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RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN THE PARISH OF HALIFAX, c. 1740-1914

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Council for National Academic Awards for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Most recent studies of religion and society have focussed on the period from c. 1880 to 1914, basing their investigations upon late-Victorian newspaper censuses of churchgoing. This thesis aims to study the development of religion in its economic and social context in a large northern industrial parish over a longer period of time from c. 1740 to 1914. In religious terms this period extends from the mid-eighteenth century Evangelical Revival to the decline of organised religion in the early twentieth century. In economic and social terms the period is characterised by the transformation of the parish from a semi-rural, proto-industrial society dominated by a relatively small but expanding market town, into a predominantly urban advanced industrial society dominated by a medium-sized textile manufacturing town and several smaller urban centres of textile production; supporting a wide diversity of associated industries and trades, but still containing within its boundaries sharply contrasting urban and semi-rural environments.

The thesis aims to assess how religious expression within the parish of Halifax was affected by the changing economic and social environment, in particular the urban-industrial experience, and how religion helped shape the new urban-industrial society during the period from the middle of the eighteenth century to the outbreak of the First World War. It argues that whilst the pessimistic view of a moribund Georgian Church of England can no longer be sustained by the Halifax evidence, the Established Church nevertheless lacked the logistical resources to respond effectively to the new urban-industrial society as it emerged within the parish in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, providing an opportunity for the growth of Evangelical Nonconformity, especially Methodism. It maintains that Evangelical Nonconformity and an Anglican Church renewed by Evangelical incumbencies during the period 1790-1827 and reformed as a

consequence of national legislation in the 1840s played a vital role within the expanding urban-industrial society, surviving the experience of industrialisation and urbanisation and displaying a remarkable vibrancy, despite underlying downward trends in churchgoing in the late-Victorian era. It suggests that the causes of the decline of organised religion during this period were complex, but related more to the onset of industrial-urban stagnation and decline than to the experience of industrial-urban expansion.

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Introduction

Nineteenth century churchmen have been held principally responsible for fostering two enduring pessimistic myths about the impact of religion on modern British society. The first myth holds that the Georgian Church of England was in an advanced state of decay during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and ripe for reform by 1828 when the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts proclaimed the arrival of a new era of religious pluralism and ushered in an age of constitutional and ecclesiastical reform. The second myth holds that organised religion, both Anglican and Nonconformist, proved to be fundamentally incompatible with the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation and that both the Established and Nonconformist Churches failed to make any significant impact on the new urban industrial society, entering a vortex of decline during the Victorian era, long before the outbreak of the First World War.

The former myth, whose origin has been attributed by Dr Peter Virgin in his study of The Church in an Age of Negligence, Ecclesiastical Structure and Problems of Church Reform, 1700-1840 to 'self-confident and self-assertive' Victorian clerics, finds expression, for example, in a series of papers by the Reverend George Huntington, initially appearing in the Church Review in 1864 and subsequently published in book form in 1871, assessing the progress of the Church of England in the new urban industrial societies of the West Riding, Lancashire, Birmingham and London. His assessment proceeded from the uncritical assumption that the condition of the Georgian Church was considerably worse than that of its Victorian successor. He repeatedly blamed the problems of the Victorian Church on 'past neglect', concluding his assessment of Bishop Longley's reforms in the industrial West Riding with the comment:

> If such be its present state, despite the unceasing exertions and active superintendence of the wise and good Bishop Longley for upwards of twenty years, what must it have been before? (1).

The latter myth which Dr Callum Brown has maintained in a recent article 'emanated with the Victorians (mostly churchmen)' was first propounded as early as the 1820s by Dr Thomas Chalmers of the Church of Scotland in his The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns and, in Dr Brown's view, became 'extremely influential in broadcasting the view that manufacturing cities destroyed the system of parochial supervision which had operated in the countryside for centuries'. The myth was subsequently powerfully reinforced, in Dr Brown's view, by Horace Mann's interpretation of the findings of the only state census of religious worship in Britain in 1851, which constituted 'the most famous and influential statement of the "pessimist school"', both fuelling 'the idea that there had been a decline in churchgoing levels' and that the non-church goers were predominantly from the industrial working classes (2).

The myth of a decadent Georgian Church was sustained in the twentieth century by a host of local and regional denominational histories. 'The Church, as a whole, was asleep religiously' was the verdict on the Hanoverian Church of England of the Reverend G.R. Oakley, Vicar of St Mary's Church, Illingworth, Halifax, in a history of the church published in 1924. He attributed its lack of spiritual revival in the eighteenth century to the 'narrow-mindedness of the clergy of the Church of England and the gross mismanagement by the bishops'. Thirty years later, Dr S.J. Curtis, in a survey of the post-Reformation Church of England in Yorkshire, identified a 'general deterioration of religious life' towards the end of the eighteenth century. 'The neglect of the fabric of the churches', he maintained, 'was merely an outward sign of the spiritual decline that had taken place. The Church failed miserably in its duty to its people' (3).

However, the rehabilitation of the Georgian Church had commenced in a pioneering account of episcopal administration by Professor Norman Sykes in 1934, which cleared the

Established Church of the universal torpor previously imputed to it. This more optimistic view of the Georgian Church began to be reflected in subsequent local and regional studies such as Diana McClatchey's study of the Oxfordshire clergy and Arthur Warne's study of church and society in eighteenth century Devon. However, the pessimistic view persisted, particularly in relation to the urban industrial context of parochial ministry in the north. For example, in a social history of religion in Yorkshire published in 1985, E.A. Elton and E. Foster concluded that:

> for a variety of reasons the Church of England was ill-prepared to meet the challenge of urbanisation and industrialisation. The existence of pluralism and absenteeism meant that many parishes were without effective Anglican leadership (4).

More recently, however, a more balanced view of the Georgian Church has begun to emerge from the researches of Dr Edward Royle, Professor F.C. Mather and Dr Peter Virgin. Dr Royle has detected evidence of both spiritual growth and institutional failure in his study of the Georgian Church in York, concluding that 'it would be a mistake to imply that until the 1830s the Church of England was moribund'. He has also argued from comparative studies of religion in York and Huddersfield, which both experienced parochial renewal under Evangelical Anglican incumbents during the Georgian period, that the reason for Methodist expansion in such environments was:

> the success of Evangelical clergy within the Church of England in stimulating a demand for services which was beyond their own resources to satisfy: that is, the institutional failure of the Church was underlined by its spiritual vitality (5).

Meanwhile, Professor F.C. Mather, in a re-evaluation of mainstream Georgian churchmanship, has rejected the view that it exhibited a pervasive Latitudinarianism and revealed significant regional variations in the range and frequency of Anglican public worship during the period from 1714 to 1830, concluding that 'the liturgical weaknesses of the eighteenth-

century Establishment were due less to Latitudinarianism than to the rural context in which it mainly operated'. Moreover, he has suggested that:

> the view that the northern clergy were more given to non-residence than their southern counterparts stands in need of correction for certain key areas ... it may be that these stony ecclesiastical pastures of the north and west drew shepherds of a more than usually dedicated type (6).

More recently Dr Peter Virgin, in a detailed study of the social and economic status of the Anglican clergy in the period from 1700 to 1840, published in 1989, has confirmed the existence of a number of abuses such as inadequate incomes among a substantial group of curates and beneficed clergy; a widespread lack of parsonage houses; a tendency for senescent incumbents to remain for too long in their benefices; a predominance of large and unwieldy dioceses and an increasing incidence of pluralism after 1700, which did not begin to be remedied until the late 1820s. However, he has also discerned some evidence of spiritual revival in the isolated coastal parishes of Norfolk; considerable evidence of a general improvement in the economic and social status of the clergy; a 'formidable' clerical contribution to learning and a 'crucial' clerical contribution to local government through the magistracy. Welcoming the emergence of 'a new vision of the Georgian ecclesiastical polity' with 'its strengths and weaknesses, its ambiguities and clarities' he concluded:

> What is required is a sense of balance, a recognition of the achievements of the church in the era prior to the 'Age of Reform' and a recognition also of the contribution to ecclesiastical change made by the ferment of the 1830s ... the accepted view of the Georgian church has been too often crude and ill-informed (7).

The second myth originating with Victorian clerics that industrialisation and urbanisation were inimical to religious expansion, which has been reinforced by the writings of twentieth century historians and sociologists and absorbed into the concept of secularisation as an explanation of religious decline, has proved even more enduring than that of a

universally decadent Georgian Church of England. E.R. Wickham, writing in 1957, and K.S. Inglis, writing in 1963, both dated the loss of popular religiosity from the onset of urbanisation. Wickham, an Anglican industrial chaplain, concluded from his studies of the impact of industrialisation on Sheffield that:

> from the emergence of the industrial towns in the eighteenth century, the working class, the labouring poor, the common people, as a class, substantially, as adults, have been outside the churches. The industrial working class culture pattern has evolved lacking a tradition of the practice of religion (8).

This view was subsequently endorsed in other major studies of religion in modern Britain. Professor Owen Chadwick, in his monumental history of the Victorian Church, published in 1966, affirmed that:

> So far as the churches and chapels possessed the allegiance of the working class of England and Wales, they lost that allegiance when the country labourer became a town labourer.

Moreover, in their analysis of religious trends accompanying their encyclopaedic compendium of religious statistics published in 1977, R.R. Currie, A.D. Gilbert and L.S. Horsley collectively concluded that:

> industrialisation created an urban population quite remote even from such desultory religious ministrations as obtained in many country places ... (shortage of church accommodation) prevented any church from counteracting the secularising tendencies of industrial technique and an industrial, urban life-style (9).

In the meantime, however, practitioners of the new social history, Marxist and non-Marxist alike, most notably Edward Thompson and Harold Perkin, had begun to assign a temporary role to religion in the emergence of the new urban industrial society, challenging the orthodox view of ecclesiastical historians which assumed that religion and urban industrial society were mutually incompatible. Moreover, in a pioneering article in 1973, Dr Hugh McLeod had questioned interpretations of the 1851 Census of Religious Worship which

'tended to see the relationship between industry and non-churchgoing as one of cause and effect'. But it was Dr A.D. Gilbert in his monograph Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914 published in 1976, who was the first historian to wrestle with the paradox of why, when most sociologists had indicated a close relationship between industrialisation and secularisation, the period of urban-industrial expansion in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was also a time of demonstrably increasing church membership. Gilbert's explanation, however, was essentially pessimistic, maintaining that in the long term urbanisation did lead to secularisation, but that in the short term it actually increased the importance of religion in English society. He concluded that Evangelical Nonconformity, and in particular, Methodism, which had provided a focus for a developing sense of community in the transitional industrialising villages of the early industrial revolution, had lost its capacity to keep pace with population growth and urban expansion by the 1840s and during the second half of nineteenth century was undermined by Anglican revival and more significantly by incipient secularisation (10).

However, a thoroughly researched local study attempting to relate the history of religion to its economic and social context, published in the same year, offered an alternative explanation for the decline of religious and voluntary organisations in the medium-sized industrial town of Reading. Dr Stephen Yeo argued that in the early years of Reading's development as an industrial town between 1840 and 1900 principally under the leadership of the Quaker biscuit manufacturers, Huntley and Palmer, the economic and social environment was highly favourable to the growth of religious and voluntary organisations. However, the economic and social climate became distinctly less favourable around the turn of the century with the decline of locally-based institutions in the face of an increasingly centralised economy and welfare

state. Yeo concluded, therefore, that it was not so much urbanisation that undermined the churches as the transition from the relatively self-contained mid-Victorian town to the twentieth century town in which locally based organisations were much less significant and religion had become largely privatised (11).

Recent research on the decline of organised religion in London has also challenged Gilbert's emphasis on the secularising effects of industrialisation and urbanisation as the primary explanation of the decline of religious instititutions in the second half of the nineteenth century. Dr Hugh McLeod has suggested that 'in highlighting continuing urbanisation and the switch to factory production as the significant changes after 1850 Gilbert may be overlooking other relevant factors' such as the long-term consequences of religious pluralism and other short-term precipitating factors such as the increase in working-class incomes, the decline of class-oriented politics and the great growth of white-collar workers as explanations of the decline in church-going in the late-Victorian and Edwardian eras. Moreover, Dr Jeffrey Cox, in a study of Lambeth during the period 1870-1930, has offered a distinctively optimistic revisionist interpretation of the impact of religion on urban industrial society in the nineteenth century, emphasizing its vitality in the late-Victorian era and the pervasiveness within working class society of what he termed 'diffusive Christianity', arguing that the Victorian churches can only be deemed to have failed if impossibly ambitious criteria for success are applied (12).

Other recent local studies have also taken a more optimistic view of the impact of religion on nineteenth century urban-industrial society. Dr Edward Royle, in his study of religion in Victorian York, has maintained that:

> The Victorians were their own severest critics. From the point of view of the late twentieth century observer they had been tremendously successful; yet in their own eyes they were failures. They had set themselves an impossible task and had not by the end of the century yet

> learned to scale down their expectations to less demanding proportions. Their achievements were nevertheless great. At a time of rapid social change they recovered some of their lost position and then held their own for two generations (13).

Dr Mark Smith in a study of the churches in Oldham and Saddleworth during the period 1780 to 1865 has argued that the Marxist historian, Dr John Foster, greatly exaggerated the decline of Oldham's churches and the growth of secularism during the first half of nineteenth century. Using the evidence of chapel membership lists in conjunction with the manuscript census schedules he has demonstrated that most Nonconformist chapels enjoyed substantial working-class support and that the received view of a working class generally alienated from organised religion by the mid-nineteenth century can no longer be sustained. Moreover, Dr Callum Brown, assessing the long-term fortunes of urban religion from the beginning of industrial urbanisation through to the twentieth century in Glasgow, the largest and fastest growing industrial city in Britain outside London, has argued that a decline in organised religion only occurred at the point at which industrial and urban stagnation commenced during the closing years of Queen Victoria's reign. He has therefore concluded that the churches might reasonably be regarded as having survived the experience of industrialisation and urbanisation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and that:

> Late-Victorian society was thus very far from the irreligious state that many commentators both then and now would have us believe. It was arguably the point in British history when religion attained its greatest social significance ... Throughout the country religion adapted to the new urban circumstances - at first rather slowly, but by the second half of the century with extraordinary skill and success (14).

However, the pessimistic view of the impact of industrialisation and urbanisation on organised religion has persisted both in local studies and in general overviews of the period. In a recent study of Bradford during the late-Victorian period, Rosemary Chadwick has concluded:

> the nineteenth century was not such a 'heyday' for the churches as sometimes portrayed. Conscious of their failings, churchmen were at pains to increase their appeal, but their efforts met with little success ... whilst the proportion of working class church members was higher than is sometimes supposed, most came from the skilled working class and a large proportion were women, especially single women without family responsibilities.

Similarly James Obelkevich has concluded, in his survey of religion in the <u>The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950</u>, that:

> the churches' biggest problem was the continued spread of industry and large towns and the deepening class divisions. Characteristically the churches responded with energy and determination, making religion more relevant to British society in 1850 than it had been a century earlier. Yet despite their best efforts they largely failed to win the allegiance of the urban working classes and by the end of the century they were losing their hold on the respectable middle classes as well. The portents of decline were apparent long before 1914 (15).

Most recent studies of religion and society have focussed on the period from 1880 to 1914, basing their investigation upon late-Victorian and Edwardian newspaper censuses of churchgoing. This thesis aims to study the development of religion in its economic and social context in a large northern industrial parish over a considerably longer period of time from around 1740 to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. In religious terms this period extends from the mid-eighteenth century Evangelical Revival of religion to the decline of organised religion in the Edwardian period. In economic and social terms the period is characterised by the transformation of the parish from a semi-rural, proto-industrial society dominated by a relatively small but expanding market town, into a predominantly urban advanced industrial society dominated by a medium-sized textile manufacturing town and several smaller urban centres of textile production; supporting a wide diversity of associated industries and trades, but still containing within its boundaries sharply contrasting urban and

semi-rural environments.

The thesis aims to assess how religious expression within the parish of Halifax was affected by the changing economic and social environment, in particular the urban-industrial experience, and how religion helped shape the new urban industrial society during the period from 1740 to 1914. It addresses a number of key questions which have dominated the debate amongst historians about the impact of religion on modern British society in recent years. Was the Established Georgian Church in the parish of Halifax in an advanced state of decay during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries? How successfully did the Christian churches, Established and Dissenting, adjust to the demographic, economic and social changes which characterised the period? Did industrialisation and urbanisation result in an increased or diminished role for religion in society within the parish both in the short-term and in the longer term? To what extent did religion become a mechanism for inculcating the Protestant work ethic and imposing factory discipline and social control in the classic Industrial Revolution period? What contribution did religion make to the development of popular education and culture during this period? What was the relationship between religion and politics during this period? Did Evangelical Nonconformity act as a conservative/stabilising or a radical/disruptive force in politics at the grass-roots level during the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries? When did growth peak and decline commence in the various religious denominations? To what extent had organised religion declined before the outbreak of the First World War? Was decline the result of the churches' own ineffectiveness or did it relate principally to social determinants, particularly the secularising effects of industrialisation and urbanisation? How did the experience of Halifax differ from that of other northern industrial parishes? Recent local studies, such as those conducted by Dr Hugh McLeod into the churches in late-Victorian London and Dr Rosemary

Chadwick into the churches of late-Victorian Bradford have depended heavily upon Victorian and Edwardian newspaper censuses and religious surveys. No such material exists for the parish of Halifax. Indeed, even the manuscript returns for the 1851 Census of Religious Worship, which Dr Mark Smith utilised to determine the social composition of individual congregations in his study of the churches in Oldham and Saddleworth, have not survived for the parish of Halifax. Moreover, the data in the printed statistical summaries of the 1851 Census of Religious Worship is incomplete. Nor are there in existence any tithe maps for the parish, because tithes in the parish of Halifax were commuted to a vicar's rate by act of Parliament in 1829, seven years before the Tithe Commutation Act. Moreover, the sheer abundance and variety of religious institutions within the parish has meant that it has been impossible to consult every relevant source available.

Detailed use has, however, been made of the Anglican episcopal visitation returns in the Borthwick, Brotherton and Sheepscar Archives; the diocesan records at Wakefield and a host of church histories, magazines and other parish records. Catholic records have been consulted at the Roman Catholic Diocesan Archives at Leeds; Baptist and Congregational records at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester and the Northern Baptist College Library at Didsbury; Unitarian records in the John Goodchild Collection at Wakefield; Quaker records at the Brotherton Library at Leeds and the Friends' Meeting House at London; Methodist records at the Methodist Church Archives at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester and local Nonconformist records in the Calderdale District Archives, together with chapel histories and magazines in the Calderdale Central Library. Local newspapers and commercial directories have been used selectively along with a wide range of other local source material.

Dr S. Yeo observed in the introduction to his study of religion in Reading that 'to a considerable extent the student of

religion at the local level does have to let himself be impelled by his sources rather than by his concepts before the creative quarrel between the two can start' and this study is based firmly upon this maxim. However, it is perhaps appropriate to acknowledge at the outset that this thesis is written from a perspective of faith, which recognises 'that religious belief was a crucial and often determining consideration in the formation of past culture'. It does not, however, represent any narrow sectarian viewpoint, since my own attitudes towards religion have been shaped (and I hope broadened) by a rich variety of denominational and inter-denominational influences. These have included an Anglican upbringing (St Cuthbert's Church, Burnley, Lancashire); membership of a United Christian Congregation (Anglican, Baptist, Congregational and Methodist) in an officially designated area of ecumenical experiment (Skelmersdale New Town, Lancashire); membership of a United Methodist-Congregational Church (Marsden United Church, near Huddersfield, West Yorkshire) and membership of a Methodist Church formed from an amalgamation in 1965 of four older churches (St Andrew's Methodist Church, Halifax, West Yorkshire). I am grateful to numerous individuals from these and other churches with which I have been associated who have, often unwittingly, helped me to understand the distinctive emphases of their respective religious traditions (16).

My academic interest in the social history of religion stems from Professor F.C. Mather's special subject on 'Unrest and Reform in Britain from 1830 to 1854', which I studied as an undergraduate at Southampton University from 1966-68, and more recently from Dr D.G. Wright's option on 'Politics and Society in Britain from 1830 to 1872', which I studied as part of a part-time, post-graduate M.A. course in History at Huddersfield Polytechnic and which inspired a thesis on the 'Political Attitudes and Activities of Methodists in the Parish of Halifax in the Age of Reform, 1830-48', completed in 1985. It has

also been stimulated by participation in three Wesley Historical Society/World Methodist Historical Society Conferences at Birmingham, York and Oxford in 1985, 1988 and 1991 and CORAL and History Workshop Conferences at York and London in 1983 and 1984. I am particularly grateful for valuable discussions arising from these conferences with Dr Edward Royle of the University of York and Dr Clyde Binfield of the University of Sheffield before I embarked on this thesis and with Dr David Bebbington of the University of Stirling and Dr Hugh McLeod of the University of Birmingham as it neared completion.

The Reverend John Munsey Turner, formerly Lecturer in Church History at the University of Birmingham and Superintendent Minister of the Halifax Methodist Circuit, encouraged me to embark upon this thesis and has discussed several aspects of it with me at various stages during its evolution, whilst Dr David G. Wright has acted as the most patient of supervisors and the gentlest of critics throughout the five years of research and writing, encouraging me to persevere with the task amidst an increasingly demanding professional and family life. I am also grateful to Professor Keith Laybourn of Huddersfield Polytechnic for his advice as second supervisor and latterly as Director of Studies.

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support and to my children Anne, Helen, Paul and Stephen, for allowing me the time and space to complete the thesis within five years.

The first chapter presents an overview of economic and social developments within the parish of Halifax during the period from 1740 to 1914 and, in particular, the impact on the parish of industrialisation and urbanisation. Chapter two then examines the varieties of religious expression which existed or emerged within this context during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and assesses the balance of religious forces within the parish by 1851, when the first state religious census was taken. Chapter three examines in greater depth the relationship of religion to the rise of industrial society by focussing on three specific aspects of industrial society: religion and the workplace; religion, education and literacy and religion and politics. Chapter four examines the responses of the churches to social change in the late-Victorian and Edwardian eras and attempts to identify when and explain why decline commenced within the various religious denominations.

This thesis maintains that the pattern of religious growth and decline within the parish of Halifax from the mid-eighteenth century to the outbreak of the First World War helped shape and was itself shaped by the economic and social factors which transformed the parish of Halifax from a semi-rural, proto-industrial society into a predominantly urban advanced industrial society. It argues that the Georgian Church of England, whilst by no means moribund, did, however, lack the logistical resources to respond effectively to the new urban-industrial society as it emerged in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, providing an opportunity for the expansion of Evangelical Nonconformity, and, in particular, Methodism, with its more flexible structures and its missionary impetus derived from the Evangelical Revival. It maintains that Evangelical Nonconformity and an Anglican Church renewed

during the incumbencies of the Evangelicals, the Reverend Dr Henry Coulthurst and the Reverend Samuel Knight, from 1790 to 1827, and reformed as a consequence of national legislation in the 1840s during the vicariate of Dr Charles Musgrave and the episcopate of Dr Charles Longley, both played an important role within the new urban-industrial society of the parish. It argues that religious institutions within the parish of Halifax survived the experience of industrialisation and urbanisation, displaying a remarkable vitality despite underlying downward trends in churchgoing in the late-Victorian period. It suggests that the causes of the decline of organised religion during this period were complex, but related more directly to the onset of industrial-urban stagnation and decline in the twentieth century than to the experience of industrial-urban expansion in the nineteenth century.

Chapter One

The Context of Industrialisation and Urbanisation: Economy and Society in the Parish of Halifax, 1740-1914

1.1. Topography

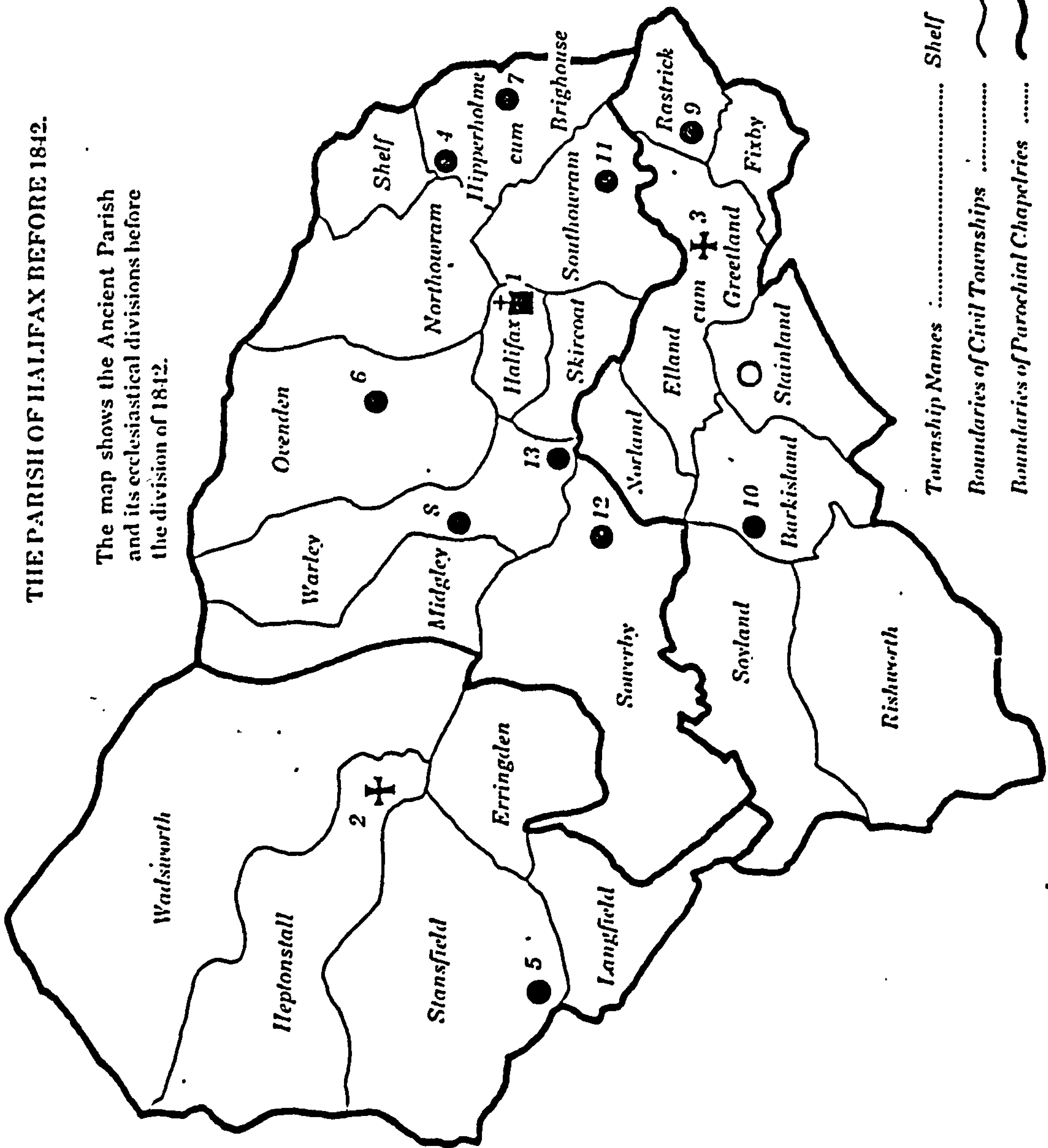
'All Halifax history depends on Halifax geography' concluded the novelist Phyllis Bentley in 1948. She continued:

> The geography of Halifax always seemed grand to me. I loved its sweeping interlocking hills, its narrow winding valleys, its sloping fields of rough grass divided by low black walls, its purple heather, its dark rocks, its tumbling little streams.

Her graphic evocation of the landscape of the modern county borough of Halifax of her Edwardian childhood also characterises, in almost every particular, the landscape of the ancient parish of Halifax in the mid-eighteenth century. Only the 'low black walls' were the product of later parliamentary enclosure and subsequent atmospheric pollution. An appreciation of the geographical extent and the physical terrain of the ancient parish of Halifax is an essential prerequisite to the understanding of its modern economic and social development (1).

Extending over seventeen miles from Heptonstall and Stansfield in the west to Hipperholme-cum-Brighouse and Rastrick in the east and over eleven miles from Wadsworth in the north to Rishworth in the south, the ancient parish of Halifax, with its twenty-three townships and 75740 acres, was over five times the size of the modern county borough of Halifax and nearly as large as the modern metropolitan borough of Calderdale. Geologically, the parish was located predominantly in the Millstone Grit area of the extreme west of the county, forming part of the central Pennine plateau, dipping gently towards the east as it entered the Lower Coal Measures. The Pennine plateau in the west consisted of alternate strata of coarse sandstones or gritstones and relatively narrow bands of shale or mudstone, generally covered by a raw peat soil, and the Lower Coal Measures in the east consisted of alternate strata of finer sandstone and shale. The coal seams were generally

Map 1: The Parish of Halifax before 1842



thin and of poor quality. The plateau was drained by the rivers Calder and Ryburn and their tributary moorland becks, tumbling down narrow, steep-sided valleys. Descending eastwards from its source at an altitude of 764 feet on the crest of the Pennines high above Todmorden, the Yorkshire Calder intersected the parish and the dale to which it gave its name before continuing its forty-four mile course eastwards to its confluence with the Aire at Castleford. Its largest south bank tributary upstream of the Colne, the Ryburn, rising high on the moors at Windy Hill near the Lancashire-Yorkshire border, joined the Calder at Sowerby Bridge (2).

The impervious nature of the rock; the poor quality of the soil; the rough, inhospitable terrain and the high average rainfall created conditions which militated against arable farming and stimulated the early development of industry in the parish, as the preamble to the Halifax Act of 1555 acknowledged:

> Forasmuch as the Paryshe of Halyfaxe and other places thereonto adjoyning, being planted in the grete waste and moores, where the fertilitie of Grounde ys not apte to bryng forthe any Corne nor good Grasse, but in rare Places and by exceedynge and greate industrye of the inhabitantes ... the same inhabitantes altogether doe lyve by cloth makynge (3).

However, these geological and climatic features also had the effect of isolating the remote upland parish. Except for the high and rather bleak plateau moorlands there was very little flat land and travellers through the parish frequently bemoaned its inaccessibility. Daniel Defoe, recalling a visit to Halifax in 1705, later wrote:

> We quitted Halifax not without some astonishment at its situation, being so surrounded with hills and those so high, as ... makes the coming in and going out of it exceedingly troublesome, and indeed for carriages hardly practicable ... particularly the hill which they go up to come out of the town eastwards towards Leeds ... which ... is so steep, so rugged, and sometimes so slippery, that, to a town of so much business as this, 'tis exceedingly troublesome and dangerous (4).

Transit of goods by pack horse was commonplace throughout the

eighteenth century and some remoter parts of the parish continued to depend on the pack horse until 1850. The distinctive flagstone causeways of the early pack horse routes criss-crossed the parish, linking the scattered settlements with the markets in Halifax. The rough, hilly terrain of the parish presented early road builders and later waterway and railway engineers with formidable problems. Turnpike roads were constructed to Rochdale in 1735; Bradford, Leeds and Wakefield in 1741; Keighley in 1753; Wakefield, via Shibden in 1756; Todmorden in 1760; Huddersfield in 1777; Keighley, via Lee Bank, in 1785 and Leeds, via Hipperholme in 1833, but some of the major difficulties of approach to Halifax were only overcome by major feats of civil engineering during the nineteenth century. The Godley cutting, constructed under a Turnpike Act of 1824 and completed in 1830, was hailed by the diarist Anne Lister as 'a stupendous feat'. It involved cutting through 731 metres of rocky hillside and building a high embankment to take the road across the Shibden Valley to Stump Cross. On the Halifax side of the cutting, Old Bank gave way to New Bank in 1837, leading towards the even bolder venture of a new northern approach to the town via a high level North Bridge, constructed initially in stone, but ultimately reconstructed in cast iron in 1871 (5).

Although an act of Parliament had been passed in 1700 for the construction of the Aire and Calder Navigation, over half a century elapsed before the Calder and Hebble Navigation, extending the navigation into the parish of Halifax was finally surveyed by John Smeaton in 1757-65. Its eventual construction, however, was beset with problems and the whole length of the navigation to Sowerby Bridge did not open until September 1770. Moreover, the critical trans-Pennine link with the Rochdale Canal was not made until 1802 and the construction of a branch canal to Halifax was delayed for a further quarter of a century until 1828. The heavily-locked canal from Salterhebble to Bailey Hall, rising thirty and a half metres in one and a quarter miles, required the

construction of a pumping station and reservoir at Siddal in order to maintain an adequate supply of water (6).

There were similar delays in bringing the railway to Halifax and both Bradford and Huddersfield had the commercial advantage of earlier direct rail links. Whilst the Calder Valley was along the route of the first trans-Pennine railway route, the Manchester and Leeds Railway, completed in 1841, a branch line to Halifax was not completed until 1844, and, owing to a combination of difficult terrain and financial stringency, only a single line to Shaw Syke was constructed initially. Before 1844, passengers for Halifax had to alight at Sowerby Bridge and finish their journey by road. By 1850, the line had progressed as far as Low Moor and Halifax was served by a temporary wooden station at the bottom of Horton Street until this was replaced by a stone structure in June 1855. A High Level Railway following a three and a quarter mile route from King Cross to a junction at Holmfield with the Halifax-Bradford line of the Great Northern Railway was opened in 1890, but repeated efforts to extend the main line of the Midland Railway from Huddersfield to Halifax in 1864, 1874, 1897, 1899 and 1902 all proved abortive and as late as 1918 a commercial directory concluded ruefully that Halifax might have been 'more advantageously placed ... from a railway point of view' (7).

The introduction of the railway system into Halifax and other mid-nineteenth century improvements in communications were to dramatically transform the early eighteenth century pre-industrial landscape of the parish which Daniel Defoe had observed on a later northern tour in the 1720s and so vividly encapsulated in his travel journals:

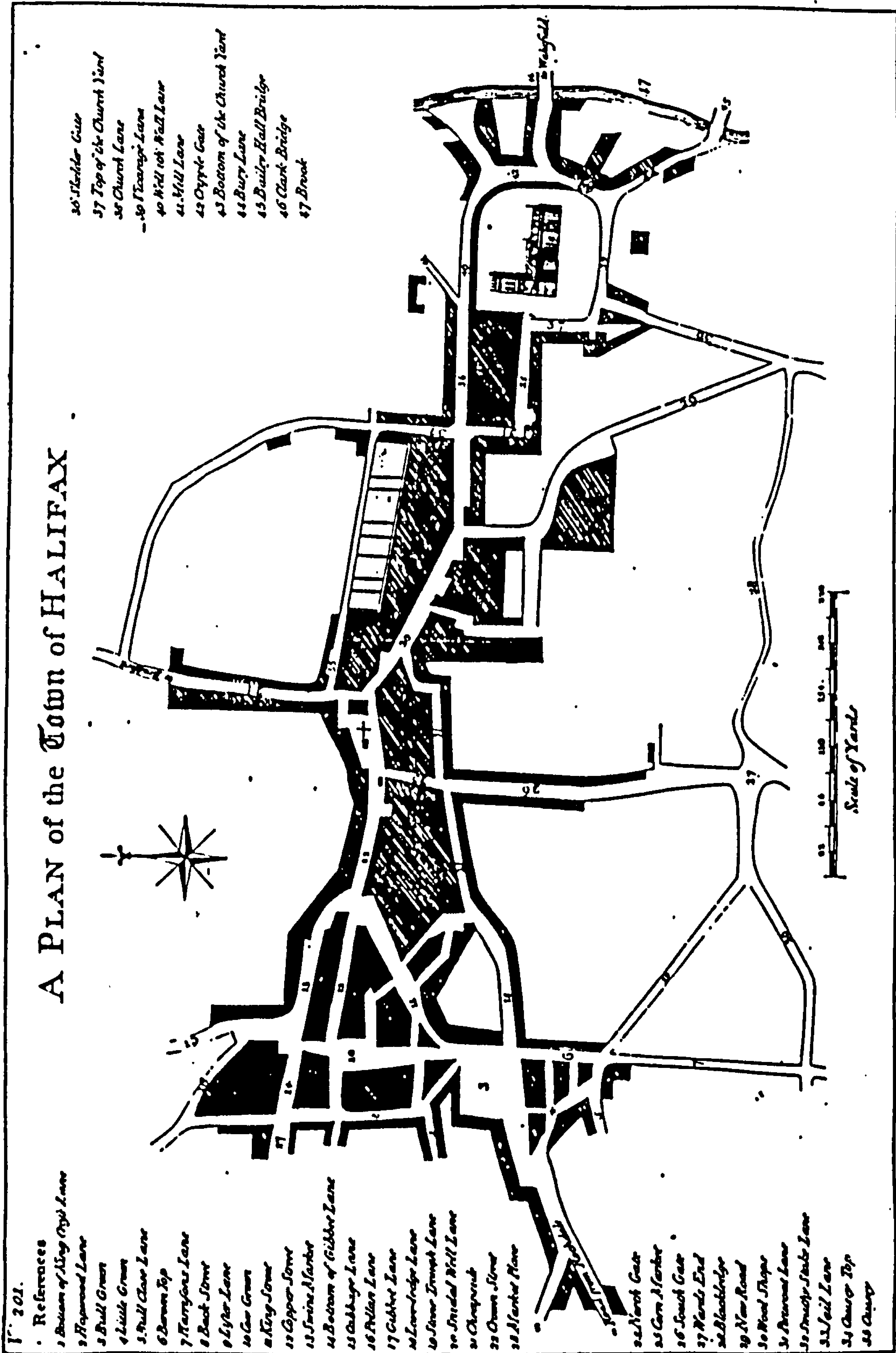
> The nearer we came to Halifax, we found the houses thicker, and the villages greater in every bottom; the sides of the hills, which were very steep every way, were spread with houses, and that very thick; for the land being divided into small enclosures from two acres to six or seven acres each, seldom more. Every three or four pieces of land had a house belonging to it ... hardly a house out of speaking distance from another ... We could see that almost at every house there was a tenter and almost on every tenter a piece of cloth, or kersie, or

> shalloon ... As our road passed among them, wherever we passed any house we found a little rill or gutter of running water ... and at every considerable house was a manufactory or work-house. Then, as every clothier must keep a horse, perhaps two, to fetch and carry for the use of his manufacture ... so every manufacturer generally keeps a cow or two, or more, for his family, and this employs the two or three, or four pieces of enclosed land about his house, for they scarce sow corn enough for their cocks and hens ... The houses are full of lusty fellows some at the dye vat some at the looms, others dressing the cloths; the women and children carding and spinning, being all employed from the youngest to the oldest (8).

