad weather only made things worse. Particularly hazardous for John Holgate and fellow carters must have been the exposed descent from the Withins Hotel to Cold Edge Bottom and even more so, the 1 mile descent down Luddenden Lane (Stocks Lane) to the village of Luddenden in the valley below. Negotiating this steep and twisting hillside decline required every care and attention, even in the very best of weather conditions. Little wonder that the screeching wheels of the larger wagons required frequent lubrication during their journey. Little wonder that cart breaks and wagon breaks were constantly applied and at times locked; screeching and heating as the friction controlled

momentum. Strong wagons, strong brakes, strong horses and strong men would seem to have been essential requirements for this particular trade. And yet, astoundingly, at the time of his death on 23 October 1860, John Holgate was aged sixty nine.

<u>John Holgate – fatal accident and the end of an era</u> **John's death certificate records that he died as a result of an accident that took place at Fly Delph (Figure 41 No.2). According to the book *A Springtime Saunter* (p.69), the accident took place 'in the delph-gate'. Acknowledging that historically the term 'gate' referred to a road or way, this would imply that the tragedy occurred somewhere along the access route into Fly Delph (Figure 41 No 1).**

Figure 41. Fly Delph. 1. The access route known as the delph-gate – the general location where John Holgate's fatal accident took place. (2008) 2. The Fly Delph – as viewed from over the top of the ridge by the delph-gate in photograph 1. (2008)

Heavy blocks of the quarried gritstone were already loaded onto John's cart. The exit to the Cold Edge Road and the world beyond already beckoned. John's horse 'Jerry' – most likely a galloway, the commonly used general workhorse of the time – would have been ready to haul its heavy burden. The long and potentially dangerous trek down the Cold Edge ridge awaited. Also awaiting was the treacherously steep and twisting descent into Luddenden village. But sadly this journey was not to be. This particular load of stone would be transported at another time. This particular load would be delivered by someone else. Not by John Holgate.

John was accidently tripped – by his horse Jerry. Did Jerry move unexpectedly? Was the horse suddenly startled? Was this a show of equine temperament? Whatever the cause may have been, John stumbled. In stumbling he fell underneath the laden cart. John was subsequently crushed. The massive weight of the stone load killed him. John's life journey was sadly terminated.

Yet, up to the time of this tragedy John had still been fit enough to tackle the work of strong men. Even at the age of sixty nine. But was he alert enough? Was he nimble enough? Yes he would have all the knowledge relating to the temperament of his horse. Yes he would possess a wealth of experience relating to the dangers inherent in the carting of stone. And obviously he was not a man frightened of physical work; no matter how strenuous. With no longer having children in need of support he could have taken easier options. He could have concentrated solely on his farm. But he didn't. He continued to take the risks of men, younger, fitter and more alert than himself. And perhaps this was his undoing. Maybe it was the combination of his driven work ethic, the physical impact of a life of hard work and the deterioration associated with his elderly age that contributed to his fateful demise.

Significantly with the death of John Holgate came the end of an era. For several centuries, weaving and farming had been the central provider of family needs. John Holgate's family was the last Holgate family unit to be raised within such a domestic dual-economy household.

Throughout the decades successive generations of direct-line ancestors had successfully organised, structured and managed their own family's domestic working practices to accommodate the changing economic and commercial demands of the time. They were enterprising. They were independent. They maintained a self-sufficient livelihood. Seemingly, enterprise, independence and self-sufficiency had been woven into their soul. They had neither been tied to a landowner nor enslaved by a mill owner. And just like his forbears John Holgate had remained free to set his own tasks and to set his own disciplines related to his work. Importantly he had remained independent. Happily he had remained firmly rooted within the dispersed farmstead community of upper Warley. But for his brother Jonathan it had been different. Jonathan had taken an alternative route in life.

<u>Jonathan Holgate – a life in marked contrast to that of his brother John</u> **Following John and Jonathan's shared experiences, firstly as children at Lower Green Edge and then as orphan pauper apprentices at Upper Heys, the two brothers went their different ways: quite literally.**

John lived out his life to the north of Luddenden Dean as a tenant on the moorland farms at Withins and Haigh Cote at Cold Edge. Throughout his married life farming had constituted a significant part of his dual-economy livelihood. In contrast Jonathan went south to a locality within the township of Midgley. Here he pursued non-farming occupations. Here he did not become self-sufficient. Here he relied on others to employ him. Here his life and work were heavily constrained by his paymaster. Here he was not independent. Here he would experience little related to a sense of freedom.

Jonathan's permanent move to Midgley was most probably the result of his marriage to Susanna Thomas of Midgley on 18 January 1829. For both Jonathan (32) and Susanna (29) marriage had come comparatively late, which would partly account for the few children in their family - John (1830-1880) and Ann (1837–1913). The gap of seven years between the birth of John and the birth of Ann does of course suggest that during this time there may have been other pregnancies – where miscarriage or still-birth was the unfortunate result. Nevertheless this is only speculation.

Jonathan and Susanna (Susey) Holgate: Census Data 1841-1871			
Census	*Tenancy*	*Occupation-Jonathan*	*Occupation-Susanna*
1841	Larks Hall, Midgley	woolcomber	woolcomber
1851	Laverick, Midgley[1]	woolcomber	woolcomber
1861	Larks Hall, Midgley	mill labourer	-------
1871	Larks Hall, Midgley	ass driver	-------

[1.] Laverick is the same dwelling as Larks Hall. It was also referred to as Layrock. The dwelling, located between High Lees Head and Brown Hill, has since been demolished.

Figure 42. Census Data for Jonathan and Susanna Holgate 1841-1871.

Census data for 1841-1871 reveals that Jonathan and Susanna (Susey) Holgate were tenant occupiers of a home at Larks Hall - referred to as Laverick in the 1851 Census (Figure 42). Located high up on the outer farming perimeter of Low Moor, Jonathan and Susey's home overlooked Luddenden Dean. For Jonathan a brief two minute walk northwards along the heather bordered footpath would bring views across the valley of his former homes; Lower Green Edge and Upper Heys. And so too on a clear day he would have sight of his brother's farmlands at Withins and Haigh Cote on Cold Edge in the distance. No doubt he sometimes reflected. No doubt he sometimes pondered.

It was at Larks Hall that Susanna eventually died (1869) at the age of sixty nine years. Jonathan's death occurred nine years later (1878) when he was eighty.

At the time of their marriage in 1829 Jonathan was identified as a labourer. But a year later at the time of the birth of his first child, John, his occupation had changed to that of woolcomber. Again he was listed as a woolcomber in the census return for 1841 and 1851. Likewise so were his wife Susanna and his son John. In the 1841 Census John was only eleven years of age but his engagement in woolcombing was a financial necessity.

The family occupation of woolcombing was set up as a cottage industry; perhaps in the first instance supplying wool 'tops', to a clothier master. But from the outset it is just as likely that the family were supplying the water-powered Luddenden Mill or Peel House Mill north of Luddenden village. However when worsted spinning began at Oats Royd (founded 1847) it is possible that the family began working for this new purpose-built steam-powered textile mill. Certainly Oats Royd was much closer to Larks Hall than Luddenden Mill or Peel House Mill.

As a cottage industry the woolcombing process appears to have taken place within the Holgate home, with a substantial part of the family's living area being given over to a workspace. However in other homes this was not the norm. In fact the cottage industry of woolcombing was replicated in very few dwellings in the locality. In the 1841 Census return for Enumeration District 8, in the township of Midgley, (the district in which Jonathan and Susanna lived) it appears that there were only five homes being utilised for combing; only a small proportion of the one hundred and twelve occupied dwellings listed. With the total number of woolcombers listed in the enumeration district being twenty seven, approximately half of this number must therefore have plied their trade in workshops.

However by the time of the 1851 Census there had been a significant increase in the number of woolcombers. There were now forty nine in the enumeration district in which Jonathan and Susanna resided (the Enumeration District now being classified as 2a). Although it is not clearly evident it is possible as many as thirteen of the one hundred and twenty eight family dwellings doubled–up as workplaces for the combing of wool. There were now possibly thirteen cottage industries; Jonathan Holgate's home being one of them. 'Home comforts' would be in very small measure. Conditions would be cramped. Pungent fumes. Insufferable heat. Many, many hours spent in hard work. Not exactly ingredients for a healthy life. No compensation from having a decent wage either.

Over the years payment had been periodically and systematically cut. Perhaps thirty shillings per week could be earned in the 1820's. Three decades later perhaps five shillings or less would be the norm for Jonathan and Susanna; a meagre one-sixth of the 1820's payment. And what must not go unrecognized was the additional 'human wear and tear' endured by Susanna. Throughout the years, even though Susanna was committed to combing for the greater part of the day, she would still have needed to devote additional hours to family care and labour intensive domestic chores.

As outworkers the family had to take what wages they could get. Work hard. Work Long. Work the children. Work for little return. Survival depended on it. The fear of being destitute would be ever present in the mind of Jonathan and Susanna. In particular the fear would nag at Jonathan since he had already experienced impending destitution when designated a pauper at the age of nine.

So little though the wages were, at least Jonathan and Susanna were being paid and they were in work. And it was the fact that wages were so pitifully low that kept them in work. The threat of being replaced by power-driven combing machines was constant. But as long as labour remained so ridiculously cheap local mill owners didn't need to invest money in mechanical aid. Machines in the living, breathing human form were far more cost effective. And so the outsourcing of woolcombing continued, until 1858 at least.

1858 was something of a defining year for the woolcombing cottage industry in the Midgley township; steam-powered combing machines had been installed at the newly constructed Oats Royd Mill. Woolcombing outworkers were no longer required. However, marriage certificate evidence reveals that Jonathan Holgate continued to pursue his trade at least until late November of 1858.[1] But sometime between then and the time of the 1861 Census his work as a woolcomber finally came to an end, with the census return recording his occupation as being that of a mill labourer. Likewise Susanna was no longer combing wool but unfortunately for her there was no replacement occupation and therefore no replacement income source (1861 Census).

The days of the domestic handcomber of wool had now gone. Technology had now replaced the manual endeavours of Jonathan and Susanna thereby destroying their means of earning a joint income. But with Jonathan finding employment as a labourer in the mill it did at least mean there was

[1.] Both of Jonathan and Susanna Holgate's children married in 1858. John Holgate married Sarah Wilkinson 4 July 1858 and Ann Holgate married John Oldfield 27 November 1858. Their father Jonathan was recorded as a woolcomber on both marriage certificates.

a wage to be earned. And as their children were now adult this may have been enough to meet Jonathan and Susanna's basic needs.

Following Susanna's death in 1869 Jonathan, even in old-age, continued to work at the mill. By the time of the 1871 Census he was seventy four and was recorded as being employed as an ass driver. Even in the age of steam-powered technology the ass was still of valuable use; as a beast of burden in the transportation of textile materials, such as yarn or cloth pieces. It was particularly useful in the rural inter-land, especially where the terrain was more challenging. How challenging the occupation of ass-driver was, for Jonathan, is hard to assess. However, since a youth named Joseph Akroyd, of Delph Hill, Midgley was working as an ass-driver at the age of eleven (1851 Census), it implies that a driver need not necessarily be an adult, never-mind a man in his prime. Being an ass-driver was therefore seemingly still within Jonathan's capabilities; despite a life-time of toil. Whether he was in charge of, or assisted with a team, a pair or a single ass is unknown.

What is known, however, is that throughout Jonathan's life his family's income was totally dependent on work or wages given to him by others. Firstly there was work he found outside the confines of the mill; work allocated to him as a labourer and then work put-out to him as a woolcomber. Secondly there was work required of him as an employee of the mill; as a mill labourer and then as an 'ass driver'. As a mill worker mill discipline would come to dominate his life. Production time would demarcate his day. The relentless and incessant motion of machinery would determine his labours. And no doubt the overseer of his work would demand more and more of the same.

Even as a woolcomber Jonathan's income depended on the success or failure of mill owner and manager. He depended on if, how and when they adopted new technological advances. He depended on how they coped with changing market conditions. He depended on how they responded to the challenge of competitors. He depended on whom they chose to employ and whom they chose to make redundant. And of course he depended on how much they were prepared to pay him. Jonathan was totally dependent upon others; constrained by what they imposed. Seemingly independence, self-sufficiency and freedom never figured much in most of Jonathan Holgate's working life.

Meanwhile his brother John, who had resisted the drift to wage earning employment, was continuing with the life-pattern of his ancestors. So when the industrial revolution increased its grip and stranglehold upon people and the economy, John Holgate worked alongside it - not within it. For him success or failure was dependent on his own family's initiative, response, application and tenacity. Just like his forbears he continued with a life of self-sufficiency based on the dual-economy of farming alongside another occupation.

At the time of John's fatal accident in 1860 his son William (grandfather x3) was already following the dual-economy tradition, although weaving was not part of it. Rather, it was in the first instance woolcombing and then most likely it was quarry related work that supplemented the farming at Knowl. However, William was the last generation of direct-line ancestors to pursue an independent dual-economy way of life. The lengthy chain had been broken. From then on being engaged as an employee provided the means to put food on the table. Indeed it was probably another fifty years

before another direct-line ancestor made a break for independence and became self-employed. This was Wilfred Holgate (grandfather).

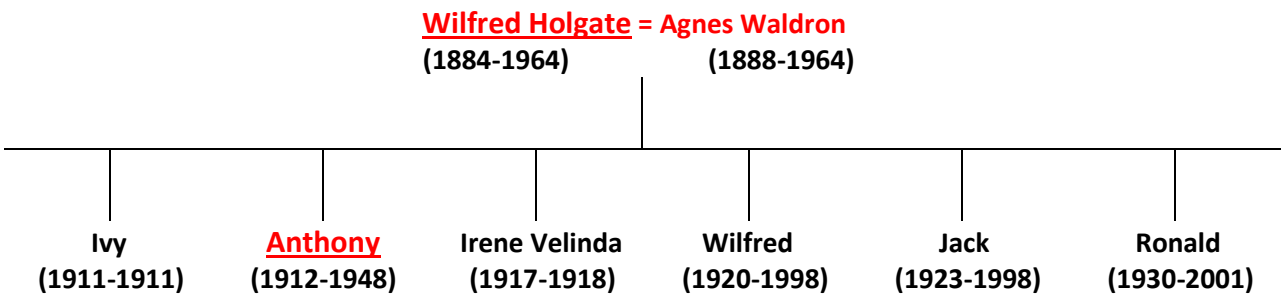


Figure 43. Family of Wilfred and Agnes Holgate.

Wilfred Holgate and Agnes Waldron **Wilfred Holgate married Agnes Waldron on 8 Oct 1910 at Saint Marie's Roman Catholic Church in Halifax. Some years later he rented a yard in Halifax, near to Back Dean Street where he lived. The yard, owned by Miss Florence Mary Carter was at 81, Commercial Street. Here Wilfred practised his trade as an independent stonemason and monumental mason. But more than likely he also sought work as a jobbing mason on various building and renovation projects. Then at the age of fifty five Wilfred and his family left Halifax to set up home north of Wainstalls; returning to upper Warley the location of his ancestral roots. And no doubt local people 'in the know' would readily provide snippets of information regarding his family in the past.**

Having been born in Wainstalls and having left the village when he was a child he returned to the area in 1939 to occupy two of the six terraced cottages opposite Lumb Mill – number 1 and 2 Lumb Terrace (Figure 44).[1] Here he established his own workshop and small business in number 2 and in the process became a very likable, reliable and popular figure in the area.

The term 'character' and 'genuine' suited Wilfred Holgate well – all 4 foot 11 inches of him, attired in stone-dust encrusted working clothes and crumpled trilby hat and with a sparkling twinkle in the one good eye he possessed (the sight in one eye having been lost in a chiselling incident). He was known for being energetic, enthusiastic and extremely hard working, even in his late seventies. So it was that even after 'turning-out time' at the New Delight public house (now called The Delvers) Wilfred could occasionally be heard, in the darkness, chip-chip-chipping away at a grave headstone inscription in the Mount Pleasant burial ground. Crouching down low and tap-tapping by lamp light, the rhythmic beat he made would be somewhat disconcerting to the departing pub leavers, as midnight approached. But getting the job done was the very essence of Wilfred Holgate; dedicated to the work he loved.

[1] **No. 1. 2. and 3. Lumb Terrace had been bequeathed to Wilfred Holgate by his Aunt Mellisa Watson who had died on 8 April 1934. The remaining cottages in the terrace, No. 4, 5 and 6, were bequeathed to Wilfred's cousin, James Edward Ratcliffe of Oxenhope. But when James Ratcliffe died five months later, Wilfred also became the owner of No. 4, 5 and 6. Following the death of his parents Wilfred and Agnes in 1964, Jack Holgate, with his family, became owner occupiers of No.1 to No.3 facing Lumb Lane. The youngest son Ronnie took over No's. 4 to 6, the side elevation of cottages in what was an 'L' shaped arrangement.**

Figure 44. Lumb Terrace, number 1 to number 3 - viewed from the north-west. (2011)

Furthermore Wilfred's skills as a traditional mallet and chisel mason were widely acknowledged, greatly admired and held in very high regard; being described at his funeral service (April 1964) as 'One of the foremost stonemasons in the North of England'.[1] Having worked in his youth on the re-facing of the redesigned front façade and balcony at Buckingham Palace for King George V (1913), these words were a fitting and final tribute to a fine man and a fine craftsman.

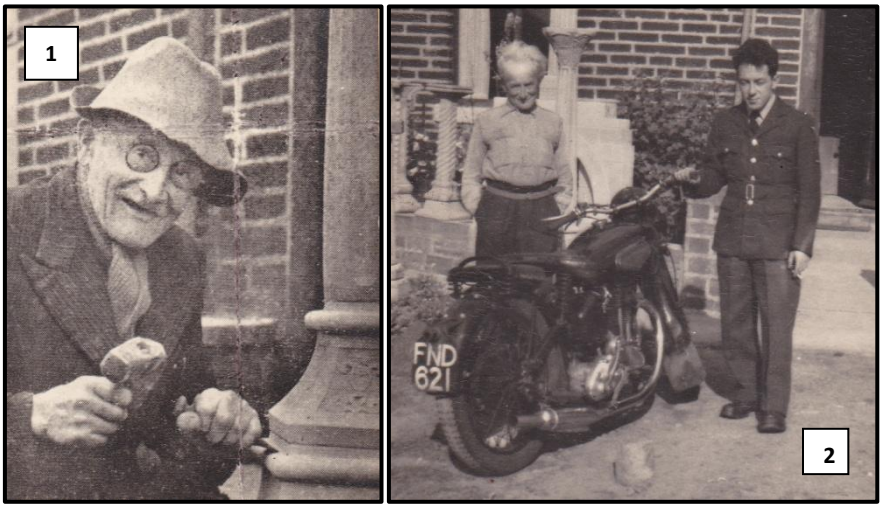


Figure 45. 1. Wilfred Holgate at work. (1959) 2. Wilfred with son Ronnie outside 1 and 2 Lumb Terrace, Wainstalls – with ornamental bird baths for sale in the background. (c.1950)

[1.] Wilfred and Agnes Holgate died as the result of an unfortunate accident in their home at 1 Lumb Terrace near Wainstalls. After cooking sausages for his tea Wilfred unwittingly left an unlit gas burner in the 'on' position. Wilfred died of coal gas poisoning before being found in his home (1 April 1964). Agnes died five weeks later in hospital (4 May 1964) – the cause of death being pulmonary embolus; immobilisation in bed following coal gas poisoning.

As Wilfred lovingly carved his stone in front of 1 Lumb Terrace, in the open air by the side of Kell Brook, did he know that only a matter of ten minutes away was the farmstead of his great grandfather John Holgate? Did he know that it was in his great grandfather John's quest to transport the kind of gritstone he now carved, that John's life was brought to an untimely end? Did he know that John was killed in the Fly delph-gate; the very same delph from which he now purchased stone? Stone, Wilfred now carved to make his own distinctive grave headstone. Stone he now chiselled to fashion a remarkable commemorative cross – a cross which now marks the site of interred infant children, some of whom, were born to workers in the Wainstalls mills (Figure 46). Did Wilfred know anything of his great grandfather John's life, work, times and deeds? It would only be fitting if he did.

Figure 46. Headstone (Wilfred and Agnes Holgate) and commemorative cross in Wainstalls: Mount Pleasant Burial Ground - both carved by Wilfred Holgate. (2011)

<u>A man of 'the Dean' and a man of the moors</u> From the relative security and well-being of family life at Lower Green Edge, through his years as an orphan and pauper apprentice at Upper Heys and through his fifty years as husband and father at his dual-tenancy farm holding at Withins and Haigh Cote at Cold Edge, John Holgate made in his own small way a contribution to the history of his time and place. From Green Edge to Cold Edge, as the last of the Holgate farmer-weavers, he had faced the years of economic depression, the years of famine and the unremitting competition from the mechanization of the textile industry. Life had been hard. Life had been uncertain. But life had been one of achievement, for throughout a time of intense economic exploitation and immense social change in how people lived, John had protected his families traditional and all important way-of-life. Of paramount importance, he had protected the quality of his family's total life experience.

Although during John's time the family's standard of living would have improved, it would have been by only a relatively small margin. But this mattered for little. Even if the improvement had been greater, this was of comparative insignificance compared to protecting and maintaining the family's way-of-life. After all, the level of the family's 'standard of living' was nothing more than a measure of

quantity - not a measure of quality. Quality would always have been the ultimate measure: farmer-weavers knew this well. And in protecting the quality (embodied in the family's work and way-of-life) John ensured his family's livelihood, security and well-being. Through enterprise and determination the family sustained a level of self-sufficiency, and retained their valuable independence and freedom. And from this success John would obtain his own personal reward and satisfaction.

John Holgate was both a man of the 'the Dean' and a man of the moors. 'The Dean' and the moors had provided for him. 'The Dean' and the moors had carved and shaped him. 'The Dean' and the moors were interwoven into the very fabric of his life. How he viewed, understood and came to terms with this world, 'his world', would have shaped John's frame of reference in everything he did or hoped to do. Of course there would have been occasions when he looked in despair at the world around him. At times he would curse it. At times he would battle against it. At times he would be angered by it. And at times he would be saddened by it. But there would be many occasions when his world provided great pleasure. At times it would captivate him. At times it would exhilarate him. He would be enthralled by the changing moods. He would marvel at the magnificence. He would wonder at the mystery. He would be seduced by its serenity. And surely his world occasionally stirred a sense of poetic appreciation within his inner being. A sense of poetic appreciation akin to that of William Heaton, a fellow hand-loom weaver and fellow man of 'the Dean' and the moors, perhaps?