The township of Halifax, the ecclesiastical and administrative centre of the vast upland parish, was situated near the eastern edge of the parish on the mid-valley terrace of the Hebble Brook, a tributary of the river Calder, encompassed by a 'shield of hills from North-East to South-East', which ultimately inhibited the town's capacity to expand as its economy began to grow in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the fifteenth century the centre of gravity of the town had shifted westwards away from the medieval parish church towards the new market place. By the mid-eighteenth century, continuing expansion westwards, necessitated by the formidable natural barrier of Beacon Hill to the east, had transformed Halifax into a singularly narrow, elongated market town of 1200 houses.

During the second half of the eighteenth century the number of houses in the township increased by nearly sixty per cent to 1912. Robert Brown, conducting a Board of Agriculture survey in 1793, revealed these were constructed 'in general ... of brick though free stone is also used' but that 'little care appears to have been paid to laying out the town' as the streets and buildings appeared 'rather irregular and confused'. Other distinctive red-brick buildings erected in the town in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries included shops in the High Street, a new chapel in Square Road, the baths in Lilly Lane and a new market building operated by a market company under a local act of Parliament of 1810. The

Map 2: Plan of Halifax in 1759



most outstanding building constructed entirely from stone during this period was the magnificent Georgian Piece Hall of 1779, which replaced the old cloth hall at Hall End. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century locally quarried stone was increasingly used for construction and in 1822 Baines's Directory observed that the town, which now extended 'nearly three quarters of a mile from East to West', was 'generally well built, partly of brick but principally of stone', although it remained 'narrow and very irregular' (9).
An explosion of new building in the second quarter of the nineteenth century exacerbated the problem of environmental pollution within the growing industrial town. The diarist Anne Lister, who had contrasted 'the comparatively clean air of Halifax in 1831' with the smoky atmosphere of Bradford and Leeds, reluctantly accepted by 1837 that Halifax had also become a 'a smoke-canopied commercial town', whilst T.J. Maslen, the prophet of urban improvement, described Halifax in 1843 as a 'mass of little, miserable, narrow, ill-looking streets, jumbled together in a chaotic confusion, as if they had all been in a sack, and emptied out together upon the ground'. Using a different metaphor, Edward Akroyd in 1848 likened Halifax to a 'growing lad, thrusting his arms beyond his sleeves and his legs out of his trousers, putting out an arm at Haley Hill and a leg at Caddy Field'. During this period, the most appalling living conditions were to be found in the congested older parts of the town, where William Ranger's enquiry of 1851 revealed that around 1000 people lived in insanitary cellar dwellings, and where the mortality rate was three or four times higher than in the newer suburbs. The Medical Officer of the Halifax Poor Law Union told the enquiry:

> The houses of the poor are closely built, badly ventilated and lighted and abounding in accumulations of offensive matter. The houses of the Irish are the worst ... The overcrowded condition of the dwellings of the poor is a fertile cause of disease ... There is generally a great want of privy accommodation (10).

Map 3: Plan of Halifax in 1836

By the middle of the nineteenth century the landscape of Halifax's rural hinterland had also been dramatically transformed. Medieval fulling mills had been adapted by enterprising capitalist clothiers to perform newly-mechanised scribbling and carding processes as well as traditional cloth finishing processes, harnessing the highly effective power of the fast-flowing tributaries of the Calder, which continued to be utilised throughout the Calder Valley well into the age of steam. Meanwhile, along the Calder Valley bottom itself, at Todmorden, Hebden Bridge, Mytholmroyd, Sowerby Bridge, Elland and Brighouse, newer industrial centres stimulated by the developing turnpike, waterway and railway communications network, were mushrooming, their squat, purpose-built factories employing the new water or steam powered machinery as soon as the technical problems of its application to the various textile fibres and processes had been successfully resolved. For, although technological breakthroughs before 1780 in carding and spinning had stimulated the move towards factory production of cotton yarn during the last two decades of the eighteenth century and cotton power-loom weaving had become widespread by the late 1820s, mechanisation of the woollen and worsted industries was more gradual, extending over a period of at least sixty years. Whilst woollen scribbling and worsted spinning had been mechanised by 1800, woollen spinning and worsted weaving were not mechanised until the 1830s and woollen weaving and worsted combing remained predominantly cottage-based hand processes until the late 1840s and 1850s respectively in hilltop communities like Heptonstall, Sowerby and Rastrick (11).

The topographer, William White, viewing Halifax and its rural hinterland from the surrounding heights in the middle of the nineteenth century declared:

> Halifax ... ranks next to Leeds, Bradford, and Huddersfield as one of the principal seats and emporiums of the woollen and worsted manufactures ... The scenery, viewed from the surrounding heights, exhibits a tract of country, which perhaps more than any other in the kingdom, serves to show how completely the wealth and industry of

> man can triumph over the most stubborn indispositions of nature (12).

Following the incorporation of Halifax as a municipal borough in 1848 and the publication of the highly critical Ranger Report on its sanitary condition in 1851, the physical appearance of the town was considerably enhanced by two major phases of redevelopment in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first phase in the 1850s and 1860s saw the development of Crossley and Princess Streets; the construction of Barry's magnificent town hall, opened by the Prince of Wales in 1863, and improvements to Crown Street and Old Market, giving Halifax an enhanced civic identity and the character of 'a restless Renaissance city'. The second phase in the 1880s and 1890s included the major Commercial Street development and the reconstruction of the borough markets under the direction of Joseph and John Leeming, which were opened by the Duke and Duchess of York in 1898. However, the density of the building in the town provoked Charles Dickens to denounce the town as 'a dreadful place' in 1860 and the abiding impression of the town on Holroyd Jackson in 1910 was of a bleak urban landscape where:

> Lines and lines of streets and mills stretched and turned away in every direction ... before falling away ... like walls of rugged chasms into the greyness of the world (13).

However, despite the dramatic expansion of the built environment within the parish during the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, there remained vast stretches of uninhabited or sparsely habited countryside, especially following the decline of the upland handweaving communities in the second half of the nineteenth century. Agricultural Returns from 1866 reveal that most of the farming land within the parish was given over to permanent pasture and meadow and that there was a considerable expansion of dairy farming in the Calder Valley in the late-nineteenth century serving the expanding urban population. When Samson Clark, a London businessman toured the parish in 1915 'with the aid of a swift car driven by one

who was familiar with every inch of the town and country for miles around' it was the open rural aspect of Halifax's setting which particularly impressed him:

> As we sped though and around the town, up steep hills and down through the dales, along the crests of the high country and out across the moors, the impression obtained was that of a delightful variety within the reach of all. The unavoidable discomforts of factory life are here minimised by the close proximity of God's own country, where the sun and the breeze, the hills and moorland delight the eye and fill one with the joy of life (14).

1.2. Demography

Thomas Herring, Archbishop of York, was informed by Dr George Legh, Vicar of Halifax, in 1743 that there were some 6200 families resident in the parish of Halifax. In order to derive an estimate of the total population of the parish from this estimate of the number of families in the parish the latter figure has been conventionally multiplied by a factor of five, giving an estimated parish population of around 31000 in 1743. Dr Legh also estimated the number of families resident in Halifax town at about 1000 in 1743. Five years earlier, his curate at the Halifax Parish Church, the Reverend Thomas Wright, had estimated that 'in this present year of 1738, there are above 1100 Families in the Town, which 'keep daily increasing'. Using the same multiplier, an estimated population for the township of Halifax of between 5000 on Legh's more conservative estimate and 5500 on Wright's more liberal estimate may be assumed, so that it would appear that approximately 16 to 17 per cent of the population of the parish lived in the township of Halifax at the beginning of the period.

It is not, however, possible to reconstruct a detailed demographic map of the parish from population estimates extrapolated from the 1743 Herring visitation returns. The recorded distribution of families, where specified, is based on residence in chapelries, which did not necessarily correspond to the civil townships which became the units for the census enumerations after 1801. Heptonstall chapelry, for example,

encompassed the townships of Heptonstall, Erringden and Wadsworth; Luddenden chapelry included Midgley and part of Warley and Sowerby Bridge parts of Sowerby and Warley. However, using the same multiplier to project the estimated population from the number of estimated families, after Halifax, the most populous of the remaining chapelries, where the number of families is specified, were Heptonstall, with an estimated population of 4060 from 812 families; Coley, with an estimated population of 4000 from 800 families; Ripponden, with an estimated population of 2765 from 553 families; Illingworth, with an estimated population of 2150 from 430 families; Sowerby, with an estimated population of 2085 from 417 families; Luddenden, with an estimated population of 1555 from 311 families; Cross Stone, with an estimated population of 1250 from 250 families; Sowerby Bridge, with an estimated population of 1200 from 240 families; and Southowram, with an estimated population of 1000 from 200 families. The least populous chapelries included Rastrick, with an estimated population of 585 from 117 families and Lightcliffe, with an estimated population of 770 from 154 families (15).

By 1764, when the next ecclesiastical census was taken by Archbishop Drummond, the number of families living in the parish had increased to 8244, producing an estimated population of 41220 when multiplied by a factor of five, an increase of almost a third. Over a fifth of these families lived in the townships of Halifax and Skircoat. Dr Legh estimated the number of families for Halifax and Skircoat at 1530, from which an estimated population of 7650 may be projected, an increase of 53 per cent on Legh's 1743 figure. The most spectacular increase since 1743 had occurred in the chapelry of Southowram where the number of families had more than doubled to 448 producing an estimated population of 2240, an increase of 124 per cent. Other chapelries where the population had increased considerably included Cross Stone, with an estimated population of 2330 from 466 families, an increase of 86 per cent; Illingworth, with an estimated

population of 3490 from 698 families, an increase of 62 per cent; Sowerby Bridge, with an estimated population of 1715 from 343 families, an increase of 43 per cent; Heptonstall, with an estimated population of 5260 from 1052 families, an increase of 29 per cent; and Coley, with an estimated population of 4710 from 942 families, an increase of almost 18 per cent. However, the number of families for Luddenden had apparently declined to 300, with an estimated population of 1500, a decrease of 3 per cent. The most interesting return to Archbishop Drummond is the return for Sowerby, where the curate provided detailed statistics of both the number of families and the number of inhabitants in the chapelry. The number of families totalled 593 and the number of inhabitants 3040, seventy five more than might have been assumed had a multiplier of five been used and representing an increase of nearly 46 per cent on the estimated total for 1743 (16).

The returns of the first parliamentary census in 1801 reveal that the population of the parish as a whole had increased to 63434 at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a figure more than double that of the estimated population of the parish a little over half a century earlier in 1743. The most populous townships in 1801 were Halifax, with a population of 8886 and its adjoining township of Northowram, with a population of 4887. Other well-populated townships included Stansfield at the western extremity of the parish, with a population of 4768; and Ovenden, another of the townships adjoining Halifax, with a population of 4513. The least populous townships were Fixby, at the south eastern extremity of the parish, with a population of 346 and Rishworth, at the south western extremity of the parish, with a population of 960, the only two townships in the parish with populations of under 1000 (17).

The population of the parish more than doubled again between 1801 and 1851, with the largest decennial increase of 18.96 per cent occurring between 1831 and 1841, whilst the population of its focal township, Halifax, nearly trebled during the same period, with its largest decennial increase of 29 per cent also

Table 1: Population of the Parish of Halifax, 1801-71

Source: Census Returns.

	Population	% Change
1801	63434	
1811	73415	(+15.73%)
1821	93050	(+26.75%)
1831	109899	(+18.11%)
1841	130743	(+18.97%)
1851	149257	(+14.16%)
1861	147988	(-0.85%)
1871	173313	(+17.11%)

Table 2: Population of the Townships of the Parish of Halifax, 1801-51

Source: Census Returns.

Township	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851
Barkisland	1799	2076	2224	2292	2391	2129
Elland/Greetland	3385	3963	5088	5500	6479	7210
Erringden	1313	1586	1471	1933	2221	2100
Fixby	346	336	345	348	399	399
Halifax	8886	9159	12628	15382	19881	25159
Heptonstall	2983	3647	4543	4661	4791	4500
Hipperholme/Brighouse	2879	3357	3936	4977	5421	6091
Langfield	1170	1513	2069	2514	3284	3000
Midgley	1209	2107	2207	2409	2667	2393
Norland	1181	1316	1663	1618	1669	1707
Ovenden	4513	4752	6360	8871	11799	12738
Northowram	4887	5306	6841	10184	13352	15284
Southowram	3148	3615	4256	5751	6478	7380
Rastrick	2053	2442	2796	3021	3482	3916
Rishworth	960	1211	1588	1536	1710	1540
Shelf	1306	1553	1998	2614	3050	3419
Skircoat	2338	2823	3323	4060	5237	6941
Sowerby	4275	5177	6890	6457	8163	7905
Soyland	1888	2519	3242	3589	3603	3422
Stainland	1800	2077	2814	3037	3759	4173
Stansfield	4768	5447	7275	8262	8466	8000
Wadsworth	2801	3473	4509	5198	5583	5300
Warley	3546	3958	4982	5685	6857	6407

occurring between 1831 and 1841. During the first half of the nineteenth century there appears to have been large scale migration into Halifax from the outlying townships as former hand workers were absorbed into the new factory workforce. In addition, the town's expanding population was swollen by large numbers of extra-parochial immigrants, many of them Irish, crowding into inferior housing in the old part of the town near the Parish Church and finding employment mainly as hawkers and rag collectors. In 1851, 9 per cent of Halifax's extra-parochial immigrants and nearly 4 per cent of the population of the townships of Halifax and Skircoat were of Irish origin, a much higher proportion than both the national and county averages. The number of Irish in the township of Halifax peaked in 1861, when they constituted 20 per cent of all the inhabitants of the township (18).

Between 1851 and 1861, there was a slight decline in the total parish population as a result of the decline of handcombing and handweaving in the more remote upland settlements. This process of decline, which extended over several decades, had a devastating impact on communities such as Crimsworth Dean in the township of Wadsworth. The working population of Crimsworth Dean declined from 269 in 1841 to 120 in 1861. In 1841, it had included 182 handloom weavers and thirteen woolcombers, but by 1861 the number of weavers had been reduced to twenty-three and the number of combers to three. However, the total parish population recovered during the following decade, when it increased by 17 per cent increase to 173,313 in 1871. During the twenty years from 1851 to 1871 the population of the municipal borough of Halifax nearly doubled to 65,510, increasing by a further 12 per cent to 73,630 by 1881 and, following its redesignation as a county borough in 1889, Halifax's population continuing to rise, peaking at 104,936 in 1901, but declining thereafter to 101,594 by 1911. However, boundary extensions to the municipal and county borough between 1865 and 1901 may have masked a levelling off of Halifax's urban population a quarter of a century earlier (19).

Table 3: Population of the Municipal Borough of Halifax, 1851-81 and the County Borough of Halifax, 1891-1911

Source: Census Returns.

	Population	% Change
1851	33582	
1861	37014	(+10.22%)
1871	65510	(+76.99%)
1881	73630	(+12.39%)
1891	89832	(+22.00%)
1901	104936	(+16.81%)
1911	101594	(-3.18%)

Table 4: Grouped Occupations in the County Borough of Halifax, 1901

Source: Census Returns.

Occupational Group	Males (10+)	Females (10+)
Civil Service	343	102
Armed Services	259	-
Professional	864	661
Domestic Service	458	2771
Commercial	1549	149
Transport/Haulage	2746	61
Agriculture	818	32
Extractive	1226	5
Metallurgical	6281	110
Jewellers/Watchmakers	423	86
Building/Construction	3333	2
Interior Design/Furnishing	1162	100
Bricks/Ceramics/Glass	520	14
Chemicals	198	34
Leather	301	63
Printing/Stationery	468	212
Textiles	7674	11668
Clothing	1137	1956
Food/Tobacco/Drink	2525	933
Utilities	518	-
Undefined	1614	114
Students/Retired/Unemployed	4439	27536
Total	38856	46609

By the end of the nineteenth century there were also considerable urban populations in the new boroughs of Brighouse and Todmorden, which had respective populations of 21735 and 25418 in 1901. The population of other expanding industrial centres along the valley bottoms had also increased dramatically, whilst that of the upland industrial settlements had steadily declined. By 1901, the largest centres of population outside Halifax were Sowerby Bridge (11477); Elland (10412); Hebden Bridge (7536); Stainland (4516); Greetland (4472); Mytholmroyd (4159); Hipperholme (including Bailiff Bridge and Lightcliffe: 4275); Sowerby (3653); Luddendenfoot (3366); Ripponden (3135) and Southowram (2834); whilst the smaller centres of population were at Midgley (2370); Heptonstall (1816); Wadsworth (1764); Barkisland (1729); Norland (1289); Rishworth (915); Norwood Green (879) and Erringden (485) (20).

1.3. Local Government

The changing demographic structure within the ancient parish placed increasing strains on the agencies of local government, which underwent a complete transformation during the period from 1740 to 1914. From the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century the functions of local government within the ancient parish were exercised by a diverse and bewildering array of authorities, including the county magistracy within the wapentake of Morley; the lords of the manor of Wakefield and the honor of Pontefract; the parochial and township vestries; and, in Halifax itself, a body of improvement commissioners, referred to locally as the Town Trustees, brought into being by a series of local acts of Parliament between 1762 and 1823. Superimposed upon this unwieldy structure of local government in 1837 were the Poor Law Unions of Todmorden and Halifax and in 1848, the municipal borough of Halifax, whose boundaries, like those of the parliamentary borough of Halifax, created as a result of the Great Reform Act of 1832, comprehended the township of Halifax and the eastern suburbs of the town extending into the neighbouring townships

of Northowram and Southowram (21).
The county was concerned with the administration of justice through the West Riding Quarter Sessions and the maintenance of the House of Correction, at Wakefield. The county justices of the peace played a key role in local government approving the appointment of township officers such as the overseer of the poor and surveyor of highways; approving local assessments and rates and resolving thorny questions relating to migration and settlement. They were also responsible for the maintenance of the majority of the bridges in the county and were empowered to levy a charge for this purpose as part of the county rate. For most people, however, the county was remote and as a social unit mattered only to the gentry (22).
The vestiges of manorialism continued to impinge upon many people's lives throughout the eighteenth century. A large number of the inhabitants of the parish were manorial tenants and the manorial court, though divested of much of its former authority, was still an institution of some importance in the local community. The parish formed part of two vast medieval lordships, the honor of Pontefract, which encompassed the south easterly townships of Southowram and Elland-cum-Greetland, and the manor of Wakefield, divided into the sub-manors of Halifax and Heptonstall, which encompassed the remaining twenty-one townships of the parish. The authority of the lord of the manor was generally exerted through his steward or under-steward, assisted by other officials such as the greave, water bailey, pinder and crier. Constables were formally sworn in at the court leet by the steward, who was invariably a member of the gentry in the early eighteenth century, but usually an attorney after 1750. By the eighteenth century, the manorial court, which met annually at the Moot Hall, had come to be selected exclusively from the local gentry who made up the vestry and who controlled other local institutions in the town. The provision of an adequate water supply; the suppression of street nuisances and the control of sanitation were the most common administrative duties of the manorial court and out of

these developed the activities of the Town Trustees in the 1760s (23).

The ancient parish or vicarage was divided for administrative purposes into three units, the parochial district of Halifax and the parochial chapelries of Elland and Heptonstall. The parochial district of Halifax comprised the townships of Halifax, Hipperholme-cum-Brighouse, Midgley, Northowram, Ovenden, Shelf, Skircoat, Southowram, Sowerby and Warley. The parochial chapelry of Elland comprised the townships of Barkisland, Elland-cum-Greetland, Fixby, Norland, Rastrick, Rishworth, Soyland and Stainland and the parochial chapelry of Heptonstall comprised the townships of Erringden, Heptonstall, Langfield, Stansfield and Wadsworth. The chapelries were under the authority of the vicar, who approved the appointment of their chaplains and paid them an annual stipend. They were allowed to exercise the right of baptism, marriage and burial free from the jurisdiction of the vicar. Within the parish there were a number of chapels-of-ease, each with its own perpetual curate appointed by the vicar but paid by the inhabitants of the local chapelry. The vicar was thus a key figure in the local administrative hierarchy, providing a link between town, chapelry and parochial district, vicarage and diocese. His main income was derived from tithes and vicarial dues until 1829, when they were replaced by a vicar's rate, which was levied on each township. The vicar was assisted in his duties at the parish church by a curate and a lecturer and various parochial officers including the churchwardens, parish clerk, sexton and dogwhipper.

The most important lay officials were the churchwardens, usually substantial property owners, whose responsibility included the care of the church, bell ringing, the relief of destitution, the administration of burials, the control of vermin, the maintenance of order within the church precincts and general legal matters. Two churchwardens were nominated annually at the Halifax Vestry Meetings from 1743, one by the vicar and the other by the vestry, and they met at

monthly intervals with their colleagues from the parochial out-townships to deal with a wide range of ecclesiastical and secular business. The main sources of parochial revenue were the church rates, burial fees and revenue derived from sales of parish property (24).

The ancient parish was much too large to act as an effective focus of local loyalties and whilst nucleated villages such as Sowerby, Warley Town, Heptonstall or Mankinholes provided such a focus, settlement over most of the parish was too dispersed for this kind of identification to be general. The basic unit for the management of community affairs throughout the parish was the civil township, which had emerged as a more distinct unit of local government during the late seventeenth century, when it began to take over some of the functions of the parish. The administration of the township was the responsibility of four sets of officers acting under the direction and control of the vestry, a select group of the township's most influential inhabitants, which met annually to appoint the township officers and examine the previous year's accounts. The officers, who served for a year, were commonly chosen from amongst the substantial householders, and included the constables; the surveyors of the highways; the overseers of the poor and the churchwardens. During the eighteenth century the responsibilities of the overseers of the poor increased considerably and by the end of the century poor relief was by far the largest branch of township government (25).

The responsibility of the townships for the administration of poor relief continued until Poor Law Unions were established under the terms of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, which replaced the overseers of the poor by elected Boards of Guardians. Five townships in the west of the parish - Stansfield, Heptonstall, Wadsworth, Erringden, and Langfield - were joined with Todmorden and Walsden to form the Todmorden Union and the remaining eighteen townships were joined with Hartshead and Clifton to form the Halifax Union. The Halifax Guardians were elected in February 1837 and the Halifax Union

Workhouse was opened in 1841. In Todmorden, however, there was sustained opposition to the implementation of the new system and the Todmorden Union Workhouse was not opened until 1878. The Poor Law Unions continued to play an important role in the life of the community until their functions were taken over by the local authorities in 1929 (26).

The rapidly expanding population of the urban township of Halifax during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century imposed a tremendous strain on the machinery of local government. In 1762 statutory powers were obtained from Parliament to establish a body of commissioners or trustees charged with the responsibility of supplying the town with water and empowering them to levy rates on all who made use of the water supply. A further local act was obtained in 1768 to make the 1762 Act more effective and to extend the range of functions of the Town Trustees to include 'better paving, cleansing, lighting' and the removal of ' all nuisances, incroachments and obstructions' within the town, powers which were extended to include the whole of the township by a subsequent act in 1823. In 1847, the need to acquire statutory powers to extend the improvements into parts of the adjacent townships of Northowram and Southowram resulted in a petition being sent to the Queen for a charter of incorporation, which was granted in 1848. Halifax became a municipal borough with the same boundaries as the parliamentary constituency created in 1832 under the terms of the Great Reform Act. The borough council was to consist of a mayor, ten aldermen and thirty councillors, elected by six wards (27).

In 1865 the boundaries of the municipal borough were extended and the number of councillors increased to forty, elected by ten wards. In 1889 Halifax was re-designated a county borough and its boundaries further extended in 1889, 1892, 1899, 1900 and 1902. During the second half of the nineteenth century Halifax Corporation became responsible for supplying the town with water from 1849; gas from 1855; maintaining parks from

1857; providing public baths from 1859; cemeteries from 1861; isolation hospitals from 1872; libraries from 1881; electricity from 1894; an electric tramway system from 1898, one of the first in the country, and a limited corporation bus service in 1912 (28).

During the last decade of the nineteenth century municipal charters were granted to Brighouse, incorporating its surrounding districts of Rastrick and Hove Edge, in 1893 and Todmorden in 1896. Elsewhere in the parish at Barkisland, Elland, Greetland, Hebden Bridge, Hipperholme, Luddendenfoot, Midgley, Mytholmroyd, Rishworth, Southowram, Sowerby, Sowerby Bridge, Soyland and Stainland, Local Boards were superseded by Urban District Councils. These councils assumed a growing range of responsibilities in the period up to 1914. For example, the fifteen members of the Elland Urban District Council, which succeeded the Elland Local Board in 1894, exercised responsibility for the town's water supply, sewage works and an extensive programme of road maintenance and opened a swimming baths in 1901 and an electricity supply station in 1903. Smaller communities such as Blackshawhead, Erringden, Heptonstall, Norland, Norwood Green and Wadsworth were served by Parish and Rural District Councils (29).

1.4. Economy

The preamble to the Halifax Act of 1555 underlined the primary importance of the woollen industry to the economy of the parish of Halifax by the middle of the sixteenth century, declaring that the inhabitants 'altogether do lyve by cloth making'. Woollen cloth manufacture remained the staple industry of the parish for the next two centuries, with its production increasingly concentrated in the south-eastern townships of the parish. During the first half of the eighteenth century there was a dramatic increase in the number of fulling mills in operation in the parish from the eight recorded in John Bentley's survey of 1708 to the thirty-nine recorded in the Reverend John Watson's survey of 1758. Large numbers of yeomen clothiers were clearly engaged in cloth manufacture in

the parish by this period. Indeed of the 2350 surviving inventories of West Riding woollen clothiers for the period 1689-1770 examined by M.J. Dickenson, 553 or 24 per cent were from Halifax parish alone (30).

During the eighteenth century worsted yarns, which had been used for some time in the manufacture of bays, cloth woven with a worsted warp and a woollen weft, were increasingly woven into shalloons, a light-weight worsted cloth, which had been manufactured in East Anglia and the West Country since the fourteenth century. Daniel Defoe observed in 1725 that the clothiers of the parish of Halifax had lately:

> entered upon a new manufacture which was never made in those parts before, at least, not in any quantities ... the manufacture of shalloons, of which they now make ... a hundred thousand pieces a year in this parish only and yet do not make much fewer kersies than they did before (31).

By the end of the eighteenth century Halifax was the principal centre of worsted manufacture in the country. Although this lead was lost to nearby Bradford in the first decade of the nineteenth century, worsted manufacture remained a major industry within the central and north western townships of Halifax, Stansfield, Warley, Wadsworth and Ovenden throughout the first half of the nineteenth century (32).

Cotton manufacture had grown to predominance in the western townships of the parish bordering on Lancashire in the late eighteenth century and by the 1790s one third of the 140 cotton mills identified by D.T. Jenkins in the county of Yorkshire were located in the parish of Halifax. By 1835, whilst the total number of cotton mills in the county had fallen to 136, the number in the parish of Halifax had risen to fifty seven and, as Dr Jenkins remarked, 'Todmorden, Hebden Bridge, Mytholmroyd and their hinterlands remained predominantly cotton spinning and manufacturing centres for the rest of the nineteenth century and their commercial affinities continued with Lancashire'. By 1835, silk was also being manufactured in the townships of Halifax, Northowram, Southowram, Ovenden and Soyland where it was considered that the local conditions

were 'peculiarly adapted for the preservation of its colour' (33).

John Crabtree, the first local historian to take account of the industrial transformation of the parish during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, drawing on detailed evidence supplied to him by the factory inspector, Robert Baker, designated nineteen of the twenty-three townships of the parish as predominantly manufacturing by 1835 and reckoned that about 20 per cent of their inhabitants were employed in cotton, worsted, woollen or silk manufacture. He recorded that there were 153 textile mills in the parish by 1835, including fifty seven cotton mills, thirty five woollen mills, forty five worsted mills, four silk mills, with a further three mills unoccupied and another nine under construction. Dr Holroyde has estimated that around 38 per cent of these mills were using steam power by the 1830s, albeit, in the majority of cases, to supplement water power (34).

Between 1833 and 1851 the number of cotton, worsted and woollen mills each increased by twenty and another silk mill was erected, together with a mill manufacturing mixed fibres. During this period there were shifts in location as new mills sprang up along the lines of the new railways into Halifax and signs of a movement in the central and eastern townships away from cotton towards woollen and worsted manufacture. By the time of the 1851 census 22 per cent of adult males in the Halifax registration district were employed in worsted manufacture, compared with 9 per cent in woollen and nearly 4 per cent in cotton manufacture and, in a study sample of 10 per cent of the working population of the Halifax and Skircoat Green registration districts, almost half of the total textile workforce was employed in the worsted industry (35).

Although the economy of the parish depended primarily on textiles, it was the diversity of its manufactures by the second quarter of the nineteenth century which particularly impressed contemporary observers. Comparing Halifax with Bradford, Angus Bethune Reach, northern correspondent of the

Morning Chronicle, wrote in 1849:

> Halifax and Bradford are the centres of the stuff manufacture. The former town possesses, however, other industrial resources than the staple trade. The mayor, Mr Crossley, for instance, is the chief partner in an immense carpet manufacturing establishment, employing about 1500 hands, principally adult males, and paying about £1000 weekly in wages. Besides this and other establishments of different kinds the worsted manufacturers of Halifax prepare so great a variety of the staple production that periods of distress fall in general lighter upon them than on their Bradford neighbours (36).

Besides textiles and trades allied to textiles such as dyeing, engineering, and card-making, located principally in Halifax itself, there was also substantial pottery manufacture in the adjoining townships of Northowram and Southowram and fairly extensive coal mining and stone quarrying in the south-east of the parish, employing at least 1200 men by 1831. In the upper Calder Valley, at the time of the 1851 census, about one in eight families had some involvement with farming. Some households were entirely dependent on farming; others practised a dual economy, although by 1851 this often took the form of one or more members of the household working in textile factories (37).

The diversity of the economy of the parish of Halifax is reflected in the extraordinary range of local exhibits at the Great Exhibition of 1851. The official catalogue listed over thirty local exhibits, including a beehive constructed from locally grown white straw; a sideboard carved from Spanish mahogany; a white hearth rug manufactured entirely from wool; a steel tobacco pipe; a machine for washing, wringing and mangling; laminated flagstone from the quarries of Hipperholme, Northowram, Southowram, Hove Edge and Elland Edge; sandstone from Greetland, millstone grit from Halifax and ashlar building stone from Shibden; a card-setting machine, a large Jacquard loom and a self-acting machine for regulating the supply of water in steam boilers; specimens of paper and pasteboard; silk and velvet; and a wide range of woollens, worsteds and carpets (38).

Textiles, employing an increasing number of women during the period from 1861 to 1891, remained vital to the local economy throughout the period up to the outbreak of the First World War despite the difficulties created by the Cotton Famine in the 1860s and increasing foreign competition in the 1890s. In 1871, 8431 adults were employed in the various branches of textile manufacture in the municipal borough of Halifax compared with 1552 in the extractive and metallurgical industries. Almost half of the textile workers were women, who outnumbered men in worsted manufacturing by 2416 to 1280 but remained in a minority of 339 to 809 in the heavier woollen manufacturing sector. By 1901, 19,342 adults and children (a Halifax School Board bye-law allowed children to begin as 'half-timers' at the 'amazingly-low' level of Standard Two and in consequence many entered employment as young as ten or eleven years of age) were employed in the various branches of textile manufacture in the county borough of Halifax compared with 7622 in the extractive and metallurgical industries. However, women and girls outnumbered male textile workers by 11,668 to 7674. The Secretary of the Halifax Chamber of Commerce listed no fewer than eighteen varieties of textile trades being pursued in Halifax in 1915, the largest single category of commercial activity (39).

However, the local cotton industry had begun to contract and the role of textiles within the local economy had begun to decline before 1914. In 1897 the Halifax Guardian reported:

> Times have changed. Halifax was one of the principal seats of the woollen manufacture. While it has largely multiplied the number of its industries its production of textile fabrics has for some years been on the decrease and the fear is entertained that the movement will continue to extend and its looms will gradually cease to run ... large firms ... whose goods found their way to many parts of the globe ... have ceased to exist and their places have not been taken by others (40).

The most spectacular casualty was the former Akroyd worsted manufacturing empire which was gradually dismantled during the period from 1893 to 1918, passing into the ownership of smaller

textile concerns. The causes of decline were increasing foreign competition and restrictive tariffs imposed by the United States of America in 1890, 1895 and 1897 and France in 1892, which seriously affected British textile exports. As The Times remarked in 1897 within a week of the inauspicious Halifax Guardian report:

> Time was when many important continental countries looked to Halifax for clothing their men-of-war but, one after another have developed industries of their own (41).

The decline of Halifax's textile industry was partially offset by the town's growing industrial diversity during the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, which had earned Halifax a reputation as 'the town of 100 trades' as Halifax had become increasingly renowned for its cable, confectionery, construction, extractive, engineering and machine tool industries. In 1915, in addition to its formidable range of textile trades, it boasted sixteen varieties of iron trades; ten varieties of building trades; a total of 899 registered workshops; the largest carpet and toffee manufacturing businesses in the world (John Crossley and Sons Limited and John Mackintosh Limited); the largest building society in the world (the Halifax Permanent with assets exceeding £38,000,000) and the leading producer of drilling and boring machinery (William Asquith Limited). However, despite the expansion of newer industries and the development of its financial institutions, the slowing down of Halifax's textile growth from the 1870s resulted in the apex of Halifax's economic expansion being attained during the decade before the outbreak of the First World War. The incorporation of large amounts of land into the county borough in 1865 and 1889-1902 had failed to promote further significant urban growth or greatly reduce overcrowding because much of the outlying area consisted of moorland and rough pasture, which was difficult and expensive to exploit for domestic and industrial purposes (42).

1.5. Social Structure

There were few major landowners resident in the parish of

Halifax by the eighteenth century. The Saviles of Thornhill, the largest single landowners in the parish, who leased out many of the ancient corn and fulling mills on their Calder Valley estates, had lived at Rufford Abbey in Nottinghamshire since the Civil Wars. The West Riding Irwin family, who were engaged in leasing mills on an even larger scale than the Saviles and who owned twenty acres of meadow, thirty acres of pasture and a major complex of buildings in Halifax itself, including the Halifax Woollen and Linen Cloth Halls, were resident at Temple Newsam, near Leeds. Thomas Thornhill (d. 1844), the last resident squire of Fixby, whose tenantry numbered nearly 1000 and rent roll yielded almost £20,000 per annum, finally quit Fixby in 1808 and took up residence on another of his estates at Riddlesworth in Norfolk, having become so corpulent from over-indulgence that a semi-circle had had to be cut out of his dining table to enable him to sit there in comfort. Joshua Horton (1720-93) of Howroyde, Barkisland, who initiated organised hunting of the hare in the parish in 1754 and headed the list of thirty eight families in the parish in 1780 assessed for payment of the Male Servants Tax, was one of a minority of active West Riding justices of the peace residing in the parish during this period (43).

The wealthiest residents of the parish in the eighteenth century were the great manufacturers and merchants. From the early years of the century, as Professor Heaton has demonstrated, the manufacture of worsteds rapidly acquired a degree of capitalisation and type of organisation which concentrated capital in the hands of 'a small number of big men', in contrast to the organisation of the woollen industry, which was characterised by the involvement of 'a large number of small men'. Samuel Hill (1677-1759) of Making Place, Soyland, one of the pioneers of worsted production in the Calder Valley, carried on an extensive export trade with the continent and had an estimated annual income of over £30,000 in 1738. The opulence of many local merchants and manufacturers is evident from the fine Georgian mansions they built in the

late eighteenth century on the southern edge of the town. The Reverend Thomas Twining, a Colchester cleric visiting Halifax in 1781, commented:

> The town is nothing extraordinary, except for the many magnificent houses lately built, and now daily building, in and about it, by the manufacturers chiefly.

These included Shay House, Stoney Royd, Hope Hall, Clare Hall, Well Head, Savile Hall, Pye Nest and Somerset House, built in 1766 by the celebrated York architect, John Carr, for John Royds, a prosperous woollen merchant, who provided overnight accommodation in his new mansion for King Christian Vll of Denmark on his northern tour in 1768 (44).

Even after the passing of the golden age of the Halifax worsted industry at the turn of the century, Dr John Simpson of Bradford, remarked, in an entry in his journal for 1825, on the continued presence of significant numbers of well-to-do families in the vicinity of Halifax:

> Halifax is a much genteeler place than Bradford. It can scarce be called a manufacturing town, yet it is a place of considerable trade, but that trade is considerably on the decline and has been ever since Bradford began to rise into notice. The neighbourhood of Halifax is much better filled with families of respectability than most provincial towns (45).

During the first half of the nineteenth century more manufacturers who had risen from obscure beginnings established their town houses and mansions in Halifax. In 1818 Jonathan Akroyd (1782-1847) moved from the remote hilltop farmstead where his father James Akroyd (1753-1830), a small yeoman clothier specialising in the production of 'little Joans' and figured 'Amens', had founded the family worsted manufacturing enterprise, to a town house in North Parade, Halifax, conveniently situated close to the firm's Bowling Dyke Mills, and later to a mansion at Woodside. His son, Edward (1810-1887), who inherited an estate valued at one and three quarter million pounds on his father's sudden death in 1847, set about transforming the small house at Bankfield which he had purchased on his marriage in 1838 into a more substantial

Regency style mansion. John (1772-1837) and Martha (1775-1854) Crossley, founders of the carpet weaving dynasty at Dean Clough remained close to their Dean Clough mills, but their sons, John, Joseph and Francis, who inherited the family business in 1837, following their marriages, lived in town houses in Halifax until they later moved to more elegant mansions on the outskirts of the town at Manor Heath, Broomfield and Belle Vue (46).

The leading property owners, merchants, industrialists and representatives of the professional classes of the town and its environs formed an urban élite, often bound together by ties of blood and marriage, which dominated the local government and social and cultural life of the town for most of this period, though Dr Granville, the connoisseur of English spas, observed on a visit to Halifax in 1839:

> Society affords, perhaps, fewer resources in Halifax than one would be led to expect: considering the large number of opulent families resident in or about the place. There is not much intercourse among the various sections of the community: and although six great public balls are given in the very handsome Musical Hall, few families of distinction are known to attend them ... Society at Halifax would seem to be divided into two classes - those who give dinners, and those who only receive company in the evening. Among the latter there is often a very objectionable mélange, while to the former belong the select and the exclusive few.