In 1857 Heaton wrote, 'I have never travelled or seen the sea, but I have seen the moorland wilds dressed in the lovely garbs of summer with the heather bells in full bloom. I have listened to the sounds of the sweet murmmering rill (small stream), till methought it gushed forth in sweet poetic sounds, too sweet for my poor illiterate mind to describe. I have also looked on the flower bespangled meads (meadows), and gazed on the flowers in their loveliness; drunk deeply of the honeyed nectar from their enchanting lips, while the wild bees and the butterfly have fluttered from one object to another, till I have been lost in deep meditation; and the waving woods, the heath-clad mountains, the songs of the birds, the gushing fountains and the heart breathings of my own soul have all been themes on which my muse has longed to dwell' (Heaton, *The Old Soldier,* p.xxiv).

Figure 47. Luddenden Dean as seen from Upper Heys – viewed from the north. (2011)

Evocative thoughts and feelings expressed in emotive and sensitive terms - thoughts and feelings with which John Holgate would readily have identified; for John Holgate's life, like that of William Heaton, would have been enriched by his environment. Just like William Heaton, John would have internalised all that he could see, hear, breath-in and touch. And at times, just like his countryman he would have responded sensitively and emotionally to the glorious world he knew. John Holgate had indeed been fortunate to live in such an extraordinary place during a time of such extraordinary events and happenings. No doubt he would thank his god for all that he had been given. And perhaps when he was laid to rest his god would gladly embrace this man of 'the Dean' and the moors.

Unfortunately where John was eventually laid to rest is unknown. Nevertheless, even though records no longer exist, it is reasonable to conclude that his funeral took place at Mount Zion New Connexion Methodists – the family destination chapel. Here John had purchased a grave plot in 1855. This was for his son Anthony who had unexpectedly died in February of that year. It is extremely likely that John would have wished to, and indeed was, buried in the very same grave plot. It is also very likely that John's wife Ann was interred in the same plot.

Ann died on 21 November 1868 with the cause of death being identified as apoplexy (stroke). In attendance at the time of death was Ann's daughter-in-law Sarah Holgate, wife of William. The place of death was in Ann's current home in Lumb; in one of the six cottages that formed a terrace of stand-alone dwellings above Lumb Mill (the same cottages where Ann's great grandson Wilfred Holgate became the owner in 1934 and where both he and his wife Agnes were poisoned by gas in 1964).

The burial of John and Ann at Mount Zion would have been entirely appropriate. For Ann this had been not only the destination chapel of her family and the place of baptism of her nine children, but it had also been the destination chapel of her parents and the place of her own baptism. In addition, for both John and Ann their son Anthony's burial at Mount Zion would have had particular significance.

Having lived, raised his family, and worked for fifty married years on the moorland farms at Haigh Cote and Withins and having his fatal accident on the moorland heights of Cold Edge at the Fly Delph, John Holgate's burial at the moor-top setting of Mount Zion was totally in keeping with his history. Indeed from the exposed location of the Zion chapel on Ogden Moor the whole of the Cold Edge ridge and the Fly summit can be viewed – a striking elevated horizontal silhouette set against the backdrop of an evening sunset; forever remaining as a poignant reminder of John Holgate and his family.

<u>Cold Edge – delving for stone</u> **From the Mount Zion view point there is no discernable evidence of the fifteen delves hacked out of the gritstone ridge. No view of the scars left when the moorland was scalped of its peat blanket to reveal the rock. No sighting of the individual workings and the access system developed within each and every delph. No reason therefore to consider the intensity of physical demands and the inherent risk of danger placed upon humankind in the quest to extract stone from the earth. But facing up to the danger and the physicality of delving was the lot of each and every delver. Furthermore, facing up to a day of labour intensive work with only limited tools and resources available to them, was a readily accepted way of life for the Cold Edge delvers – Anthony Holgate (grandfather x2) being one of them.**

Much of the work undertaken by Anthony and fellow delvers would have been routine based upon experience. In shaping the stone blocks they would have used iron hand chisels, having first hewn the stone from the rock face with little more than a crowbar, pickaxe and heavy hammer – a task made all the more difficult since the particular characteristic of this embedded form of gritstone was its density and its high level of resistance to splitting into blocks.

In extracting and shaping the stone, the delvers would have applied their knowledge and experience relating not only to the use and management of their tools, but also relating to personal risk and how best to work the stone. Their capacity to apply physical brute force and endure long hours of manual hard labour would have been essential. Accidents, ruptures and injuries must have been frequent. And the threat of long term health problems relating to the inhalation of carcinogenic silicate dust would have been ever present - an unfortunate consequence of sand stone working. Furthermore, bronchial and arthritic conditions would have been exacerbated each winter for unfortunate sufferers.

The winter months also brought about another significant problem; a problem related to earnings. Bleak, icy conditions and falls of heavy snow would have severely restricted the ability to extract, shape, and transport the stone. No work, no pay. Less money for the family. Less money to provide the essentials of life. And of concern for some, less money to spend in the beerhouse at Fly, the tenant of which, served the daily needs of the dust-induced thirst of the toiling delver and carter.

How often Anthony Holgate took refreshment at the Fly beerhouse can only be guessed at, for unlike most other delvers his home was nearby - at the Knowl farmstead. His thirst could be quenched there in the company of his widowed mother Sarah.

Twenty years earlier this would also have applied to his grandfather John – John's son William still being alive and living with his wife Sarah and their children at Knowl. But in those days, the late 1850's, there was also the possibility for John to take refreshment at the Near New Fly farmstead. Here was another son; John. Here at Near New fly John lived with his wife Grace and their two boys. Both the farm at Near New Fly and the farm at Knowl were less than five minutes walk from the nearest of the Fly delves (Figure 33). For John the closeness of Knowl and Near New Fly would have been extremely convenient and not only for the purpose of food and drink.

Either farm would also serve as a place for John to leave his cart when more practical to do so and a place to obtain quick shelter when the weather had turned particularly severe. However, because of Grace Holgate's questionable state of mind and her bouts of depression, calling at Near New Fly was perhaps not always the most appropriate option. In most circumstances Knowl was probably the preferred and most suitable destination. Presumably William and his wife Sarah would have understood this and would have gladly welcomed John into their home.

<u>William Holgate and Sarah Greenwood</u> **William Holgate, aged twenty seven and Sarah (nee Greenwood), aged twenty three had married on 2 November 1843. They were first cousins. Therefore for both William and Sarah their respective uncle and aunt became their father-in-law and mother-in-law (Figure 48).**

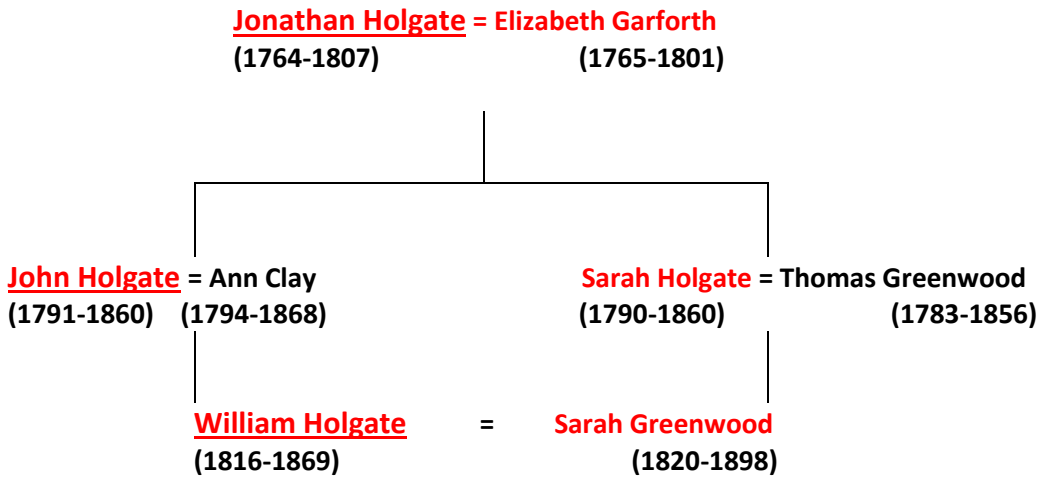


Figure 48. Descendent line illustrating the cousin status of William Holgate and Sarah Greenwood.

Sarah Greenwood's mother was a Holgate by birth. She was the eldest daughter of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Betty) Holgate. Significantly it was Sarah's mother (Sarah Holgate) who had taken into her care her younger orphaned brothers, John and Jonathan, following the death of their father in 1807. John (William's father) owed a great deal to his wife's parents who had taken in both him and his brother Jonathan as pauper apprentices in their hour of need. Thereby, John probably remained very close to the Greenwood family for the rest of his life. And it was perhaps the closeness of the two families that led to the emotional linking of William the eldest son of John and Ann Holgate with Sarah, the eldest daughter of Thomas and Sarah Greenwood (nee Holgate) and their eventual union in marriage. No doubt the marriage of the two cousins, at St. John's Parish Church in Halifax, was a joyous and well celebrated occasion despite the November winter chill.

In certifying their marriage William wrote his name in the register and Sarah 'made her mark'. By the side of Sarah's already written name she put her cross - for Sarah had not learnt to write. But, this in no way means she couldn't read. She had the opportunity to learn. After all, her father, Thomas Greenwood, was a reader. As a respected preacher of some note he could be no other. It is therefore most likely Sarah learnt and practised her reading using the family bible in the home. She would be tutored by her father, but perhaps more so by her mother if she too could read. However, Sarah was not literate. She could read but not write. Yet if her father Thomas could write why didn't she learn from him? But the question is, was Thomas literate? Yes he could read – but could he write?

The register entry of Thomas Greenwood's marriage in 1805 reveals that at the very least he could write his name. Furthermore it is recorded that at one time there was a sign above the door of Thomas's farm at Heys which advertised his small grocery shop. The sign was made from half a butter tub bottom, on which the following words had been charred by means of a red-hot poker: 'Thomas Greenwood sells shop stuff' (Luddenden Dean Weslyan Methodist Church. *A Century of Methodism 1828-1928*. Halifax 1928). Presumably Thomas made his own shop advertisement. Rudimentary tools and materials, roughly seared lettering and a straight to the point message declaring that he 'sold

shop stuff' was very much in keeping with the character of Thomas Greenwood. Proof that Thomas could write? Not entirely. But since the ability to write would be of valuable assistance in preparing his sermons it could reasonably be assumed that Thomas was indeed both a reader and writer.

Being literate, Thomas was therefore in a position to teach writing to Sarah. Of course, having the time, the inclination or the energy would have been other constituent factors. A lack of time, inclination or energy, on behalf of either father or daughter and in whatever combination, would unfortunately have denied Sarah the chance to learn the skills of writing. Alternatively it may simply have been Sarah's gender. Being female had distinct connotations in many households regarding what skills were necessary for adulthood. In the Greenwood household, as with many other households, was writing not included as one of the necessary skills for girls? Perhaps here in the family home at Heys the gateway to literacy was not opened for her.

Nevertheless there was Sunday school. Certainly non-conformist Sunday schools provided instruction in reading since the ability to read gave access to the bible and thereby promoted religious knowledge and the Christian faith. And Sarah attended such a school. As a very young child this was at Catherine House in 'the Dean' - along with ninety or so other scholars. But in 1828, when Sarah was eight, the Sunday classes transferred to the newly built Luddenden Dean Weslyan Methodist Chapel. It would be here in this new 'house of God' that Sarah's religious instruction, moral guidance and education in reading would continue. But was there any teaching of writing? If so, did it include girls? Some Sunday schools taught writing. Others didn't. Seemingly for Sarah 'the Dean' Sunday school was one that didn't. During Sarah's childhood many Wesleyan Methodists regarded it as a profanity to teach writing in Sunday school; the Sabbath day was too sacred for such an activity to be undertaken.

So despite having at least one literate parent and being a Sunday school scholar, Sarah remained unable to write. However, William, her husband could certainly write his name. It is also highly likely that William learnt to write more than his name, even though his parent's John and Ann Holgate were unable to do so; both of his parent's only 'made their mark' in the parish register of marriage at St. John's. But fortunately for William, and unlike Sarah, he would have had the opportunity to receive instruction in writing at the particular Sunday school he attended – the Sunday school at Mount Zion, erected in the year of his birth (1816) and the year after the Mount Zion congregation, witnessed two extremely notable and contrasting events. For the congregation of 1815 it was a very important year.

Firstly there was the nationally significant and widely celebrated ending to the Anglo-French war in Europe. In the region of Waterloo in Belgium, in one of the bloodiest battles ever fought, the Duke of Wellington had been victorious; the defeated self-appointed emperor, Napolean Bonaparte, then being committed to a life-long exile on the island of St. Helena.[1] In Halifax parish, as in everywhere else in the country, there would have been a terrific up-swell of relief, pride and happiness.

[1.] 'They (the British) had by 1815 gained the most complete victory in the entire history of the world, having emerged from the twenty years of war with France as the only industrial economy, the only navel power ----- and virtually the only colonial power in the world' (E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution 1789 -1848*, London 1962).

Secondly, in the region of Cold Edge and Ogden Moor a locally significant event provided another but very different reason for joyous celebration. This was the rebuilding of the Mount Zion Methodist New Connexion Chapel (Figure 13) - replacing a visual legacy of a deep-rooted dispute.

Forty two years earlier in 1773, the first Mount Zion Chapel had been erected to serve the needs of an established Wesleyan Methodist congregation. In the midst of an age when Wesley and his colleagues were accused of encouraging fanatical religious disturbances and creating social unrest the building of the chapel was not only a symbol of local zeal and fervour, it was also a statement of purpose regarding the growing strength, permanence and legitimacy of the Wesleyan cause.

Likewise the second chapel, of 1815, was a symbol of local zeal and fervour. Likewise the second chapel also made a statement of purpose. But this time the statement was not regarding the Wesleyan Methodist cause. Methodist it most certainly was and Wesleyan doctrines and orders still remained intact. Rather, this statement of purpose concerned New Connexion Methodism and its more 'grass-roots' approach to democracy, ownership and administration. Fundamentally divergent views regarding these issues had led to intense rancour and acrimony and had resulted in a Methodist split in 1797. Weslyans left Mount Zion to find a new meeting house. New Connexionists stayed put. Symbolically the 1815 chapel was testimony to the action the New Connexionists had taken and a vindication of their democratic beliefs and desire for reform. During the intervening years since the split, numbers in the congregation had swelled. And so too, numbers attending Sunday school, in response to which, a purpose built school was constructed and proudly opened to scholars in 1816. The year 1816 was also the year of William Holgate's birth and 'the year without a summer'.[1]

This two-storey stone building accommodated a day school on the ground floor. The Sunday school was on the floor above and accessed by an external staircase (Figure 49). By 1830 there were 600 registered scholars, a number of which were adults. Amongst these was most probably William Holgate (14). If not then, he would certainly have been a registered scholar in many of the previous years. It is here, having ascended the external staircase to the sparsely furnished schoolroom, that William would have learnt to read and write. And it is here that William would have been 'trained-up' according to the guiding principle so clearly carved into a Sunday school foundation stone at the front of the building – 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.'

In William's 'training-up', the teaching he received would have focused upon the bible and morality. Yet the vehicle to really successful learning was the act of reading itself. Consequently Mount Zion like all Sunday schools undertook this task. But not all Sunday schools taught writing. However, Mount Zion did. Through the use of sand trays William would have traced out letter shapes and numbers. Through the use of chalk on slate he would have written words, sentences and phrases. Through these means William would have learnt the rudimentary skills of writing. How proficient he eventually became is another matter.

[1] **Right across the continent of Europe and the British Isles the year 1816 became the year without a summer. Volcanic ash and dust blocked out the sunlight – a legacy of the eruption of the Indonesian volcano Mount Tambora in April of the previous year. Global temperatures had been reduced by 3 degrees centigrade and climates had changed. For many there was famine resulting from crop failure and poor harvests.**

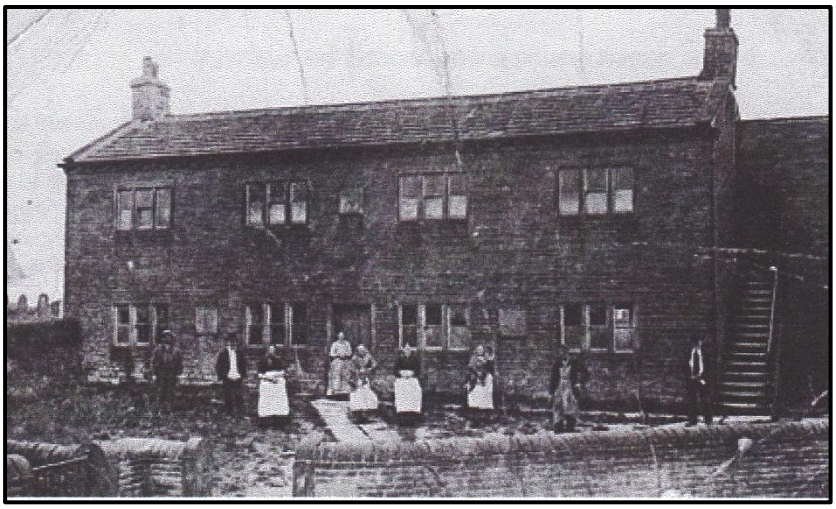


Figure 49. Mount Zion Sunday School – external staircase to the right of the photograph. (c.1845) **www.mountzionhalifax.org.uk**

For those with the opportunity to learn, allied to their intrinsic motivation to succeed, the chances of being able to write were considerable. And the number of children and adults with the desire to write can not be underestimated – even if it was only their name. So it was with the Luddenden handloom weaver William Heaton whose desire was clearly evident when he recollected a time in childhood c.1814. Once having learnt to read Heaton recalls: 'I then began to wish that I could write; but my parents were so poor, they could not afford to send me to a school master. Often have I sat on a tomb-stone in Luddenden church yard, and watched the other lads writing their names with a piece of broken pipe, wishing I could have done the same; and when they have gone away I have stolen to the place they have left and tried to imitate them. At length I was obliged to go to work, to learn the trade of a handloom-weaver. Being under nine years of age, I prevailed on a friend to write my name for me; and night after night, when the other boys were at play, I have been trying to imitate the copy, and if ever I found any paper with writing on, I carefully preserved it, and never rested till I had copied it.' (Heaton, *The Old Soldier*, p.xvii).

Some of William Holgate's contemporaries who had recieved adequate teaching and had been motivated to learn, would later use their literacy skills in the mills and factories. For just as the manufacturing bases grew in size and number, so grew the need for more and more clerks to keep accounts and records. William's occupations however would never require him to reach a mill clerk's level of proficiency. But at the very least it enabled him to write his own name in the register - on the occasion of his marriage to his cousin Sarah Greenwood. In fact it had been seventy years since a marriage register had last been signed by a direct line ancestor; this being Jonathan Holgate on the occasion of his marriage to Elizabeth 'Betty' Garforth in 1784. Undoubtedly, signing the register was a small scale event for William, but nevertheless it was a family significant milestone that reflected the value of a Sunday school education that included the teaching of literacy.

On a much larger and more significant scale, little more than 4 miles north of Withins, other literacy related events were unfolding. Three young women were busily composing and writing poetry and sharing their verse with each other. They were the daughters of the resident curate at Haworth Parish

Church and lived at the adjacent parsonage. Their names were Charlotte, Emily and Ann. They were the Bronte sisters. By the close of 1847 the classic novels *Jane Eyre* (Charlotte Bronte) and *Wuthering Heights* (Emily Bronte) had been published. *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* (Ann Bronte) followed in 1849. 'Nobody before had written like the Brontes; nobody since has written like them.' (A. Pollard, *The Landscape of the Brontes*, p.12). And nobody wrote with such passion about the moorlands than Emily Bronte. But with success came tragedy. Tuberculosis claimed the lives of both Emily (30) and Ann (29). In total only eight novels were published – but the Bronte's literacy legacy would last for ever.

But there would be no writing of novels, no writing of emotive prose or poetry about the moors for William Holgate. For him no literacy legacy would be left. Signing the marriage register would be the most important writing task he ever undertook. Instead, William's legacy would be in his family.

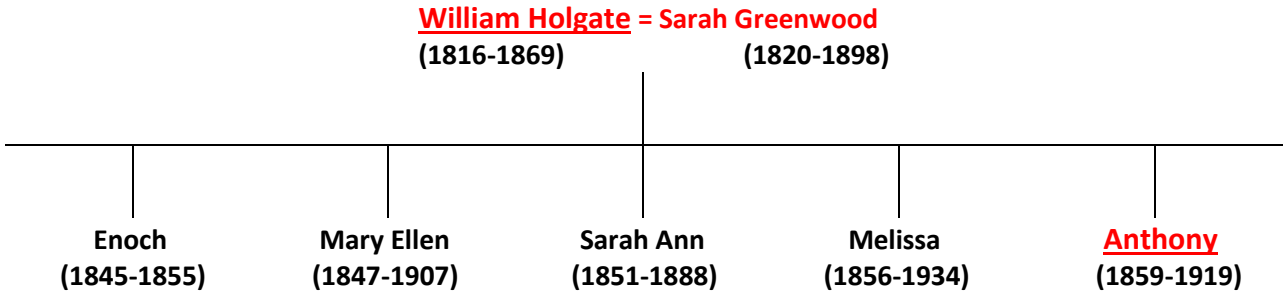


Figure 50. Family of William and Sarah Greenwood (grandparents x3)

Once married, the newly wedded couple would have returned to the Withins farmstead where, despite their union taking place in the depression years of 'The Hungry Forties', William's occupation as a woolcomber was perhaps still generating enough income for them to start rearing a family. And start a family they did. Fifteen months after marriage their first son Enoch was born (4 February 1845). Three girls and one more boy were to follow: Mary Ellen (27 April 1847), Sarah Ann (3 August 1851), Melissa (30 November 1856), Anthony (11 August 1859). By 1861, the census return, conducted on Sunday 7 April of that year, listed the family as follows:

William Holgate	Head	Farmer	43 years [1]
Sarah Holgate	Wife	House Work	40 years
Mary Ellen Holgate		Doff Worker	13 years
Sarah Ann Holgate			10 years [2]
Melissa Holgate			4 years
Anthony Holgate			1 year

[1.] William's actual age was 45 at the time of the 1861 Census. [2.] Sarah Ann's actual age was 9 at the time of the 1861 Census.