Notwithstanding these observations, Granville concluded, after a visit to a wealthy merchant's residence at the Shay, that 'Halifax contains within itself the elements of comfort, luxury and all the conveniences of an easy life' (47).

Culturally, the town was bursting with activity. There were two public circulating subscription libraries, one founded as early as 1769, the other in 1823; a Mechanics Institute, founded in 1825; a Literary and Philosophical Society, founded in 1830, and a host of other clubs and societies. Charles Dibdin, the composer of popular ballads, regarded Halifax as 'the most musical spot, for its size, in the kingdom' and the Halifax Choral Society, founded in 1817, enjoyed such a

reputation that Mendelssohn composed his setting of the 114th Psalm for it in 1842. Edward's bookshop in Old Market was one of the most famous bookshops in the country supplying and binding books for the most discriminating collectors throughout the land, whilst William Milner (1803-50) of Swinemarket and later Cheapside, later became a pioneer publisher of popular cheap editions of the literary classics. After the failure of two short-lived local newspapers, the Union Journal and the Halifax Journal, published between 1759-60 and 1801-11 respectively, the Halifax Guardian was established in 1832 and the Halifax Courier in 1853, both surviving into the twentieth century until their amalgamation in 1921. One of the first provincial theatres was opened at Halifax in 1790, superseding earlier venues in the inn yards of the Old Cock and White Lion, and there was accommodation for a wide range of social and cultural activities in the New Assembly Rooms, which opened in Harrison Road in 1825 and the Oddfellows' Hall, which opened in St. James's Road in 1840 and which was described by one contemporary visitor as 'by far the handsomest edifice in the town' (48).

Dr A. Betteridge has concluded from an analysis of a township valuation for 1735 that eighteenth century Halifax urban society displayed a pyramid of economic wealth, resting upon a broad base, representing 80 per cent of the community which owned no land or property, and rising through an intermediate band of 16 per cent to a narrow peak of 4 per cent, representing owners of property valued at more than £20 per annum. Moreover, his analysis of burial registers has shown that, by the mid-eighteenth century, labourers formed the largest occupational group in the town. Over half of the trades represented were connected with textiles, although the growth of the worsted industry since the late seventeenth century and the relative decline of the woollen industry had resulted in an increase in the number of woolcombers and a dramatic fall in the number of yeomen clothiers living in Halifax itself. Urban expansion and growing personal

affluence, Dr Betteridge suggests, accounted for the emergence of shoemakers, masons, joiners and carpenters as more significant occupational groups within the urban community during this period, though the majority of the town's population evidently remained relatively poor.

In 1760, it was reckoned that over half of the population of the township of Halifax could not be expected to contribute towards water rents, some because they resided outside the supply area, but the vast majority because they simply could not afford them. Seventy two years later, of the 20,000 inhabitants of the townships of Halifax, Northowram and Southowram included within the boundaries of the new parliamentary constituency of Halifax created by the 1832 Reform Act, only 531 qualified for the borough franchise. Under the terms of the act, only those who rented or owned property of an annual value of £10 or more could be registered as electors in the new parliamentary borough. In Halifax, where rents were relatively low, the borough electorate included a mere 1.7 per cent of the total population or 7.5 per cent of the adult male population. By 1847, although the size of the borough electorate had almost doubled to 1022, this still amounted to only 2.9 per cent of the total population or 11.7 per cent of the adult male population (49).

In the rural hinterland of Halifax the range of mid-eighteenth century occupations identified by Dr Betteridge tended to be much narrower than in Halifax itself, with butchers, shoemakers and tailors less in evidence and, within the textile sector, weavers and clothiers playing a more dominant role. Moreover, in 1832, only a small proportion of the borough electorate resided in the out-townships of Northowram and Southowram, where copyhold tenure was still widespread, and where many of the more valuable freeholds had Halifax landlords. The parish contained an unusually high number of small freeholders during this period, probably a consequence of the looseness of manorial control over the remote parish, which, by facilitating the development of a system of partible inheritance, had

provided a major stimulus to the emergence of the proto-industrial dual economy observed in operation by contemporary commentators such as Daniel Defoe and the Reverend John Watson and described from personal experience in the diary of Cornelius Ashworth (1752-1821), weaver of Waltroyd, Wheatley. Though perhaps somewhat untypical on account of his literacy and his social status as an overseer of the poor in the township of Ovenden, Cornelius Ashworth provides an example of a domestic worker who combined handloom weaving with the management of a smallholding. In 1785, however, when ill-health obliged him to abandon his weaving he supplemented his farming income by his additional earnings as a jobbing builder and hop merchant (50).

Technological and structural innovation in the primary textile industries of the parish in the last two decades of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century as Halifax masters strove vainly to halt the area's relative decline as a centre of textile production in the face of growing competition from Leeds, Bradford and Huddersfield had a devastating effect on the domestic out-workers. The transition from an extensive web of relatively small-scale domestic manufacture to an all-embracing system of factory production was an inexorably slow and painful process for the individuals, families and communities most directly affected. Large numbers of male handloom weavers and woolcombers, for example, experienced not only a marked decline in their material prosperity and an erosion of their independent artisan status, but also a diminution of their authority within their own families as the demand for female and juvenile factory labour increased. By 1835, according to sample statistics supplied by Robert Baker to John Crabtree as typical of the parish as a whole, about 44 per cent of males and 59 per cent of females employed in the twenty mills in the Sowerby district were under eighteen and a study sample of the Halifax and Skircoat census returns for 1851 has shown that, sixteen years later, one third of the total work force of the two townships

was under twenty years of age, with a higher ratio of females to males and one in eight of the workers under fourteen. Most of the younger children in full employment were employed as spinners, doffers and menders in textile factories, though examples could still be found of very young children working for their fathers at home (51).

Controversy erupted in October 1830 over the treatment of young factory workers when, following Richard Oastler's famous 'Yorkshire Slavery' letter to the Leeds Mercury denouncing the worsted mills in the town and neighbourhood of Bradford as 'magazines of infantile slavery', another correspondent, Richard Webster of Halifax, promptly alleged that conditions in the mills around Halifax were even more miserable. The controversy was fuelled by the issue of a pamphlet at the height of the campaign for a Ten Hours Bill in 1833 making more specific allegations about long hours, harsh regulations, severe punishments, low wages and inequitable truck systems in local mills. These allegations were strongly repudiated at the time by the Halifax masters, but over the next two decades, as a response to the unremitting efforts of the factory reformers, factories became subject to increasing statutory regulation and inspection, so that in 1849, Angus Bethune Reach was most favourably impressed by the congenial working environment at Holdsworth's Shaw Lodge Mills and Akroyd's Bowling Dyke Mills, the two largest worsted factories in Halifax, which contrasted markedly with the rapidly deteriorating conditions of the local domestic outworkers he also visited (52).

The displacement of large and significant groups of domestic outworkers in the woollen and worsted industries had provided the base for considerable working-class organisation and agitation during the 1830s and 1840s and ensured that the Halifax working-class movement assumed a political rather than a trade union complexion during the successive political and social crises between 1832 and 1848. The isolated semi-industrial communities in the rural hinterland of Halifax and

remoter out-townships of the parish where many of these domestic outworkers lived and worked were less amenable to the mechanisms of social control that operated in the urban community, estate village or factory workplace. J. Styles has argued that the rise of the yellow trade, a novel combination of counterfeiting and clipping gold currency, in the Cragg Vale and other parts of the Calder Valley in the late 1760s was 'facilitated by the isolation of the locality from those sources of formal and informal authority which sustained eighteenth century law enforcement', or, as one contemporary put it, by 1769 the practitioners of the yellow trade were 'so firmly established in the neighbourhood of Halifax as (almost) to bid defiance to the civil power' (53).

Criticism of these isolated communities re-emerged in the 1830s, when John Crabtree and other contemporary writers drew attention to the cultural deprivation and moral depravation of a large number of those living in them. 'In parts of the parish verging on Lancashire', observed Crabtree, the standard of manners and morals among a great portion of the labouring population is disgustingly low'. Visiting Cragg Vale in the 1840s, George Searle Phillips, Secretary of the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute, welcomed the transformation being brought about by the factory system, but bemoaned the fact that 'the people are still in a state of semi-barbarism':

> Factories, indeed, are in this age what castles were in the feudal times - the supporters and protectors of the people, until a better age come, wherein the people shall be their own supporters, and their own protectors. Every factory master is a sort of feudal lord. He has *his* village straggling at the foot of his factory keep ... the factory lords ... have gathered together the scattered families of the wilderness and reduced them to order by the discipline of regular work. Society has, at least, become *possible* in these parts ... Nevertheless, there is an aspect of ... barbarism about the people which is very melancholy. The children are ragged and dirty, running about the roadside, as if they belonged to nobody. The men are uncouth, brutal, and cast in the most animal moulds. Their leisure hours are spent in playing at pitch-halfpenny, in eating, drinking, and all manner of debaucheries ... The women, likewise, are unwomanly in their appearance, reminding one of the sexless witches in

> Macbeth ... I think missionaries were never more wanted, not even in the floating islands of Polynesia, than amongst this sad, degraded people (54).

Occasionally similar attitudes and behaviour were also detected in an urban context during this period. In July, 1845 the Halifax Guardian lamented that:

> The Sunday succeeding Halifax Summer Fair has from time immemorial been devoted to pleasuring, to drinking and to vice and for years the number of Sabbath breakers has increased ... As usual Sunday did not pass over without many disgraceful scenes of drunkenness ... The day had been bright and clear, but towards the night the rain fell in torrents. No vehicles were to be obtained and hundreds were left to find their way home as best they might. Spoiled garments and a wet skin were their recompense for disregarding the Sabbath (55).

Between 1849 and the early 1880s a new impetus towards social and moral improvement emerged in the industrial paternalism of the Akroyd and Crossley families, the two industrial dynasties which dominated Victorian Halifax. During this period model industrial communities were developed by Edward Akroyd at Copley and Akroydon and John Crossley at West Hill Park together with a whole range of other initiatives to improve the industrial, social and moral environment of the town, which collectively served as 'powerful agencies for ushering in a period of much closer social harmony between millowners and employers' (56)

Moreover, the influence of the Akroyds and the Crossleys, extended beyond their own workforces, for whom they built their model villages, to the wider community which benefited from their philanthropy and displayed a willingness to return members of their families to political power in both local and national elections. Edward Akroyd was elected Member of Parliament for Halifax in 1865 and 1869, whilst John Crossley, after serving on Halifax Town Council from its inception, holding office twice as mayor, was returned to Westminster as Member of Parliament for Halifax from 1874-77. His brother, Francis, also served as Member of Parliament for Halifax from 1852 to 1859, when he became one of the Members of Parliament

for the West Riding and his nephew, Edward Crossley, served as Member of Parliament for the newly created Sowerby Division of the West Riding from 1886 to 1892 (57).

Although the exceptional scale of the Akroyd and the Crossley enterprises was untypical of other units of industrial production in Victorian Halifax, there were many other families within Halifax society during the late-Victorian era whose wealth and status was derived from industry within the ancient parish. The Reverend Francis Pigou, who was appointed Vicar of Halifax in 1875, later maintained that:

> Halifax is honourably associated with great manufacturers and merchant princes ... Akroyd, Crossley, Baldwin, Foster, Edwards, Watkinson, Hall, Huntriss, Rawson, Appleyard and many more represent firms which counted their employees in their vast factories by thousands of intelligent mechanics and artisans ... There are many scattered up and down the ancient parish who, living quietly and unostentatiously, are men of large fortunes ... and by intermarriages fortunes are kept in families ... There are several handsome family mansions ... and a recent noble effort to build a new Infirmary at a cost of some £100,000 amongst the evidences of wealth ... For area and extent I doubt if many places can compare with Halifax for its wealth (58).

Beneath these powerful entrepreneurs in the local social structure were the growing professional classes and the upwardly mobile shopkeepers, merchants and minor industrialists; the swelling ranks of the lower middle classes, comprising the large range of small masters, brokers and dealers who were particularly numerous in Halifax and the growing army of 'white-collar' clerks and shop assistants staffing the profusion of banks, offices, commercial establishments and retail outlets in and around the town; the 'labour aristocracy' of mechanics and engineers, who enjoyed higher wages and often better working conditions than the bulk of semi-skilled and unskilled labourers at the base of the social pyramid (59).

Even before 1875, members of some of the families of leading industrialists had left Halifax for the coast or countryside. Colonel Edward Akroyd, suffering from declining health and

severe financial losses from his overseas investments, had retired to St Leonard's-on-Sea, where he died in 1876 and following the death of Sir Francis Crossley at Belle Vue in 1872, his widow had closed up the family mansion and moved permanently the family's country estate at Somerleyton in Suffolk. Other members of the Crossley family, however, continued to live locally in elegant mansions designed to accommodate their developing scientific interests. Edward Crossley (1840-1905) lived at Bermerside, where he constructed a well-equipped observatory in the grounds, until the 1890s when he withdrew to his summer residence on the Isle of Wight and Louis John Crossley (1842-1891) lived at Moorside, where he had installed a fully equipped electrical laboratory and workshop in the house and an electric tramway system in the grounds. The drawing room at Moorside was furnished in ebonised wood and gold and contained an organ in a carved case set in the central opening of a carved alabaster screen (60).

The last quarter of the nineteenth century also saw the development of residential suburbs and 'manor-house' estates in Skircoat, parts of Northowram and southern Halifax. When the estates of southern Halifax were released for building their influential vendors ensured that the residential character of the district was preserved by introducing restrictive covenants into their sales agreements. Consequently the Greenroyd Estates of Savile Park acquired well-spaced superior detached houses, whilst the land of Spring Hall was crowned with rows of imposing villas. The prosperous Halifax middle-classes were soon flocking to these new Victorian residential suburbs as the Halifax Courier of June 1877 revealed:

> the land adjacent to Savile Park is rapidly being covered. Recently a large slice of land was put on the market. The area ... has undergone a wonderful transformation. Near the upper end of Manor Heath Road a large villa for Mr Shoesmith the auctioneer; lower down a terrace of ten houses for Councillor Denham; the Manor Royd for Mr Patchett who has also commissioned four large semi-detached villas. Below Heath Villas a new mansion for Councillor Longbottom and one adjacent to it for Mr George

> Webster, the grocer. At the junction of Manor Heath Road and Heathfield Place four large semi-detached villas (61)

By contrast working class housing, located predominantly around the industrial complexes of western and central Halifax, remained relatively poor in quality. The building of cellar dwellings continued to be permitted until 1869, but national legislation and local bye-laws increasingly inhibited the building of sub-standard housing and made provision for better drainage and ventilation in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, most building was speculative and cheap and confined to two and three room back-to-back construction, which was estimated to make up 65 per cent of all housing provision in Halifax in 1888. The Halifax Guardian ran a series of articles on the slums of Halifax in 1889 which focussed on houses near the Halifax Parish Church which were 'squalid beyond description', many of which were demolished, following a local government enquiry in 1893. However, the last back-to-back houses were built in Halifax the 1890s and by the late-nineteenth century better quality working-class housing was beginning to appear in Brighouse as E.O. Greening, writing in the Co-operative News in 1888, revealed:

> The houses are all of stone, invariably two storeys high, containing two good rooms above and two below ... These little houses are crammed full of every comfort and convenience. Carpeted floors, curtained bedsteads and windows, cupboards in every corner full to repletion; polished wardrobes and drawers ... line the walls. The fireplace shines bright as silver and glows with warmth; tables loaded with the best of food in full variety (62)

The increasing, though limited, segregation of middle and working class housing, which became more pronounced after the revision of ward boundaries in 1892, together with the polarisation of middle and working class interests over education were underlying factors in the emergence of class politics in Halifax in the late nineteenth century. However, the immediate causes were the deterioration of industrial relations in the late 1880s and early 1890s, the rise of 'new unionism' and the foundation of the Halifax Trades and Labour

Council in 1889. Trade unionism had been traditionally weak in the West Riding textile industry, where the majority of workers were women and young people who were not easily organised, and trade union organisation was described as particularly 'hopeless' in Halifax by Ben Turner in his autobiography. However, it was the much stronger craft unions within the expanding, male-dominated, engineering industry that provided the initiative for the founding of the Halifax Trades Council, whose membership fluctuated between around 3000 and 4000 members in the 1890s.

Though it drew its support from across the whole spectrum of trade union political opinion the Halifax Trades Council very quickly gravitated towards Labour politics after Socialism arrived in Halifax in 1891, infused through a middle class Fabian ideology and organisation. In July 1892 the Halifax Fabian Society joined with the Halifax Trades Council to form the Halifax Labour Union, the forerunner of the Halifax Independent Labour Party, established in the following year. Membership of the Halifax Independent Labour Party fluctuated between 500 and 700 members between 1893 and 1899, though it remained considerably weaker in other parts of the parish with a membership of merely eighteen at Sowerby Bridge and fourteen at Hebden Bridge by 1899. The growing electoral support for the ILP in Halifax in the period up to the outbreak of the First World War is evidenced by its increasing success in municipal elections, rising from ten electoral successes in the period up to 1900 to thirty-four in the period from 1900 to 1906 and sixty-three in the period from 1906 to 1914. Moreover, John Lister obtained 3024 votes as ILP candidate in the parliamentary by-election of 1893 and 3818 votes in the general election of 1895, notwithstanding a bitter division within the local party which had erupted in 1894.

Liberalism, the dominant political creed of the textile Nonconformist millocracy, had also been preponderant amongst the working classes of Halifax as in the vast majority of West Yorkshire industrial communities until the rise of a trade-

union dominated Labour movement in 1892 'whose emergence', Dr P. Dawson has concluded, 'shook the foundations of the political system in Halifax', eroding Liberal support and enabling 'a strengthened, business-directed Conservative Party', to benefit from the split-vote system, most notably in the general elections of 1895 and 1900, when they made electoral gains at Liberal expense. The Labour movement was also making a cultural as well as a political impact in Halifax in the period up to 1914. By 1898 the Halifax Labour Church was meeting regularly twice on Sundays with its primary objective 'the emancipation of Labour and the re-construction of society upon the basis of justice and brotherhood' and by 1900 the Halifax Socialist Sunday School had attracted 159 members. Moreover, the Clarion Movement, founded by Robert Blatchford in the early 1890s, with its numerous cycling, field, scout, glee and vocal unions, also became well-established in Halifax during this period (63).

Improved communications, wider education, rising real incomes and shorter working hours, following the institution of the Saturday half holiday in 1873 and half day closing for shops in 1912 brought increased opportunities for leisure in late Victorian and Edwardian Halifax, although much social life continued to revolve around the public houses. There were some 543 outlets of the liquor trade in Halifax Poor Law Union in 1895 and 179 in Halifax itself and the last quarter of the nineteenth century was a period of considerable prosperity for the six main Halifax brewing companies. However, by 1900 the demand for beer had begun to fall and the breweries found themselves in a situation where there was not enough trade to support the large number of houses, profit margins were reduced and many of the smaller local breweries did not survive until outbreak of the First World War. Outside the public houses, music, especially choral singing and brass bands, organised sport and other forms of popular entertainment came to play an increasing part in many people's lives before 1914. Local league matches in both cricket and football were legion and

large crowds of spectators regularly converged on Thrum Hall from 1886 and Sandhall Lane from 1911 and later Exley to watch rugby league and association football in Halifax. Golf courses were opened at Ogden in 1901 and West End in 1906, the latter on the site of the ill-fated Halifax race course. Moreover, Halifax had three theatres and a growing number of cinemas after 1910, not to mention pleasure gardens, a museum, a zoo, numerous parks and open spaces and spectacular surrounding countryside for the rambler, cyclist and motorist to explore (64).

During the period 1740 to 1914 the ancient parish of Halifax had been dramatically transformed under the impact of industrialisation and urbanisation from a thinly populated, semi-rural, proto-industrial society into a heavily populated, predominantly urban, advanced industrial society. However this process also depopulated significant upland stretches of the vast parish as the domestic industrial economy declined from the middle years of the nineteenth century. The population of the ancient parish had more than quintupled from around 31,000 in 1743 to 173,313 by 1871, whilst the population of the dominant township of Halifax had increased almost tenfold from around 5000-5500 in 1743 to 48,129 by 1891. Whereas a mere 16 or 17 per cent of the total parish population had lived in the Halifax township in 1743, by 1891 the township of Halifax contained within its 960 acres over half the population of the entire county borough of 8172 acres. This population growth had been sustained by the application of new power technologies to the expanding textile industries of the parish in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and by an increasing industrial diversification in the second half of the nineteenth century, when Halifax earned a reputation as 'a town of 100 trades'. However, the physical environment of the parish inhibited this industrial and urban expansion and denied Halifax the nineteenth century industrial and commercial pre-eminence of Bradford and Leeds. Indeed, during the first decade of the nineteenth century Halifax had

lost its early lead in the production of worsteds to neighbouring Bradford and by 1901 the population of Bradford was over twice as large as that of Halifax and that of Leeds over three times as large. Moreover, Halifax reached the peak of its demographic and economic expansion around the turn of the century. Its population peaked at 104,936 in 1901 and both cotton and worsted production had entered decline before the outbreak of the First World War (65).

The vast geographical extent and inhospitable physical terrain of the ancient parish and the problems arising from the dramatic industrial-urban transformation of large sections of the parish in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and from the contraction of its demographic and economic base in the early twentieth century therefore posed formidable challenges to the religious institutions of the parish during the period from the Evangelical Revival of religion in the mid-eighteenth century to the decline of organised religion in the Edwardian era.

Chapter Two

Varieties of Religious Expression in the Parish of Halifax, 1740-1851

2.1. The Church of England

Nowhere did the Church of England's parochial and diocesan structure appear less well-equipped to meet the challenge of social and economic change in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries than in the vast, sprawling, upland parish of Halifax, a vicarage in the gift of the crown, situated on the remote south western frontier of the huge diocese of York. Geographically, the eighteenth-century parish of Halifax was one of the largest in England. Its historian, the Reverend John Watson, writing in 1775, considered it to be larger than the county of Rutlandshire. Covering an area of over 100 square miles, it was almost twenty-five times larger in size than the average English parish and twice as large as the neighbouring Yorkshire parish of Bradford. Only the neighbouring Lancashire Pennine parish of Whalley was comparable in size. Descending eastwards from the Pennine anticline it fell from a height of 1500 to a height of 500 feet above sea level in little over fifteen miles and so was hilly and inaccessible, with many of its inhabitants living in remote hill top villages and hamlets and one of its two parochial chapelries at Heptonstall situated at 967 feet above sea level, one of the highest locations for an ecclesiastical edifice in the diocese (1).

Whilst the establishment of two parochial chapelries at Elland and Heptonstall by the mid-thirteenth century had effectively sub-divided the ancient parish of Halifax into three more manageable administrative units, each unit still encompassed at least five and in one case no fewer than ten civil townships. The ten townships closest to the Halifax Parish Church formed the parochial district of Halifax; the five townships of the Upper Calder Valley formed the parochial chapelry of Heptonstall and the remaining eight townships lying

south of the Calder formed the parochial chapelry of Elland. This modified parochial structure, however, remained unaltered for another six hundred years until the sub-division of the parish was authorised in 1842 and commenced in 1843 (2).

The parochial chapelries were under the authority of the Vicar of Halifax, who approved the appointment of their curates and made a contribution to their stipends. They were allowed to exercise the right of baptism, marriage and burial free from the jurisdiction of the vicar. In addition to these parochial chapels, by 1743 there were ten chapels-of-ease at Coley, Cross Stone, Illingworth, Lightcliffe, Luddenden, Rastrick, Ripponden, Southowram, Sowerby and Sowerby Bridge. Built originally by the local inhabitants of the out-townships for their own convenience, each chapel-of-ease had its own perpetual curate appointed by the vicar but paid by the inhabitants of the chapelry, who were also responsible for the upkeep of the chapel. Although some of the chapels, for example Sowerby and Luddenden, petitioned Parliament for parochial status, they did not obtain full parochial rights until after 1868. The perpetual curates attached to these chapelries, however, had gradually acquired rights of baptism and burial and occasionally performed marriages long before that date. Whilst the chapelries helped to provide a higher ratio of pastors to people than might otherwise have appertained in the vast medieval parish, the majority were poorly endowed and ill-equipped to respond adequately to the pressures of social and economic change in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (3).

For the provision of a stipend for their curates, the parochial chapelries and chapels-of-ease mostly depended on endowments, supplemented after 1704 by benefactions from Queen Anne's Bounty. In 1743 the annual stipends of the curates of the chapelries of the parish of Halifax averaged £46. Whilst this average was over three times higher than that of Peter Virgin's sample of poor curacies from selected counties in England and Wales in 1708 in his study of Georgian clerical

incomes, it nevertheless embraced a wide range of incomes. Ripponden was the wealthiest with an annual endowment of £100, followed by Illingworth (£80), Sowerby (£60), Elland and Sowerby Bridge (£50), Rastrick and Heptonstall (£40), Coley (£35), Luddenden (£32), Cross Stone (£25), Lightcliffe (£22) and Southowram (£20). Only three of the curates received an annual income higher than that of the assistant curate at the Halifax Parish Church, who received an annual allowance from the vicar of £32.2s.0d., which was supplemented by £18 in other contributions, providing a total income of £50 per annum (4). Some chapels, for example Luddenden and Sowerby Bridge, had already received donations from Queen Anne's Bounty in 1743. By 1764, most of the chapels had received at least one payment and some, for example, Southowram, had received an additional augmentation by lot. In Elland a grant received around 1734 and invested in meadow and pastureland was realising seventeen pounds annually by 1764. In Sowerby Bridge, the benefaction had been invested in three farms, which were yielding an annual return of thirty pounds ten shillings annually by 1764. In Luddenden, the benefaction had been invested in a house, barn and lands for over thirty years, but the annual income yielded in 1764 was considered inadequate by the curate, the Reverend Thomas West, who maintained in his return to Archbishop Drummond that the stipend was too small for a resident curate and that he had been obliged to supplement his income by seeking an appointment as master of the free grammar school in Halifax. It is not perhaps surprising therefore that there was a succession of twenty curates at Luddenden during the eighteenth century. Although the value of many of the perpetual curacies increased during the eighteenth century and some, for example Illingworth, had more than doubled in value by the early nineteenth century, there were still cases of clerical poverty within the parish. Richard Oastler, writing in 1827, referred to his own readiness to go out with a friend 'a begging with our hats in our hands' when the Curate of Elland was in need of assistance.

By contrast, the two assistant curates at the Halifax Parish Church were each receiving £125 per annum in 1839, at a time when it was still rare for the income of a curate to exceed £100 (5).

Maintenance and refurbishment of the fabric of the chapels was usually financed from pew rents. At Cross Stone, in order to finance the construction of a new gallery in 1799 an auction of sittings was held at the house of Thomas Barker the local innkeeper. There were sixty four sittings in all and they sold for prices varying from £2 7s. 0d., the highest paid for a front seat, to 16s. 6d., the lowest for a back seat and raised altogether the sum of £87 12s. 6d. Some chapels such as Lightcliffe, Luddenden and Ripponden lacked the provision of any endowments for maintenance and repairs in 1743 and so depended heavily on pew rents, though Lightcliffe and Luddenden were able to offer thirty and forty free sittings respectively by 1837. Cross Stone, which had received a £2400 reconstruction grant from the Church Building Commissioners in 1832, and Sowerby Bridge each offered 300 free sittings by 1837, but at Coley, Elland, Illingworth, Rastrick and Ripponden all the sittings were appropriated (6).

Besides maintaining their own chapelries, all the inhabitants of the parish were expected to contribute to the income of the Vicar of Halifax and as there were no endowments in land or stock for the repair of the Halifax Parish Church, the inhabitants of the ten townships within the parochial district of Halifax had 'from time immemorial' been 'charged with the repairs of Halifax church and the church yard fence', a customary duty which was still being observed in the 1830s. Moreover, although the great tithes of corn and hay had been commuted into money payments and leased to members of the laity before the Reformation, small tithes, derived from agricultural produce other than crops, had gone to the vicar since 1274, via an extremely complicated system of payments in kind and money, together with a variety of other vicarial dues. 'The Ancient Endowment' of the vicarage of Halifax was

summarised in entries in the Halifax Parish Registers for 1625 and 1667, which stated that the vicar was entitled to receive:

> Easter offerings, the small tithes (excepting wool and lambs), surplice fees, tithes of corn mills, and mortuaries throughout the Parish and Vicarage (7)

In practice the Easter offerings often came to be regarded as a composite payment, covering all the vicarial dues except surplice fees, that is fees paid for baptisms, weddings and funerals. These continued to be paid to the Vicars of Halifax, though by 1790, the Reverend Dr Henry Coulthurst had ceased to require their surrender from the parochial chapels of Elland and Heptonstall. However, in 1795 a portion of the surplice fees from the new church of Holy Trinity was formally assigned to the Vicar of Halifax, indicating that there was no intention to generally abandon them. According to the historian John Watson, the Easter offerings amounted to twopence halfpenny for each household, plus twopence for each adult over the age of fourteen years in 1775, though the payment of these dues was clearly not diligently observed throughout the parish, otherwise the Vicar of Halifax would have been considerably more wealthy than he actually was in the late eighteenth century. Nor does it seem likely that small tithes were generally collected, although Watson gives details of the amounts due and subsequent enclosure acts formally acknowledged the vicar's right to them by including a compensatory allotment of 1100 acres of land to the vicar when common land was enclosed in the townships of Ovenden, Stainland, Barkisland, Stansfield and Elland-cum-Greetland. Corn mills in the Calder Valley were no longer paying their tithes in kind by 1775, but the Vicar of Halifax continued to receive 'a load of malt yearly at Christmas' and all the corn he used in his house ground toll free as late as the 1830s. Mortuary payments to the vicar on the death of a parishioner had been replaced by a sliding scale of estate duties at the time of the Henrician Reformation and although Watson again gives details of the amounts due there is no evidence that

these were enforced during this period (8).
The annual income of the vicarage of Halifax in 1827 was estimated by contemporaries to be in the region of £750-£800. Contemporaries also estimated that, if the small tithes had been rigorously collected, the value of the living might have been increased by £12,000 per annum on the most conservative estimate and by £40,000 per annum on the most liberal estimate. However, eighteenth and early nineteenth century Vicars of Halifax do not appear to have insisted upon their full tithe entitlement. In the later years of his long incumbency the elderly Reverend Dr George Legh, Vicar of Halifax from 1731 to 1775, whose income was supplemented as a prebend of York Minster, was often away from the vicarage, partly in order to attend to family business interests, which presumably provided him with a further source of income. His successor, the Reverend Dr Henry Wood, Vicar of Halifax from 1776 to 1790, apparently took legal advice and declined to exact small tithes, augmenting his income with a plural living at Hemsworth. Despite the inflationary effects of the French Wars (1793-1815), the Reverend Dr Henry William Coulthurst, Vicar of Halifax from 1790 to 1817, and the Reverend Samuel Knight, Vicar of Halifax from 1817 to 1827 both resisted pressure to resume the exaction of small tithes (9).
However, within a few months of his induction as Vicar of Halifax in April 1827, the Reverend Dr Charles Musgrave (1792-1875), who had increased substantially the endowment of the living at Whitkirk in the five years of his incumbency, determined likewise to increase the revenue of the living at Halifax. Acting on the advice of 'the highest legal Authorities in London', he began to assert and enforce the ancient right of the vicar to the small tithes from the eighteen townships which had not commuted their tithe obligations under recent enclosure legislation. He was strongly supported by Mr Henry Lees Edwards of Pye Nest, who contended 'that the present income of the living is insufficient to the proper support of the Vicar's important

station in the Parish', but opposed by other landowners, notably Thomas Thornhill of Fixby Hall, whose agent, Richard Oastler, masterminded the long and bitter campaign of resistance. A compromise settlement was eventually reached by 'An Act for extinguishing Tithes, and payments in lieu of Tithes, Mortuaries and Easter Offerings, and other Vicarial Dues and payments' of 1829. The dues were commuted for a specified charge upon land and an additional levy of a minimum sum of sixpence per year upon inhabited houses which, together with rents arising from certain specified lands and from a variety of small payments from other sources, produced an annual income of £1409. 15s. 6d. for the vicar, somewhat lower than the £1500 he had anticipated, but the townships of Stansfield and Elland-cum-Greetland had declined to commute their Easter Offerings, preferring to contribute in the customary manner an annual sum of around £90 to the vicar's income in lieu. This additional payment, together with surplice fees and income from the recently enclosed glebe land, particularly that in Ovenden, which Michael Stocks estimated contained freestone to the value of £20,000, however, boosted the vicar's total income from the living to an annual sum well in excess of £2000 (10).

After 1829, the income of Dr Charles Musgrave as Vicar of Halifax exceeded that of the Bishops of Rochester and Llandaff. Moreover his income from the vicarage was augmented by that from the living of Whitkirk, which he continued to hold in plurality until May 1837; the prebendal stall of Givendale at York Minster and the office of Archdeacon of Craven, which he held from 1836 until his death in 1875. The son of a respectable Whig woollen draper of Cambridge, Musgrave also had wealthy and influential family connexions. His brother, Thomas, a Cambridge professor, became Bishop of Hereford in 1837 and Archbishop of York in 1847, where he remained until his death in 1860. His second wife, Ellen Frances Waterhouse, whom he married in 1833, was the second daughter of John and Elizabeth Waterhouse of Well Head, a prosperous family

of Halifax woollen merchants closely associated with the Halifax Parish Church. When he died in April 1875, he left a personal fortune of £8342.10s.0d. and by that year the revenues of the vicarage were considered sufficiently substantial for a serious proposal to be canvassed for a new see to be established at Halifax carved out of the diocese of Ripon (11). In the 1840s, however, Musgrave still considered the revenues for the maintenance of the fabric of the Halifax Parish Church inadequate chiefly on account of the increasing difficulties in gaining the approval of vestry meetings packed with Dissenters for the levying of church rates. In 1841 a list of subscribers was commenced and continued until Easter 1845, composed mainly of those occupying pews at the Parish Church, 'to discharge a debt of £300 incurred by the churchwardens in various matters beyond the amount of, and not strictly chargeable upon the Church Rate'. Among those listed subscribing several sums of twenty pounds each were Charles Musgrave himself and prominent members of Halifax's manufacturing and social élite, including, John and Samuel Waterhouse, Christopher and John Rawson, William Rothwell, William Haigh, Joshua Stocks, George Pollard, Henry Lees Edwards and Jonathan and Edward Akroyd. Other contributions ranged from half a crown to ten pounds. The list of pew holders accompanying the subscription list provides a snapshot of the social composition of the congregation of Halifax Parish Church in the 1840s. Of the ninety-one named pew holders, nineteen were women and among the identified occupations were two bankers, a cabinet maker, corn dealer, two doctors, a draper, four druggists, two grocers, a postmistress, schoolmaster and surgeon (12).

The inadequacies of the parochial system were mirrored by the inadequacies of the diocesan structure. No bishop resided in the industrial West Riding before 1888. Until the creation of the diocese of Ripon in 1836, Halifax occupied a far-flung corner of the huge diocese of York, with its 903 parishes and chapelries and 'few reports of the state of this part of his

diocese disturbed the aristocratic seclusion of the noble and most reverend occupant of the Metropolitan chair of St Peter at York'. After 1836, Halifax became a distant outpost of the new diocese of Ripon, which encompassed over one and a half million acres, just under half the acreage of the former diocese of York, but was still the eighth largest diocese in England. In 1836, the Vicar of Halifax, the Reverend Dr Charles Musgrave was appointed the first Archdeacon of Craven, a sub-division of the new diocese of Ripon covering the whole of West Yorkshire. When he died in 1875, the archdeaconry contained fourteen deaneries; 520 clergy and a population of 1,240,305. Only six English dioceses had larger populations than the archdeaconry by that date, when the population of the archdeaconry outnumbered that of the dioceses of Durham, York and Rochester (13).

Archiepiscopal visitations to the parish of Halifax before 1836 were necessarily fairly infrequent; no visitation charges were delivered and visitation returns frequently commented on the large numbers awaiting confirmation. Archbishop Lancelot Blackburne (1658-1743), a scandalously negligent prelate, does not appear to have conducted any confirmations personally during his archiepiscopate at York, although the saintly Bishop Martin Benson (1689-1752) of Gloucester is reported to have confirmed nearly 9000 people on his behalf in three days at Halifax and Ripponden in 1737. With confirmations held so infrequently and on such a scale it is hardly surprising, that the evangelical Reverend William Grimshaw of Haworth, should have lamented after attending a confirmation at Halifax Parish Church in 1755:

> This day I was at the confirmation at Halifax. I saw little of Christ there. O that the ordinance of the church was more solemnly performed. And more of the Spirit of God apparent in the poor, silly, ignorant, graceless youth (14).

Moreover, archiepiscopal visits were often a considerable burden on the finances of the host parish. When the Archbishop of York visited Halifax in 1777, he and his retinue

had to be met at Clayton Heights and regaled with refreshment before proceeding. Eleven shillings and sixpence was incurred cleaning the church before the visit and sixty-eight shillings and sixpence on food and liquor for the archbishop's servants during the visit. On a later visit in 1804, the parish clerk welcoming the archbishop had also to pay the turnpike toll fees for the archbishop's carriages and the bellringers at the Halifax Parish Church for 'ringing the archbishop into town'. On the following day, when the clergy and churchwardens wined and dined with the archbishop at the Talbot Inn, the bill amounted to nearly thirty pounds. In addition, stabling and fodder had to be found for nine horses at a cost of twenty six shillings and fourpence (15).

The creation of the new diocese of Ripon in 1836 inaugurated an era of more effective ecclesiastical leadership and episcopal management. Dr C.T. Longley (1794-1868), Bishop of Ripon from 1836-56, made his first episcopal visitation to the parish of Halifax in 1837. After 1841, visitations took place triennially, facilitated by the development of the railways. At the 1841 visitation, although there was a note of triumphant optimism as Mrs Susan Sunderland, a talented soprano from Brighouse, participated 'to good effect' in the singing of the 'Hallelujah Chorus', there was also an element of sober realism in the bishop's acknowledgement that 'immorality and ungodliness' remained 'unchecked' in the unchurched 'outlying portions of the manufacturing districts'. In a stirring rallying cry to the clergy of the parish, the bishop proclaimed:

> If it was their purpose through God's blessing truly to Christianise the land and to contend successfully with the vast mass of vice and ignorance still, unhappily, too prevalent throughout many parts of it, their efforts to multiply places of worship must be seconded by renewed exertions in the cause of religious education (16).