Noticeably, Enoch, the first born, does not appear on the census list. Heartbreakingly for his parents and siblings, Enoch had died on 22 January 1855 - just before his tenth birthday. Less than three weeks later, this heartbreaking event was compounded by the death of William's youngest brother Anthony on 11 February 1855, aged just 22 years. Significantly the cause of death was registered as 'unknown'.

Anthony was unmarried. He had worked as a carter (1851 Census) and had lived with his parents John and Ann at Haigh Cote, adjacent to William and Sarah at Withins, where Enoch died. Was the death of Enoch linked to that of Anthony in some way? Was it more than a coincidence that only twenty days separated the two fatalities? A winter related illness perhaps? Certainly the debilitating effects of winter conditions would apply to Enoch since the cause of his death was consumption (tuberculosis). Raw and biting winter weather as experienced on the moorland heights of Cold Edge could prove to be a killer for those suffering with bronchial problems. But what had caused the death of Anthony?

Did the registration of Anthony's death as 'unknown' signify suicide? After all, the taking of one's own life was illegal. It contravened religious teaching. In most circumstances it prevented burial in consecrated ground. It therefore often remained undisclosed. Had Anthony developed a strong bond with his young nephew, Enoch? Did they do leisure activity together? Had Anthony somehow unwittingly contributed to his young cousin's death – perhaps a day out in the snow or a causing a stumble into icy waters for example? Did Anthony find Enoch's death intolerable to bear? Did bereavement result in Anthony taking his own life? Questions that now remain without answers. Perhaps after all, the twenty day gap between the two deaths was no more than a tragic coincidence. But somehow this notion remains open to question.

Perhaps also, it is no coincidence that after a relatively long period of five years since the birth of William and Sarah's youngest child (Sarah Ann), another child was born – another daughter, Melissa. Indeed, perhaps the pregnancy and birth of Melissa had been prompted by William and Sarah's desire to once again have another son in the household. If so, then unfortunately no son was born on this occasion. And if so, then for William (43) and for Sarah (39), their wish was finally fulfilled with the eventual arrival of Anthony (grandfather x2) in 1859. If this was really as it happened (Anthony's birth being as a direct result, or even as an indirect result of the death of Enoch) then the succeeding generations of Anthony's family line, including the writer of this text, must acknowledge the good fortune they gained from the tragedy of Enoch's death. Without the death of Enoch, Anthony's family line may never have existed. A most sobering thought for all the descendents of Anthony Holgate.

Noticeably and significantly, William and Sarah's new son was christened with the name of William's brother Anthony, who had died – death unknown – shortly after the death of their son, ten year old Enoch. Does this reinforce the notion of a link between their deaths? Certainly the name Anthony must now have had a very special significance for William and Sarah. Certainly they wanted the name Anthony to 'live on'. And certainly the chosen name Anthony would evoke memories of the fateful events in 1855.

Memories of those fatal twenty days would linger on for ever in the minds of family members. Memories too of the two separate funeral services; one held at Mount Zion New Connexion Chapel for twenty two year old Anthony and one held less than 3 miles to the west at Luddenden Dean Wesleyan Methodist Chapel for nine year old Enoch. For both funerals new burial plots were purchased and opened with the burial plot at Luddenden Dean being purchased for the sum of five shillings. Interestingly, although the parents of Enoch and the parents of Anthony worked, lived and played together they did not pray together.

Their destination places of worship differed. Yet both places of worship were non-conformist chapels, non-conformity being an ingrained defining characteristic of this remote rural region. Independent minded families such as the Holgates and the Greenwoods were never likely to seek salvation in the established church. A more natural inclination was to embrace a form of religious practise that reflected their personal ethical, moral, behavioural and social values. And so it was, that William and Sarah Holgate favoured the Wesleyan chapel in 'the Dean' (Figure 51).

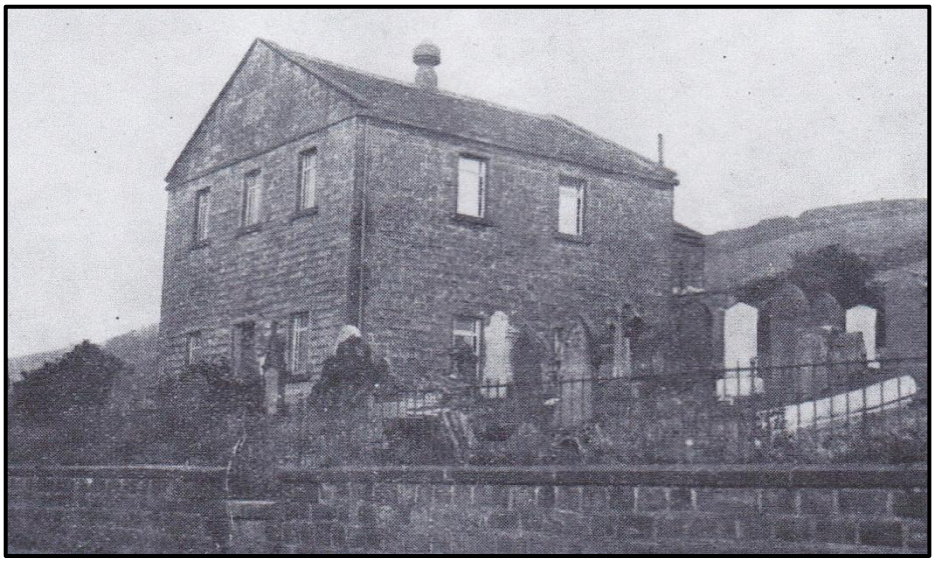


Figure 51. Luddenden Dean Wesleyan Methodist Chapel. (c.1930) The chapel was destroyed by fire - believed to have started in the boiler house. (3 Jan 1954) **Luddenden Dean Wesleyan Chapel: A Century of Methodism 1828-1928.**

Here in 'the Dean chapel' on prayer days, holy days and festival days William and Sarah would maintain contact with Sarah's parents Thomas and Sarah Greenwood, who were of course also William's uncle and aunt besides being parents-in-law. The Greenwoods were fervent and active Methodists. Indeed, Thomas Greenwood, in his capacity as an un-ordained lay preacher, was one of seventeen original trustees of the chapel when it was built in 1828, a position he probably retained throughout his life. And it is beyond doubt that his devotion to his god, combined with his vigorous involvement and pride in his chapel, would have deeply saturated into the mind of his children and would have instilled into them a similar devotion, commitment and pride. His daughter Sarah would therefore probably never consider regularly attending any other place of worship, a factor her husband William would understandably accept and accede to. Sarah would be intrinsically motivated as well as obliged to witness her father's sermons; sermons that Thomas regularly preached from the pulpit in the chapel, where he was well known for his particular brand of delivery. Rough-hewn and barn-storming seems to have been his style.

Thomas Greenwood or 'Tommy o' th' Heys' (referring to Upper Heys Farm) as he was commonly known, was considered to be a 'good man' - although apparently not 'extremely mild-tempered' like his wife Sarah. Such evidence regarding his character and general demeanour is highlighted in *A Springtime Saunter* (p.14-17). The book relates how Thomas 'made his presence felt when he preached. If

not eloquent he was earnest. His zeal and enthusiasm for the Word was intense. In praying he raised his voice to a fearful pitch'. A theatrical delivery in the pulpit was characteristic – 'boards needed to be sound and resisting and lamps and gas-brackets out of arms way when he was in full sail'. Being a greatly animated preacher, whose movements and grand gesticulations had to be guarded against at his Luddenden Dean Chapel, he nevertheless had his mishaps. Crashing down a Bible which then ricocheted on to the head of an unsuspecting choir boy below him brought peals of laughter from his congregation. No doubt there was also laughter, perhaps mixed with a degree of concern, when at another but unnamed chapel, Tommy 'stamped his foot through the pulpit floor crash into a pile of love-feast pots stored in a cupboard underneath'. Most certainly he had little finesse. He did things his own way. The raucous bellowing out of hymns in his broad vernacular accent was seemingly more amusing than divinely impressive. But Thomas Greenwood was not there to impress.

'His dress on the Sabbath varied little from that in which he did duty about the farm. He wore knee-breeches, grey stockings and 'gurt three-hoyled lace shoes'. No starched collar fitted his neck, but a thick muffler hung loosely from his throat. He rarely was seen in a hat or cap, and he 'ad a head as ruff es Soarby Moor'. All who new him maintained that he never 'laysh'd his hair', year in and year out.

So this was Thomas Greenwood – unkempt, animated, enthusiastic, unrefined, loud, intensely religious, larger than life and the father of Sarah Holgate and both the father-in-law and uncle of her husband William Holgate. So this was Thomas Greenwood who would probably have taken some part in the funeral service for his departed nine year old grandson Enoch. Indeed, because of his nature and character, it is reasonable to conclude that he would have taken a major role or even conducted the whole of the service held at the Luddenden Dean Chapel. His family would expect nothing less.

Meanwhile, John and Ann favoured a service and burial at the exposed hill-top chapel of Mount Zion for Anthony's final resting place. It was here where Anthony and all his brothers and sisters had been baptised and of course it was the family's destination place of worship. At Mount Zion, John is recorded as purchasing a grave plot in the 'middle back yard' behind the chapel (Figure 52) – but other records no longer exist. The cost of the plot is unknown. The headstone which had once marked Anthony's grave, has been removed. And the grave plot location can not be identified.

Figure 52. Mount Zion - middle back yard. (2006)

However, in the tranquil and captivating setting of Luddenden Dean a finely carved headstone still remains to mark the resting place of Enoch (Figure 53). Located on the front row and just to the left of the path to the chapel, this prominently placed headstone not only bares an inscription for Enoch but also inscriptions for his father William, his mother Sarah and his sister Melissa.

IN LOVING MEMORY OF
WILLIAM HOLGATE
OF KNOWLE FARM COLDEDGE
BORN FEBRUARY 16TH 1816
DIED MAY 29TH 1869
ALSO OF SARAH HOLGATE
WIFE OF THE ABOVE
BORN JULY 16TH 1820
DIED MAY 20TH 1898
ALSO OF ENOCH HOLGATE
THEIR SON
BORN FEBRUARY 4TH 1845
DIED JANUARY 22ND 1855
ALSO MELISSA WIFE OF
THE LATE JOHN WATSON
AND DAUGHTER OF THE ABOVE
DIED APRIL 8TH 1934
AGED 72 YEARS

Figure 53. Headstone and inscription for William, Sarah and Enoch Holgate and also Melissa Watson (nee Holgate) – Luddenden Dean Wesleyan Chapel.

It is worthy of note that when William died in 1869 at the age of fifty three his death certificate wrongly recorded his age as being fifty two. Presumably the recording of his cause of death through 'disease of the heart' was more accurate.

Following William's death his wife Sarah (50) was left as head of the household at Knowl with their four children. Over the years, as the children became adult and dispersed the size of the household decreased, so that by the time of the 1881 Census only Sarah (61) and Anthony (21), the youngest child remained. Anthony was now recorded as a delver and presumably employed at the nearby Fly delves - whilst Sarah, his mother, was listed as a farmer. By this time the Holgate tenancy at Knowl had exceeded thirty years and was to continue for some time after that.