The eighteenth century archbishops' and early nineteenth century bishop's visitation returns underline both the scale of the pastoral challenge facing the Church of England from the

increasingly populous parish during the period 1740-1851 and the church's lack of resources to meet the challenge throughout most of this period. In 1743, at the time of Archbishop Thomas Herring's visitation, the pastoral needs of the parish population of 31,000 were served by the Vicar of Halifax and his curate at the Halifax Parish Church and the twelve perpetual curates in the chapelries, a ratio of pastors to people of 1:2214. By the time of Archbishop Henry Drummond's visitation in 1764, the population of the parish had increased to 41,220, but the number of clergy remained unchanged, apart from the addition of a licensed chaplain at Stainland, giving a ratio of pastors to people of 1:2748. By 1841, when an episcopal visitation, the last before the sub-division of the ancient parish was initiated in 1842, also coincided with a civil census, the number of clergy had increased by nine, but the population of the parish had more than trebled to 130,743, giving a ratio of pastors to people of 1:5664 (17).

During the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there were changes in both the style of churchmanship and the quality of ecclesiastical leadership at parochial level, enabling the church to respond more effectively to the pastoral challenge created by the demographic revolution. The antiquarian J. Horsfall Turner, commenting in 1906 on the qualities of the Vicars of Halifax during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was scathing in his criticism of the Reverend Thomas Burton, MA, Vicar of Halifax 1712-31, chiefly, it would appear, on account of his firm adherence, proclaimed in a solitary published sermon in 1713, to a belief in the theory of the Divine Right of Kings, sentiments which accorded ill with the aspirations of Edwardian Liberal Nonconformity in its finest hour. 'Vicar Burton' Horsfall Turner proclaimed 'had no monument erected to him at Halifax ... the succeeding Vicars have all been men of a higher stamp' (18).

Burton's immediate successor, the Reverend Dr George Legh (1693-1775), Vicar of Halifax 1731-75, did have a monument of white and red marble erected to his memory on the north wall of

Halifax Parish Church which read:

> He was vicar of this parish of Halifax above forty-four years; during which time he interested himself with laudable zeal in the cause of religious liberty and sincerity, being the last survivor of those worthy men who distinguished themselves by their opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny. He defended the rights of mankind in that memorable Hoadlian Controversy. The Bible he considered as the only standard of faith and practice, to the poor and distressed and public charity he was a generous benefactor, by his will (he) ordered Bibles to be given for the benefit of the poor, he did honour to his profession as a clergyman and Christian, esteemed when living, in death lamented (19).

The epitaph provided by the Lancashire cleric and antiquarian Dr Whitaker was, however, distinctly less flattering:

> He was a low churchman, and popular among the dissenters, a disciple of Bishop Hoadly and his coadjutor in what was called the Bangorian controversy; about which he seems to have been more in earnest than his duty as a preacher, which he is said to have performed in a very careless and languid manner. He was a man of great singularity of character, subject to fits of absence and forgetfulness, which not infrequently exposed him to ridicule (20).

A member of a well-to-do Cheshire family, Legh had acquired a doctorate in law at Trinity Hall Cambridge in 1728, the year in which he was ordained priest. He married twice, and his second wife, Elizabeth, was sister of the Lord Bishop of Waterford, to whom Dr Legh bequeathed two guineas for a ring. Legh's support for Bishop Hoadly identified him as an undogmatic Latitudinarian. Benjamin Hoadly (1676-1761), Bishop of Bangor from 1716-21 and leader of the Whig or Low Church Anglican divines, had preached a controversial sermon before George I in 1717 which sought to demonstrate that the gospels afforded no warrant for any visible church authority. To save Hoadly from synodical condemnation by his Tory High Church critics, the king prorogued convocation, which did not meet again, except formally, until 1852 (21).

John Wesley, who met Dr Legh in June 1742, and whose churchmanship embraced both liberal and conservative influences, described him succinctly as 'a candid inquirer after truth'. Legh opened his pulpit to two former Oxford

Methodists during this period, the Reverend Benjamin Ingham, who included Halifax Parish Church on his preaching itinerary when he returned to his native Yorkshire in 1738 until he was prohibited from occupying any Anglican pulpit, and the Reverend George Whitefield, who preached a confirmation sermon at Halifax Parish Church in 1755. On a later occasion in April 1774 after Wesley had preached at the Halifax Parish Church, at Legh's invitation, to a 'huge congregation', he dined with Legh, who later loaned him his servant and his horse to enable him to fulfil another hastily arranged preaching appointment at Huddersfield Parish Church (22).

William Hatton, the first historian of Halifax Methodism, found Legh's successor, the Reverend Dr Henry Wood, Vicar of Halifax 1776-90, less sympathetic to the Methodist revival and no further invitation was extended to John Wesley to preach in Halifax Parish Church. However, Wesley did preach at both the Heptonstall and Sowerby churches during Wood's incumbency. Wood, a Doctor of Divinity of Jesus College, Cambridge, was also rector of Hemsworth, where he died and was buried 1790. Wood's successors, the Reverend Dr Henry William Coulthurst (1753-1817), Vicar of Halifax 1790-1817, and the Reverend Samuel Knight, Vicar of Halifax 1817-27, were both committed Evangelicals. Following Coulthurst's appointment, the Reverend Henry Zouch, Vicar of Sandal, near Wakefield 1754-89, wrote to the Lord Lieutenant, Earl Fitzwilliam, expressing his concern at the growing number of evangelical appointments to crown livings, which he attributed partly to the influence of William Wilberforce, the Tory Evangelical Member of Parliament for Yorkshire:

> Care was taken, nay a point was made that Halifax should be bestowed in this way; but there was a good deal of policy in this appointment: the vicar there hath promised to be an acting justice, under the new commission in gratitude to the body of freeholders who petitioned the members for their assistance in applying to the minister (23).

Coulthurst hailed from 'an ancient and respectable' Craven family and had been a Scholar of St John's College, Cambridge

and a Fellow of Sidney Sussex College. He was 'temperate in diet' and 'abstinent in wine' and edifying in his 'social intercourse'. His conduct as a magistrate was characterised by 'integrity, clemency and the fear of God' and his preaching, 'assiduously delivered, not from his pulpit only, but in the several chapels of this extensive parish', was regarded as a 'simple and persuasive'. His first sermon at Halifax Parish Church contained a challenging twenty-minute exposition of the evangelical certainties which inspired his faith and ministry:

> I come not to amuse you with subjects of opinion or uncertainty, or even with truths of a cold speculative uninteresting nature which you might receive without benefit or reject without detriment. No, I come to speak the truths of God, truths of the utmost importance to the welfare of your souls both in time and eternity ... I cannot be content with the emolument annexed to my office. I seek not yours, but you, that you may be delivered from the power of this evil world, that you may know the love of Christ ... It is my duty ... by a constant and regular residence amongst you, to consult your welfare on every occasion ... I hope also that the same grace which enables me to preach to you will enable me to appoint faithful witnesses and pastors who may teach others also and spread the knowledge of the true God in the various districts of this extensive parish ... When I consider the great number of souls committed to my charge, I cannot well be easy and unconcerned (24).

Recognising the need for a second church to serve the growing population of the Halifax township, he obtained a special act of Parliament to build Holy Trinity Church at his own expense in 1795 and recommended that the Reverend Samuel Knight (1759-1817), the son of the Reverend Titus Knight, a Halifax collier and former Wesleyan preacher who had become the first minister of the Square Independent chapel, become its first incumbent. On Coulthurst's death, the parishioners of Halifax took the unprecedented step of memorialising the prime minister, Lord Liverpool, in order to secure Knight's succession to the vacant crown living, though this was only accomplished after the intervention of William Wilberforce.

Knight, a distinguished classical and mathematical scholar and

Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, was also a deeply spiritual man whose book of prayers, published in 1791, passed through sixteen large editions during the life-time of its author. However, at least one of his contemporaries, Joseph Cockin, Minister of Square Chapel, criticised his rigid churchmanship and his exhortation to his parishioners 'to adhere exclusively to their own party and to keep aloof from others', which, he alleged, had widened 'the distance between Conformists and Nonconformists' in Halifax (25).

Knight's successor, the Reverend Dr Charles Musgrave, Vicar of Halifax 1827-75 and first Archdeacon of Craven, who held the incumbency for almost half a century, had made plain the character of his churchmanship in a sermon to the clergy of the archdeaconry of York as Vicar of Whitkirk at an annual visitation at Leeds in June 1824:

> We must maintain in our general spirit and life a conformity to the discipline of our Church ... The obligations of personal Holiness, imperative as they are in all, seem peculiarly to become the character of the Christian minister. Cold, indeed, and unproductive is that system of Nominal Religion, which, restricted to the formal offices of worship, abandons with the termination of the service the delight and spirit of devotion.

An able and determined administrator and reformer, he weathered the stormy contest with some of his leading parishioners over tithes at the outset of his incumbency; played a leading role in the founding of the Halifax Dispensary and subsequently embarked on an ambitious programme of church building which saw the construction or complete restoration of no fewer than thirty-eight churches within the ancient parish by the end of his incumbency, winning him the affection and respect of his parishioners. His lifestyle, however, contrasted markedly with that of his two immediate predecessors in that he had a penchant for port wine; 'liked horses, mingled with the country gentry' and hunted in scarlet with the Halifax Hunt. It contrasted even more sharply with that of the majority of his parishioners, as is revealed in an anecdote, which he was apparently fond of telling, relating how:

> on his first riding through the town of Halifax to take possession of his living, he was greeted with a shower of stones from the idle and uncultivated boys of the street, simply because he had a good coat on his back (26).

Despite the relatively low remuneration of many of its perpetual curates and the high turnover of clergy in some of the more poorly endowed chapelries the quality of the parochial clergy during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was in many respects impressive. Of the fourteen clergy listed in the Herring Returns of 1743, only two were deacons and over half had been ordained priest before 1730. Nine were Cambridge graduates and another was a graduate of Oxford University. The most distinguished scholar amongst them was the Reverend Samuel Ogden (1716-78), Curate of Coley from 1741-47 and of Elland from 1747-62 and Headmaster of Heath Grammar School, 1744-53, who subsequently became Woodwardian Professor of Geology at Cambridge, where he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1753. The fourteen clergy listed in the Drummond Returns of 1764, over half of whom had been ordained before 1750, included only one deacon and six graduates of either Oxford or Cambridge University. The most distinguished scholar amongst them was the Reverend John Watson (1724-83), Curate of Ripponden 1754-70, formerly curate at the Halifax Parish Church 1750-54, a Fellow of Brasenose College Oxford, who was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1759. His celebrated history of Halifax, to which no fewer than seven of his fellow clergy in the parish subscribed, was written, he maintained in his preface, not only out of antiquarian interest, but also to provide a reference work for those concerned with administering endowments and bequests to the poor. The Curate of Elland in 1764, the Reverend George Burnett (1735-1793) was formerly a curate of the Reverend Henry Venn in Huddersfield and a committed Evangelical. In 1771 an evangelical society to help candidates of limited means enter the Anglican ministry moved from its Huddersfield base to Elland, where it remained until 1843, numbering amongst its beneficiaries the Reverend Thomas Thomason, later chaplain of

the East India Company in Calcutta and the Reverend Samuel Marsden (1764-1838), later chaplain of the convict colony of New South Wales. Even Richard Oastler, felt obliged to acknowledge at the height of his dispute with the Vicar of Halifax in 1827: 'We are surrounded by conscientious, upright, truly pious ministers, who are beloved by their flocks, and deserve it too' (27).

Lapses in moral conduct and clerical duty were rare amongst the clergy of the parish of Halifax during this period. In 1766 the Reverend George Braithwaite, Curate of Rastrick for fifty years from 1748 to 1798, was found guilty of 'great profaneness and immorality' for drinking to excess, gaming, fathering a bastard child and neglecting to perform divine service on Sundays and Holy days , but he apparently 'lived to be highly respected in later years'. The visitation returns from Halifax for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries reveal neither a widespread lack of pastoral concern nor a wholesale neglect of clerical duty at parochial level during this period. The Herring Returns disclose only one problem of clerical absenteeism. This was at Elland, where the Vicar of Halifax maintained 'the Chapel ... is a great sufferer by the Curate's non-residence, which, if continued, will raise a great deal of clamour'. Two other curates lived just outside their chapelries, five others resided within their chapelries in unspecified accommodation, another, the Curate of Sowerby Bridge, lived in a rented chapel house, whilst the remaining three curates and the vicar lived in parsonage houses (28).

All the returns to Archbishop Herring reveal that virtually all churchgoers in 1743 had been baptised, and that there were many throughout the parish awaiting confirmation. The Reverend C. Tobit Sutcliffe, Curate of Cross Stone, reported that: 'There are many that are baptized and of a competent age that are not confirmed, they not having had the opportunity for some years past' and the Reverend John Grimshaw, Curate of Luddenden, maintained that there were 'a great many of competent age' in his chapelry who were not confirmed. The

Reverend Thomas Greenwood, Curate of Heptonstall, who had prepared one generation of young people for confirmation by Bishop Benson in 1737, reported to Archbishop Herring that he now had other 'young persons that are baptized and unconfirmed', who had been waiting 'in hopes some time before long to receive Your Grace's blessing'. All the returns reveal that catechising was performed faithfully and regularly, mainly in the summer, but occasionally after Easter, as at Rastrick, or near Whitsuntide, as at Illingworth and Southowram, although the curates of Lightcliffe and Sowerby Bridge complained that some 'parents and masters are remiss in sending their children and servants to be instructed' (29).

The clergy of the parish were no less diligent in their conduct of public worship. Halifax Parish Church was one of only twenty four churches in the large towns of the diocese where public prayers were read twice daily in 1743. Although it was unusual in the eighteenth century to find chapels in the parochial out-townships holding regular weekday services, in the parish of Halifax public prayers were read twice daily at Heptonstall; every morning at Elland and on Wednesday and Friday mornings at Ripponden. Moreover, whilst well over half of the churches in the diocese failed to have both Mattins and Evensong on Sunday all the year round in 1743, morning and evening prayers took place every Sunday at Halifax Parish Church and in each of the twelve chapelries, 'there being a greater congregation in an afternoon than in a morning at every place of worship throughout the Vicarage'. Sermons were preached at both Sunday services without fail by all of the curates in their chapelries and by the Vicar, the Curate or the Lecturer at Halifax Parish Church. In comparison with the patterns of Sunday worship revealed in Professor F.C. Mather's sample of episcopal visitation returns for this period this was an exceptionally high level of performance (30).

The Lord's Supper, generally held by historians to have been celebrated no more frequently than quarterly in most eighteenth century parishes, was celebrated at Halifax Parish Church as

frequently as eighteen to twenty times a year; at the chapelries of Coley, Heptonstall and Sowerby Bridge five to six times a year and quarterly elsewhere, except for Lightcliffe and Sowerby, where it was administered on three occasions, and Cross Stone and Southowram, where it was administered on only two occasions per annum. Over the Easter period, the Reverend Thomas Greenwood, Curate of Heptonstall, administered the sacrament to at least 110 on Palm Sunday, 160 on Good Friday, 270 on Easter Day and to a further twenty five 'aged and infirm' unable to attend church, making a total of 565. Easter communicants at Halifax Parish Church numbered 260, Ripponden 140, Illingworth 120, Sowerby 105, Luddenden 81, Cross Stone 60, Rastrick 40-50, Sowerby Bridge 40 and Coley 20-30. Regular communicants at Heptonstall numbered 180 and at Halifax Parish Church 160. At Illingworth and Sowerby, where regular communicants averaged 100, the numbers were only slightly fewer than at Easter. Elsewhere, the numbers of regular communicants were much the same as the Easter totals, except at Southowram where the celebration of the sacrament had only recently been reintroduced and where attendance was very thin (31).

In most cases, however, these figures represented only a very small proportion of the estimated total number of potential communicants for each chapelry, though there was some variation in the way these estimates were calculated. The Curate of Sowerby's estimated total of 1160 potential communicants included all those resident in the township of Sowerby above fourteen years of age, whereas the Vicar of Halifax's estimated total of 15,150 potential communicants included only those aged sixteen and over, without specifying the townships or chapelries from which they were drawn. It is, moreover, doubtful whether the Curate of Rastrick's estimated total of 120 potential communicants from 117 families included all the members of the adult population in his chapelry. Numbers of regular communicants expressed as a percentage of the total adult population derived from data contained in the visitation

returns have therefore to be treated with caution. In 1743 they averaged 9.2 per cent, ranging from 1.0 per cent at the Halifax Parish Church to 37.5 per cent at Rastrick (32).

The Drummond Visitation Returns of 1764 reveal that there was now a resident curate at Elland, awaiting the completion of a new parsonage house and that the curate of Southowram had also found accommodation in his chapelry. Dr Legh, the seventy-one year old Vicar of Halifax, still resided 'personally' in the vicarage house at Halifax, but reported that he was increasingly absent from the parish on account of:

> (my) wife's and my own relations scattered at distances remote and estates remote and business with tenants, particularly in Shropshire, and, above all, my bodily needs of great and frequent exercise ... in this decline of life.

His curate for nine years at the Halifax Parish Church, the Reverend Edward Nelson, whom Dr Legh commended for his assiduous attention to the vicar's duties during his absence, lived in lodgings near to the vicarage, where he had all his meals. All the other curates of the parish were resident in their chapelries except the curate at Heptonstall, who lived at Midgehole in Wadsworth, less than a mile away; the curate at Illingworth, who lived a quarter of a mile away; the curate at Lightcliffe, who was also schoolmaster at Hipperholme Grammar School and chose to live in the schoolhouse, a mile away, rather than in the parsonage house provided. The curate at Luddenden lived the greatest distance from his cure at Halifax, where he was also schoolmaster of Heath Grammar School. For the past seven years, the curate at Cross Stone, who resided in his chapelry in his own accommodation, had travelled a distance of less than a mile into the neighbouring parish of Rochdale, with the sanction of the Vicar of Halifax, the Bishop of Chester and the Archbishop of York, to render assistance to the curate of Todmorden Chapel, who had been incapacitated by 'a fit of the palsy'. Whilst a parsonage house had now been provided for the curate at Sowerby Bridge, there were still half a dozen curates in the parish lacking

such accommodation in 1764 (33).

There was also a marked contrast between the quality of accommodation provided for the curates and that provided for the vicar. Halifax vicarage had been built for the Reverend Thomas Burton in 1713 at a cost of £350, defrayed by the 'liberal contributions of the neighbouring gentlemen' and the inhabitants of Halifax and its parochial out-townships. Situated 'in a dark and solemn grove, on the bank of a small murmuring rivulet' it was regarded as:

> one of the best and pleasantest vicarage houses within the diocese, possessing sufficient accommodation to enable the Vicar for the time being to "maintain hospitality" as his station demands.

By contrast, the parsonage house at Lightcliffe was described more prosaically in a terrier of 1764 as containing:

> two low rooms six yards square and two chambers floored below with stone and above with wood and ... not wainscotted or ceiled.

At Ripponden, the Reverend John Watson rebuilt the curate's house at his own expense, 'laying out above four hundred pounds upon the same, which was more than a fourth part of the whole sum he there received' (34).

The returns reveal that there had been little variation in the pattern of weekday worship since 1743 and that the standard of two Sunday services had been maintained throughout the parish. Whilst they reveal a 15 per cent increase in the proportion of chapelries celebrating Holy Communion at least at quarterly intervals they also show quite considerable variation in the number of those taking communion. Although the number of Easter communicants was maintained at the Halifax Parish Church in 1764, the numbers in the chapelries were generally and inexplicably lower than in 1743, in some cases quite dramatically so. At Heptonstall, although details are not given for the whole Easter period as in 1743, Easter Day communicants were down by 60 per cent, whilst at Illingworth they had been reduced by a half. Only at Sowerby Bridge did the number of Easter communicants show a modest increase.

The number of regular communicants, however, had risen to twenty at Southowram, where the curate, the Reverend Thomas Meyrick, explained that 'by far the most populous half of my chapelry resort to Halifax Church as being a great deal nearer', and to forty at Coley, where the curate, the Reverend C. Henry Whitworth, explained that:

> many of the inhabitants live at a great distance from the Chapel and resort to other places of public worship, viz. Halifax, Illingworth and Thornton, which lie nearer them.

Elsewhere the number of regular communicants remained either static or suffered a decline, again most dramatically at Heptonstall and Illingworth. The number of regular communicants expressed as a percentage of the total adult population of the chapelries averaged 4.7 per cent, ranging from 2.0 per cent at Coley and Southowram to 10.0 per cent at Cross Stone. This amounted to a decrease of 51.1 per cent on the average number of regular communicants for 1743, though the relevant data is incomplete for some chapelries and there is no means of checking the reliability of the clergy estimates from which the data is derived (35).

Of the forty-two names of non-resident clergy noted by Bishop Longley of Ripon in his personal summary of the data provided for him by the clergy of the diocese of Ripon in their parochial returns from 1837, none was from the parish of Halifax. Nor were any clergy from the parish listed as residing beyond the legally permitted distance from their cures. None of the forty-six churches in the diocese offering only one Sunday service was from the parish of Halifax, nor was any of the sixteen churches offering only one Sunday sermon. Six of the ninety-eight clergy without parsonages, however, were from the parish of Halifax, though of these, three were listed as having parsonages in prospect. Catechising was regarded as inadequate or non-existent at seventeen churches in the diocese, including the ancient chapelry of Rastrick and the new church of St James the Great, Hebden Bridge, but only at Southowram was there considered to

have been an inadequate number of communicants (36).
The Longley returns for the period 1837-50 show an increase in the frequency of the celebration of the Lord's Supper throughout the parish. Nowhere in the parish were celebrations of the Lord's Supper held less frequently than quarterly by 1837 and by 1850 many clergy were celebrating the sacrament at least bi-monthly and most monthly. The increased frequency of the celebration of the Lord's Supper together with the growing number of churches may partially explain the apparent sharp decline in the average number of regular communicants in the late 1830s and early 1840s. However, the available statistics show that there had been a recovery in most places by 1844, which was maintained up to 1850. The average number of regular communicants at Halifax Parish Church showed a decline in 1837, with numbers vacillating between fifty and ninety. During the 1840s, however, there was a noticeable recovery, with numbers ranging from eighty to 150, though by 1850 the numbers had declined again to between sixty and 120. At Heptonstall, the average number of regular communicants had halved between 1764 and 1837 to forty, but there had been a modest recovery by 1850, when numbers averaged fifty-four. At Cross Stone, where the number of regular communicants was reduced by a third between 1764 and 1837 to an average of twenty, there had been an even more dramatic recovery by 1850 with numbers averaging between forty and sixty. Sowerby Bridge registered its highest average of eighty-three in 1844, the highest average for any of the twelve ancient chapelries during this period, but this figure had been reduced to seventy-five in 1847 and seventy in 1850. Of the newer churches within the ancient parish, St James's, Halifax had the largest number of regular communicants in 1837, averaging 130 monthly, but this number declined by almost fifty per cent in the early 1840s, before recovering to some extent after 1847, whilst the neighbouring Holy Trinity Church maintained a steady average of fifty regular communicants throughout the 1840s. Outside Halifax itself, communicants at

St Martin's, Brighouse averaged twenty in 1837, twenty-five in 1841, dropping to eighteen in 1844, but subsequently rising to twenty-eight in 1847 and forty by 1850. At St James's, Hebden Bridge the average number of regular communicants rose steadily from twenty in 1841 to thirty-seven in 1850, whilst at St Andrew's, Stainland numbers more than doubled from fifteen to thirty-five between 1841 and 1847, rising to fifty by 1850. At St George's, Sowerby numbers rose from an average of twenty-five to thirty in 1844 to an average of forty in 1850. At St John's in the Wilderness, Cragg Vale the numbers fluctuated between forty and sixty between 1841 and 1850, settling at forty in 1850. The demographic revolution and the spectacular growth of Nonconformity during this period absolved the clergy from providing estimates of the numbers of potential communicants in their returns. However, the number of actual communicants during the period 1837-50 clearly represented only a very small proportion of the total adult population (37).

The Longley returns also give an indication of the size of the regular Sunday congregations for mattins and evensong during this period. The afternoon or evening services were invariably better attended than the morning services, with congregations usually numbered in hundreds and occasionally exceeding a thousand. Congregations at Halifax Parish Church ranged between 700 and 1400 in 1837; 500 and 1200, excluding children in 1847 and stood exactly at 1000 in 1850. Congregations at Heptonstall ranged between 600 and 1000 in 1847 and at Ripponden averaged 500 adults and 500 children in 1850. The smallest congregation during this period was the morning congregation at Coley in 1844, which averaged between forty and fifty, though attendances at evensong at Coley were considerably higher, averaging between 200 and 400 in 1844. Except at Illingworth, where the morning congregation averaged eighty in 1844, all the other congregations for the twelve chapelries recorded in the Longley returns for the period up to 1850 averaged 100 or over and the Illingworth evening

congregation for 1844 averaged 500. The newer churches of the parish also attracted large congregations. Holy Trinity's highest average was 600 in 1847; St Martin's, Brighouse averaged 700 in 1850; St James's, Halifax reached 1050 in 1844, including children and St. John's in the Wilderness, Cragg Vale, attracted an average morning congregation of 400 and an average evening congregation of 600 in 1844 (38).

There is evidence during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries of sustained attempts to enhance the experience of worship by the introduction of church organs and the encouragement of congregational singing. On 11 July 1766, after a protracted three-year controversy between the Halifax churchwardens and their Sowerby counterparts who objected to additional expenditure on such a lavish scale on Halifax Parish Church, a faculty was granted at the consistory court of the Archbishop of York licensing the erection of an organ in the west gallery of the church. The considerable expense of obtaining the licence, installation, and paying the salary of the organist was to be defrayed 'by public subscription of well-disposed persons'. The new organ, 'a most noble instrument', installed by John Snetzler, the famous German organ builder, was first used in divine service on Sunday 11 July 1766 and formally opened in the following month with a well-publicised performance of Handel's oratorio 'The Messiah'. A similar performance marked the formal opening of the organ at Lightcliffe Chapel in August 1787. Like the Halifax Parish Church organ it was ordered from Snetzler, but installed by Okemann and Nutt, his successors in July 1787. It was the gift of William Priestley of New House Lightcliffe, a keen musician who had contributed many musical and other works to form a library at the Halifax Parish Church. Other local churches, however, continued to rely on bands of instruments until well into the next century. It was not until 1828 that the first organ, a two manual organ with fifteen stops and 848 pipes, built by Samuel Taylor of Halifax, was introduced into the church at Ripponden (39).

A new compilation of psalms and hymns was published in Halifax in 1798 for the use of the congregation of the newly consecrated Holy Trinity Church. The preface lamented that: 'singing, as a part of public worship, is greatly fallen into neglect, or contempt, among us'. In addition to selected verses from each of the Psalms, the compilation also included four doxologies and a selection of hymns. A similar compilation 'for the use of the congregation of Lightcliffe Chapel' was published in Halifax in 1811, prefaced by an extract from the Bishop of Lincoln's charge to the clergy of his diocese in 1791:

> At a time when every other species of music is cultivated with uncommon ardour, and is become the prevailing taste and passion of the age, let some share of our attention be bestowed on our parochial Psalmody; which, though of a humbler and more sober cast than the generality of our musical performances ... is of more REAL and NATIONAL and PRACTICAL importance, than even those sublime and elaborate compositions of our great masters, which are so generally and so justly admired.

Both compilations included a range of hymns for morning and evening worship and for the seasons of the church's year; hymns invoking the Holy Spirit 'to be sung before the Sermon'; hymns for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, for fast-days and funerals; chorus hymns for Sunday School scholars and anthems for the use of Charity Schools; and thanksgiving hymns for use after victories in war and on the anniversary on the fifth of November of the uncovering of the Gunpowder Plot. Many of the hymns were the work of the great hymnwriters of the Protestant Reformation and the eighteenth century Evangelical Revival, including Martin Luther, John Byrom, William Cowper, Philip Doddridge, Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley (40).

The size of congregations during this period was limited in some cases by a lack of suitable accommodation. In 1764, the curate of Coley complained to Archbishop Drummond about the inadequacy of his church accommodation, maintaining that the chapel was 'not large enough to contain the number of persons who are willing and desirous of coming there' and several

parliamentary investigations pointed to the acute local shortage of church accommodation by the early nineteenth century. There was virtually no new church building in the parish of Halifax until the closing years of the eighteenth century, when Dr Coulthurst built the new church of Holy Trinity at his own expense. A new chapel-of-ease had been built at Stainland in 1755, but this was not used exclusively by the Anglicans until 1840. However, seven of the twelve chapels-of-ease, constructed originally between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, were rebuilt during the eighteenth century and three during the early nineteenth century, including the pre-Reformation Brig Chapel at Sowerby Bridge, which was re-sited in a more elevated position away from the river Calder. In addition both the chapels-of-ease at Coley and Cross Stone, which had been rebuilt in 1711 and 1717, underwent further major reconstruction in 1816 and 1835 respectively, the latter with assistance from the Church Building Commissioners. Halifax Parish Church and the two parochial chapelries of Elland and Heptonstall, predominantly twelfth and thirteenth century constructions which had all been rebuilt during the fifteenth century woollen boom, remained structurally unaltered throughout this period. Several new churches were provided as a result of public subscription, private benefaction and parliamentary grant between 1831-40, but statistics collected by Edward Baines in 1843 revealed that only seven of the parish's twenty two Anglican churches had been built since 1800 and that the total accommodation provided by all the churches of the parish was for 18,766 people, approximately 1 in 7 of the total population of the parish. Moreover, the Anglican places of worship were so unevenly distributed that about a third of the population of the parish, in nine of its twenty three townships, had no conveniently accessible Anglican accommodation at all in 1843 (41).

Where Anglican provision was weak or non-existent, Nonconformity tended to be strong. John Crabtree, a professed 'faithful parishioner and devoted servant' of the Reverend Dr

Charles Musgrave, Vicar of Halifax, for whom he wrote his Concise History of the Parish and Vicarage of Halifax, published in 1836, attributed the 'rapid increase of dissenting meeting houses' within the parish to 'the want of church accommodation', a view supported by later statistical survey and modern historical research. Crabtree lamented that:

> Until the late and present incumbencies, too little attention appears to have been evinced in providing anything like an adequate church accommodation for the rapid increase in population. That new Churches are much wanted in many of the out-townships is a truth that must be apparent to the most superficial observer. Many of the present Chapels are built on the verge of the Townships where located, or remote from the more populous parts; the consequence of which is, that a large portion of the inhabitants are prevented from attending with any regularity, the stated services, by reason of the distance. This is an evil much to be deplored; and probably has been one cause of the growth of dissent in this extensive Parish (42).

By 1843, a year in which the Church of England was particularly conscious of the challenge of Nonconformity in the northern manufacturing districts, Edward Baines's survey revealed that there were 110 Nonconformist chapels in the parish with accommodation for 46,448, nearly a third of the parish population, providing more than double the accommodation of the parish's twenty-two Anglican churches. Moreover, Nonconformist Sunday School provision had completely outstripped that of the Anglicans by 1843, when there were 118 Nonconformist Sunday Schools in the parish with 22,713 scholars, compared with 5633 scholars in the twenty-two Anglican schools. The thriving township of Northowram, to the north of Halifax, which had no Anglican accommodation within the township itself for a population of over 13,000 in 1843, had nine Nonconformist chapels by that year, providing a total accommodation for 2826. Similarly, south of Halifax, in the township of Skircoat, since the closure of the ill-fated proprietary church founded by the Reverend Jonathan Akroyd which, although licensed by the Archbishop of York for public worship had never been

consecrated, and its subsequent acquisition by the King Cross Wesleyans in 1840, there had been no Anglican provision for the expanding population of this growing township. By 1843, Skircoat, with its busy wharfs at Salterhebble, was served by four Nonconformist chapels, providing sittings for 2330 of the total population of 5201 (43).

However, there were signs of Anglican recovery under the able and determined leadership of Archdeacon Musgrave. He had already embarked on an ambitious programme of church building which had provided a new church for Brighouse in 1831; a third church for Halifax (St James's, 1832); new churches for Hebden Bridge (1833), Cragg Vale and Bradshaw (1839) and Sowerby (St George's, 1840). Musgrave's efforts were assisted by new legislation simplifying the creation of new ecclesiastical districts. In December 1842, the first of several new ecclesiastical districts, based upon existing churches and effectively conferring upon them parish church status, were created at Halifax, Brighouse, Bradshaw, Sowerby and Stainland, to be followed by similar districts at Hebden Bridge and Cragg Vale (1844), King Cross and Queensbury (1845), Lightcliffe and Mytholmroyd (1846). The ecclesiastical subdivision of the parish was accompanied by further building. The townships of Northowram and Skircoat, previously Nonconformist strongholds, were penetrated by new Anglican churches at Queensbury (1844) and King Cross (1847) (44).

Although only thirty-one of the 126 places of worship in the parish of Halifax in 1851 were Anglican, recent analysis of the Report of the 1851 Census of Religious Worship has concluded that by 1851 Anglicanism in the municipal borough of Halifax was apparently relatively stronger both in terms of attendance at worship and ecclesiastical provision than in almost any other large manufacturing town in the country. Whilst Halifax falls below the West Riding average and that of all the large West Riding boroughs, except Sheffield, on an index of total attendances at worship expressed as a percentage of total population, Halifax appears to have had a larger percentage

share of Anglican attendances than the registration county as a whole or any of the other large West Riding boroughs. Indeed in only three of the twenty-nine manufacturing towns with over 10,000 population in England and Wales identified in the census report were worshippers in Anglican churches responsible for more than 50 in every hundred attendances and of these Halifax registered the highest percentage share with 56.5 per cent of all attendances shown as Anglican. Moreover, Anglican strength in Halifax appears to be confirmed in indices relating to the provision of church and chapel accommodation, where Anglicanism apparently accounted for a considerably higher proportion of the total church and chapel accommodation in Halifax than in any other large West Riding borough in the textile belt. By 1851, the Anglican churches in the recently incorporated municipal borough of Halifax could accommodate 14.3 per cent of the population, a provision of accommodation which was only just surpassed by all the remaining Nonconformist churches together. Indeed Halifax appeared to have a lower Nonconformist provision in relation to its size of population than either Bradford or Huddersfield (45)

On the evidence of the indices derived from the 1851 Census of Religious Worship, historians have concluded that Halifax was untypical of other West Riding towns and of the county as a whole in its Anglican predominance. Dr B. Greaves, in a doctoral thesis in 1968, concluded:

> In terms of their share of church attendance, the Anglicans were weakest and the Nonconformists strongest, in the urban and industrial areas of the county, though not in the case of Halifax' (46).

More recently, Dr K. Tiller, commenting on the remarkable strength of Anglicanism in Halifax in her doctoral thesis of 1975, concluded:

> This is surprising, particularly in the case of Halifax, when one considers the picture of the West Riding as a whole and the town's contemporary reputation as a Dissenting area. However, it clearly illustrates that despite the great expansion of Nonconformity since the start of the century, in terms of people and buildings, the Established Church often had a predominance of

resources and sittings, reflecting both its long head start in these terms and its concentrated efforts to expand provision in the same period. In Halifax ... therefore there was a fairly close balance between Anglicans and Dissenters, with Anglicans just to the fore' (47).

Indices of church and chapel attendance derived from the 1851 Census of Religious Worship have, however, to be treated with caution. Apart from well-recognised problems of a general nature surrounding the interpretation of the evidence of the Ecclesiastical Returns, there are particular problems concerning the Halifax evidence. The apparent disappearance from the Public Record Office of the original manuscript returns for the parish of Halifax precludes a full reconstruction of the pattern of religious worship in the parish in 1851, whilst the lack of data in the official report for the Independent, Roman Catholic, Unitarian and Quaker congregations of the municipal borough inevitably distorts indices purporting to show the relative strengths of church and chapel provision and attendances in mid-nineteenth century Halifax (48).

The statistics collected by Edward Baines give an indication of the growing strength of Independency in the parish by 1843, with a provision of chapel accommodation for 9563, more Sunday school teachers than any other church or sect in the parish and the largest number of Sunday school scholars in the parish apart from the Wesleyans. Whilst the 1851 Census estimated slightly fewer Independent sittings in the Halifax Registration District, which did not include the whole of the ancient parish within its boundaries, total attendances at the seventeen Independent chapels of the Registration District, including the large town centre chapels of Square, Sion and Harrison Road amounted to 12,104, second only to the Wesleyan attendances amongst Nonconformists. Moreover, the Registration District's solitary Roman Catholic place of worship in 1851, with its growing community of worshippers swelled by Irish immigration, was situated within the municipal borough of Halifax and the

Unitarians and Quakers, each with two places of worship in the registration district, both maintained a significant presence in Halifax itself (49).

Indeed, the tables for the Registration Districts reveal that the proportion of the population of the Halifax and Todmorden Registration Districts for which Anglican accommodation was available in 1851 amounted to a mere 16.7% and 16.6% respectively compared with the significantly larger proportions of 27.9% and 47.3% for which there was provision in the accommodation of other Protestant denominations. Indices for the registration district as a whole, therefore, provide a valuable corrective to indices based on incomplete statistical evidence for the municipal borough. Even if allowance is made for the increasingly differentiated religious performance between the urban and semi-industrial rural townships of the parish by the mid-nineteenth century, it would still appear that the claims made for the superior strength of Anglicanism relative to that of Nonconformity in the parish by some recent historians can no longer be accepted (50).

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the parish of Halifax was experiencing a demographic revolution and undergoing an economic and social transformation, the Church of England maintained a firm foothold in the ancient parish. Some of the disadvantages of its vast size and inhospitable terrain were mitigated by the effective sub-division of the parish into three parochial chapelries with their ten chapels-of-ease scattered across the sprawling parish. Moreover, during this period, all of the ten chapels-of-ease within the parish were rebuilt and enlarged and a second church (Holy Trinity) was erected in Halifax itself. These improvements, achieved without any disturbance to the existing parochial structure and before the availability of public money from the Austrian war indemnity to fund new church building, suggest that the Hanoverian Church of England was neither as inert nor as complacent in the parish of Halifax as has sometimes been implied. Furthermore, the ratio of pastors to people of

1:2214 achieved within the parish of Halifax by 1743, although declining to 1:2748 by 1764 and 1:5664 by 1841, was not surpassed until after 1900 (51).