<u>Anthony Holgate and Sarah Ellen Greenwood</u> **It was on 1 December 1883 that Anthony (grandfather x2) married Sarah Ellen Greenwood - Sarah Ellen being several months pregnant with their child at the time of the wedding. Sarah Ellen's pregnancy and the forthcoming marriage had already resulted in Anthony departing from his family home at Knowl on Cold Edge. Up to this point Anthony's mother Sarah had benefited from the support, companionship and farm-work contributed by her son. Now she was alone. Now, at the age of sixty two she had sole responsibility for the farm**

and her own well-being. And significantly, Anthony and Sarah Ellen never returned to make Knowl their own family home. They made a life for themselves elsewhere.

Anthony pursued a variety of occupations and worked for a number of different employers. He and Sarah Ellen became parents to eight children - with another child, named Anthony, unfortunately being stillborn. They also relocated their family to a new home on at least seven occasions with their final years being spent at 2 Dean Clough, Halifax, beneath a towering mill chimney and the huge, impressive and dominating presence of the Crossley Carpets mill complex (later to become the largest carpet factory in the world). This was not Cold Edge. This was Dean Clough Mills. No grand panoramas here – just wall after wall and chimney after chimney of soot-blackened stone, powerfully thrusting upwards into the gloomy-grey smoke clouds of a man-made sky. Looking around them at their noisy, polluted industrial cocoon did they ever reflect back to times past and their very different life in rural Wainstalls where their relationship and their family life began? If so they would most certainly think back to the birth of their first child, Wilfred.

Wilfred Holgate (grandfather) was born on 16 April 1884, just four months after the wedding of his parents Anthony and Sarah Ellen. He was born in Wainstalls. To be more precise he was born at the 'Rising Sun', a small beerhouse that was the current home of the maternal family, the Greenwoods (Figure 54). Here at the 'Rising Sun' John and Grace Greenwood ('Little Grace' as she was known – Turner, *A Springtime Saunter* p.8) helped to satiate the thirst of their customers. On such a special occasion as this the happy drinkers would have most likely given a rousing toast to the arrival of their hosts new grandson, Wilfred.[1]

Figure 54. The 'Rising Sun' beerhouse at the top of Rough Hall Lane – birthplace of Wilfred Holgate (grandfather) 16 April 1884. (2011)

[1] During his lifetime Wilfred Holgate always referred to his birth place as being at the Rising Sun beerhouse. However his birth certificate referred to his place of birth as being Kell – in his parent's home, a short distance away from the Rising Sun.

1884, the year of Wilfred Holgate's birth, coincided with Anthony completing his first full year of regular wage-earning work at Spring Mill. Anthony's marriage certificate had referred to his occupation as being a carter; wage books reveal that this carting was on behalf of Spring Mill.

In fact the wage records show that Anthony had already been employed at the mill in the previous year (Figure 55). Indeed an entry in the wage book for 1883 lists his occupation as a farmer. But this was not at the mill itself; it was at Spring Mill Farm, belonging to the mill. Here in 1883, for more than two months he practised farming for a payment of 36 shillings per fortnight, whilst presumably still assisting his mother with farm work at Knowl. Spring Mill was less than a fifteen minute walk away – so why not work at the mill farm for supplementary income on a job he knew well? The delves were no longer 'a hive of industry'; employment as a delver was becoming less and less of an option. Anthony's work in the business of stone would therefore be put on hold for several years.

As Figure 55 reveals, in his youth, before turning to delving, Anthony had already been employed at a mill. But this was not at Spring Mill. This was at Square Mill, now enlarged since formerly being known as Hole Bottom Mill. In 1875, at the age of fifteen, he was paid a fortnightly wage of 14 shillings and 9 pence, whilst his elder sister Melissa (19), who also worked at Square Mill was paid exactly twice as much; 29 shillings and 6 pence. His sister's pay must have seemed enormous to him. But eight years later Anthony was also considerably better off.

1875-1887: Wage Book Records for Spring Mill, Lumb Mill and Square Mill (extracts).

Year	*Start Date*	*Left*	*Mill*	*Name*	*Occupation*	*Wage Fortnightly*
1875			Square	Anthony Holgate		14 shill. 9d
1876	19 May1876		Square	..		18 shillings
1877			Square	..		18 shillings
1878		June1878	Square	..		18 shillings
1883	Mar 1883		Spring	Anthony Holgate	Farmer	36 shillings
1883	25 May1884		Spring	..	Carter	46 shillings
1884			Spring	..	Carter	46 shillings
1885			Spring	..	Carter	46 shillings
1886		6 May 1887	Spring	..	Carter	46 shillings
1885	4 Dec 1885		Lumb	Sarah Ellen Holgate		22 shillings[1]
1886		15 Jan 1886	Lumb	..		22 shillings
1886	15 Jan 1886	12 Mar1886	Square	Sarah Ellen Holgate		22 shillings[2]

[1.] In the three fortnightly periods between 4 Dec 1885 and 15 Jan 1886 Sarah Ellen Holgate's actual wages were: 12 shillings, 19 shillings and 4 pence, 12 shillings and 11 pence.
[2.] In the four fortnightly periods between 15 Jan 1885 and 12 Mar 1886 Sarah Ellen Holgate's actual wages were: 18 shillings and 5 pence, 10 shillings, 17 shillings and 7 pence, 9 shillings and 6 pence.

Figure 55. Anthony and Sarah Ellen Holgate – wage books 1875 to 1887. WYAS. Halifax Central Library

From 25 May 1883 onwards Anthony began full-time work as a carter at Spring Mill on a regular fortnightly wage of 46 shillings. Here he remained until 6 May 1887. During this period Sarah Ellen had also found employment in local mills.

Sarah Ellen worked for very short periods at both Lumb and Square mills (Figure 55). Her wages reflected erratic attendance, which was not surprising since by the time of her first employment she had two infant children in her care - Wilfred (1 year 8 months) and John William (4 months). Terminating her last brief period of work on 12 March 1886, Sarah Ellen gave birth to Clarice Annie four weeks later on 14 April 1886.

By the time of the birth of Anthony and Sarah Ellen's fourth child – Mary Ellen born on 22 September 1887 - the family were residing in the township of Ovenden. Their home was now at Mason Green, a straight-line distance of nearly 2 miles eastwards from Wainstalls in Warley. Mary Ellen's birth certificate reveals that Anthony was now a coach man; having left Spring Mill four months earlier on 6 May 1887. But within the space of four years he had once again returned to the occupation of delver. However he had not returned to the delves at Fly on the summit of Cold Edge, for these delves were experiencing a rapid decline. Now he was delving at the summit of Pule Hill on Swales Moor in the township of Northowram, some four and a half miles across hills and valleys to the south-east – yet within a clearly visible view of his boyhood home locality of Cold Edge (1891 Census).

When Anthony had left Cold Edge and his work as a delver at Fly and farmer of the 19 acres of land at Knowl, his mother would have struggled to manage alone. Consequently it may have been that Sarah left Knowl shortly after Anthony's departure. However, it may have been that she remained there for any number of years, for at some stage between 1881 and 1891 her granddaughter Malissa together with her husband Sam Cockroft (both of whom were aged 34 at the time of the 1891 Census) made Knowl their home too. Sam and Malissa were childless and had formerly been residing at the Withins Hotel with Sam's mother Sarah Cockroft (51), innkeeper and farmer of 12 acres (1881 Census). If as seems feasible Sarah had indeed received early support from granddaughter Malissa and Malissa's husband Sam, Sarah could then quite conceivably have remained at Knowl for many years after Anthony's departure. However, by 1891 only Sam and Malissa Cockroft remained at Knoll (1891 Census). Sarah Holgate had moved on.

In 1891 Sarah Holgate was to be found at Plane (Plain) Trees near Spring Mill, 'living on her own means' (1891 Census). With her were three of her granddaughters, Ellen (18), Emily (12) and Sarah Alice Wormald (10) – the orphaned children of Abraham and Sarah Ann Wormald (nee Holgate). All three of the girls were employed in one of the local worsted mills: Ellen employed as a worsted drawer, Emily as a woollen drawer, Sarah Alice as a worsted spinner (1891 Census). Spring Mill was the closest in proximity to their home at Plane Trees but Square Mill (formerly known as Hole Bottom) and Lumb Mill were not too far away. In which of these mills Ellen worked as a worsted spinner is unknown. Nevertheless the mill in which her younger sisters worked is clearly identifiable.

Evidence relating to factory registers reveals that in 1891 Emily and Sarah Alice were employed at Square Mill (Figure 56). Emily began employment on 19 June 1890, six months after the death of

Abraham her widower father (5 January 1890) - whilst the first day of Sarah Alice's employment is unrecorded. But this would not have been their first experience of paid factory work. Previously, the sisters would probably have worked in a textile factory in the locality of their deceased parent's family home at 66, Burnley Road, Luddenden Foot. It would have been in Luddenden Foot that they received their legal entitlement to part-time education, for as the Square Mill factory register shows, both Emily and Sarah Alice had achieved Standard 2 of the five level attainment grading system.

Square Mill: Extracts from the Employment Register for Children and Young Persons (1882 – 1891)								
Surname	*Christian Name*	*Residence*	*Date of First Employment*	*Name of Father*	*Name of Mother*	*Date of Birth*	*Standard Achieved*	*Date Standard Achieved*
Wormald	Emily	Plane Trees *	19 June 1890	Dead	Dead	23 Dec 1878	2	-------
Wormald	Sarah Alice	Plain Trees *	---------	Dead	Dead	19 Nov 1880	2	July 1889

Figure 56. Square Mill: Extracts from the Employment Register for Children and Young People for the period 1878–1891. (* Plane/Plain Trees – as recorded) West Yorkshire Archive Service, Halifax Central Library

Employment at Square Mill, together with female domesticity at Plane (Plain) Trees probably continued from year to year towards the turn of the century. But for Sarah Holgate the turn of the century was never quite reached. Whilst still residing as a tenant at Plane Trees, Sarah died on 20 May 1898 aged seventy seven years - the cause of death being senile decay and senile gangrene of the leg. And it was perhaps because of Sarah's death that Plane Trees was vacated and employment at Square Mill was terminated by Emily and Sarah Alice in favour of Spring Mill.[1]

Fifty or so years earlier Sarah had first arrived at the Knowl farmstead with William. Here at Knowl they had struggled to rear cattle on an exposed western incline of Cold Edge, close to the summit of Warley Moor. As the death certificate for Enoch Holgate (1855) revealed, William was still supplementing his income with work as a woolcomber. This was despite the advent of power-driven combing machines on the factory floor and the paltry earnings for the domestic woolcomber. Surely it could not have been long after this, that William decided a better option for income was to be found at the nearby delves, where activity was intense. His father John was already there carting stone - providing another option for income. One way or another William would make his choice and the dual-economy livelihood would continue to be pursued at Knowl for years to come.

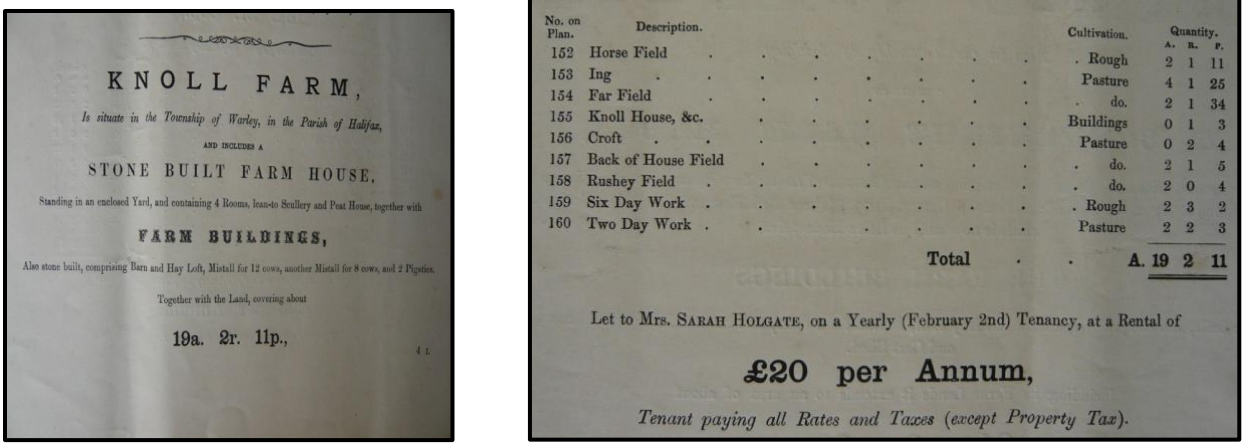
<u>The farm at Knowl</u> In the passage of time the return from Knowl farm was also enhanced - with additional small parcels of land being enclosed. This was duly reflected in the ten year census returns. The 1861 return for Knowl recorded a land area of 16 acres, whilst the 1871 return recorded 18 acres

[1.] The 1901 Census reveals that Sarah Holgate's granddaughters Emily and Sarah Ann Wormald were now living at 1, Spring Mill, whilst the third grandaughter Ellen Wormald was now married and living with her husband Harry Crossland at 11, Redcar Street, Halifax.

and the 1881 census 19 acres. The northern perimeter of the farm ranged between 1405 feet and 1422 feet above sea-level (1900 *Ordnance Survey Map*. 25 inch to 1 mile). Remote, bleak and totally at the mercy of the elements, Knowl was not only the highest elevated farm in the moorlands of Warley township, it was also the highest elevated farm in the whole of the extensive Parish of Halifax.

The Knowl farm was part of the Castle Carr Estate being one of twenty grazing farms on an estate that was predominantly moorland. Of the 1500 acres of moorland approximately 375 acres was allocated for grouse shooting. When the estate was put up for sale in 1889, the schedule details revealed that the Knowl farmhouse ('Knoll' in the sale particulars) consisted of four rooms, a lean-to scullery and a peat house, whilst the stone out-buildings consisted of a hay loft, two mistalls – one for twelve cows and one for eight cows – and two pigsties (Figure 57). In keeping with the sale schedule of other estate farms, there was no reference to an outside toilet facility. But of course there would have been a toilet – most probably a small outbuilding, inside which there would have been a tub receptacle that would be emptied on the land.

The enclosed farm yard, which would have been the hub of daily farm activity was accessed from the Cold Edge Road, the busy stone transport route from the delves at Fly and Nab. And surrounding the farmyard were the various fields. Eight in number, the fields were designated as pasture (6) and rough (2). Five fields of pasture and one field of rough were allocated to cattle whilst one field of rough was for the horse (Horse Field) and one half acre of pasture utilised as a vegetable garden (Croft). The farm's total area was listed as 19 acres, 2 roods and 11 perches – this being 'Let to Mrs Sarah Holgate on a yearly (February 2nd) Tenancy at a Rental of £20 per annum. Tenant paying all Rates and Taxes (except Property Tax)' (Castle Carr Estate – Particulars and Conditions of Sale. July 1889). (Figure 57)



KNOLL FARM,

Is situate in the Township of Warley, in the Parish of Halifax,

AND INCLUDES A

STONE BUILT FARM HOUSE,

Standing in an enclosed Yard, and containing 4 Rooms, lean-to Scullery and Peat House, together with

FARM BUILDINGS,

Also stone built, comprising Barn and Hay Loft, Mistall for 12 cows, another Mistall for 8 cows, and 2 Pigsties.

Together with the Land, covering about

19a. 2r. 11p.,

As stated specifically in the following Schedule:—

No. on Plan.	Description.	Cultivation.	Quantity. A.	R.	P.
152	Horse Field	Rough	2	1	11
153	Ing	Pasture	4	1	25
154	Far Field	do.	2	1	34
155	Knoll House, &c.	Buildings	0	1	3
156	Croft	Pasture	0	2	4
157	Back of House Field	do.	2	1	5
158	Rushey Field	do.	2	0	4
159	Six Day Work	Rough	2	3	2
160	Two Day Work	Pasture	2	2	3
	Total		A. 19	2	11

Let to Mrs. SARAH HOLGATE, on a Yearly (February 2nd) Tenancy, at a Rental of

£20 per Annum,

Tenant paying all Rates and Taxes (except Property Tax).

Figure 57. Knowl Farm: Castle Carr Estate – Particulars and Conditions of Sale (23 July 1889). Halifax Antiquarian Society

Today, the only physical evidence of the farm building at Knowl is a few randomly scattered, blackened, weathered and half-obscured gritstone blocks. Over the decades many successive generations of local families had made this farm their home, but in the early 1900's all this came to an end. The farm was vacated, emptied and abandoned to the forces of nature and destruction by man.

The fate of Knowl and its right to a place on the moorland hilltop was decided less than three decades after the completion of the Warley Moor Reservoir at Fly Flatts. Although the reservoir was not fully completed until 1878 its construction had taken place between the years 1864 and 1869. Its purpose was to supply drinking water to the rapidly expanding urban population of Halifax. Presumably surveyors reasoned that the five lonely rural hillside farms at Knowl, Near New Fly, Old Fly, Far New Fly and Woodcock Hall would not unduly contaminate the natural drainage that flowed into the reservoir. Neither too the waste output from Fly Cottages and the 'Delver's Arms'; erected on a wild section of moorland that had been enclosed for farming c.1850. Nevertheless, within the period of a few decades agricultural practice and occupation of these isolated farmsteads was over. Situated at more than 1400 feet above sea-level these properties had been the highest elevated group of farmsteads in the Parish of Halifax.

Indeed hundreds of dispersed hillside farms patch-worked the parish – but none were so highly situated as the farm at Knowl and those farms at Fly. However this distinction was to be no more. One by one the farms were vacated. And inevitably, following each farm's abandonment and ensuing neglect, there came piecemeal demolition and the weathering action of environmental forces. Consequently all of these Cold Edge farmsteads were laid to advanced but varying stages of ruin. Contrast the farm at Old Fly with the farm at Knowl. On the one hand there is the Old Fly farmhouse, its attached cottage and its outbuildings. These premises were most likely utilised by John Holgate, brother of William (grandfather x3) for stabling his horse and for general farm purposes when resident at Near New Fly, where with his wife Grace he farmed 21 acres that included the Old Fly field enclosures (c.1855–c.1875). Here at Old Fly there is still very discernable visual evidence of the building structure and layout (Figure 58). On the other hand there is Knowl – inhabited by William and Sarah Holgate (c.1850–c.1890) - where it is only by means of aerial photography that a barely discernable footprint of the 19 acre farmstead building can be defined (Figure 58–bottom left section).

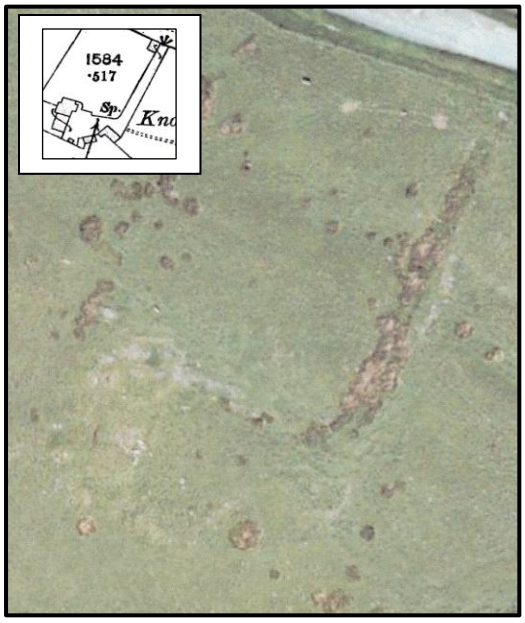


Figure 58. Knowl with map inset of 1892 (left). Google Maps (2011) **Old Fly (right). (2003)**

Several centuries of human industry and history now brought to a close. Today nature continues to steadily reclaim and restore the characteristic moorland canopy; the canopy that was once sacrificed to tenant farmers such as the brothers William and John Holgate on their neighbouring farms. Certainly here, 'on top of the world', it is plainly obvious that farming was always an intense, difficult and relentless struggle. No wonder, for somehow, in this particularly bleak yet powerfully seductive expanse of Warley Moor, the very business of farming tends to sit uncomfortably exposed, somewhat awkward and to some degree out of place.

Sitting extremely comfortably however, is the natural order of things – where weather, climate, geology and nature continually dictate, shape, make and create. In dictating, in shaping, in making and in creating, this location should rightly be the sole domain of the natural elements. So perhaps in accepting this obvious reality, man will never again be tempted or persuaded to consider it economically viable to occupy and farm this particularly demanding tract of moorland landscape. Perhaps?

Upper Calder Valley - over 700 years of continuous Holgate settlement **It was within the confines of this demanding tract of moorland landscape that William Holgate (grandfather x3) became the last direct-line ancestor to complete his life-span away from the urban sprawl. When William died in 1869 he was the last of many successive generations who had been fortunate to have lived, worked, played and prayed within the invigorating and captivating landscape of upper Warley. It was William's son Anthony (grandfather x2) who broke with this settlement tradition. At the age of twenty six Anthony departed from Warley township for ever. Anthony's father William had been the last representative of years-gone-by. Meanwhile Anthony was the first representative of years-to-come.**

Evidence sources such as the *Wakefield Manor Court Rolls*, wills and deeds, indicate that over the centuries William and Anthony's ancestors had continually occupied various farmsteads within the remote upper Calder Valley region of the Parish of Halifax. Indeed such evidence stretches way back to the thirteenth century when feudal England was still subjugated to the tyranny and pressures of Norman baronial rule.

It is therefore highly probable that there has been over 700 years of continuous Holgate settlement in this region of the upper Calder Valley; the Halifax surname of Holgate being first recorded in the year 1274 (see G. Redmonds, *Yorkshire West Riding 1 –English Surname Series,* London 1973 p.207-209). Also every possibility this settlement period stretched even further back in time; even pre-dating the Norman conquest of 1066. At a minimum there has been over 700 years of recorded occupancy within a relatively compact area, as shown in Figure 59 (shown as the probable limit of settlement c.1300 to 1964). Indeed there is every possibility this area of occupancy was even more compact. And Anthony Holgate was the direct-line ancestor who ultimately brought this remarkably lengthy sequence of settlement continuity to a close c.1885. His place in direct-line family history is therefore unique.