Eighteenth and early nineteenth century episcopal visitation returns also reveal an impressive level of pastoral concern and devotion to clerical duty at parochial level, which shows that Anglicanism was far from moribund in the parish of Halifax in the Georgian era. Moreover, Anglicans within the parish made their own distinctive contribution to the Evangelical Revival which reached the height of its influence within the Church of England locally during the period 1790-1827 in the vicariates of Coulthurst and Knight. However, the demographic, economic and social changes in the parish during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries imposed an increasing strain on already overstretched Anglican structures and resources, which presented an opportunity for the development of Nonconformity with its more flexible structures and additional resources to meet the needs of a new industrial and urban society. Peel's ecclesiastical reforms together with the determined efforts made by Bishop Longley and Vicar Musgrave, a key combination at diocesan and parochial level, to address the twin challenges of urbanisation and Dissent ensured for Anglicanism a significant recovery in the parish by 1851, although not perhaps to the extent that has been claimed by some historians.

Table 5: Communicants in the Parish of Halifax, 1743-1850: Halifax Parish Church and its Twelve Chapelries

Sources: Herring, Drummond and Longley Visitation Returns.

Chapelry	1743	1764	1837	1841	1844	1847	1850
Coley	30	40	25	16	14-15		12
Cross Stone	60	60	20		40	50	40-60
Elland		(90)	30	40	40	45	45
Halifax	160	(250)	50-90		80-150	80-150	60-120
Heptonstall	180	80	40	40	40-50	40	54
Illingworth	100	50	18	18	24	15	40
Lightcliffe	20	8	20-30	30-40	30	30	30
Luddenden	(81)	60-80	20	25	40	45	40
Rastrick	40-50		25	20-30	30	30	30
Ripponden	(140)		30	40	40	50-60	40-50
Southowram	9	20	16	25			
Sowerby	100	(70)	40-50	50-60	50-70	40-60	40-50
Sowerby Bridge	(40)	40	72		83	75	70

Notes:
The figures represent the average number of regular communicants.
Where no figure for regular communicants is available, the total number of Easter communicants for that year has been given in brackets.
Only figures for the original twelve chapelries of the ancient parish and the Halifax Parish Church have been included in this table.

Table 6: Communicants in the Parish of Halifax, 1743-1850: Churches and Chapelries

Sources: Herring, Drummond and Longley Visitation Returns.

Year	Aggregate of average numbers of communicants	Number of churches represented	Average number of regular communicants
1743	704	9	78
1764	368	8	46
1837	599	16	37
1841	504	15	34
1844	842	20	42
1847	735	18	41
1850	921	22	42

Notes:
Only figures quoted in the returns for the average number of regular communicants have been used. No use has been made of the figures for Easter communicants, even where no other figures are quoted in the returns. The number of churches represented includes all those supplying the relevant data for the relevant year. Where the data for a particular church in a particular year shows a variation in attendance between two extremes, a mean figure has been calculated and used.

Table 7: Communicants in the Parish of Halifax expressed as a percentage of the adult population, 1743

Source: Herring Visitation Returns.

Chapelry	Adult Population	Communicants	%
Coley	2000	30	1.5
Cross Stone	646	60	9.3
Elland	-	-	-
Halifax	15,150	160	1.0
Heptonstall	1975	180	9.1
Illingworth	1200	100	8.3
Lightcliffe	320	20	6.2
Luddenden	1100	-	-
Rastrick	120	45	37.5
Ripponden	1229	-	-
Southowram	500	9	1.8
Sowerby	1160	100	8.6
Sowerby Bridge	600	-	-
Average			9.2

Notes:
The figures for adult population are the estimates of the total number of potential communicants provided by the clergy in their returns. Only figures quoted in the returns for the average number of regular communicants have been used to determine the number of actual communicants.

Table 8: Communicants in the Parish of Halifax expressed as a percentage of the adult population, 1764

Source: Drummond Visitation Returns.

Chapelry	Adult Population	Communicants	%
Coley	2000	40	2.0
Cross Stone	600	60	10.0
Elland	-	-	-
Halifax	-	-	-
Heptonstall	1156	80	6.9
Illingworth	1794	50	2.8
Lightcliffe	600	8	1.3
Luddenden	900	70	7.7
Rastrick	-	-	-
Ripponden	-	-	-
Southowram	1000	20	2.0
Sowerby	1533	-	-
Sowerby Bridge	849	40	4.7
Average			4.7

Notes:
The figures for adult population are the estimates of potential communicants provided by the clergy in their returns. Only figures quoted in the returns for the average number of regular communicants have been used to determine the number of actual communicants.

Table 9: Church Building in the Parish of Halifax, 1700-1851

Source: A. Goodwin, 'How the Ancient Parish was Divided', THAS, 1961.

Abbreviations: CC: Consolidated Chapelry; P: Parish; R: Rebuilding (the date of erection of the previous structure is shown in brackets).

1711	Coley, St John; R (1530)
1717	Cross Stone, St Paul; R (c1536)
1737	Ripponden, St Bartholomew; R (c1455)
1766	Sowerby, St Peter; R (c1513)
1775	Lightcliffe, St Matthew; R (1529)
1777	Illingworth, St Mary; R (1525)
1798	Rastrick, St Matthew; R (c1602)
1798	Halifax, Holy Trinity
1816	Coley, St John; R (1711)
1816	Luddenden, St Mary; R (1640)
1819	Southowram, St Anne; R (1530)
1821	Sowerby Bridge, Christ Church; R (1526)
1831	Brighouse, St Martin (CC 1842)
1832	Halifax, St James (CC 1842)
1833	Hebden Bridge, St James the Great (CC 1844)
1835	Cross Stone, St Paul; R (1717)
1839	Cragg Vale, St John in the Wilderness (CC 1844)
1839	Bradshaw, St John (CC 1842)
1840	Sowerby, St George (CC 1842)
1840	Stainland, St Andrew (1755; CC 1842)
1844	Queenshead, Holy Trinity (P 1845)
1847	King Cross, St Paul (P 1845)
1848	Mytholmroyd, St Michael (P 1846)
1848	Cotton Stones, St Mary (P 1848)
1850	Shelf, St Michael and All Angels (CC 1851).

Table 10: Census of Religious Worship, 1851: Halifax (Municipal Borough)

Source: Parliamentary Papers, 1852-53, LXXXIX, Table F.

Abbreviations: FS: Free Sittings; AS: Appropriated Sittings; TS: Total Sittings;MA: Morning Attendances; AA: Afternoon Attendances; EA: Evening Attendances; TA: Total Attendances.

Religious Denomination	FS	AS	TS	MA	AA	EA	TA
C of E (6)	1380	3081	4811	2996	2588	2270	7854
Inds (-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
P Bapts (-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G Bapts (1)	50	300	350	208	-	90	298
Qkrs (-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Units (-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
W Meths (2)	438	1928	2366	973	311	808	2092
MNC (2)	110	1500	1610	579	54	681	1314
P Meths (1)	80	575	655	434	289	441	1164
W Refs (1)	400	-	400	460	200	526	1186
RC (-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Lttr DS (-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total (13)	2458	7384	10,192	5650	3442	4816	13,908

Note:
The figure in parenthesis after the religious denomination denotes the number of places of worship.

Table 11: Census of Religious Worship, 1851: Halifax (Registration District/Poor Law Union)

Source: Parliamentary Papers, 1852-53, LXXXIX.

Abbreviations: FS: Free Sittings; AS: Appropriated Sittings; TS: Total Sittings;MA: Morning Attendances; AA: Afternoon Attendances; EA: Evening Attendances; TA: Total Attendances.

Religious Denomination	FS	AS	TS	MA	AA	EA	TA
C of E (31)	6202	10,678	20,176	8416	9391	3047	20,854
Presbs (-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inds (17)	998	7950	8948	5560	4218	2326	12,104
P Bapts (8)	242	1989	2231	1545	1503	520	3568
Qkrs (2)	634	-	634	86	64	-	150
Units (2)	370	286	656	224	185	220	629
W Meths (31)	2372	9674	12,046	5638	5736	3368	14,742
MNC (13)	449	3932	4381	1832	1713	1031	4576
P Meths (11)	306	1856	2162	988	1226	744	2958
W Refs (6)	1480	-	1480	839	809	1058	2706
New Church (-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Undefined (4)	112	80	192	88	138	92	318
RC (1)	-	451	451	578	-	210	788
Lttr DS (-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total (126)	13,165	36,896	53,357	25,794	24,983	12,616	63,393

Notes:
The figure in parenthesis after the religious denomination denotes the number of places of worship. The returns omit to state the number of sittings in one place of worship belonging to the Baptists, attended by a maximum number of 174 persons at a service; in one place belonging to the Wesleyan Methodists, attended by a maximum of 71 persons at a service; in one place belonging to the Primitive Methodists, attended by a maximum number of 22 persons at a service; and in two places belonging to a Denomination Undefined, attended by a maximum number of 92 persons at a service. The number of attendants is not given in the case of one place belonging to the Established Church, containing 650 sittings.

2.2. Roman Catholicism and Dissent

2.2.1. Roman Catholics

Professor John Bossy has concluded that during the period 1570–1770 'the industrious dales of the West Riding ... never supported Catholics' and the researches of Father Hugh Aveling and Dr Herbert Holroyde have confirmed that there were relatively few recorded incidents of recusancy in the parish of Halifax during this period: a sprinkling of incidents before 1700 at Elland, Heptonstall and Halifax; four incidents at Halifax and one at Lightcliffe in 1706; a further incident at Lightcliffe in 1733; incidents at Halifax in 1735 and 1743; and isolated incidents at Elland, Halifax, Rastrick, Sowerby, Cross Stone and Ripponden in 1780. The incident at Halifax in 1735 involved George Addison, who had been received into the Roman Catholic communion in July 1732 and whose home appears to have become a meeting place for Catholics by 1743, when Dr Legh informed Archbishop Herring that around ten 'papists' met monthly 'at one George Addison's (a plasterer) in Halifax' attended by the Reverend James Brown, a priest stationed at Burscough in Lancashire, who appears to have travelled to Halifax via Burnley, visiting the Catholic Towneley family en route. The Drummond Visitation Returns of 1764, however, make no reference to a continuing Catholic presence in the parish (52).

An unspecified Catholic source cited by the most recent historian of the Roman Catholic Church in Halifax, J.J. Mulroy, maintained that during the Napoleonic Wars (1803-15) two émigré French Catholic priests, Fathers Dubois and Letellier, conducted services in the town at a house in Bath Parade, off Lilly Lane, for a scanty congregation comprised chiefly of Irish cattle dealers. Irish immigration after 1770 (stimulated by the increasing demand for cheap labour in the construction industries); the Act of Union of 1800–01; Roman Catholic Emancipation in 1829 and the Great Famine of 1845-49 brought about a transformation of the Catholic communities of the industrial West Riding. It was, however, over half a century before an organised and sustained mission to the substantial Irish quarter in the older part of the town around the Halifax Parish Church was initiated. As late as 1827 'Halifax had only a dozen or two Catholics, and no priest', but by 1830 regular acts of worship were being conducted in the Old Assembly Rooms, off Woolshops by the Reverend Thomas F. Keily.

Mulroy's account of the establishment of the Catholic mission to Halifax during this period is, however, inaccurate in a number of important respects. He maintained that nothing was known about the Reverend T.F.

Keily, whom he repeatedly and incorrectly referred to as 'the Reverend T.F. Keighley', and suggested that 'he must have been sent on missionary work from the old diocese of West Beverley which extended over these parts before the formation of the diocese of Leeds'. Thomas Francis Keily (1807-36) was by 1830 resident priest-in-charge of the Catholic mission at Huddersfield which, like Halifax, was part of the Northern District of the Vicars Apostolic until 1840, when the Northern District was subdivided and both towns became part of the new Yorkshire District, which only became designated as the diocese of Beverley with the restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Britain in 1850. A native of Waterford, where he had received his training at the local seminary, Keily had left Ireland for Yorkshire in 1828. By 1831 he was appealing for funds from the Catholic laity both for the work at Huddersfield and for the work at Halifax where 'there are a number of poor Catholics ... who, unable from their slender means to procure themselves a chapel, place all their hopes in the charity of the Faithful', requesting that donations be forwarded either to himself at Huddersfield or to the Reverend John Maddocks at Bradford, who also appears to have fostered the development of the Halifax mission (53).
The first resident priest at Halifax was the Reverend Joseph W. Fairclough MA, whom Mulroy described as 'the founder of the mission' and who remained in Halifax from 1834 until his death in 1840. The foundation stone of St Mary's, the first Catholic Church to be built in Halifax since the Reformation, was laid in 1836 and the church opened three years later by Dr Briggs, the Vicar Apostolic for the Northern district. The congregation moved from its most recent meeting rooms in Harrison Road to the new church, which was situated at the junction of Clarence Street with Gibbet Lane near the western perimeter of the town. Almost a century elapsed, however, before the church was completely free from debt and ready for formal consecration in 1934, an indication of the poverty of the Roman Catholic community in Halifax during this period. Baines's survey of 1843 revealed that St Mary's provided accommodation for a congregation of 460 and a Sunday School which consisted of sixty scholars and four teachers. The Reverend John Rigby, resident priest from 1840-49, founded a small Catholic day school near St Mary's in Clarence Street in 1846 (54).
There was a deep-rooted antipathy towards Catholics amongst many Protestants within the parish. The Curate of Heptonstall reported to Archbishop Herring in 1743 that he 'read prayers ... especially on the fifth of November' and one local compilation of hymns in 1811 included a

celebratory hymn for that day which offered 'praise to the Lord' that 'the dark designs' of the treasonable Catholic conspirators of 1605 had all been revealed and 'the snare their wicked hands had laid' had been broken. When laying the foundation stone of the new Catholic church, the Reverend J.W. Fairclough expressed the hope that there would now be an opportunity to 'remove erroneous impressions' and inform the prevailing 'ignorance in the minds of the community respecting our religious beliefs'. However, Roman Catholic Emancipation and the growing numerical strength of the Catholic community had provoked considerable alarm in some quarters after 1829, when a 'Protestant Declaration' signed by many prominent figures in the town deprecated 'any further concession of political power to Roman Catholics, being persuaded that if admitted into Parliament they must be constrained by the principles of their religion to a resolute and persevering hostility against Protestants of every denomination'. When St Mary's finally opened in November 1839, the Halifax Guardian disdainfully remarked:

> During the past week the Popish Mass House ... has been opened ... The choir of the Popish Chapel at Leeds officiated on the occasion and gave a colouring to the attendance of many Protestants, although tickets of admission were fixed as high as four shillings, three shillings and two shillings. Vespers, we suppose, not being quite such an attractive performance, the charges for evening service were reduced to three shillings, two shillings and one shilling ... We were not a little surprised to find that a bell had been fixed in the little belfry ... and that this bell rang the Papists to service as though it swung in a Protestant tower (56).

There was, however, at least one notable local conversion to Catholicism during the period 1845-49, namely that of the antiquarian Francis Alexander Leyland (1813-1894), son of the naturalist Roberts Leyland and brother of the sculptor Joseph Bentley Leyland, who contributed generously to the provision of a baptistry, font, stained glass window and screen at St Mary's (57).

The Roman Catholic community, though still relatively small by mid-century, had achieved a spectacular rate of growth in the previous quarter of a century. In 1851, 578 morning and 210 evening attendances were recorded in the parish on Census Sunday. If these congregations were drawn predominantly from the local Irish community, which numbered 1169 in the townships of Halifax and Skircoat in 1851, the morning congregation alone represented 49.4 per cent of that community. If both the morning and evening congregations were together taken to represent the numerical

strength of the Halifax Catholic community with no allowance made for dual attendances then the Halifax Catholic community would have comprised a staggering 67.4 per cent of the local Irish community. Whilst this latter figure probably overestimates the proportion of the Irish community attending worship on Census Sunday, the former figure almost certainly underestimates the actual proportion, which probably lies somewhere between the two figures (58).

2.2.2 Presbyterians and Unitarians

The majority of Puritan clergymen in the parish of Halifax in the seventeenth century had been of a moderate Presbyterian persuasion and so it is perhaps not surprising that Presbyterianism emerged as the predominant form of Dissent in the parish in the new era of religious toleration signalled by the Declarations of Indulgence of 1672 and 1687 and reinforced by the Toleration Act of 1689. Following his ejection from Coley in 1662, Oliver Heywood (1630-1702), whose inspired and determined leadership had been a crucial factor in the survival of Yorkshire Dissent during the period 1662-88, had taken up residence at Northowram from where he had exercised an influential itinerant ministry strengthening the morale of the many small congregations of artisans, craftsmen and yeomen farmers which continued to meet clandestinely in cottage and barn on both sides of the Pennines. In 1672, in response to Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence, he had obtained a licence for a meeting house at his own cottage at Northowram, where a congregation, formally constituted on Presbyterian principles, continued to meet with little interruption until 1685, when Heywood suffered a period of imprisonment in York Castle. Following James II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, a new Presbyterian meeting house of stone construction with 'three large bays' was built and opened in Northowram within the first six months of 1688. At least one other Presbyterian meeting house was built and licensed in the parish before 1689 by Joshua Horton of Sowerby Hall at Sowerby in 1672, though it does not appear to have survived beyond 1679. In the wake of the Toleration Act of 1689, another meeting house was opened at Mixenden. In 1696, the first Presbyterian meeting house in Halifax was opened at Northgate End, followed by one at Southgate, Elland in 1697. At Warley, a congregation in existence from 1672 built its first meeting house in 1705, and in 1719 at Eastwood in Stansfield a new congregation formed in 1693 by a preacher from Mixenden built a meeting house in the local vernacular style with stone walls, mullioned windows, providing accommodation for 500.

In 1720 the Sowerby congregation was revived and a meeting house also built there. In 1710, Heywood's chapel at Northowram was enlarged and by 1715 it had a congregation of 500, ten of whom were substantial property owners eligible to vote in the county elections. Northgate End had an even larger congregation of 600 in 1715, 'sixteen of whom had votes for the county' and in 1717 a larger chapel was built at Mixenden to accommodate its growing congregation. Although some of the congregations were supported by relatively prosperous local families like the Brooksbanks at Elland or the Tillotsons at Warley, the vast majority of the members of these worshipping communities were drawn from the artisans and craftsmen of the hamlets in Halifax's semi-industrial rural hinterland (59).

Dr R.M. Faithorn has estimated that by 1720 moderate Presbyterians comprised sixty per cent of a total Yorkshire Dissenting population of 21,000 and in 1743, the returns to Archbishop Herring revealed that Presbyterians constituted by far the largest group of Dissenters within the parish of Halifax. Dr Legh, the Vicar of Halifax, estimated that there were 300 Presbyterian families in the parish and 1500 worshippers attending the parish's seven Presbyterian meeting houses: 400 at Mixenden; 300 at Northowram; 250 each at Halifax and Sowerby; and 100 each at Eastwood, Elland and Warley, representing five per cent of all the families resident in the parish in 1743. There is, however, a considerable discrepancy between Dr Legh's estimated total of 300 Presbyterian families and the aggregate total of 520-30 families derived from the individual returns of the other parochial clergy. If the individual returns were accurate and if a further seventy families (a number derived from Dr Legh's estimate of the size of their worshipping communities) is added to this total to allow for the absence of individual returns for Halifax and Elland, then the total number of Presbyterian families would have been almost double the number estimated by Dr Legh or ten per cent of the total number of families resident in the parish in 1743. However, if Dr Legh's estimate of the size of the individual worshipping communities was accurate, then there had been a considerable decline in the size of some congregations since the early eighteenth century, with the congregation at Northgate End reduced by nearly sixty per cent; the congregation at Northowram reduced by forty per cent and the congregation at Mixenden reduced by twenty per cent. This would have reflected a more general relaxation of spiritual ardour within Protestant Dissenting communities as the threat of persecution receded after 1689 (60).

Watson's parish history and the Drummond Visitation Returns confirm that there were still seven Presbyterian meeting houses in the parish in 1758 and 1764, though some of the parochial clergy were apparently finding it increasingly difficult by 1764 to estimate with any degree of precision the number of families from the different Dissenting traditions resident within their chapelries. The Curate of Cross Stone replied that 'about one third' of the families in his chapelry were Dissenters, including 'Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers'; whilst the Curate of Luddenden replied that 'about a sixth part' of the families in his chapelry were 'Presbyterians, Independents, Methodists and Anabaptists'. There were reported to have been only 'a few' Dissenting families at Elland of 'the Independent or Presbyterian denomination' and no Presbyterian families at Heptonstall. The Presbyterian congregation at Northowram was less than half the size it had been in 1743 and the congregation at Halifax only a third of its former size. In four further instances the number of Presbyterian families had declined since 1743: from seventy-nine to eighteen at Illingworth; forty-five to forty at Sowerby Bridge; ten to seven at Southowram and and six to one at Lightcliffe. Only at Sowerby had the number of families increased from between fifty and sixty in 1743 to 140 in 1764 (61).

Some Presbyterian congregations were weakened by internal dissension and secession during the eighteenth century. In 1704 some of the members at Eastwood left to form a Baptist society at Rodwell End. A section of the congregation at Sowerby seceded in 1751, and in 1779 changed their allegiance to the Particular Baptists. Some former Presbyterians returned to the Church of England and conformed. The Reverend Eli Dawson, minister at Northgate End from 1728-44 had seven sons, six of whom were groomed for the Dissenting ministry; but 'greatly to the disgust of their father's friends, abandoned it, and five of them conformed, mainly (it is said) owing to the persuasion of Dr Legh, the Vicar of Halifax'. One of Dr Legh's longest serving curates, the Reverend George Braithwaite, Curate of Lightcliffe from 1746-48 and Rastrick from 1748-98, was formerly a Presbyterian minister at Elland. Around 1756, a section of the congregation at Warley, dissatisfied with the 'Arian teaching' of the Reverend William Graham, M.A. (1721-96), reputedly one of the 'most heretical ministers in the neighbourhood', withdrew and joined with dissidents from Mixenden, which itself experienced a succession of unorthodox ministers between 1753 and 1791, to form a new Independent

congregation at Booth in Midgley. In 1783, another former Presbyterian congregation at Northowram entered into a new confession of faith 'on the Congregational plan' (62).

During this period the congregations at Northgate End, Halifax; Southgate, Elland; Sowerby and Eastwood gradually lapsed, via Arianism and Socinianism, into Unitarianism, an experience which befell many former Presbyterian congregations in the second half of the eighteenth century. Some Presbyterian ministers, who unlike Independents and Baptists, were not directly answerable to their congregations, increasingly adopted a rationalist interpretation of the Scriptures, abandoning their dogmatic, orthodox Calvinism with its emphasis on Predestination in favour of a more liberal theology which denied the full divinity of Christ and rejected the doctrine of the Trinity as unscriptural. The shift in emphasis at Northgate End, where the minister, the Reverend John Ralph (1736-1795), had been assisted by the controversial Reverend William Graham after he had left Warley in 1763, had been signalled early in 1775 in the liberal criteria adopted for the selection of books for inclusion in a newly established library for the poor, which had affirmed that:

> As it behoveth us to try all things, it is not intended to exclude the writers upon any doctrinal system, provided their books breathe the spirit of that religion they are designed to teach.

The departure from orthodox Presbyterianism was sealed later in the year when Theophilus Lindsay (1723-1808), a former Anglican clergyman, who had resigned his living at Catterick in 1773 and espoused Unitarianism, was invited to preach at the chapel. However, the trust deeds of the chapel remained unaltered. 'Unfettered by creeds', in the words of a later chapel history, 'Halifax Presbyterians were free to adopt Unitarianism'.

The Unitarian community of Northgate End Chapel included a number of influential families in the life of the town: the Rawdon family of woollen merchants; the Briggs banking family, which provided Halifax with one of its first Members of Parliament in 1832; the Stansfeld family, which provided Halifax with a judge at the Court of Requests in 1841; the Rhodes, Kershaw and Sudworth families and several members of the Rawson family. It was popularly believed that 'at one period, more carriages drove to this chapel on Sundays than to the Parish Church'. The social status of many of its adherents was reflected in the developing architecture of the building, modified in 1762, 1817 and again in 1847, when an impressive new west front was added in a bold classical style, with pediment and paired

Ionic pilasters between narrow wings. It was also reflected in the choice of minister at Northgate End. During the period 1828-53 the Reverend William Turner, M.A. (1788-1853), eldest son of the long-serving minister of Hanover Square Chapel, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and former mathematical tutor at Manchester New College (1809-27) served as minister, during which period he published essays on doctrinal issues, two volumes of Unitarian history and biography and numerous sermons, the last of which advocated 'the importance of a knowledge of science to ministers of the gospel to prevent that divorcement of religion from science now too common' (63).

The circumstances of the transformation of Southgate Elland into a Unitarian congregation remain obscure, though the process was probably gradual as at Northgate End. At Sowerby, dissension occurred during the ministry of the Reverend Daniel Phillips, a Welshman who came to Sowerby from Eastwood in 1754 and left in 1788 following accusations of Arianism. By 1794, when the Reverend Joseph Sowden moved from Booth Independent Chapel to Sowerby to commence a six-year ministry, Sowerby had become an Independent Chapel. At Eastwood, after the Reverend David Simpson, a Scot, had been driven out for Arianism in 1784, the chapel fell on hard times, dwindling to four members in 1804 before experiencing revival when links were established with the Independent Academy at Idle, which supplied the chapel's first Independent minister in 1807 (64).

Unitarianism at Todmorden, unlike Unitarianism in other parts of the parish, owed its origins to a secession of Unitarian Methodists which followed the expulsion of Joseph Cooke, a Rochdale minister, from the Wesleyan Connexion in 1806 for views which were considered dangerously akin to Unitarianism. Cooke had visited Todmorden before his death in 1811 and his small network of Methodist-Unitarian societies probably extended their influence into Todmorden after 1815, though it was not until 1822 that Cookite preachers from Lancashire were regularly appointed to preach in the town. Their most significant convert was John Fielden (1784-1849), the son of a Quaker yeoman-clothier-turned-cotton spinner and himself a former Methodist, who heard a Methodist-Unitarian missionary preach in the town in 1818. Within five years the small society of thirty-six members, seven of whom were illiterate and the majority of whom were of modest means, was engaged in the construction of a Methodist-Unitarian Chapel and schoolroom at a cost of £990, which was opened in 1824 and managed by Fielden from 1828. By 1830, there were regular Sunday morning and afternoon services attracting average congregations of seventy and a Sunday school with 110

scholars (65).

Baines's 1843 survey revealed that the Unitarians had accommodation for 1070, 267 Sunday School scholars and 79 teachers in the parish of Halifax. By 1851, they had three places of worship in the parish at Todmorden, Halifax and Elland with seating for 1056, including 286 appropriated sittings. Morning attendances at Todmorden totalled fifty and at Halifax and Elland 224; afternoon attendances at Todmorden totalled 200 and at Halifax and Elland 185; evening attendances at Halifax and Elland totalled 220. Although the influence of Unitarianism within the economic, social, political and cultural life of towns like Halifax and Todmorden was considerable, the movement was never able to claim a large membership. The Unitarian attendances within the Halifax Registration District in 1851 amounted to a mere 0.5 per cent of the total population (66).

2.2.3. Baptists and Independents

In his return to Archbishop Herring in 1743 the Vicar of Halifax reported that there were 'scarce any Baptists or Independents' in the whole of the parish. Indeed, the returns from the other parochial clergy revealed that there were a mere twenty-five Baptist families resident in the parish, sixteen of whom were resident in the chapelry of Heptonstall, seven in the chapelry of Cross Stone and two in the chapelry of Luddenden. None of the chapelries reported any Independent families. By 1758, according to Watson, there were three Baptist meeting houses in the parish at Rodhill (Rodwell) End in Stansfield, Heptonstall Slack and Wainsgate, but still no Independent meeting houses. By 1764, however, Dr Legh reported to Archbishop Drummond that there were twenty-eight Anabaptist and sixty Independent families in Halifax alone; the Curate of Cross Stone reported that one third of the Dissenting families in his chapelry were Baptists and the Curate of Luddenden reported that an unspecified number of Baptists and Independents formed part of the small minority of Dissenting families in his chapelry. There were also said to be 'a few Independents at Elland'; fifteen Independent and twelve Baptist families at Illingworth; and 188 Independent and fifty-six Baptist families at Sowerby, where the Independents constituted the largest Dissenting group (67).

By 1800 the Baptists had provided 4265 and the Independents 4310 sittings in their places of worship throughout the parish, to which a further 1722 and 5253 sittings respectively had been added by 1843. Moreover, by 1843 the Baptists had 3323 and the Independents 5117 Sunday School scholars on their rolls, each with 954 and 1035 teachers respectively, an indication of

the considerably increased size of both communities within the parish a century after Archbishop Herring's Visitation. The increased size of both communities was also reflected in statistics for the registration districts of Halifax and Todmorden derived from the 1851 Census of Religious Worship. By 1851 the Baptists had eight places of worship, with sittings for 2231, in the registration district of Halifax and thirteen places of worship, with sittings for 4092, in the registration district of Todmorden, providing a total accommodation for 6323 worshippers. The Independents had seventeen places of worship, with sittings for 8948, in the registration district of Halifax and three places of worship, with sittings for 1120, in the registration district of Todmorden, providing a total accommodation for 10,068. The total attendances recorded for Baptists and Independents in both registration districts at all three Sunday services on Census Sunday were 9454 and 13,511 respectively. In their attendance at worship, as in their provision of accommodation, the Baptists appeared considerably stronger in the Upper Calder Valley around Todmorden and the Independents within the immediate vicinity of Halifax. The Baptists recorded 5886 and the Independents 1407 attendances in the Todmorden Registration District, whereas in the Halifax Registration District, Baptist attendances numbered 3568 and Independent attendances 12,104 (68).

There were many similarities in organisation and outlook between the Baptists and Independents, both cherishing the principle of the independency of each local congregation. It was baptismal doctrine and practice which separated the two, the Baptists holding to the principle of adult believers' baptism. Both movements had deep roots in seventeenth century Dissent and their early history is not always easily distinguishable from that of each other, or from that of the Presbyterians. Indeed until well into the eighteenth century a chapel might be served at different times by pastors holding Presbyterian or Independent convictions. In the second half of the eighteenth century, however, local Independent and Baptist congregations began to differ sharply from the Presbyterians in their response to the evangelical revival. Whilst most Presbyterian congregations gradually lapsed into Unitarianism, most Independent, Particular Baptist and General Baptist New Connexion congregations in the parish became imbued with a new expansionist energy imparted by the evangelical revival (69).

The earliest Baptist meeting houses in the parish sprang from the itinerant ministry of William Mitchell (1662-1705) and his cousin, David Crossley

(1669-1744), two lay evangelists from Heptonstall, who had established a network of meeting houses after 1689 centred upon Bacup extending as far north as Barnoldswick in Lancashire and Rawdon in Yorkshire, which had become designated as the Church of Christ in Rossendale. In 1692, whilst away on mission in the Midlands, Crossley had become a Particular Baptist, soon to be followed by Mitchell in 1693 and subsequently the whole of the Rossendale Church. In 1703 a meeting house was opened at Rodhill (Rodwell) End in Stansfield 'for the use of Protestant Dissenters known by the name of Baptists and Independents' and in the following year the new congregation was augmented by a secession from the Presbyterian meeting house at Eastwood. In 1711, one of the signatories to the Rodwell End deed, Thomas Greenwood (d. 1742) of Heptonstall, purchased a barn at Stone Slack and adapted it for use as a Baptist meeting house. In 1717, Greenwood became pastor of both congregations when they seceded from the Rossendale Church (70).

By 1743, the Baptist congregations at Rodwell End and Stone Slack averaged around fifty and thirty respectively, the former congregation meeting weekly and the latter fortnightly. Around 1743 some members left Rodwell End to support the revived Baptist cause at Salendine Nook, near Huddersfield, following which, it has been claimed, itinerant evangelical preachers such as William Darney (d. 1774), a roving evangelist, clogger and pedlar converted in the Scottish Revival (1733-40), and the Reverend William Grimshaw (1708-63), evangelical curate at Todmorden and subsequently Haworth, made 'severe inroads into the strength of the existing Baptist societies' in the Upper Calder Valley. In 1764, whilst both Baptist societies now met fortnightly, sharing the same minister, the Reverend Richard Thomas (d. 1772), who ministered to a congregation of around ninety at Rodwell End and around seventy at Stone Slack, their average congregations were numerically stronger than they had been at the time of the Herring Visitation Returns in 1743. By 1772, however, the number of regular attenders at Stone Slack had declined to the extent that there were considered to be 'too few to support a separate interest any longer' and in 1783 the Rodwell End meeting house finally closed (71).

Even before the final closure of Rodwell End, some families, most notably that of John Sutcliffe (1752-1814), later minister of the Baptist Chapel at Olney, had already transferred their membership to other more flourishing Baptist congregations in the Calder Valley at Wainsgate and Hebden Bridge which had originated in the Methodist revival. A group of converts of

William Grimshaw, 'principally poor persons', had built a meeting house with accommodation for 100 on land given by a sympathetic farmer on the Wadsworth hillside at Wainsgate in 1750. They had invited another Grimshaw convert, the Reverend Richard Smith as their first pastor and by the time of his death in 1763, Wainsgate had an average weekly attendance of around 150. Smith's successor at Wainsgate, John Fawcett (1740-1817) also owed much to Grimshaw's preaching at Haworth and the visits to the West Riding of the Oxford Methodists, John and Charles Wesley, Benjamin Ingham and especially George Whitefield, whose portrait he kept constantly on display in his study throughout his long and distinguished ministry in the Upper Calder Valley. Fawcett was an exceptionally gifted scholar, pastor, preacher and hymnwriter who declined an invitation to move to London in 1772, preferring to continue his ministry at Wainsgate, where his remuneration never exceeded a meagre twenty five-pounds per annum. He opened a day school, founded a circulating library and encouraged and trained many young men for the Baptist ministry, moving from his farmhouse near Wainsgate to Brearley Hall in 1776 in order to develop this work (72). Fawcett preached around 200 sermons each year and such was his reputation as a preacher that a gallery had to be erected at Wainsgate to accommodate the large congregations, many of whom travelled long distances to hear him. In 1777 Fawcett and forty members of his congregation withdrew from Wainsgate to establish, with the aid of loans from a number of propertied individuals, a new place of worship down in the valley below at Hebden Bridge in a plain and commodious building with accommodation for over 500, nearly double the accommodation then available at Wainsgate. Fawcett continued his ministry at Hebden Bridge for another forty years. He was awarded the degree of Master of Arts in 1793 and Doctor of Divinity in 1811, following the publication of his Devotional Commentary on the Holy Scriptures. Following his death, there was a slowing down in the rate of growth at Hebden Bridge, as there had been at Wainsgate following his resignation. A period of recovery at Wainsgate commenced during the ministry of the Reverend Mark Holroyd between 1810 and 1835 and the chapel was rebuilt in 1815. By 1851, the chapel had accommodation for 295 and 308 adults and 201 children were counted at the three Census Sunday services. At Hebden Bridge the recovery commenced during the ministry of the Reverend John Crook between 1834 and 1859 and some 620 adults and 384 children were counted at the three Census Sunday services in 1851. Moreover, evangelistic cottage meetings and Sunday School work had been

commenced by a members of the congregation in the vicinity of Brearley, leading to the formation of a society there in 1846 (73).

In 1789 Fawcett opened a new chapel built for the Baptists at Elland by James Ashworth, but in 1791 the minister, the Reverend John Hindle, was offered an increased salary by James Cartledge (d. 1793), a local colliery owner and former member at Salendine Nook, who had built a chapel at Blackley in 1789, to move to the new chapel which he had built at Blackley in 1789 for which he had been unable to find a resident minister. Although his Elland congregation followed him to Blackley, during his two-year ministry there the congregation subsequently declined in numbers, recovering only during the long ministry of the Reverend John Rigby between 1798 and 1839. In 1803, the Particular Baptist congregation at Steep Lane, Sowerby established a daughter society at Rishworth and in 1807 dissentients from an Inghamite congregation at Todmorden began to meet as Particular Baptists at the disused Rodwell End meeting house, which they relinquished to the Methodists when they built their own new 'Rehoboth' Chapel at Millwood in 1808, the forerunner of the 1877 Roomfield Chapel (74).

The Particular Baptist cause in Halifax owed its origin to the Rawdon Church and the labours of the Reverend William Crabtree (b. 1720), a native of Wadsworth, former deacon at Wainsgate and later pastor at Bradford, who gathered together a small group in a cottage at Haley Hill, which formed itself into a society in 1755. The Reverend Charles Bamford of Bacup became its first minister and he was succeeded in 1760 by the scholarly Reverend Joshua Wood (1734-1794), a former Methodist and Independent preacher from Wakefield, who shortly after his ordination obtained land in Pellon Lane for a chapel. In 1764 the congregation size was estimated at 140, presumably drawn from the twenty-eight Baptist families then resident in Halifax and Skircoat. However, in 1772, when Wood resigned and moved to Salendine Nook, following the expulsion of a score of members who had embraced Sandemanian teaching, John Fawcett privately expressed concern for the future of the society. Two of his former students held the pastorate in succession between 1772 and 1779 and the church began a slow recovery, which continued during the longer pastorates of the Reverend William Ackroyd, formerly a member at Ebenezer, Hebden Bridge, between 1800 and 1825 and the Reverend Samuel Whitewood between 1831 and 1860. In 1851 forty members withdrew to form a second Particular Baptist society in Halifax its fifty-five members meeting initially in rooms at Cheapside and

Horton Street until the opening of a new chapel and schoolroom at Trinity Road in 1854 (75).