However in more recent times, namely the time-span of this particular account, all direct-line occupancy was confined within an even smaller area than the demarcated area in Figure 59; confined within an area from Green Edge to Cold Edge. From the farmsteads at Height, Heys and Lower Green

Edge in the upper reaches of captivating Luddenden Dean to the exposed Cold Edge farmstead of Knowl, enclosed within a heath-clad rolling landscape and endless sky, it is barely 3 miles as the 'moorland kestral flies'. And in between there lies Withins and Haigh Cote.

Here on these Cold Edge farmsteads John Holgate, the central figure in this account, spent all 49 years of his married life with Ann - overlooking a dramatic panorama of water-sheeted, sky-reflective dams, randomly scattered moorland farms, a few intermittent mills, small mill settlements and far distant urban Halifax.

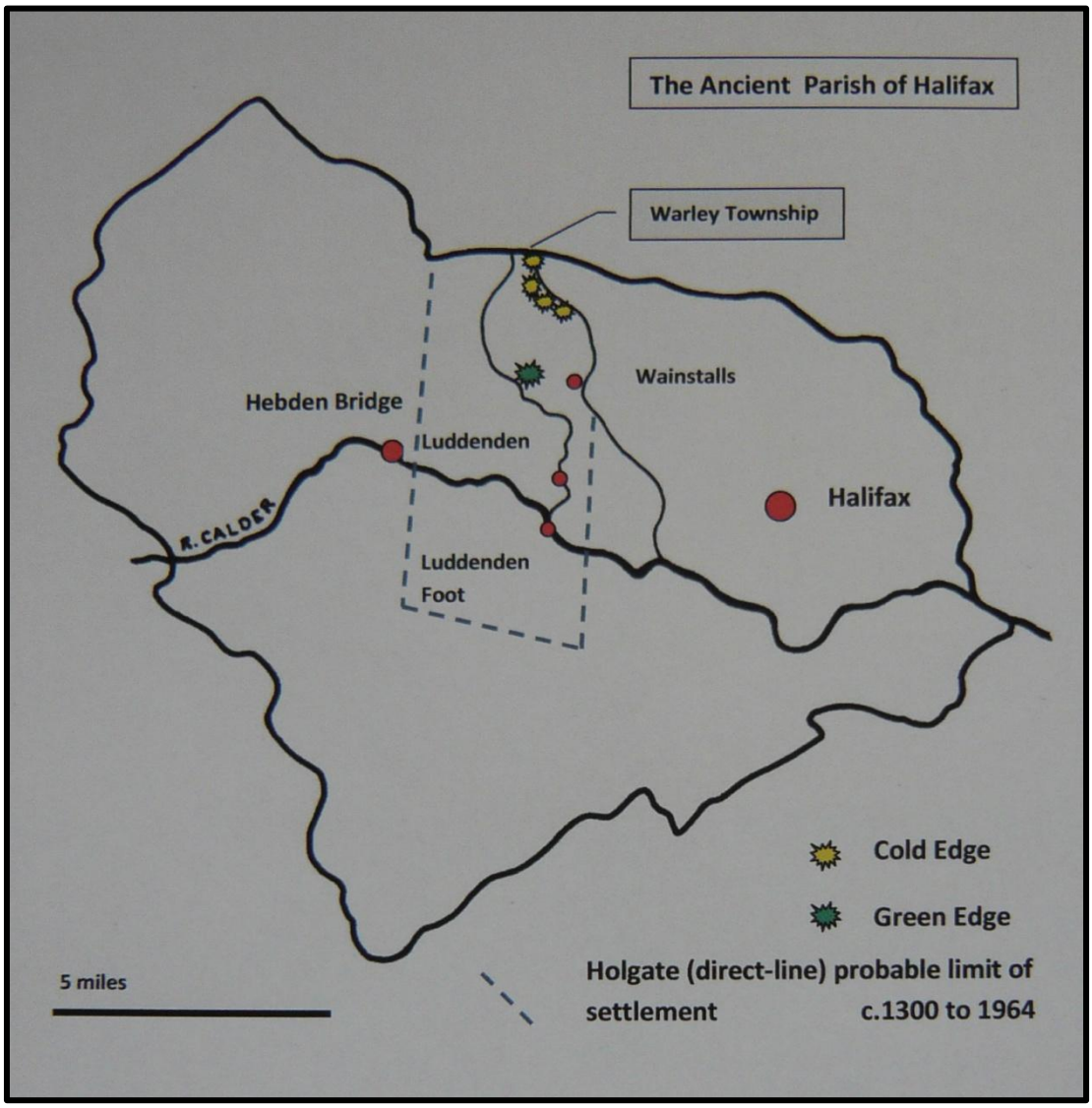


Figure 59. Parish of Halifax: Holgate (direct-line ancestors) probable area of recorded settlement during the period c.1300 to 1964.

From Jonathan Holgate (born 1689 and grandfather x7) to Anthony Holgate (departed from Wainstalls c.1885 and grandfather x2) each of the successive direct-line generations occupied farmstead tenancies within this discrete section of northernmost Warley township. From Green Edge to Cold

Edge their presence totalled a span of nearly 200 years. And if as seems most likely an even more distant ancestor, namely John Holgate (grandfather x8), had also occupied a tenancy within this area then the span of years would be well in excess of two centuries.

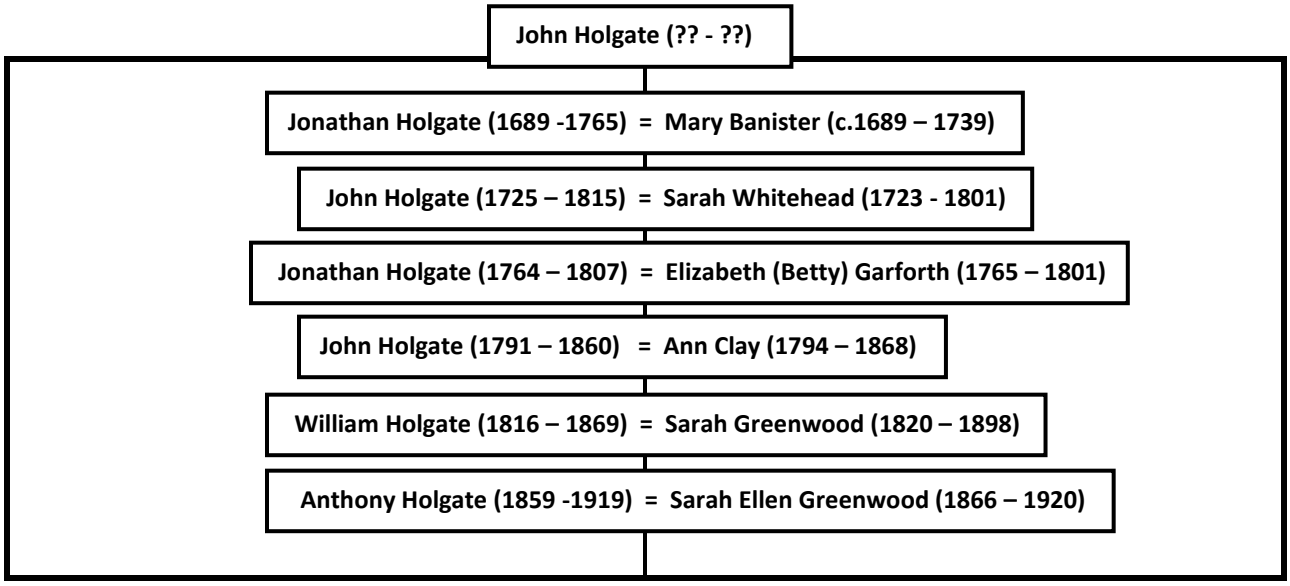


Figure 60. Successive generations of direct-line ancestors who occupied farmstead tenancies in the upper section of Warley Township.

Significantly during this 200 year period - when textile fortunes were being made - not one of the Holgate generations ever accumulated great personal wealth. Even the legacy of John Holgate yeoman (1725–1815) was extremely modest.[1] Nevertheless, despite the problems that nature and mankind threw at them, each of the successive generations of direct-line ancestors held on to something of real substance and value - a level of living that was both self-sufficient and sustainable.

Of course the 'muck' their dual-economy industry made never returned much 'brass'. But at least in making their 'muck' the family did not have to personally endure, nor inflict on others, the level of human agony, misery, suffering and despair that was the sorry lot of so many others during the Industrial Revolution. Holgate wealth lay not in 'brass' and what 'brass' could buy. Holgate wealth lay within the substance of their strength of character and the life they chose to lead.

Therefore despite the severe and intensely distressing social upheaval and life-changing circumstances experienced by masses of the population - particularly marked between the years 1780 and 1860 - the family were able to retain their own grip on a traditional way-of-life, traditional values and traditional

[1.] **The will of John Holgate yeoman (10 June 1815) specified £202 11shillings to be divided between various beneficeries, with the residue and remainder of his estate and affects to be left to his son William Holgate. Taking £230 as the total maximum value of his estate and then comparing this £230 with the UK average earnings data for 2010 the forthcoming comparative average earnings figure of £154,000 is produced i.e. the total monetary value of the compensation an average worker in full time employment would get each year, before tax (MeasuringWorth.com).**

working practices. In doing so they would have successfully retained, and no doubt cherished, their independence and a semblance of status. And of course they would have greatly valued their inner sense of relative freedom, their inner sense of relative security and their inner sense of relative well-being.

These were self-motivated people with willing, able and united families. Work ethos was strong. Work discipline was ingrained. Enterprise was a significant factor in their success. And although work was very often extremely demanding, labour intensive, energy sapping and time consuming the Holgate families did have the opportunity to experience and enjoy periods of pleasure and leisure.

Crucially for them 'living' could be clearly separated from 'working': for the most part they could labour to live – not live to labour. And fundamental to this state-of-being were two overriding factors. Firstly they were masters of their own time. Secondly they were masters of their own will.

Seemingly - whether during their life at Green Edge or their life at Cold Edge - the families didn't need to respond to the beat of someone else's drum. Neither did they need to dance to someone else's tune.

Ultimately this was their comfort.

Ultimately this was their blessing.

Ultimately this was their salvation.

End Piece.

Emily Bronte (1818-1848) developed a relationship with her moorland environment that was intense, passionate and sympathetic. It is clearly evident in her writing that she had a deep-rooted emotional attachment to the landscape on her doorstep and the elements that enveloped it. This heartfelt emotion, when combined with her intense scrutiny and understanding of the moorland and the seasonal changes that affected it resulted in outstanding descriptive verse and prose that will stand the test of time.

Emily's *Wuthering Heights* is acknowledged as a literary great. The complex entwining of Cathy with Heathcliffe was a literary masterstroke. And in turn Emily's portrayal of Cathy and Heathcliffe's passion, their love and their hate was fittingly transferred in her writing to all that was present in the moorland environment in which they lived.

Now derelict the Top Withins Farm on Stanbury Moor is regarded as the inspiration for Heathcliffe's home at Wuthering Height. Less than 5 miles south-west of Top Withins Farm lies a farm of similar name. This is Withins at Cold Edge on Warley Moor. Both farms also share a very similar moorland location and moorland presence. And needless-to-say through the decades both of these farms were subject to the same moorland moods and forces of nature. Thereby, when in her writing Emily Bronte paints a vivid picture of the moorland environment at Wuthering Heights, she also paints a vivid picture of the moorland environment at Withins; during a timescale in the nineteenth century when the Withins farmstead was tenanted and worked by the family of John and Ann Holgate.

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