Another group of Baptist churches in the parish of Halifax sprang from the evangelistic outreach of the Reverend Daniel Taylor (1738-1816), a former collier and Wesleyan local preacher, converted under the preaching of John Wesley, who had left the Methodists in 1762 over doctrinal differences to set up an independent society initially 'under a tree' and subsequently in a cottage registered as a meeting house at Wadsworth. Convinced of the necessity for believer's baptism but denied the rite by the Calvinistic Particular Baptists who were anxious about his Arminian theology, Taylor was directed towards the General Baptists and baptised by them in Nottinghamshire in February 1763. In May, Taylor's congregation sought affiliation with the General Baptists and in December 1764, Taylor was ordained minister of a small newly-built chapel at Birchcliffe above Hebden Bridge. Later Taylor, alarmed at the drift towards Unitarianism of the General Baptists, was instrumental in forming the Trinitarian General Baptist New Connexion in London in 1770 when his name headed the list of nineteen who signed the new Declaration of Faith. He was subsequently elevated to the chair of the connexional annual meeting in every year except one until his death in 1816. By 1770, the Birchcliffe church had sixty-nine members. Taylor remained minister until 1783, when he was succeeded by the Reverend John Sutcliffe (c. 1749-99), a former member of the congregation, who remained minister until 1799, during which period the chapel was enlarged. In 1825, during the forty-nine year pastorate of the Reverend Henry Hollinrake, another minister who emerged from within the congregation at Birchcliffe, the chapel was rebuilt to accommodate 700 and a Sunday School added in 1827. In 1817, Birchcliffe had a membership of 199, by 1851 its morning and afternoon congregations together averaged 375 adult attenders plus 225 Sunday School scholars (76).

No fewer than twenty-three churches in Yorkshire and Lancashire resulted from Daniel Taylor's evangelistic work during his ministry at Birchcliffe. In 1773 a society was established at Queenshead with the Reverend John Taylor (1742-1818), Daniel Taylor's brother, as its first minister. Taylor, like his brother, worked as a collier until he moved to Queenshead in November 1774 on a salary of twenty pounds, supplementing his income thereafter by woolcombing and opening a small school. When he died in 1818, the membership of the church had reached 160. In 1820, the old chapel was pulled down and a new one erected. A Halifax society developed

as an offshoot of the cause at Queensbury. After cottage preachings in 1773 it met initially in a rented room in Gaol Lane in 1775, subsequently moving to a chapel on Haley Hill opened in September 1777 by the Taylor brothers. In 1782 when the society separated from the Queenshead society it had a membership of thirty and in October 1783 Daniel Taylor left Birchcliffe to become its pastor, reluctantly responding to pressure for him to move to London in July 1785 in the wider interests of the connexion. For the next forty years the church apparently languished and had only seventy-one members in 1817, but during the ten-year pastorate of the Reverend Jonathan Ingham from 1823-33 there was a dramatic recovery. Another offshoot of Birchcliffe in 1777 was the tiny hill-top chapel at Shore, just within the Yorkshire boundary near Todmorden. By 1851, the chapel provided accommodation for 240 and attendances on Census Sunday averaged 130 adults and 120 children in the morning and 240 adults and 130 children in the afternoon. At the time of its formation, farming and handloom weaving flourished on the hill tops, but with the development of the new steam-power technology the location of the textile industry shifted gradually towards the valley bottoms. The congregation at Shore responded to these changes by establishing daughter societies in the valley at Lineholme in 1816, Wellington Road, Todmorden, in 1845 and Vale in 1851. The first services at Lineholme were held in Naylor's Mill before Bethel Chapel was opened in 1817 and the first services at Vale were held at a room in the Pudsey Bobbin Works (77).

In 1806 some forty members withdrew from Birchcliffe to establish a cause at Heptonstall Slack, meeting initially in the old disused Particular Baptist Chapel at Stone Slack, with the Reverend James Taylor, a nephew of Daniel Taylor as minister from 1807 and with their own purpose-built chapel, Mount Zion, from 1808. In 1817, Heptonstall Slack had a membership of 177; by 1837 the membership had more than doubled to 359 and by 1844 it had increased to 502. On Census Sunday in 1851 there were 250 adult attenders at morning worship and 350 at afternoon worship, plus 199 children at each service. During the period up to 1851, no fewer than three offshoots from Heptonstall Slack were established at Blakedean in 1820, Broadstone in 1835 and Nazebottom in 1836 to serve the scattered moorland settlements of the Upper Calder Valley. The purpose-built chapel at Blakedean, constructed in the domestic vernacular style, was set into the steep hillside. At the front was a central entrance at ground floor level between two pairs of round-arched windows, at the rear the

gallery was reached via steps descending from the road. The chapel provided accommodation for 150 and on the afternoon of Census Sunday in 1851 there were fifty adults and fifty-eight children in the congregation. At Broadstone, where the work had begun with Sunday School outreach in a cottage at Longtail, two houses were purchased and adapted to serve both the work of teaching and preaching. In 1851, 130 children attended morning Sunday School and 134 in the afternoon, when there were also eighty-nine adults present at worship. The work at Nazebottom also originated in Sunday School outreach in a cottage on the hillside above Eastwood. A chapel was built in 1846, which remained under the oversight of the minister at Heptonstall Slack until 1872. In 1851, adult attendances at Nazebottom averaged forty and Sunday School attendances 100. A similar concern for the nurture of the young provided the impetus for the establishment of a new cause at Ovenden in 1846, when a group of families from the upland handloom weaving communities of Heptonstall Slack, Birchcliffe and Queenshead migrated to the growing manufacturing centre of Ovenden and set up a 'General Baptist Lord's Day School' in a cottage at Sod House Green, prior to constituting themselves into a Baptist society of thirty-three members in 1846. As the number of scholars grew, they moved first to the Mechanics' Institute in Nursery Lane and then Moorside School (78).

The Reverend W.E. Blomfield, writing in 1912, pronounced Hebden Bridge 'the Mecca of Yorkshire Baptists' on account of its associations with Daniel Taylor and John Fawcett and its significance in Baptist history. Taylor's initiative in founding the General Baptist New Connexion 'arrested the Socinian drift amongst General Baptists'; Fawcett inspired the founding of the Yorkshire and Lancashire Association of Particular Baptist societies and the Northern Baptist Education Society. From his pastorate at Wainsgate came John Foster, the celebrated essayist and John Sutcliffe, one of the founders of the Baptist Missionary Society and from his academy at Brearley Hall came William Ward, the Baptist missionary to Bengal and a host of other preachers and evangelists, many of whom held pastorates in churches in the locality. Daniel Taylor's shared concern for ministerial training also helped to equip many men for local pastorates, so that there was no shortage of ministers to sustain the growing, but often impecunious, Baptist congregations of the parish, an important contributory factor to Baptist expansion during this period. Another important factor was the willingness of a thriving congregation to sub-divide in order to identify

with a burgeoning cause elsewhere and form a daughter society, establishing a pattern of cellular growth, stimulated increasingly by industrial migration, which became the characteristic form of Baptist expansion in the parish during this period. 'But all this work', as Blomfield concluded 'may be traced to the influence of the Evangelical Revival'. For, 'Fawcett was Whitefield's son in the faith', 'Taylor was cradled in the Methodist Church' and many others were influenced by the ministry of Grimshaw of Haworth. The Methodist influence on Taylor was particularly evident not only in his Arminian theology, but also in his preference for a connexional system of organisation and at local level weekly experience meetings, which were very similar in character to Methodist class meetings (79).

This cross-fertilization between Methodists and Baptists in the Calder Valley also produced tensions during this period. The biographer of Grimshaw of Haworth, the Reverend Dr Frank Baker, whilst acknowledging that Grimshaw exercised 'a greater influence among the Baptists than among other dissenters', also recognised that 'the Baptists caused Grimshaw the most trouble'. In 1754, Grimshaw complained to Dr John Gillies that 'Anabaptists and Antinomians' continued to make 'great rending and confusion among our Societies'. The Wesleys went even further in their condemnation of the Baptists than Grimshaw, who at other times gave active support to Baptist as to other evangelical causes. In 1756, Charles Wesley, accompanying Grimshaw on a preaching tour, commented that at Heptonstall all were moved 'except a few bigoted Baptists' and that at Todmorden 'several Baptists were present, a carnal, cavilling, contentious sect, always watching to steal away our children, and make them as dead as themselves' (80).

The Independents, like the Baptists, owed a great debt to the Evangelical Revival. There was little continuity between seventeenth-century Independency and the Independency which developed in the parish in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Independency in Halifax itself originated in a Methodist secession in 1762 and elsewhere in the parish there was considerable cross-fertilisation between revived Independency, Methodism and the Evangelical Anglicanism of Venn at Huddersfield and Burnett at Elland. The local Congregational historian, W.B. Trigg, acknowledged that:

> The particular brand of Independency which flourished so abundantly in these parts in the mid nineteenth century under the generous patronage of the industrial magnates of the time, was indebted far more to

Wesley and his followers than to the nonconformists of 1662, both for its theological doctrine, and its conduct of public worship (81).

The earliest references to Independent meeting houses in the parish of Halifax after 1740 occur in the Drummond Visitation Returns, which reveal that there were four meeting houses in the parish by 1764. By far the largest congregation in 1764, with an estimated 300 hearers, assembled three times weekly under the ministry of the Reverend Titus Knight (1719-93) at Chapel Fold, Gaol Lane, Halifax. William Eden's Elland congregation was, by contrast, reportedly 'very small'; James Crossley's congregation at Booth, in the chapelry of Luddenden, numbered eighty and no estimate was provided of the size of John Dracup's congregation at Steep Lane, Sowerby. Moreover these smaller congregations met only twice weekly (82).

Titus Knight, a self-educated 'collier who turned preacher', as the historian Watson disdainfully described him, had been converted under the preaching of John Wesley in Halifax in 1747. His name had headed the list of trustees for the new Wesleyan preaching house on Church Lane in 1752 and he had resided alongside the chapel, where he had opened a small academy, which had numbered among its students that other notable 'collier who turned preacher', Daniel Taylor. In 1762, Knight embraced Calvinism and left the Wesleyans, taking fifteen of the thirty-one members of the society with him. He acquired cottages in Gaol Lane, which he converted into a place of worship 'for a society or congregation of protestant dissenters ... commonly called ... Independent or Congregational'. The seven trustees of the meeting house included Knight, who was ordained in 1763, and six members of his congregation: Benjamin Robinson, cloth dresser; John Bates, saddler; Stephen Rawson, rope maker; John Akroyd, tailor; Jonas Ingham and Jonathan Hodgson, shalloon weavers. The Reverend William Grimshaw, appealing on Knight's behalf to the Countess of Huntingdon for financial support for the project, wrote:

> The people amongst whom he is sowing the seed of the kingdom are poor, their means are limited, yet the Lord has put it into their hearts to build a house for the preaching of his word ... Can your Ladyship spare a mite to aid these worthy souls (83).

Knight's preaching soon began to attract a number of more prosperous members into his congregation including Benjamin Dickinson, a Northowram merchant, son of the Reverend Thomas Dickinson of Heywood Chapel and several well-to-do members of the Northgate End Chapel, including William

Medley, William Clay, William Pollard and James Kershaw. Kershaw, described by Knight's successor, Joseph Cockin (1755-1828), as 'the principal founder of the Independent interest at Halifax', was 'a merchant in extensive business with a large family', who preferred the evangelical preaching of Knight and Venn in Huddersfield to the Socinianism of the Reverend William Graham at Northgate End. He recognised the limitations of the Gaol Lane Meeting House, selected 'an excellent situation with a romantic prospect' for its successor, the new Square Chapel, and 'proceeded to raise a chapel sixty feet square, so stately and elegant, displaying so much symmetry and taste, as were altogether a novelty to Dissenters in the North of England at that time', supervising every detail of the chapel's construction 'so vigilantly that the expense did not succeed £2000'. Venn collected £170 towards the cost of the new building and amongst the other donations were sums ranging from 100 to 250 guineas contributed by Dickinson, Hodgson, Knight, and Kershaw. An anonymous poem, probably written by Knight himself and published to commemorate the opening of the chapel in 1772, waxed lyrical as it extolled the virtues of the new building:

What is this Building, so magnificent,
With spacious Area, and this grand Ascent;
With Pillars on each Hand? One might suppose
The one was Jachin and the other Boaz.
The Door-Steads built with architectural Grace
Pilasters rising from the solid Base
Within, what flow'ry Work of purest Paste
And all Things finish'd in a superb Taste!
'Tis sure a Pantheon of the present Age
Or pompous Theatre to set off the Stage.
Forbear your Taunts, this Structure is design'd
An Habitation for th' eternal Mind (84).

Membership at Square Chapel had reached ninety-five at the time of Knight's death in 1793. Besides maintaining 'a respectable congregation at Halifax' and exerting 'much influence in the country around', Knight also preached regularly in London and two of his sons entered the Anglican ministry, including Samuel, who was Vicar of Halifax from 1817-27. Knight's successor at Square from 1791 to 1828, the Reverend Joseph Cockin, a clothier's son from Honley, discovered that he had to adapt his rather homely village preaching style to meet the needs of the more sophisticated Square congregations which gathered for worship twice and often three times on Sundays and also on Thursday evenings. The Reverend John Barling (d. 1882), Cockin's successor, embraced Unitarian principles, married a rich

heiress and left Halifax for Bristol in 1833. By 1830 Square had a membership of around 290, but suffered a secession of fifty-two members who disapproved of the appointment of the Reverend Alexander Ewing as Barling's successor in 1834, for reasons which are obscure. During Ewing's pastorate, the interior of the chapel was remodelled and when he resigned in 1846, there were 219 on the membership roll. There were only twenty votes cast against Ewing's successor, the Reverend Enoch Mellor (1823-81), the twenty-four year old son of a prominent Huddersfield woollen manufacturer, at his adoption meeting in 1847 and he remained at Square until 1861, returning for a second pastorate in 1867 (85).

The Independent congregation at Elland referred to in the Drummond Returns remained under the ministry of the Reverend William Eden (d. 1775), who preached alternately at Elland and Eastwood, until 1770. When the congregation later embraced Unitarianism a revived Independent congregation, worshipping initially in a room in New Street, subsequently built the new Providence Chapel, which opened in July 1823. The Independent congregation at Booth remained under the ministry of the Reverend James Crossley (1731-82) until 1782. Crossley, a convert of Whitefield, nurtured in the faith by Grimshaw, had established with seven others a religious society at Upper Saltonstall. They had subsequently purchased land at Booth and erected with their own hands a one-roomed building opened in 1761, to which three galleries were added in rapid succession to accommodate the growing congregation. The congregation suffered a temporary setback in 1770 when one of its leading members, James Oldfield, was executed at York for his association with counterfeit coining. A new chapel was built in 1828 and by 1830 membership had reached seventy-four. In 1851, the Reverend David Jones, minister at Booth from 1842 to 1886, commenced services at Luddenden Foot in conjunction with the ministers of Sowerby and Sowerby Bridge. The Independent congregation at Sowerby referred to in the Drummond Returns was the Steep Lane congregation which had rejected the Arian teaching of the Presbyterian minister at Sowerby in 1751 and which subsequently identified with the Particular Baptists. The Independent succession had resumed at Sowerby, a historic stronghold of Independency, at the latest by 1794 with the ministry of the Reverend Joseph Sowden (d. 1822) from Booth. During the pastorate of the Reverend James Hatton from 1803 to 1840 a chapel-house was erected and a Sunday School established and in 1830 there were sixty members on the roll (86).

A group which had formerly sat under the evangelical ministry of the Reverend George Burnett at Elland, then worshipped with the Independents at Sowerby, ultimately held preaching services of their own in a private house at Parak Nook, Rishworth. A Sunday School was formed in 1818 by John Wadsworth and Isaac Nortcliffe (1757-1830), pastor from 1816 until his death in 1830, who initially received no remuneration, but subsequently was paid an annual salary of six pounds and a chapel opened in 1833. At Stainland, Independents had formed part of a mixed congregation worshipping since 1755 in a building intended for use as a chapel-of-ease. One early nineteenth century Independent minister had lightheartedly observed:

> We have Wesleyans, Independents, and Church-people; an Independent parson in the pulpit, a Baxterian clerk, a Roman Catholic organ, and a drunken player, and so you may call us what you like.

In 1813 the Independents formed themselves into a separate congregation, opening a new chapel in Beestonley Lane in 1814. During the pastorate of the Reverend Robert Bell from 1829 to 1840 the chapel was enlarged to accommodate a growing congregation and a parsonage house built (87).

In 1764 the Reverend Richard Simpson (1718-96) succeeded the Reverend William Graham at Warley, establishing 'a thoroughly evangelical' doctrinal orthodoxy during his thirty-two year ministry. The chapel was rebuilt in 1805 Under his successor, the Reverend Thomas Hawkins (1760-1838), and in 1830 had a membership of thirty. At Brighouse, Benjamin Morton, a farmer, and several of his neighbours who had been influenced by the evangelical preaching of Venn and Burnett, established an Independent congregation which erected a chapel in 1778 with accommodation for 300. The chapel's first ordained minister was Samuel Lowell (1759-1823), who cleared the debt on the chapel and commenced the building of a minister's house, which was completed for his successor with financial assistance from Lady Glenorchy. After a period of decline, which culminated in the withdrawal of John Holland, a local gentleman, with a section of the congregation to Slead Syke, reconciliation and renewed expansion was achieved during the thirty-two year pastorate of the Reverend Joseph Crisp (1783-1869) from 1810 to 1842, when a gallery, schoolroom and vestry were added to the chapel, which was also made freehold. In 1783, the thirty-three members of the congregation of the former Presbyterian meeting house at Northowram identified with the Independents and erected a new gallery in the chapel, presumably to accommodate a growing community of worshippers. However, some of the congregation became so dissatisfied with the ministry of Robert

Harper, 1801-18, that they withdrew to worship in local cottages, purchasing land in 1813 for a new chapel at the top of Lydgate. Under Harper's successor, the Reverend John White, minister from 1819-49, the two congregations were re-united; the breakaway chapel converted into a dwelling and sold; the original chapel re-built and re-opened for worship in 1837 as the Heywood Chapel and an infant school added in 1841. From 1816, the congregation at Mixenden was served by a succession of pastors from Idle Academy, Bradford, though not before a section of the congregation seceded to the Wesleyans and there were continuing difficulties until the ministry of the Reverend John Preston from 1823 to 1841, when the chapel was rebuilt to accommodate a growing congregation in 1836-37. At Lightcliffe a chapel erected in 1823 by the Primitive Methodists in Bramley Lane was bought by the Independents and services conducted by students for a number of years until the first ordained minister was appointed in 1830. Titus Salt, the Bradford industrialist became associated with the chapel after he took up residence at Crow Nest, Lightcliffe in 1844 and two of his children were buried in the chapel graveyard but later exhumed and removed to the family mausoleum at Saltaire (88).

In 1815 the Reverend James Cockin experienced a number of sleepless nights after acquiescing to the request of a quarter of his expanding congregation at Square Chapel to hire a building recently occupied by the Southcottians in order to respond to the needs of the rapidly increasing population of the town. In 1816 the twenty-two former members of Square were constituted into a new Independent congregation, the building purchased and Edward Parsons of Homerton College, son of the celebrated Reverend Edward Parsons of Leeds (d. 1833), invited to serve as pastor. He was ordained in 1818 and under his ministry the congregation 'increased to such a degree' that the old chapel was demolished and a fine new commodious chapel constructed in the classical style on the site of the old building in 1819. Among the trustees of the new building were John Haigh, Samuel Hodgson and William Baldwin who had provided most of the capital for the scheme and John Baldwin, a woollen and worsted yarn manufacturer, who later became the first Mayor of Halifax. Parsons remained minister until 1826, when he was succeeded after an interval of three years by the Reverend James Pridie. During Pridie's long pastorate, which continued until 1858, the buildings were further enlarged and vestries and day schools added to accommodate the growing congregation, which had reached

214 by 1830 (89).

The secessionists from Square Chapel in 1834 worshipped initially in the Halifax Court of Requests in Union Street and subsequently in a new chapel in Harrison Road, opened in 1837 at a cost of nearly £4000. The Reverend John Meeson Obery, M.A. (1813-58), 'a refined and elegant scholar with clear and powerful utterance', 'thoroughly evangelical in his creed and preaching', was appointed first minister in 1838 on an annual salary of £200. During his pastorate, which continued until 1849, the membership was doubled to 120, with an average of sixteen new members added each year, and more than £2800 was raised to pay off the debt on the chapel, the major part of which had been cleared by 1846. Although most of the congregation in 1837, over half of whom were women, were relatively poor tradesmen and textile workers, two members of the congregation, Ely Bates and James Hoatson, who were in partnership as cloth merchants together pledged £750 and four other members, Thomas Dearden, the builder of the chapel; William Birtwhistle, the Northgate bookseller; Charles Brearley, a currier and John Mitchell, a land steward each pledged £100 towards the building of the chapel (90).

Independents had held Sunday and mid-week evening services at the non-denominational Ovenden Sunday School since 1820 and in 1835, stimulated by industrial migration into Ovenden, land was purchased, trustees appointed and a subscription list opened for the building of an Independent chapel and school. Over the next five years about 600 people subscribed a total of around £1800 to the building fund. Building began in 1836 and the plain square-built chapel was opened in 1837. Of the thirty founder members of the new chapel, nineteen were from Sion and eleven from Square. The first minister of the new chapel was the Reverend Edward Leighton (1801-74), who, despite the continuing heavy debt on the chapel, saw through the building of the school, which opened in 1838, but had to resign in 1840, when the congregation, depleted by mill closures following the depression of 1839 was no longer able to afford his salary. A second minister, the Reverend John Harrison (1814-83), a former Wesleyan, was appointed in 1843, but remained only three years and later conformed to the Established Church. A third minister, the Reverend Samuel Shaw (1821-74) was appointed in 1847 and remained at Ovenden until 1855, during which time the chapel debt was finally cleared after John Crossley had undertaken to pay half of it if the congregation would raise the other half. The expansion of Sowerby Bridge prompted a move to establish an Independent

Chapel in this 'populous and thriving' village in 1838. Land was purchased in October and the building opened for worship in June 1840. After two relatively short pastorates, the Reverend Ritchie Moffett (d. 1883) was appointed in 1849 and remained at Sowerby Bridge for thirty years (92).

Independent expansion in the parish of Halifax in the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, like Baptist expansion, was primarily a product of the Evangelical Revival. It was also closely related to demographic and economic change following industrial migration and urban expansion into new geographical areas, with new chapels and schools sustained to a considerable extent by industrial capital. By 1843 the Independents, who a century earlier had scarcely existed in the parish, had more chapel sittings, Sunday School scholars and teachers in the parish than any other Nonconformist sect except the Wesleyans. Moreover, although the 1851 Census of Religious Worship estimated slightly fewer Independent sittings than Baines's survey, total attendances at the seventeen Independent Chapels in the parish on Census Sunday were second only to Wesleyan attendances amongst the Nonconformists (93).

2.2.4. Quakers, Moravians, Inghamites, Southcottians and Christian Brethren

By far the most numerous body of Dissenters in the diocese of York in 1743 was the Religious Society of Friends or Quakers, who were particularly strong in the Yorkshire Pennines. From their origins in the mid-seventeenth century the Quakers had been the most ardent of all the Dissenters in their conscientious objections to the Established Church and had suffered the most intense persecution after the Restoration, when a network of monthly meetings reporting to the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting at York had been established across the county, including one at Brighouse in 1669, which comprised the preparative meetings of Brighouse, Halifax and Mankinholes. Persecution continued in parts of the parish of Halifax into the early years of the eighteenth century when landowners from the hilltop Quaker community at Shore in the chapelry of Stansfield unsuccessfully appealed to the Court of Chancery after the Reverend Edward Metham, Curate of Cross Stone, had resorted to the Commission of Pious Uses in 1711 in order to enforce his right to certain ecclesiastical dues. Following the Chancery ruling of 1715, which awarded costs against the Quakers, three Quakers were imprisoned in Rothwell Gaol until released 'without their consent by a compassionate neighbour, who agreed the affair by paying

moneys'. The bitterness surrounding the dispute endured and a successor of Metham, the Reverend John Grimshaw, experienced similar difficulties trying to secure ecclesiastical dues from the Quakers in Stansfield during the period 1734 to 1743.

Local Quakers not only faced pressures from the ecclesiastical authorities if they refused to pay their dues, but also from their own monthly and quarterly meetings if they did. In the celebrated 'Halifax Modus Case',which dragged on intermittently for over a century from 1701 to 1808, a number of local Quakers were taken to task by other Friends for their alleged payment of a composition in lieu of tithes to the ecclesiastical authorities. In 1721, they pleaded that their action was justified 'for the sake of peace and concord' and that they be allowed to follow their consciences in the matter, but the Quarterly Meeting repeatedly refused to condone their action and the problem continued unresolved, though no further complaints were apparently lodged against local Quakers after 1808 (94).

In his returns to Archbishop Herring, Dr Legh estimated that there were some sixty Quaker families and 200 Quakers meeting for worship in the parish of Halifax in 1743. He reported that there were three Quaker meeting houses in his parish and another under construction, a reference to the building of a new meeting house for the Halifax Friends in Clare Road, near the centre of the town. However, the individual returns of the parochial curates, which confirm that there were three Quaker meeting houses in the parochial chapelries of Cross Stone, Rastrick and Ripponden, and the minutes of the Halifax Preparative Meeting, which confirm that the original meeting house of the Halifax Friends at Highroad (Harwood) Well, built in 1696, continued to be used until May 1744, reveal that Dr Legh underestimated by one the number of meeting houses currently in use in the parish in 1743. Outside Halifax itself the largest concentration of thirteen Quaker families was in the chapelry of Cross Stone, where attendance at the Mankinholes Meeting at Shewbroad, Langfield, was estimated at 100. There were nine families in the chapelry of Ripponden, attending the Rishworth (Rushworth) Meeting at Clayfields, Barkisland, and eight families in the chapelry of Rastrick, attending the Brighouse Meeting at Birds Royd. There were a further six Quaker families in the chapelry of Southowram, lying between Halifax and Brighouse, but elsewhere there were only four families at Luddenden, two or three at Coley, two each at Lightcliffe and Sowerby Bridge and one at Illingworth (95).

The Drummond Visitation Returns of 1764 did not provide an estimate of Quaker families for the whole parish and so it is difficult to measure the progress of the movement in the parish since 1743. Moreover, there were no individual returns from the Quaker strongholds of Rastrick and Ripponden and at Cross Stone, which had had the largest concentration of Quaker families in 1743, the precise number of Quaker families was unspecified, though Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers were together believed to constitute a third of the 466 families in the chapelry. However the estimated attendance of twenty to eighty Quakers every Sunday and Thursday at the Shewbroad meeting house, where George Howarth was identified as 'the most constant speaker', was fewer than the estimated attendance for 1743. In Halifax, where Dr Legh estimated that some forty-five Quakers assembled twice weekly at the Clare Road Meeting House and that there were nine Quaker families in Halifax and Skircoat in 1764, there are no figures for 1743 with which to make a comparison. Elsewhere, the eight families reported in Coley had increased from two or three in 1743; there were five families in Sowerby, where no Quaker families had been reported in 1743; but only three families in Southowram and two families in Lightcliffe, half the numbers reported in 1743; still only one family in Illingworth and none at Sowerby Bridge (96).

Developments in building and organisation during the eighteenth century do not suggest a spectacular growth in numbers during this period. The Brighouse meeting house of 1691 at Birds Royd had been rebuilt in 1699, when the freehold had been purchased and again in 1737, when there were thirty-seven subscribers to the building fund, pledging contributions ranging from two shillings and sixpence to six pounds five shillings. The new building was, however, only small, with a central doorway at the front between a pair of three-light mullioned windows with transomes. The Mankinholes meeting house of 1696 at Shewbroad was rebuilt in 1785, but seven years later, the Brighouse Monthly Meeting agreed 'that the Meeting at Mankinholes be in future denominated by the name of Todmorden, no friends being resident in the first mentioned place' and in 1807 the Todmorden Meeting was transferred to the Lancashire Quarterly Meeting. During the period 1808-11 a new meeting house was erected at Honey Hole, Bank Top. The Rishworth meeting house erected at Clayfields in 1724 was closely linked from the outset with the Halifax Meeting. In 1726 it was arranged that the Halifax and Rishworth Friends were to meet together at Barkisland on two Sundays of each month, using one of the occasions for

conducting the business of the Halifax Preparative Meeting, but this practice was condemned by the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting in 1793 and it would appear that the Rishworth cause, which had never been numerically strong, thereafter became absorbed in the Halifax Meeting. All these meeting houses had their own burial grounds and there were other smaller Quaker burial grounds in the parish at Shore (1664); Broadcar, Elland (1693); and Sowerby Street, Norland (1738), suggesting that the Quaker presence was by no means confined to the vicinity of the meeting houses (97).

Edward Baines estimated retrospectively in 1843 that the Quakers had 746 sittings in their places of worship in the parish of Halifax by 1800, but that number had not increased by 1843. The Census of Religious Worship in 1851 estimated that they had 634 sittings, all of which were unappropriated, at their two places of worship in the Halifax Registration District (Halifax and Brighouse) and 250 free sittings at their one place of worship in the Todmorden Registration District. The total attendances at Halifax and Brighouse on Census Sunday were 150: eighty-six in the morning and sixty-four in the afternoon. There were, however, a mere fourteen Friends present at the solitary morning act of worship in Todmorden. During the period 1813 to 1838, some 208 names were entered on the membership roll of the Brighouse Monthly Meeting, an average of eight each year. They included forty-eight men and sixty-six women from Brighouse and forty-two men and sixty-six women from Halifax. In 1831 there were fifty-eight members of the Brighouse Preparative Meeting, twenty-one of whom were men and thirty-seven of whom were women. Eleven were members of one household: Joseph Fryer, manufacturer of Holly Bank, Rastrick; his wife, Ann; their seven children; Nancy Fryer, a widowed aunt and Ann Dickenson, their servant. The twenty-one other families included James Lees, a clog and patten maker, his wife, Elizabeth, and their four children; Thomas Firth, a merchant, his wife Mary and their two children; Robert and Mary Lindsay and their two children and Samuel and Ann Walker and their three children. Forty-two men and fifty-two women joined the Society of Friends in Halifax during the period 1813-38. Only a few, like John Pool, a former Methodist, who joined in 1817, were recorded as coming in 'by convincement'. A growing number transferred from other meetings as industrial migration into the parish increased. By 1831 there were sixty-five members of the Halifax Preparative Meeting of whom thirty were men and thirty-five women. Some twenty-five households were represented all with

Halifax addresses except two who were in the Quaker Retreat, a mental hospital, at York. The list included six members of the Harrison family of Gibbet Street; six members of the Parker family of Stone Trough Lane; six members of the Webster family of Silver Street; five members of the Stansfield family of Spring Field; five members of the Sutcliffe family of Aked's Road; and five members of the Tew family of Union Street. During the period 1740-1851, there were four men and four women designated minister in the parish of Halifax (98).

Plainness and simplicity characterised Quaker meeting houses, worship, dress, home and family life in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Their meeting houses were essentially plain and functional. They rejected an ordained, paid ministry, but acknowledged leaders, both men and women, with gifts of exposition, whom they designated as ministers and encouraged all members to speak in worship as they felt moved by the Holy Spirit. They buried their dead in uniform ranks of simple numbered grave stones and designated the days of the week and months of the year by number to avoid reference to names derived from pagan deities. They dressed simply, maintained close bonds of family and kinship and adopted strict standards for the upbringing of their children. They led industrious, well-regulated lives and were charitable towards their poor. The Brighouse Preparative Meeting accumulated twenty pounds for annual distribution to their poor from charities provided by local Quakers between 1705 and 1747 and fiercely guarded its right to distribute the money locally (99).

However, the Answers to Queries from the Halifax and Brighouse Preparative Meetings to the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting reveal that Quaker discipline was not always effective. In 1770 the Halifax Meeting reported that whilst 'meetings for worship and discipline are pretty well attended, weekdays (are) not so well as could be desired'; whilst some Friends exercised great care in training their children 'in a Godly conversation and frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures', others appeared somewhat remiss 'with respect to plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel' and whilst the meeting had no complaint 'as to intemperate drinking and unnecessary frequenting of alehouses' it was unable to vouch that 'all are clear from attending places of Diversion'. In 1785, the meeting confessed that it was aware of at least one allegation of 'intemperate drinking' and in 1790 acknowledged 'a deficiency in some' with regard to attendance at worship on first days 'and more particularly so on weekdays'

and that it had advised some parents about the upbringing of their children. The Brighouse Meeting similarly reported in 1785 that whilst 'meetings for worship and discipline are in general pretty well attended', weekday attendances were 'small' and 'drowsiness' was 'sometimes too prevalent'. Moreover, whilst expressing the belief that 'Friends are generally clear from frequenting vain sports, places of diversion and gaming' and 'intemperance' it acknowledged 'yet we fear some take too much liberty in these respects'. In 1851 it was reported that whilst 'worship on first day mornings' 'with little exception' was well attended', 'there is more deficiency in the attendance ... on first day afternoons and also on other days of the week'. Moreover, drowsiness had again been observed and it was regretted that there had not been 'much appearance of convincement among us'. It was. however, confidently asserted that 'we believe Friends do avoid all vain sports, and places of diversion, gaming, all unnecessary frequenting of taverns and other public houses, excess in drinking and other intemperance (100).

Among several other smaller religious groups which appeared in the parish of Halifax during the period 1740 to 1851 were the Moravian Brethren, descendants of the Bohemian Hussites, re-formed in Saxony in 1722 and renewed for evangelical mission under the leadership of Count von Zinzendorf. They were invited to Yorkshire by the Reverend Benjamin Ingham (1712-72), one of the Oxford Methodists, who had met some of their missionaries when he had accompanied the Wesleys to Georgia in 1735. Returning to his native Ossett in 1737, he started a religious revival, preaching, until officially prohibited, in churches throughout West Yorkshire, including Halifax Parish Church, and founding over fifty religious societies, assisted by the Moravians John Toeltschig from 1739 and Peter Boehler from 1741. In May 1742 Gottlieb Spangenberg (1704-92) and twenty-six brethren established a Moravian settlement at Smith House and New House in Lightcliffe, whither members of Ingham's societies 'flocked like hungry bees'. Following the visit of Zinzendorf to Yorkshire in 1743, however, land was acquired at Fulneck for a more permanent Moravian settlement and Dr Legh wrote dismissively:

> At Lightcliffe one Mrs Holmes's House is resorted to as a meeting house by some few Moravians, who are joined by several vagrant enthusiasts ... They lose ground daily and, if not persecuted, are likely to dwindle away, their chief teachers, Mr Spangenberg and Mr Ingham, having left them.

With the development of Fulneck, Benjamin Ingham moved away from the

Moravians, taking his network of societies which extended into Lancashire and Westmorland with him. His societies continued to grow and several new members, rather more of them women than men, were added to his society at Rodhill in Stansfield between 1755 and 1760. By 1800 Inghamite New Chapel at Todmorden had accommodation for 300 and despite suffering a secession in 1807 was clearly thriving in 1851 when it registered seventy morning, 200 afternoon and 150 evening attendances and a Sunday School of ninety scholars (101).

Finally, two religious movements originating in the West Country, found support in the parish of Halifax during the early nineteenth century. The strength of popular millenarianism in the county, particularly among young single people; artisans; small tradesmen; and servants, especially women, was demonstrated when an estimated 6000 flocked to Halifax to see Joanna Southcott (1750-1814), the former Methodist prophetess, in 1803 on her Yorkshire missionary tour and when in the following five years over a quarter of those who registered as sealed 'true believers' in her prophecies were from the county of Yorkshire. Only fifty-six of these most devoted followers of the prophetess were from Halifax, in contrast to a number in excess of 500 from the Leeds-Bradford area; 350 from Sheffield and 107 from Huddersfield. However, she had a keen Halifax propagandist in John Crossley (1777-1852), who debated her claims with the local Baptist, Independent and Methodist ministers and named one of his seven children Barnabas Southcott. In 1813, some of her followers acquired a building in Wade Street, recently vacated by the Reverend David Barraclough and some local Wesleyan secessionists, 'but the unfulfilled predictions and premature death of that pretentious prophetess scattered and confounded all the deluded expectants of her success' and some Independents from Square Chapel purchased the chapel 'for its future dedication to the worship of the Eternal God'. The other religious group which found support in the parish during the early nineteenth century was the Christian Brethren, a movement seeking to return to the simplicity of apostolic worship, which had formed its first congregation in Plymouth in 1831. The Christian Brethren were apparently well-established in the parish of Halifax by 1843, when Edward Baines estimated that they had accommodation for 976, 208 Sunday School scholars and 52 Sunday School teachers. Unfortunately, there is no confirmation of Baines's figures in the statistical summaries of the 1851 Census of Religious Worship, where the solitary 'undefined' congregation in the Todmorden Registration District is unmistakably the

Inghamite New Chapel and where the four 'undefined' congregations in the Halifax Registration District together only account for a fifth of the accommodation estimated by Baines for the Christian Brethren. There is, however, evidence that the Christian Brethren acquired meeting rooms in Slead Syke and Brighouse, where the Reverend William Trotter, who had been expelled from the Methodist New Connexion in 1841 with the Reverend Joseph Barker, was subsequently welcomed as a preacher at their meetings (102).

Table 12: Particular Baptist Societies in the Parish of Halifax and its Vicinity, 1700-1851

Source: Baptist Handbooks; PRO, Census of Religious Worship, 1851, Returns for Todmorden Registration District, HO 129/495.

1703 Rodhill (Rodwell) End, Eastwood
1711 Stone Slack, Heptonstall
1750 Wainsgate, Wadsworth
1755 Pellon Lane, Halifax
1777 Ebenezer, Hebden Bridge
1779 Steep Lane, Sowerby
1789 Elland
1789 Blackley
1803 Rishworth, Ripponden
1807 Millwood, Stansfield
1839 Foster Lane, Hebden Bridge
1846 Brearley, Luddenden
1851 Trinity Road, Halifax.

Table 13: General Baptist New Connexion Societies in the Parish of Halifax and its Vicinity, 1700-1851

Source: Baptist Handbooks; PRO, Census of Religious Worship, 1851, Returns for Todmorden Registration District, HO 129/495.

1763 Birchcliffe, Hebden Bridge
1773 Queenshead
1775 Haley Hill, Halifax
1777 Shore
1800 Athenaeum Rooms, Todmorden, Langfield
1807 Heptonstall Slack
1816 Lineholme
1820 Blakedean
1836 Broadstone
1846 Lee Mount, Ovenden
1846 Nazebottom
1851 Vale

Table 14: Independent/Congregational Chapel Building in the Parish of Halifax, 1740-1851

Sources: Congregational Yearbooks; J.G. Miall, *Congregationalism in Yorkshire*, London, 1868.

1763 Booth Chapel, Luddenden
1763 Chapel Fold, Gaol Lane, Halifax
1772 Square Chapel, Halifax
1778 North End Chapel, Brighouse
1805 Warley Chapel rebuilt
1814 Stainland Chapel
1819 Sion Chapel, Wade Street, Halifax
1822 Providence Chapel, Elland
1828 Booth Chapel, Luddenden rebuilt
1830 Bramley Lane, Lightcliffe (former Primitive Methodist Chapel)
1833 Parak Nook Chapel, Rishworth
1836 Mixenden Chapel rebuilt
1837 Harrison Road Chapel
1837 Heywood's Chapel, Northowram rebuilt
1837 Providence Chapel, Ovenden
1840 Sowerby Bridge Chapel
1842 Union Croft Chapel, Queenshead (former Barkerite Chapel)
1845 Warley Chapel rebuilt

2.3. Methodism

2.3.1. Wesleyan Methodists

The Reverend Henry Rack has convincingly argued in his biographical study of John Wesley and the rise of Methodism that Methodism owed its relatively rapid spread and consolidation in the North to its absorption of 'a heterogeneous scattering of local renewal movements and societies under local leaders and travelling evangelists'. There is abundant support for this hypothesis from the parish of Halifax where the soil for the Wesleys' preaching had already been furrowed by the evangelistic initiatives of the Reverend Benjamin Ingham and his Moravian associates at Lightcliffe; the Reverend William Grimshaw and William Darney in the Upper Calder Valley; John Nelson (1707-74), a stonemason converted under the preaching of John Wesley in London, from his native Birstall and John Bennet (1715-1759), a carrier from Chinley in Derbyshire, who following his conversion in the Midlands under the preaching of David Taylor, footman to the Countess of Huntingdon, had established a network of religious societies extending from Cheshire into South Yorkshire (102).

Methodism in the parish of Halifax, as in other parishes, first took hold in the parochial out-townships at Lightcliffe, where the initiative for early Methodist preaching came from a family with Moravian and Inghamite connections and at Skircoat Green, where the initiative came from a family with Quaker roots. In May 1742, John Wesley, on his first visit to the north of England, called at Birstall at the invitation of John Nelson. After journeying further north to Newcastle, Wesley returned via Birstall, and made his first visit to the parish of Halifax. He preached at Smith House, Lightcliffe, at noon on Wednesday 2 June from the text 'Ask and ye shall receive', then rode on to Halifax to pay a courtesy call on the vicar, Dr Legh, returning to Smith House to meet its new owner, the recently widowed Mrs Elizabeth Holmes (1712-85), whose late husband, John, had invited the Moravians to use the house as a missionary base. Elizabeth subsequently transferred her allegiance to the Methodists and Smith House became the meeting house for the first Methodist society at Lightcliffe, which included amongst its earliest members John Hatton (1724-92), a convert of John Nelson who 'became exceedingly zealous in the cause of the Redeemer'. Lightcliffe was the only chapelry in the parish to report a sizeable Methodist presence in 1743 when the curate, the Reverend Richard Fisher informed Archbishop Herring that:

We have one unlicensed meeting house where the people called

> Methodists assemble, and several hundreds in number, at present only once per week, on the Lord's Day: their whole morning service ending before the morning service at the chapel begins and their evening service not beginning till the service at the said chapel ends. The teachers are various and unsettled (103).

However, the seeds of a Methodist society had already been planted in another parochial out-township some two years earlier. Around Christmas 1741, Alice Calverley, daughter of Abraham Kershaw of Skircoat Green, who had heard Nelson preach at Leeds, encouraged a neighbour of her father, Blakey Spencer, a tailor, to travel to Birstall, where he was converted under the forthright Bunyanesque preaching of the sturdy evangelical stonemason. Spencer promptly invited Nelson to Skircoat Green, where he preached from an inverted washing tub in the open-air under a rocky outcrop overlooking the river Calder, numbering among his converts the elderly Abraham Kershaw, who had formerly been a speaker among the Quakers but 'from fear of man' had desisted and 'so quenched the Spirit that he was in darkness for nearly forty years, till, hearing John Nelson declare the love of God in Christ, light again sprung up in his soul'. He subsequently joined with Spencer and others to form a small society whilst another of his daughters, Elizabeth, persuaded John Bennet, who had established contact with John Wesley and John Nelson in 1743, to visit the society, which soon became incorporated into his extensive preaching round. On 24 February 1746 John Wesley preached at Skircoat Green to what he described in his journal as 'a whole company of Quakers', returning in May 1747, when he baptized Elizabeth Kershaw, 'a former Quaker', before preaching at an undisclosed venue in Halifax to 'a civil, senseless congregation' (104).

Meanwhile, William Darney, the idiosyncratic Scottish evangelist, clogger and pedlar, who had suddenly appeared in the Upper Calder Valley around 1742, established a number of societies at Todmorden, Shore, Cross Stone, Stoneshey Gate and Crimsworth Dean, which were visited by Charles Wesley in January 1747 and by John in May 1747. They were subsequently incorporated into the Reverend William Grimshaw's Great Haworth Round, a prototype Methodist circuit, which held its first quarterly business meeting on 18 October 1748 in a farmhouse with Quaker associations at Todmorden Edge, where one of Darney's societies had formerly met. The meeting, chaired by William Grimshaw, was attended by John Bennet, William Darney and thirty-one 'leaders of classes of several religious societies', all with one exception men, including six representatives from Todmorden, seven from Heptonstall and others from Lancashire (105).

During the period up to 1748 the fledgling religious societies in and around the parish of Halifax had experienced considerable difficulties. There were theological tensions between Calvinists and Arminians and Moravians and Methodists; accusations of doctrinal unorthodoxy and sheep-stealing; differences of preaching style between the more refined Oxford-trained Methodists and the more rough-and-ready lay itinerants such as Darney and Nelson, who adhered firmly to the maxim that 'no other preaching will do in Yorkshire but the old sort that comes like a thunderclap upon the conscience, for fine preaching doth more harm than good here'. Moreover there was an upsurge of patriotic sentiment generated by the Jacobite threat in 1744-45 which led to an intensification of persecution of itinerant preachers by unsympathetic clerical and lay opponents of the revival, during which Nelson was impressed for military service at Halifax at the instigation of the Vicar of Birstall and mobs were incited to disrupt open-air preaching. A rare and vivid glimpse into the precarious hold the revival had achieved within the parish by mid-century is provided by some snatches of Darney's doggerel verse, another indulgence of the irrepressible Scotsman which deeply offended the finer sensibilities of that more accomplished minstrel of Methodism, Charles Wesley:

> At Bradshaw and at Mixenden, our Saviour hath a few
> Who sweetly of His love can tell who doth their souls renew.
> At Booth and Sowerby, here and there, Christ hath a little flock,
> Oh keep them from the wolf and bear and hide them in the rock.
> At Halifax and Skircoat Green some precious souls there be
> Who now are saved by faith alone and bring forth fruit to Thee (106).

In 1748, John Wesley, against the advice of some members of the Skircoat Green society, made his first abortive attempt at open-air preaching at the Market Cross in Halifax. His preaching was interrupted by a 'most uproarious' disturbance caused by a gentleman throwing money into the crowd and Wesley, mud-bespattered and bleeding, was obliged to adjourn to a meadow near Salterhebble. Undeterred, however, he preached again in Halifax at dawn the following day and shortly afterwards a society appears to have been formed, meeting in former Quaker premises in Cow Green. Wesley's journal records many return visits to the town, including one occasion when 'the windows of heaven opened'. In later years, in marked contrast to his early experience in the town, 'when his chaise rolled through the streets, an enthusiastic joy was excited; and when he preached, the rich and influential, as well as those in circumstances the antipodes of these flocked to his ministry'. Such was the respect in which he was

held that on his death the South Parade Chapel, which he had opened in 1777, was hung in black crepe for a year (107).

Although the Halifax Methodist Society lost nearly half of its membership of thirty-three in the secession of Titus Knight in 1762, many of the seceders apparently later 'returned to the fold'. Visitation returns to Archbishop Drummond in 1764 estimated that there were some forty Methodist families in Halifax and Skircoat; twenty families in both Illingworth and Sowerby Bridge and sixty two Methodists in Sowerby. There were, in addition, an unspecified number of Methodists at Luddenden and an uncertain number at Coley, where it was difficult to determine the number 'strictly so because a great number of that denomination frequently resort to the [Anglican] chapel of Coley upon Sundays and attend divine service'. At Elland there were 'some licensed meeting houses for Methodists', but their numbers were reportedly 'very small'. At Lightcliffe, an earlier stronghold, there were only 'a few Methodists meeting in two unlicensed private houses once a fortnight', in one place their numbers 'seldom exceeding a dozen' (108).

Halifax Wesleyans, true to the teaching of John Wesley, remained strongly attached to the Established Church. The Reverend William Thompson, superintendent minister of the Halifax Circuit, who was elected first president of the Wesleyan Conference after Wesley's death, maintained in June 1791 that in Halifax 'we all keep close to the Church and are very strong churchmen!'. Indeed, there were vigorous protests when his successor, the Reverend John Pawson, insisted on preaching during church hours and celebrating the sacrament of the Lord's supper in gown and bands at the South Parade Chapel. 'Several of the class leaders gave up their books' and Samuel Waterhouse of Washer Lane, who promptly presented a petition signed by 120 members and five leaders protesting against Pawson's action, returned to the Parish Church, though he remained 'an occasional hearer and held love feasts after the Methodist pattern at his own house'. After 1793, Halifax Methodists apparently abandoned their custom of regular attendance at divine worship at the Parish Church and during the period 1817-27 the gulf between Nonconformists and members of the Established Church widened further as the Reverend Samuel Knight, despite his Nonconformist upbringing and evangelical convictions, 'exhorted his people to adhere exclusively to their own party, and to keep aloof from others'. However, his successor, Archdeacon Musgrave, insisted at a time of growing

tension between the Established Church and Dissent in attending the funeral of a leading Halifax Wesleyan layman, Thomas Steel Swale in 1842, earning himself the castigation of the Church Intelligencer for his attendance at 'a dissenting meeting house, thus encouraging, if not committing the grave sin of heresy and schism'. Swale, described in his obituary as 'a Wesleyan of the old school ... devotedly attached to the Established Church', was, at the time of his death, in his second term of office as churchwarden at Halifax Parish Church and represented a tradition of close affinity between Wesleyan Methodism and Anglicanism which had persisted in Halifax for a century, but which came under increasing strain after 1842 with the controversy over the educational clauses of Graham's Factory Bill of 1843 and the growth of Puseyism in the Church of England (109).

During the second half of the eighteenth century the first purpose-built Methodist chapels were constructed in the parish. In 1752, one year after the opening of the first Methodist preaching house in Leeds, the Reverend William Grimshaw and one of his more prosperous hearers at Haworth, William Greenwood, a Mixenden shalloon manufacturer, raised £300 to build a new preaching house for the three-year-old Halifax Methodist Society. In 1764, another close associate of William Grimshaw, Thomas Colbeck, a Keighley grocer, bought a piece of land in North Gate, Heptonstall to enable the local Methodists to build a chapel of octagonal construction under the direction of John Wesley, who arranged for roof timbers to be brought in sections over the moors from Rotherham, where the first of Wesley's distinctive octagonal chapels had been built in 1761. During the following decade, three new chapels were built in the parish at Bradshaw in 1773; South Parade, Halifax, between 1775-77 and Greetland, between 1777 and 1780. Both the Bradshaw and the Greetland Chapels bore sundials, the former dated 1773, the latter dated 1827. The exterior of the South Parade Chapel, built at a cost of over £1300, including the purchase of the land, apparently lacked any form of adornment and possessed a 'plain and homely' interior, its solitary gallery facing the pulpit, which was set into the wall of the chapel, with the singers' pew beneath. The addition to the sounding board above the pulpit of a carved wooden angel blowing a trumpet aroused bitter controversy in 1779 during one of Wesley's visits until Wesley settled the matter by putting the issue to the vote at a specially convened meeting, when, by a majority of a single vote, it was decided to remove the embellishment, which was promptly taken into the

chapel yard where the minister 'hewed the dagon into pieces'. The chapel at Greetland, a broad-fronted construction with five bays, two doorways and two tiers of windows, the upper ones relieved with round-arched heads, however, boasted a magnificent octagonal pulpit supported by a ring of Corinthian columns and arches, though there is some uncertainty whether this was an original feature (110).

The memoirs of Jonathan Saville (1759-1842), who was closely associated with the expansion of Methodism in Halifax and its vicinity, offer an insight into the way in which Methodism became established in the parish in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Born in December 1759 at Great Horton Bank Top in the neighbouring parish of Bradford, subsequently orphaned and later partially crippled, Saville spent much of his childhood and youth in the workhouse before coming to work in Halifax in 1782 and attending South Parade Chapel. He later recalled that it was at the New Year Covenant Service in 1784 that 'I was fully convinced of the necessity of a change of heart' and soon afterwards he was assisting in holding prayer meetings in the villages and hamlets surrounding Halifax 'calling poor cottagers together, who lived far from any place of worship and who could not call Sabbath a delight; giving them a word of exhortation and then praying with or for them'. He occasionally walked forty miles in a day, holding sometimes as many as seven or eight prayer meetings on a Sunday. He was one of a dozen organised groups of prayer leaders regularly engaged in this style of evangelism and in 1803 became a local preacher, finding the inspiration for his sermons as he worked at his spinning jenny at Copley Mill (111).

Five years before John Wesley's final visit to the area in 1790, Halifax, which had been part of the Bradford Circuit since 1769, became the head of a circuit with an initial membership of 974. Following John Wesley's death in 1791, connexional discussion on the future form of government of Methodism was initiated by the superintendent of the Halifax Circuit, the Reverend William Thompson, a relatively unknown Irishman, in the famous 'Halifax Circular' which proposed an annual Presidency and the division of Methodism into administrative districts. The increasing importance of Halifax in the connexion was recognised when Halifax subsequently became head of one of the nineteen new districts encompassing Colne, Keighley, Bradford and Huddersfield, and Thompson was elected first president of the Wesleyan conference after John Wesley's death, but, as Jonathan Saville

later recalled, it was as a result of the great Yorkshire revival of 1799-1801, when 'the fire broke out' at a lovefeast at Greetland conducted by the Reverend Robert Lomas and 'blazed gloriously' throughout the circuit, that the most spectacular growth in circuit membership occurred. In June, 1794, the Reverend Charles Atmore informed Dr Thomas Coke:

> We have added about 700 persons in our circuit since last Conference; the far greater part of whom, there is reason to believe, are truly converted to the Lord, and can rejoice in Him as their Saviour and Redeemer. The work has commonly been carried on in prayer-meetings: which were singularly owned of God.

Circuit membership had reached 1500 by 1795, when Halifax had the fourth largest membership of circuits outside London (112).

The years between 1795 and 1812 were generally years of growth, with an attendant expansion of chapel-building, though there was a temporary slump in membership following the Methodist New Connexion secession in 1798 and during the years 1800-02, a period of economic hardship at the end of the Revolutionary War. Bad years for business were not always bad years for Methodism in Halifax, however, and at other times of economic depression, the rate of membership growth was very pronounced. This was true of the years 1805-07; 1812; 1829-30; 1837-41; 1846 and 1848. Indeed there would appear to be no simple equation between the performance of the economy or indeed the pattern of social unrest and Wesleyan membership recruitment, though clearly both these factors shaped the milieu in which Wesleyan strategy was conceived and its resources deployed. The declining rate of growth in the Halifax Circuit between 1812 and the end of the Napoleonic Wars followed the creation of a new circuit from the Halifax Circuit, based on Sowerby Bridge, and coincided both with difficult years for the economy and with a stricter control of membership through the enforcement of quarterage rules initiated by Jabez Bunting in the wake of the Luddite disturbances and criticisms in official circles of the looseness of the affiliation of many to Methodism in the northern manufacturing districts. Membership also showed a declining rate of growth in the years 1817-20, 1825-27, 1834-35, 1842, 1845 and 1850-51. In two of these crisis periods, morale was seriously weakened by internal division produced by the controversies surrounding J.R. Stephens and Samuel Warren from 1834-35 and the Wesleyan Reformers from 1850-51. The other periods of declining growth coincided with such factors as economic depression, harvest failure and widespread radical agitation (113).

By the early nineteenth century, the vast unwieldy Anglican parish was served by four fairly compact Wesleyan Methodist circuits. The Cleckheaton and Heckmondwike Circuit encompassed the eastern periphery of the parish around Brighouse and other circuits were based on Sowerby Bridge and Todmorden. These circuits showed some variation from the Halifax Circuit in the pattern of membership growth and decline. In the Todmorden Circuit, which caught the ripples of the Warrenite controversy more strongly than the Halifax and Sowerby Bridge Circuits, the Wesleyan Methodist Association secession seems to have been a factor in the years of declining rate of membership recruitment between 1837-38, 1839-42 and 1844-47, though the first half of the nineteenth century was generally one of growth for the Todmorden Circuit. In the newer Sowerby Bridge Circuit a growing rate of membership was maintained for much of the first decade of its existence, continuing into 1824, when a period of declining growth rate ensued. The trend was reversed in 1828-29, but in 1830-31 the rate of growth again declined. The situation improved during the 1830s, when a growing rate of recruitment was generally maintained. However, between 1841 and 1851 there was a period of largely unabated declining recruitment (114).

Despite the initial success of Methodist preaching in the out-townships of the Halifax parish, by 1830, the Halifax society, with 749 members, was by far the largest society in the Halifax Circuit, a position which it maintained throughout the period. The society was divided into forty-nine classes with an average membership of fifteen, seven of which were composed entirely of women, who outnumbered men in the Halifax society by nearly two to one. In 1829 the circuit staff of travelling preachers had been increased from two to three when a second Wesleyan chapel for the town had been opened. The growing confidence of Wesleyan Methodism in Halifax was symbolised by the transition in local Wesleyan chapel architecture from the unashamedly functional to the self-consciously elegant, emulating the styles adopted by the Independents at Square and Sion. On Friday 6 November 1829, Halifax Wesleyans gathered for four days of celebrations to mark the official opening of the new Wesley Chapel in Broad Street. The building of the new chapel on the northern outskirts of the town, with accommodation for about 1400, was a response to the overcrowding at the South Parade Chapel, situated less than half a mile away near the southern perimeter of the town, which had already been enlarged to accommodate a

congregation of 2000 in 1812 when the Reverend Jabez Bunting was superintendent of the Halifax Circuit. It was described somewhat dispassionately, by the Anglican historian John Crabtree as 'a spacious erection, heavy and devoid of external ornament' in contradistinction to the new Wesley Chapel which the same writer warmly commended as 'a handsome erection' displaying 'a degree of taste in the fitting up, so that on the whole, neither the exterior nor the interior of the place is surpassed by any chapels belonging to this denomination of Christians in the West Riding'. James Uriah Walker, though slightly disapproving of the choice of site for the new chapel, apparently identifying with the minority whose preference for a more strategic, if less prestigious, location for the new chapel in the expanding western quarter of the town had been decisively rejected by 'a majority of the influential members of the society' was no less enthusiastic than Crabtree in his praise of the new chapel's 'external beauty', 'chaste, comely and pleasing' interior, 'general symmetry' and 'handsome palisadoes' (115).

Completed at a cost of over £4000, special arrangements were made to attract large attendances at the opening celebrations of the new Wesley Chapel, with the result that by the end of the proceedings over half this sum had been raised, a quarter of which had been taken in collections. Meals were provided for members of the country societies; distinguished guest preachers, including the Reverend Dr Adam Clarke from London, three times President of the Wesleyan Conference and the Reverend Jabez Bunting from Manchester, twice President of the Wesleyan Conference and a former circuit superintendent, were invited for the opening services; and particular emphasis placed in publicising the event on the large proportion of seats in the new chapel 'designed exclusively for the accommodation of the poor and Sunday School children at times of public worship', though access to the galleries during the opening services was reserved for those making a silver donation. On the Sunday, Walker records, 'such was the interest excited in the town that the schoolrooms belonging each of the chapels were opened' and additional services conducted there by the popular local preachers Alexander Grylls Suter and Jonathan Saville. By the end of the celebrations a large proportion of the pews had been rented and a further sum of £173 contributed by the Wesleyan ladies of Halifax to purchase a pulpit and communion plate. Within four years an organ built by Renn of Manchester at a cost of £240 and a 'beautiful baptismal font',

the gift of the Reverend W.M. Bunting, eldest son of Jabez, had also been installed to complete the furnishings of the new chapel (116).

The influential trustees of the new chapel had good reason to be pleased with their efforts. They included the woollen manufacturers Jonathan Dennison of Lee Bridge and William Hatton junior of Woolshops; card makers William Heap and James Keighley; John Rayner, Samuel Denton, Samuel Thompson and John Wilkinson Foster, drapers; Samuel Anderson Fourness, silversmith and ironmonger; Henry Neal, hatter, perfumer, hairdresser and jeweller; Thomas Steel Swale, proprietor of a boarding academy; druggists Alexander and Peter Suter and Samuel Brown the surgeon. More than half these names were also appointed trustees of the South Parade Chapel when the trust was renewed in 1831, also with a predominance of retailers and manufacturers, and they proceeded to install an organ in the South Parade Chapel and renovate the interior to a style 'approaching the elegant' (117).

The second largest society in the Halifax Circuit in 1830 after Halifax was Southowram, which had a membership of 265. The only other societies with over 100 members were Ovenden with 126, Elland with 113, and Illingworth with 110. Of the remaining societies, Mount Tabor had a membership of fifty-seven, Blackmires forty-eight, Skircoat Green forty-three, Salterhebble thirty-four, Elland Upper Edge thirty-two, Dam Head sixteen, Cinderhills fifteen and Lee Lane twelve. No membership at all was recorded from the seven other preaching places at Pellon, Bank Top, Park Nook, Walter Clough, Cromwell Bottom, Lee Bridge and Boothtown. Sixteen years later, in 1846, Southowram was still the largest country society but with a reduced membership of 160, followed by Ovenden with 148 members, Boothtown with 135, Illingworth with 113, Elland with 109, Mount Tabor with ninety-seven, Skircoat Green with fifty-four, Blackmires with forty-three, Salterhebble with thirty-seven, Hipperholme and Northowram with thirty members each (118).

Besides differences in the size of membership between town and country Wesleyanism, there were also differences in wealth, social background and attitudes towards worship. The country societies, for example, with their revivalist roots, often gave a cool reception to preachers who tried to introduce them to a liturgical form of worship, whilst the 'more enlightened part' of the urban congregation at South Parade, Halifax, adopted a disdainful attitude towards the more charismatic style of worship

associated with revival. Contemporaries were particularly impressed by the apparent civilising effects of Wesleyanism and its offshoots on the semi-industrial rural communities of the parish like Blackshaw Head, where the chapel had been erected on the very spot where bull baiting had previously taken place; Heptonstall, where over-exuberant Christmas revellers still did penance in the stocks as late as 1841; Midgley, where a man sold his wife in 1832; the notorious Cragg Vale, where, within living memory, a novel combination of counterfeiting and clipping had acquired such widespread social acceptance as almost to 'bid defiance to the civil power' and Luddenden, where a late-eighteenth century cleric had observed that 'the country people attributed every thing of the marvellous kind to Robin Hood, as in Cornwall they do to King Arthur'. J.U. Walker maintained that even the most superficial observer in the 1830s could not have failed to notice that 'the doctrines and disciplines of Methodism have had a beneficial and happy effect in this neighbourhood' and that 'the high state of moral cultivation exhibited in many thriving villages, and the orderly and peaceful demeanour of their inhabitants, must, in great measure, be attributed to these causes'. Methodism fostered a sense of community, he argued, by 'her pulpit ministrations, her prayer meetings, her class meetings, her Sunday Schools ... which eminently serve to bring the inhabitants of even the most sequestered spots into frequent union with each other'. Even John Crabtree acknowledged that by 1836 'a moral influence' had been 'spread among the poor and uneducated' of the parish by Methodism.

In the remote industrialising villages and hamlets of this vast open parish Methodism recruited strongly from the independent-minded, domestic outworkers, who were particularly well-represented amongst the artisan groups claimed by Dr A.D. Gilbert to have been most receptive to popular evangelicalism during this period. Methodist Arminian theology with its individualistic, democratic and optimistic emphases offered those experiencing radical economic and social change a new sense of meaning and purpose in life entered into through the dynamic experience of evangelical conversion and containing within it the challenge to seek entire sanctification through continuing spiritual growth, supported by the fellowship of the quarterly love feast and the weekly class and prayer meetings, some fifty-two of which were meeting regularly in the Halifax Circuit by 1836. Moreover, this support was reinforced in a host of

practical ways by the social welfare of the chapel community expressed through such caring agencies as the Halifax Wesleyan Ladies' Female Clothing Society, founded in 1825, and the Halifax Prayer Leaders' Meeting Shoe Fund for Needy Brethren, particularly valuable when industrial change forced many former handworkers to abandon their roots in the upland semi-rural out-townships of the parish and seek employment in the growing urban centres. Methodism also offered the individual a role in the community in the numerous opportunities it provided for service as society stewards, local preachers, class leaders, conductors of prayer meetings and Sunday School teachers. Although the nucleus of the leadership of the two principal Wesleyan chapels in Halifax was drawn predominantly from the Halifax shopocracy, there are many other examples of leaders in contemporary Wesleyanism whose names do not appear in the directories of the period (119).

2.3.2. New Connexion Methodists

Halifax became a stronghold of the Methodist New Connexion and indeed was the only large town in the West Riding where the combined strength of other Methodist groups was greater than that of the Wesleyans themselves in 1851, though this was not true of the parish as a whole. Formed in 1797, following the expulsion in the previous year of the Reverend Alexander Kilham by the Wesleyan Conference, the secession originated in a desire for greater self-government and was in essence a reaction against the authoritarianism of the Wesleyan Conference particularly with regard to the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In 1797, the Reverend William Thom, the cultured Aberdonian superintendent of the Halifax Circuit, to the consternation and surprise of local Wesleyans, gave his support to Alexander Kilham and was elected first president of the Methodist New Connexion at Leeds. On Kilham's death in the following year he became a leading figure in the development of the 'New Itinerancy' and was elected president again in 1801 and 1802 (120).

The original six or seven seceders in Halifax meeting in Northgate had grown sufficiently in numbers by 1798 to open the new Salem Chapel in North Parade, with accommodation for 200, which became the nucleus of the Methodist New Connexion over a wide area. In 1815, the chapel was rebuilt in a plain robust style in time to host the Methodist New Connexion Conference of 1817. When the Halifax Methodist New Connexion Circuit was formed in 1801, it had a membership of 293, sixty of whom were in

fellowship at Salem. After a couple of years of uncertainty, membership climbed steadily reaching 572 in 1811. Then, after fluctuations in 1811-13 and 1814-15, membership began to grow dramatically after the war and especially towards the end of the decade, when Wesleyan Methodist recruitment was less successful. In 1819, the New Connexion opened chapels at Ovenden, Southowram, Todmorden, Wheatley and Midgley. The years 1821-24 saw further rapid growth, followed by another slump lasting until 1827, when growth was resumed, to be sustained, apart from a temporary slump in 1829-30, until 1839, when membership reached a peak of 1503, after which there was a decline, accelerated by the Barkerite secession of 1841, when the conference was again held in Halifax and membership dropped by a third. The decline had been arrested by 1845, when membership stood at 831 and the Salem Chapel was again enlarged. Membership then advanced steadily in the period up to 1851, when it reached the figure of 933. In the period as a whole, Methodist New Connexion growth was most evident in the crisis years for Wesleyan Methodism in Halifax between 1817-19, 1834-35, in 1845 and 1850-51 (121).

During the period 1801-51, four Methodist New Connexion ministers from Halifax served as president of the conference, which was held in Halifax itself on no less than three occasions. In 1834, at the stone-laying ceremony for a second New Connexion chapel for Halifax at Hanover Street, the superintendent minister, the Reverend William Ford, who himself was to be elected president of conference in the following year, whilst acknowledging that 'at first the body did not progress as it might have done' in Halifax, proclaimed confidently that 'now they were advancing in a cheering degree, as might be proved by comparing their followers, as to wealth, numbers and station with any other species of seceders'. Indeed the stone-laying ceremony was performed by George Beaumont, a leading local manufacturer and former Halifax New Connexion minister who had married into the Akroyd family and subsequently left the ministry to set up business himself in Halifax in 1816 and who provided refreshments in his mill for the 700 people attending the ceremony. Other influential families connected with the Methodist New Connexion during this period included the manufacturers James and Jonathan Akroyd; the surgeons, John and Michael Garlick; the artists, John and Joshua Horner; the Styrings, grocers and tea dealers; the Ramsdens, corn merchants, and Samuel Dennis, the cardmaker, though there were many more of a humbler social origin such

as Benjamin Rushton, the handloom weaver who became a leading Chartist agitator, and indeed both the Salem and Hanover Street Chapels were heavily burdened with debt throughout this period (122).

In the early years, relationships with the Wesleyans were tense, particularly at Brighouse, where the Methodist New Connexion occupation of Park Wesleyan Chapel was only ended after litigation which reached the Court of Chancery in 1810; at Ogden, where there had been a similar occupation in 1797 forcing the Wesleyans to build their own chapel at Illingworth in 1800; and in the Ryburn valley, where a secession from the Stones Wesleyan Chapel in 1818 resulted in two New Connexion societies being formed at Soyland and Lightazles on opposite hillsides. Despite these differences, the minute books of the respective local preachers' meetings for the first half of the nineteenth century reveal a common concern for evangelism and spirituality; doctrinal orthodoxy and moral propriety; and both the Old and New Connexions shared an enthusiasm for missionary work abroad and the education of the young at home during this period. Sometimes opportunities lost by the Old Connexion were taken by the New. The New Connexion, for example, chose a location in the expanding westward section of the town for their second chapel at Hanover Street, opened in 1836, seizing an opportunity for evangelism missed by the Wesleyans in 1828-29, when they chose a more central location for their second chapel in Broad Street. Moreover, the new Hanover Street Chapel, unlike its Wesleyan counterpart, though 'commodious' was 'chaste and entirely free from ornamentation' but the narrow, wooden, perpendicular-backed seats were reputedly so uncomfortable that frequent opportunities had to be provided for the congregation to stand during worship in order to relieve their discomfort (123).

2.3.3. Primitive Methodists

Even more stark in appearance were the chapels of the Primitive Methodists or Ranters, whose first chapel in Halifax, Ebenezer Chapel, 'a plain stone building', was opened in Cabbage Lane in 1822. Strongly revivalistic in character with its open-air preaching, camp meetings, prayer meetings and lovefeasts, Primitive Methodism had made rapid initial progress in the parish in 1822-23, especially in the semi-industrial villages in the outlying areas of the parish like Elland and the smaller hamlets in their orbit such as Lindwell, Greetland and New Longley. Within five years of the first Primitive Methodist thrust into the area from the South Yorkshire

coalfield in 1821, Halifax had its own Primitive Methodist circuit, with over thirty regular preaching places. Besides the new Ebenezer Chapel in Halifax, others were opened at Shelf in 1822, Boulderclough and Hipperholme in 1823, Knowlwood in 1835, Lindwell in 1836, Mytholmroyd in 1837, Norland in 1839, Brighouse in 1840 and Round Hill, Northowram, in 1844 and missions established as far afield as Todmorden and Bacup (1826-35), Settle (1836-43) and Lancaster (1838-43) (124).

Primitive Methodism appealed particularly to the poor, finding many of its recruits amongst the declining handworkers, especially the weavers and woolcombers. The first trustees at Boulderclough, high on the Sowerby hillside above Luddenden Foot, included nine handloom weavers, two woolcombers, a delver, a dyer, a shoemaker, a farmer, a joiner and an engineer, and none of the trustees at Ebenezer Chapel had the right to vote after 1832. In the early days subscriptions from the Halifax Circuit to the Connexion were often in arrears and chapels often burdened with heavy debts even where the members themselves had supplied the labour for construction. Ebenezer Chapel was built on land bought from collections taken at a camp meeting on Greetland Moor and only in 1844 was a purpose-built Sunday School erected. Collections, even at special services, were invariably small and the Halifax Guardian reporting the Sunday School anniversaries in 1838 noted that the collections of £14.15s.11 3/4d. included £7 in halfpenny pieces, twenty-three farthings, only one crown piece and no half crown and commented: 'We understand that the congregation which consists almost wholly of the working classes is scarcely able to sustain the expenses connected with the support of their religious services' (125).

Primitive Methodist membership seems to have advanced most dramatically in periods of economic depression, reflecting the nature of its predominantly working-class constituency. Its years of most rapid growth in Halifax were 1829-30, when a letter to the Primitive Methodist Magazine proclaimed: 'There has not been a week passed with us for some time in which we have not seen many converted to God'; 1836-40, when membership reached a peak of 986; 1846, when the Primitive Methodists sent a contingent of 1200 to the quinquennial Piece Hall Sunday School 'Sing' and 1847, when camp meetings on Skircoat Moor arranged in connection with the Primitive Methodist conference held for the second time in Halifax that year, attracted crowds of 12,000. Membership at Ebenezer Chapel over the first eighty years of

its existence averaged around 200 and the largest societies outside Halifax itself in 1844 were Shelf (84), Sowerby Bridge (70), Greetland (52), Mytholmroyd (51), Brighouse (40), Round Hill (39) and Bradshaw (20), with eight other smaller societies (126).

2.3.4. Wesleyan Protestant Methodists, Wesleyan Methodist Associationists and Wesleyan Reformers

In February 1829, James Sigston of Leeds was invited to the Old Association Room, Halifax, to give a detailed account of events in Leeds arising from the celebrated Brunswick Organ Case, which led to the formation of the Wesleyan Protestant Methodists. The meeting was 'crowded to excess' and resulted in the establishment of a Protestant Methodist society in Halifax, which appears to have met in premises in Woolshops by 1834. In 1836, the Wesleyan Protestant Methodists amalgamated with the Wesleyan Methodist Association, which had seceded from the Wesleyan Connexion in 1836, following the expulsion of Dr Warren for his opposition to the appointment of Jabez Bunting as both president and theological tutor of the new Theological Institution. The Wesleyan Methodist Association was particularly strong in the parts of the Calder Valley in closest proximity to the main Lancashire strongholds of the movement. In 1838, when Todmorden became a circuit, it had a membership of 727, with one itinerant preacher, twenty-five local preachers, fifty-three leaders, seven chapels, six preaching places and nine Sunday Schools with 1178 scholars. By 1848, it had a membership of 760, with two itinerant preachers, twenty local preachers, fifty-six leaders, seven chapels, five preaching places and eleven Sunday Schools with 1403 scholars. Its main centres of support within the parish of Halifax were at Luddenden Foot, where the secession had been precipitated in 1836 when a majority of the trustees of the Wesleyan Chapel had arrogated 'the power to invite any accredited preacher to officiate in this chapel'; agreed to release from their responsibilities, with compensation, those trustees who wished to remain within the Wesleyan Connexion and refused to allow a particular member of the circuit staff to conduct worship in the chapel; ; at Lumbutts, where Protestant Methodist and Wesleyan Methodist Association secessionists from the Wesleyan Chapel at Mankinholes had built a new chapel in 1837 and at Heptonstall, where a new chapel was built in 1840 with accommodation for 700 (127).

In 1834 Halifax felt the repercussions of the controversy surrounding the resignation of the Reverend J.R. Stephens after official criticism of his advocacy of disestablishment. The Reverend Thomas Galland, superintendent of the Halifax Circuit, recorded in the Halifax Circuit Directory in June 1834 that 'William Smith, a Leader and Local Preacher and others' had been excluded from the Halifax society 'in consequence of their having illegally convened and attended an inflammatory meeting, calculated to divide the society and raise disturbance'. Besides the three local preachers/class leaders excluded, two other local preachers resigned and some members apparently withheld their subscriptions, but, as a surplus was recorded from 1834 in the following year, it would appear that at least some of the defaulters ultimately paid up. In April 1838, the Halifax and Huddersfield Express reported that a small chapel had been opened at Cleckheaton 'by the seceding Wesleyan Methodists of the Halifax Circuit' at which William Smith of Halifax was one of the preachers and congregations large and collections liberal, suggesting that the secession found continuing support, if mainly from outside the Halifax Circuit (128).

The major impact of secession in the parish came over a decade later in 1849, with the Wesleyan Reform Movement, though the 'Fly Sheets' controversy, in which a series of anonymous attacks had been made on the constitution and administration of Wesleyan Methodism had erupted some five years earlier. The Reverend Amos Learoyd, a Wesleyan minister in the Halifax Circuit, was aware of mounting problems in 1847 when he noted in his journal in February that morale in the Elland society was 'very low' on account of 'much trouble with the reformers' and in May that 'things do not look well in the Halifax Circuit, much criticising of conference and talk of reform' (129).

Membership slumped in all three in-parish circuits in the period 1849-51. In 1851 the Wesleyan Reformers had six places of worship in the parish, with accommodation for 1480 and total attendances on Census Sunday of 2706. The Halifax Reformers took a room initially in Horton Street, later acquired accommodation in the Northgate Assembly Hall, and also annexed the Salterhebble Wesleyan Chapel. In 1850 an 'Expelled Wesleyan Local Preachers' Plan' was issued in Sowerby Bridge, bearing the names of five local preachers and listing three preaching places and in May, at Elland, following a 'great disruption' in which class tickets were withheld from those who sympathised with the Reform Movement, some broke away from Elland

Wesley. In February 1850, the Reverend William Lord, a concerned supernumerary and governor of Woodhouse Grove School, wrote to Dr Jabez Bunting: 'I fear politics, railway speculations, self-importance, etc. have pre-disposed many of our respectable people, not remarkable for spiritual religion, to enter into the movement, at Huddersfield, Wakefield and Halifax; and I do not see how they can retreat unless God vouchsafes to our societies in those places a remarkable visitation of the Spirit'. By 1850 it was abundantly clear that the spirit of reform had penetrated Wesleyan Methodism at grass roots level on an unprecedented scale and produced a crisis of major proportions for the Wesleyan authorities which resulted in a declining membership for the Connexion which continued unabated until 1855 (130).

Despite its schismatic tendencies and consequent fragmentation, Methodism, in all its varieties of expression, had achieved a considerable presence in the town and parish of Halifax by 1851. Total Methodist attendances in the municipal borough in 1851 amounted to 5706, only 2148 fewer than the total Anglican attendances, and total Methodist sittings exceeded Anglican sittings by 220. By 1851, aggregated Methodist sittings expressed as a percentage of the total population of the municipal borough were higher in Halifax than in Huddersfield, Bradford and Sheffield and aggregated Methodist attendances higher in Halifax than in Bradford, Sheffield and Wakefield. In the parish as a whole, although total Anglican provision of accommodation narrowly exceeded total Methodist provision, total Methodist attendances of 24,982 considerably exceeded the Anglican total of 20,854, whilst in Todmorden the Wesleyan attenders alone outnumbered the Anglicans. Moreover, total Methodist sittings exceeded by 6957 the aggregate of all the other Nonconformist sittings in the parish and total Methodist attendances exceeded by 7425 the aggregate of all other Nonconformist attendances in the parish. The Methodists provided accommodation for nearly seventeen per cent of the population of the parish by 1851 and their aggregated attendances on Census Sunday were equivalent to nearly twenty-one per cent of the total population the parish (131).

Table 15: Methodist Societies and Chapels in the Parish of Halifax, 1740-1851

Sources: Circuit and Chapel histories.

Abbreviations: S: Society; C: Chapel; CE: Chapel enlarged; CR: Chapel rebuilt.

15.1. Wesleyan:

1741 Skircoat Green (S)
1742 Lightcliffe (S)
1744 Todmorden (S)
1747 Norland (S); Ewood (S)
1748 Bradshaw (S); Heptonstall (S); Midgley (S)
1749 Halifax (S); Birchcliffe, Hebden Bridge (S); Haley Hill (S)
1750 Wadsworth (S); Wainsgate (S); Sowerby (S)
1752 Church Lane, Halifax (C)
1753 Bradshaw (S); Holdsworth (S)
1755 Stainland (S)
1761 Elland (S)
1764 Heptonstall (C)
1772 Jagger Green (S)
1773 Elland (S); Bradshaw (C)
1777 Hebden Bridge (S); South Parade, Halifax (C)
1778 Greetland (C)
1779 Midgley (S)
1780 Langfield (S)
1782 Sowerby Bridge (S)
1786 Southowram (S); Exley (S)
1787 Luddenden (S); Sowerby Bridge (C); Sowerby (C)
1791 Shelf (S)
1795 Brighouse (C)
1800 Blackmires (C); Illingworth Moor (C)
1802 Heptonstall (CE)
1803 Ripponden (C)
1804 Stones (C)
1806 Mytholmroyd (C); Southowram (C); Bolton Brow, Sowerby Bridge (C); Scout Road, Sowerby (C)
1808 Elland (C)
1809 Sowerby Bridge (CE)
1811 Luddenden (C)
1812 South Parade, Halifax (CE)
1814 Mankinholes (C)
1815 Blackshaw Head (C)
1819 Blackmires (C); Mount Pleasant, Norland (C); Millbank, Sowerby (C)
1820 Mount Tabor (C)
1824 Nursery Lane, Ovenden (C)
1825 Salem, Hebden Bridge (C); Blackmires (CE); Mytholmroyd (CE)
1826 King Cross (C)
1828 Luddenden Dean (C)
1829 Broad Street, Halifax (C)
1831 Sowerby Bridge (C)
1832 Luddenden Foot (C)
1834 South Parade, Halifax (CE); Bramley Lane, Hipperholme (C)
1835 Cragg Vale (C); Pecket Well (C)
1837 Boothtown (C); Friendly (C)

1839 Stainland (C)
1840 Boothtown (CE); Mount Pleasant, Hipperholme (C); King Cross (C)
1843 Caddyfield (S)
1844 Boothtown (CE)
1848 Salem, Heptonstall (C); Shade, Todmorden (C)
1850 Northowram (C)

15.2. Methodist New Connexion:

1796 Halifax (S); Brighouse (S)
1797 Bradshaw (S)
1798 Salem, Halifax (C)
1799 Elland (S)
1807 Ambler Thorn, Northowram (C)
1811 Bethel, Brighouse (C)
1815 Salem, Halifax (CR); Bradshaw (CR)
1818 Lightazles (S); Soyland (S)
1819 Ovenden (C); Southowram (C); Todmorden (C); Wheatley (C); Midgley (C)
1821 Ebenezer, Northowram (C)
1824 Bethesda, Elland (C); Boulderclough, Sowerby (C)
1829 Providence, King Cross (C)
1836 Hanover, Halifax (C)
1840 Lumbutts (C)
1845 Salem, Halifax (CE)

15.3. Primitive Methodist:

1821 Elland (S); Greetland (S); Mytholmroyd (S); Norland (S); Sowerby Bridge (S); Halifax (S); Bank Top, Southowram (S)
1822 Ebenezer, Halifax (C); Shelf (C)
1823 Boulderclough, Sowerby (C); Mount Zion, Hipperholme (C)
1824 Northowram (S)
1834 Denholme Clough (C)
1835 Knowlwood (C)
1836 Lindwell (C)
1837 Mytholmroyd (C)
1839 Norland (C)
1840 Brighouse (C)
1841 Mount Zion, Sowerby (C)
1844 Round Hill, Northowram (C)

15.4. Protestant Methodists;

1834 Halifax (S)

15.5. Wesleyan Association:

1836 Luddenden Foot (C)
1837 Lumbutts (C)
1840 Heptonstall (C)

15.6. Wesleyan Reformers:

1849 Halifax (S); Norland (S); Brighouse (C); Salterhebble (S)

Table 16: John Wesley's Visits to the Parish of Halifax, 1742-90

Sources: Journal of John Wesley; L.M. Goldthorp, 'John Wesley's Visits to the Upper Calder Valley', THAS, 1975.

Year	Month	Places
1742	June	Lightcliffe; Halifax
1746	Feb.	Skircoat Green
1747	May	Skircoat Green; Halifax; Stonesheygate; Shore; Todmorden
1748	Aug.	Skircoat Green; Halifax; Heptonstall; Midgley; Todmorden
1752	April	Heptonstall; Ewood; Todmorden
1753	June	Heptonstall; Todmorden
1755	April	Mankinholes; Heptonstall; Ewood
	May	Halifax
1757	May	Halifax; Heptonstall; Ewood; Todmorden
1759	July	Todmorden; Heptonstall; Stainland
1761	July	Heptonstall; Ewood; Halifax
1764	July	Halifax; Heptonstall
1766	July	Heptonstall
	Aug.	Ewood; Halifax
1770	June	Hoo Hole, Mytholmroyd; Heptonstall
	July	Halifax
1772	July	Ewood; Heptonstall; Halifax
1774	April	Halifax; Heptonstall; Ewood; Lightcliffe
1776	April	Todmorden; Heptonstall; Halifax; Lightcliffe
1777	June	Halifax
1778	July	Halifax
	Aug.	Halifax
1779	April	Todmorden; Heptonstall; Ewood; Halifax
1780	April	Heptonstall; Todmorden
1781	July	Halifax
1782	April	Todmorden; Heptonstall; Ewood; Halifax
1783	Sept.	Halifax
1784	July	Halifax; Heptonstall; Todmorden
1786	April	Halifax; Heptonstall; Todmorden; Greetland
1788	April	Todmorden; Halifax; Sowerby
1789	July	Halifax
1790	April	Todmorden; Halifax; Sowerby

Table 17: Methodist Growth Rate in the Parish of Halifax, 1785-1851

Sources: Minutes of Conference

Abbreviations: WM: Wesleyan; MNC: Methodist New Connexion; PM: Primitive Methodist; WMA: Wesleyan Association; Hx: Halifax; SBdge: Sowerby Bridge; Todmn: Todmorden

YEAR	WM Hx	WM Todmn	WM SBdge	MNC Hx	PM Hx	WMA Todmn
1785						
1786	2.7					
1787	12.8					
1788	-2.5					
1789	0.0					
1790	1.0					
1791	0.4					
1792	0.8					
1793	-1.9					
1794	36.0					
1795	0.0					
1796	6.7					
1797	6.6					
1798	-26.7					
1799	4.8					
1800	3.0					
1801	-4.8	-1.6				
1802	-3.5	18.5		-11.9		
1803	3.0	13.7		-11.2		
1804	2.6	16.7		30.1		
1805	6.9	8.6		22.4		
1806	5.7	13.8		16.7		
1807	19.6	11.9		9.4		
1808	0.0	5.9		4.9		
1809	7.3	-2.1		15.2		
1810	2.6	1.4		5.7		
1811	0.0	4.2		10.2		
1812	5.1	0.3		-2.3		
1813	-31.7	-13.8		-25.4		
1814	-2.8	9.9	5.6	7.9		
1815	-4.4	0.0	2.1	-14.4		
1816	15.4	3.4	3.1	46.2		
1817	-2.0	10.0	-8.7	40.8		
1818	-11.6	-10.3	8.7	33.9		
1819	-10.0	6.1	1.6	5.6		
1820	-3.4	-5.7	-1.6	-8.6		
1821	0.9	6.9	-3.0	-6.1		
1822	13.1	0.7	3.1	11.1		
1823	16.2	6.4	4.9	11.2	28.6	
1824	6.7	1.5	12.1	11.1	1.3	
1825	-0.6	2.3	-6.1	-18.5		
1826	-2.8	-1.9	-2.4	-1.1		
1827	-10.0	-5.6	-9.8	-9.9		
1828	39.6	1.5	9.8	8.7		
1829	1.9	1.4	2.5	4.4		

YEAR	WM Hx	WM Todmn	WM SBdge	MNC Hx	PM Hx	WMA Todmn
1830	0.6	1.4	-12.9	-2.6	12.3	
1831	1.3	12.5	-10.9	7.8	3.1	
1832	6.2	10.3	2.8	9.6	14.5	
1833	4.1	2.9	4.9	5.2	-0.6	
1834	-6.8	6.2	0.0	0.9	-8.0	
1835	-4.4	0.0	0.2	3.9	-0.2	
1836	1.0	-32.1	2.5	3.3	-28.0	
1837	4.8	3.2	10.0	0.1	23.0	
1838	1.9	-3.0	10.2	4.2	24.4	
1839	3.0	3.8	-1.8	0.5	16.7	-10.9
1840	5.4	-3.5	6.2	-0.8	10.4	1.7
1841	4.6	-1.3	10.4	-0.3	-0.9	14.9
1842	-2.7	-1.1	-2.7	-32.8	-7.8	-3.3
1843	2.4	4.8	0.3	-1.1	-3.7	18.7
1844	2.7	9.4	-2.1	-1.3	-12.8	-16.7
1845	-6.6	-2.6	4.1	-8.7	-15.3	-6.3
1846	6.4	-4.9	-2.3	3.7		-10.5
1847	0.4	-3.8	-1.4	0.2	18.7	16.5
1848	4.9	10.9	-2.7	2.8	-6.6	7.9
1849	0.4	1.0	1.3	3.7	-1.3	-0.9
1850	-2.4	0.4	-1.6	1.3	-2.9	-4.9
1851	-36.2	-24.6	-4.3	7.7	2.0	0.0

Chapter Three

Religion and the Rise of Industrial Society, 1740-1851

3.1. Religion and the Workplace

Although perhaps not entirely typical of an eighteenth century domestic handloom weaver in that he was both sufficiently literate to have kept a meticulous record of his daily routine in the form of a diary and of such status within the local community to have served a six-month term of office as overseer of the poor for the township of Ovenden before he reached the age of thirty, the experience of Cornelius Ashworth (1752-1821) of Walt Royd, Wheatley, provides a well-documented insight into the role of religion in the life of a domestic outworker in the parish of Halifax in the late-eighteenth century. Ashworth combined the farming of a smallholding of around twenty-one acres with the weaving of around thirty pieces of cloth per year, which he apparently carried by foot to Halifax as each piece was completed.

His weekly routine almost invariably included attendance at two preaching services in Halifax each Sunday, whatever the weather, and his diary often records both the names of the preachers he heard and precise details of their sermon texts. On those rare occasions when he was unable to attend worship he carefully explained his absence in his diary, as on Sunday 7 August 1785, when he 'stayed at home till noon' having 'discovered a wound in a young heifer' and 'thought it a work of necessity to get it dressed immediately'. He regularly attended Square Chapel, referred to in one entry as 'our chapel', where he appears to have found the preaching of the former collier, the Reverend Titus Knight, particularly inspiring. Typical entries record that on 27 October 1782 'a very mild day ... heard Mr Knight in the forenoon comment on Hosea Chapter 11 and in the afternoon preach from Hebrews Chapter 9 verses 16 and 17' and on Sunday 7 September 1783 'a dull windy day ... heard Mr Knight preach in the forenoon from Isaiah Chapter 53 and part of the tenth verse and in the

afternoon from the sixty-sixth Psalm and sixteenth verse'. The latter entry also records that he heard John Wesley preach in Halifax on the same day. On Christmas Day, 1782, Ashworth walked the two miles from Wheatley to Halifax 'to hear Mr Knight preach both forenoon and after from Galatians Chapter 4, verses 4-7'; on Monday 6 January 1783, the diary records that 'Mr Knight preached at our house from Paul's Epistle to Timothy, the first Chapter and later part of the fifteenth verse' and when Knight left Halifax to preach in London during the summer months, his absences were carefully monitored by Ashworth in his diary.

He also occasionally attended the Halifax Particular Baptist Chapel, where, for example, he heard 'Mr Langdon, Baptist minister from Leeds' preach on Sunday 20 October 1782. On 17 April 1795, ten years after failing health had caused him to cease work as a handloom weaver, he was baptized by the Reverend William Hartley and two days later his name was added to the membership roll of Pellon Lane Baptist Chapel. His surviving later diaries for 1809 and 1815-16 record his regular attendance at church meetings and refer to numerous sermons preached both at the chapel and his home, by among others the Reverend Joseph Cockin of Square Chapel, during a period when the chapel was closed for repair.

During his period as a handloom weaver, his flexible working routine enabled him to attend special mid-week events. For example he walked to Halifax on 'a fine frosty' Thursday morning in November 1782 to hear Mr Langdon preach from Habakkuk, returning home to weave four-and-a-half yards of cloth and he remained in Halifax on the afternoon of Wednesday 11 June 1783 to hear 'Mr Ashworth from Gildersome and Mr Fawcett of Brearley Hall' preach at the meeting of the General Association of Baptists. Moreover, his faith clearly sustained him through the vagaries of climate and health which had such a direct bearing on the pattern of his life. In September 1783 he took 'a quantity of oil which the Lord caused

to work for good' after having suffered 'a sore fit of sickness' from traces of potash in some wheat loaf which he had eaten and in February 1785, acute pain in his bowels was relieved only after 'Charles Crowther went to Hebden Bridge to the doctor and got some Physic which was of use to me through the Blessing of God upon it' (1).

Domestic outworkers figure prominently in the non-parochial registers and trust deeds of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Nonconformist societies and chapels throughout the parish of Halifax, providing support for Dr A.D. Gilbert's thesis that 'skilled and semi-skilled artisans' provided the predominant social constituency of Evangelical Nonconformity in early industrial society. Over a period of twenty-five years between 1807 and 1826 58 per cent of the fathers of babies baptised at the Elland Wesleyan Chapel were textile workers, half of them handloom weavers. Of the eleven original trustees of the Brighouse Wesleyan Chapel appointed in 1794 over half were textile workers, including a clothier; a serge maker; two worsted manufacturers and two cloth dressers and of the eight original trustees of the Illingworth Moor Wesleyan Chapel, built in 1800, there were three handloom weavers and a woolcomber. In 1814, when the trust was renewed, another weaver, Abraham Potterton was appointed (2).

As the factory system developed during the first half of the nineteenth century, however, many domestic outworkers suffered a marked decline in their material prosperity and fewer of them were appointed chapel trustees, except by the Primitive Methodists, whose appeal was predominantly to the poorer sections of the community. By 1833, Abraham Potterton was the sole surviving handloom weaver amongst the Illingworth Moor trustees, who were now predominantly retailers or larger manufacturers. However of the seventeen trustees of the first Primitive Methodist Chapel at Boulderclough in 1822, nine were handloom weavers and two were woolcombers. One rare surviving list of the founder members of the new Harrison Road

Independent Chapel, which opened on the southern perimeter of Halifax in 1837, reveals that whilst over a third of the listed occupations were textile or textile-related, these included only one handloom weaver and two woolcombers. Many domestic outworkers, as we have seen, migrated from hill-top villages like Shore to find alternative employment in newer industrial locations along the valley bottoms or in expanding industrial townships like Ovenden, where Evangelical Nonconformists, for example the General Baptist New Connexion, swiftly planted new chapels and Sunday Schools (3).

Some enterprising rural yeomen clothiers successfully made the transition to urban industrial manufacturers bringing vast wealth and influence to the religious causes which they espoused. James Akroyd (1753-1830) an enterprising yeoman clothier from Brookhouse, Ovenden, was initially in partnership with his elder brother Jonathan manufacturing narrow 'lastings, calimancoes and wildbores' and 'figured "Amens"', woven from yarn spun by domestic outworkers in villages as far afield as Wigglesworth and Austwick. In 1805 James erected a worsted spinning mill at Brookhouse operated by a water wheel supplied by a cleverly engineered goit from the Hebble Brook half a mile away. His sons, Jonathan (1782-1847) and James (1785-1836), were both admitted into partnership in the firm, but James left in 1811 to set up his own business in Old Lane, Halifax. In 1822, he was among the first local worsted manufacturers to install power-looms in his factory and in 1825 imported Jacquard looms from Lyons for weaving damasks and other figured cloths. In 1814, his father had followed him into Halifax, opening a mill at Bowling Dyke, and appears to have competed commercially with his son until his death in 1830. When James the younger died in 1836, however, his brother Jonathan became head of the firm and was joined by his two sons, Edward (1810-87) and Henry (b. 1817). When Jonathan died suddenly in 1847, leaving estate valued at £1,750,000, Edward and Henry became executive partners in the largest firm

in worsted and wool textiles in the country with mills at Bowling Dyke, Haley Hill and Copley and a labour force, including outworkers, of some 7000 men, women and children (4). Although his brother and original business partner Jonathan had subscribed ten pounds in 1777 to the re-building of Illingworth Church, where he later served a term of office as churchwarden, James Akroyd had become closely associated with the Wesleyan cause at Bradshaw and would almost certainly have heard John Wesley preach at the chapel in 1790 on his last visit to Yorkshire. Another of his brothers, Timothy (1741-1819), was a class leader and society steward, who in 1797 with other members of the family joined the secession to the Methodist New Connexion which wrenched the chapel from Wesleyan control. While continuing to live at Brookhouse until 1818, when he moved to North Parade, Halifax, James Akroyd subscribed ten shillings and sixpence towards the provision of a Methodist New Connexion preaching house in Halifax in 1797. His name appeared on a bond in 1798 securing a loan for the building of the first Salem Chapel; on a mortgage deed in 1799 as one of six trustees of the new chapel; and on an indenture in 1806 by which additional land was conveyed to the trust. When the second Salem Chapel was built in 1815 the Akroyds rented a large family pew and after the opening of the new Hanover Chapel in 1836 Mrs Edward Akroyd presented a valuable silver plate, flagon and two candlesticks for the shared use of the two societies 'at the commemoration of the Lord's Supper'. In 1839 Jonathan Akroyd, a member at Salem, offered the congregation use of his spacious factory school at Woodside with its select library, finely-tuned organ and adjoining vestries. Moreover, 'when the vestries and other accessories had become all too small the worthy benefactor not to be beaten took his select class into the adjoining works' thereby, wrote Dr Daniel Ainley, the chapel's first historian, consecrating 'the secular to the highest ends'. He also employed a home missionary for the chapel and in 1845, during an appeal for

subscriptions to help reduce the chapel debt, he pledged to contribute an amount equal to the sum of all the other contributions received, which resulted in a personal donation of £1165.

When he died in 1847, his remains were interred in the family vault at Salem, and during the life-time of his widow Sarah, who died in 1852, the Akroyd family actively continued its support of the Methodist New Connexion cause. Mrs Akroyd was thanked by the Salem congregation for arranging for the servants at Woodside to cook dinner for the poor on Christmas Day, continuing a well-established tradition at the chapel, and at a mammoth fundraising bazaar in 1851, the prime stall was 'entirely furnished and worked by the Akroyd family', who also subsequently allowed the use of the Woodside schoolroom for a grand concert featuring Mrs Sunderland, 'the Yorkshire Queen of Song'. Altogether the two events realised £1800, which was shared between the Salem and Hanover societies (5).

E.P. Thompson has controversially argued that the crucial importance of Methodism lay in its use by employers during this period to train the first and second generations of factory workers in habits of discipline, regularity and obedience, citing Dr Andrew Ure (1778-1857), the liberal apologist of the factory system, who, in his Philosophy of Manufactures, published in 1835, argued that:

> It is excessively the interest of every mill-owner to organize his moral machinery on equally sound principles with his mechanical, for otherwise he will never command the steady hands, watchful eyes, and prompt co-operation, essential to excellence of product ... There is, in fact, no case to which the Gospel truth, 'Godliness is great gain', is more applicable than to the administration of an extensive factory (6).

On the surface, large-scale Methodist New Connexion manufacturers like the Akroyds appear obvious exponents of Ure's philosophy. Indeed, even before the end of the nineteenth century it was being rumoured that the Akroyds had put pressure on their workforce to attend the Salem Methodist

New Connexion Chapel, for in 1897, Dr Daniel Ainley, Medical Officer of Health for the County Borough of Halifax, writing the centenary history of the chapel, of which he too was a member, felt it necessary to rebut any such suggestion, commenting:

> For many years ... Salem had many adherents from Haley Hill and New Town. To account for this it has been said that, as nearly all the residents of that district were the employees of Mr Akroyd, they would be easily influenced to attend the same place of worship; but, as a matter of fact, this had occurred before the Messrs Akroyd came to Bowling Dyke.

Dr Ainley did, however, acknowledge that 'the personal influence and wealth' of Jonathan Akroyd undoubtedly contributed to the success of Woodside School as an annexe of the Salem Sunday School, for 'being near to a populous locality, the scholars and teachers so increased and multiplied that in a very few years it became one of the largest and most perfectly appointed schools in the district'. Moreover, there is other evidence to suggest that the firm sought to encourage their younger employees to attend Sunday School for during the period of their occupation of Boy Mill at Luddenden Foot from 1824-48, the Akroyds opened a Sunday School in a room at the mill and walked the children up to Boulderclough Methodist New Connexion Chapel for service (7).

The subsequent acknowledgement by Dr Ainley that when Edward Akroyd, Jonathan's son, appropriated the Woodside School for Anglican use in 1858 some of the former Methodist congregation and scholars 'for very love of the place ... remained at Woodside and tried to forget their free church teaching' would appear to further strengthen the argument that large-scale employers like the Akroyds, whatever their intentions, did in fact succeed in influencing the religious allegiance of at least some of their workforce. Moreover, the sharp decline in the rate of growth of the Halifax Methodist New Connexion Circuit between 1859 and 1861 following the opening of Edward Akroyd's All Soul's Church would appear to provide statistical

support for the suggestion that a section of the former Salem congregation transferred its allegiance to the Established Church during this period.

However, Edward Akroyd's deliberate rupture of the relationship which had existed between his family and the Salem Methodist New Connexion Chapel since its foundation and his substitution in its place of an Anglican ministry to the community from which the bulk of his workforce were drawn would also appear to weaken Thompson's argument that employers saw particular advantages in Methodism as a means of acquiring and retaining a well-disciplined workforce. If the Akroyds saw Methodism as such a crucial instrument in training a disciplined workforce, why then did they abandon it so abruptly within forty years of the opening of their Bowling Dyke factory? (8).

The vast size of the Akroyd workforce gave the firm a high public profile during the period from 1830 to 1847 when conditions in local mills were being portrayed by the propagandists of the Ten Hours Movement as no better than conditions in the colonial slave plantations. In the autumn of 1830 two sensational letters were written from within the parish of Halifax to the Leeds Mercury, the first in September by Richard Oastler exposing the plight of thousands of children who worked a thirteen hour day 'in those magazines of infantile slavery - the worsted mills in the town and neighbourhood of Bradford'; and the second in November by Richard Webster, who maintained that 'the hours of labour' were even longer in Halifax, where less time was allowed for meals. James Akroyd the younger chaired the meeting of Halifax master worsted spinners at the Old Cock Inn on 5 March 1831 which responded vigorously to the criticisms of the factory reformers by issuing fourteen resolutions arguing against any statutory reduction of hours of work on the grounds that this would lead to a reduction in wages, create unemployment, force up prices on the domestic market and damage exports and defending the employment of children on the grounds that if child labour were

not permitted children from large families would no longer be able to support their parents at an age between seven and fourteen when they were more capable of 'undergoing long continued labour' than young people between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one. Moreover, they firmly maintained 'that the character of the generality of master worsted spinners in respect to humanity, kindness and considerate attention to those in their employ is unimpeachable' and that, in any case, 'no legislative enactment can effectually protect innocence and poverty from the fraud and tyranny of the unprincipled' (9).

At a meeting attended by an estimated 700 people at the Halifax Piece Hall on Shrove Tuesday 1831 Richard Oastler's innuendos against the authors of the Halifax Resolutions provoked cries of 'Akroyd, Akroyd' and 'Shame, Shame' from within the vast crowd. On another occasion, however, during the following year Oastler was hissed at an open-air meeting in Bradford by a group of workmen reported to have come from the Akroyd mills, provoking the retort from Oastler:

> Silence ye hissers. I tell ye, ye cowards, and ye may go and tell the tyrants by whom ye are employed, that ye may do your worst - that the Bill is safe - that WE WILL HAVE IT - that IT SHALL PASS!

Five years later, when Jonathan Akroyd was nominated to serve as a Poor Law Guardian for the Halifax Union at a meeting of ratepayers the nomination was repeatedly greeted with cries of: 'The greatest tyrant in the town ... We want none of him ... We want no grinders - no enemy of the Ten Hours Bill' (10).

The Akroyds, however, maintained that the twelve hour day, which they operated, was 'not attended with any consequences injurious to those employed' and was 'necessary to provide for their livelihood'. They were considered by other employers, to be good masters, providing 'regular steady work ... all the year round; not running short time at one period and overtime at another, to suit varying demand; except when compelled to do so by a fluctuating supply of water'. Moreover, when the

plug rioters swept into Halifax in 1842 the workers at Haley Hill and Bowling Dyke in a celebrated episode in an impressive display of loyalty to their employer successfully resisted, with the timely assistance of the military, the determined attempts of the plug rioters to gain entry to the mill premises. Edward Akroyd, however, later frankly acknowledged that 'the conviction of a necessity for the manifestation on the part of employers of an interest in the physical well-being of the factory operatives first came home to him at the time of the passing of the Factory Act of 1833' and both he and his father campaigned vigorously for the repeal of the Corn Laws, contributing generously to the funds of the Halifax Anti-Corn Law Association, in the firm belief that this controversial legislation was the root cause of the distress of the operatives (11).

In 1842 at an Anti-Corn Law League conference, Edward Akroyd bluntly informed Sir Robert Peel that he represented one of the largest firms in Halifax with a weekly wage bill of £1000, employing 2000 hands; that that large numbers of operatives, particularly handcombers and handloom weavers had been laid off; that the number of persons in Halifax receiving outdoor relief had risen from 3704 in 1838 to 8531 in 1842 and that Chartist activity was increasing to such an alarming extent that 'it is to be feared that the horrors of famine might be heightened by anarchy and confusion'. Later that year Akroyd again insisted in a correspondence with the Halifax Guardian that it was the Corn Laws rather than overproduction stemming from the process of mechanisation that was the fundamental cause of the distress and warned that 'we are treading on a volcano of smothered popular excitement' (12).

Out of this growing conviction of the need 'for the restoration of a kindly feeling between the opposing classes of employer and employed' came the 'Haley Hill, New Town and Booth Town Horticultural and Floral Society' in 1843-44, based on similar allotment developments at Leeds and Keighley and the scheme

adopted in 1849 for the provision of housing and a factory school for their workers at Copley Mill, which they had acquired in 1844. The Akroyds, however, remained adamantly opposed to the Ten Hours Movement and again co-ordinated the opposition to the movement from local millowners between 1844 and 1846. At a meeting in February 1846, at which he presided, Edward Akroyd declared:

> Has not legislation gone far enough already? Short Time Committees have produced some able documents but have forgotten that if the hours of labour are reduced wages will be reduced also. If spinning mills work only ten hours per day then combers will also work only ten hours per day and wages will be depressed. I will never be a party to that! (13).

The second largest Methodist New Connexion employer in Halifax was George Beaumont (d. 1858), a former travelling preacher with the connexion who had been stationed in Halifax in 1804 and 1815, where he had met and married a sister of Jonathan Akroyd. He subsequently left the ministry, commencing business as a draper in Old Market in 1816 and later acquiring mills at Haley Hill and Horley Green. By 1834 he owned a large mill which he made available for refreshments for around 700 guests after he had performed the stonelaying ceremony for the new Hanover Chapel, of which he was a founding trustee. Like the Akroyds, he campaigned energetically for the repeal of the Corn Laws, presiding at the meeting in February 1839 when the Halifax branch of the Anti-Corn Law League was formed. Active also in municipal politics, he espoused the cause of sanitary reform and improved working class housing and was responsible for the development of Beaumont Town, which was later re-named Claremount. He later relinquished his proprietorship of the firm and was appointed a departmental manager, remaining 'in that capacity until advanced in years' (14).

Despite its numerical superiority over the Methodist New Connexion throughout the period, Halifax Wesleyanism does not appear to have produced any manufacturers to match the scale of

operations of the Akroyds or even the Beaumonts. Although the first Wesleyan preaching house in Halifax was constructed through the liberality of William Greenwood, a Mixenden shalloon maker, who also became a trustee of the new chapel opened in 1770, an examination of the trust deeds for the chapel from 1770-1845 reveals a growing predominance of trades and professional occupations in the leadership of Halifax Wesleyanism during this period. In 1770 besides Greenwood and the Reverend John Grimshaw, the trustees included a shopkeeper, a broker, a tailor, two shoemakers, a carpenter, a yeoman and a solitary weaver, Jonathan Schofield of Southowram. In 1806, when the trust was renewed, the trustees included two leather dealers, a currier, a saddler, a shoemaker, a brace and trunk maker, a brazier, an engraver, four corn dealers, a china dealer, a schoolmaster, a cardmaker, two cloth printers, a cloth dresser, a cotton spinner, a cotton manufacturer, John Sutcliffe of Stern Mill, Sowerby Bridge, and two woollen manufacturers Isaac Priestley and Robert Emmett of Halifax (15).

Little is known of Isaac Priestley, except that he was the son of Mrs Priestley (b. 1720) of Illingworth, an associate of William Grimshaw and William Greenwood, and that he is listed in Bailey's Northern Directory of 1781 as a merchant. Rather more is known of Robert Emmett, who signed the indenture for the conveyance of land for the South Parade Chapel in 1776, when he was described as a Halifax shalloon maker; made an immediate advance of £100 upon interest and during the ensuing three years contributed over £730 towards the construction costs of the chapel, of which he became a trustee in 1806. He was leader of the class 'in which there were not many new converts' which Jonathan Saville chose to join in 1784 and when the impact of the Great Yorkshire Revival was being felt locally between 1799 and 1801, Jonathan Saville persuaded him to accompany him on several of his evangelistic initiatives. Subsequently Emmett became superintendent of the Halifax Prayer

Leaders, but appears to have died before the next renewal of the trust in 1831 (16).

The South Parade trustees in 1831 included a currier, a brace and trunk maker, a shoemaker, three cardmakers, an engraver, an ironmonger, a china dealer, a corn dealer, two grocers, a shopkeeper, two druggists, a surgeon, a perfumer, two linen drapers, two woollen drapers, a cloth printer, a cloth dresser, a cotton manufacturer, John Sutcliffe of Willow Hall, formerly of Stern Mill in Sowerby Bridge, a clothier, Jonathan Denison of Halifax, two Halifax merchants, William Hatton the Younger and Benjamin Milnes and two gentlemen. Jonathan Denison, who was also appointed a trustee of Wesley Broad Street in 1829, appears in commercial directories of 1830 and 1845 as a woollen manufacturer at Lee Bridge Mill. He also served as a class leader, prayer meeting conductor and local preacher. Benjamin Milnes, one of the trustees described as a merchant does not appear to have had any manufacturing interests, operating principally as a carrier by water, but William Hatton the Younger, the other trustee described as a merchant, may well have been the most prominent Halifax Wesleyan manufacturer during this period. William Hatton the Younger, who appears in commercial directories as a woollen manufacturer, was a third generation Wesleyan, the grandson of John Hatton of Lightcliffe and the son of William Hatton, a china dealer resident in Birmingham by 1831. William Hatton the Younger was converted at the age of nineteen and became a Sunday School teacher and his obituary in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine maintained that 'it was as a result of the prayer-meetings he and others of like mind held in the town and in the adjacent villages that the lower classes were introduced to Methodism'. 'A more honest tradesman never lived' and by 1850, the eulogy continued, he had become a successful businessman in the town and 'to his workmen he was always considerate and kind'. In 1844 at a meeting of Halifax millowners at the Talbot Inn, he was the sole manufacturer to express his support for the Ten

Hours Bill, referring to the tired and weary condition of children and young women at the end of a day's work and maintaining that 'the working classes ought to have time to improve themselves'. In a memorandum written after a later commercial crisis he thanked God 'for his gracious providence' and expressed a great sense of relief that 'my workpeople have been employed and their families have known no want' (17).

When the South Parade Trust was renewed in 1845, William Hatton, still described as a merchant, was the only surviving textile manufacturer amongst the trustees who also included a coal merchant, two grocers (one of them wholesale), a shoemaker, a saddler, a currier, a silversmith, a druggist, four drapers, three cardmakers, a worsted spinner and a cloth dresser and five gentlemen. Whilst the nucleus of the leadership of the two principal Wesleyan chapels in Halifax was drawn predominantly from the Halifax shopocracy, membership lists, circuit plans and trust deeds provide many other examples of class leaders, local preachers and chapel trustees, together with the great bulk of rank-and-file members whose names do not appear in the trade directories of the period providing support for the thesis that chapels recruited predominantly from the working class during their period of most rapid expansion. Moreover of the 1594 members of Halifax Wesleyanism recorded in the Circuit Directory for the year 1830, women, outnumbered men by nearly 2:1. Many of these women, none of whose names appear in the commercial directories, together with many of their children, must have been employed in the new textile factories of the parish, but it would appear that very few of them would have worked for large-scale Wesleyan employers who also held leadership roles in the local Wesleyan community (18).

Outside Halifax itself the situation may have been rather different in certain localities. John Hirst (d. 1778), a paper miller of Bradley Mills, built Greetland Wesleyan chapel in 1778 at his own expense and handed it over to the growing

society. Nathan Isles (1765-1845), a worsted manufacturer of Ovenden was a trustee of Illingworth Moor Wesleyan Chapel from 1814 to 1831 and with his brothers, George and Nathan of Illingworth Mills was among the subscribers to the Ovenden Sunday School. His son, George, later entered the Wesleyan ministry. When John Walker (d. 1816), a Wesleyan manufacturer from Dewsbury, acquired Sterne Mill, Sowerby Bridge, he immediately opened his house as a preaching place, and when he later moved to Mereclough Bottom, worship continued in his hayloft, where he also began a Sunday School, which became the nucleus of the Bolton Brow Wesleyan Society, which built its first chapel with Walker's assistance in 1806. The Bolton Brow Chapel was rebuilt on a more imposing scale in 1831 in order to provide additional accommodation for a rapidly increasing Sunday School. A major part of the cost of construction was met by by John Sutcliffe of Lower Willow Hall, a cotton manufacturer of Sterne Mill, who also served as a trustee of the South Parade Chapel in Halifax from 1806 to 1833. George Crabtree, a radical propagandist for the Factory Movement, touring Calderdale in 1833 in order to collect signatures for a petition calling upon the king to withdraw the recently appointed Royal Commission , which was expected to take greater notice of the manufacturers' case than had Sadler's Select Committee, called on John Sutcliffe, whom the Reverend Rogers, a local Anglican incumbent, had described as 'a good and humane master', but found him 'sick in bed'. Whilst his book-keeper, Mr Naylor, at Sutcliffe's behest, declined to sign Crabtree's petition he made it clear that the firm had no intention of actively opposing the petition. However, child workers from his factory interviewed in the street by Crabtree maintained that they worked fourteen hours a day for between one and two shillings a week and that although Mr Sutcliffe allowed his workers to finish at 7.30 p.m. on Wednesday evenings so that they might attend chapel some of them complained that they were subsequently required to

make up the lost time. Crabtree encountered three other men 'with bags on their backs containing their work' outside the new Bolton Brow Chapel and observed:

> As they passed us, one was looking towards the Chapel and swearing and wishing it might sink to Hell, and Mr Sutcliffe with it! I said I thought that was too bad, as Mr Sutcliffe was so good a man and had built the chapel for their good; 'Damn Him', says another, 'I know him, I have had a swatch of him, and a corner of that chapel is mine, and it all belongs to his workpeople'. I then begun to reflect ... that though he may have a saint-like character from Mr Rogers; yet from his work people he has a Devilish one, Mr Rogers has frequent access to his table, but his poor workmen pay for it.

Two of the clerics visited by Crabtree were, however, more critical of the factory system and had incurred the wrath of local millowners in consequence. An Anglican clergyman at the Cragg Vale Mission Church had attacked from his pulpit 'the cruel system of overworking' and 'so displeased some of the mill-owners' that they had never spoken to him since and the regular preaching of Mr Farrer 'an old Methodist minister' at Hebden Bridge against factories and steam looms, which he denounced as 'little hells' and 'rattling devils', had led Mr Walker of Mytholmroyd, a partner in the worsted spinning mill of Messrs. Walker and Edmundson, to threaten 'that when it is his turn to preach in their chapel, he will lock the door and prevent him from going in'. Crabtree reported the complaints of some of the firm's young employees of long working hours, lack of time for meals and the prevalence of corporal punishment at the factory, which he referred to alternately as 'a prison' and 'a seminary of vice'. In July 1833 angry masters answered Crabtree's 'misrepresentations and lies' and a vituperative broadside war ensued in which the 'nameless factory masters in Cragg Valley' were taken to task by other factory reformers including Richard Oastler and Joseph Woodall of Bradford. However, the evidence given by John Sutcliffe and Messrs. Walker and Edmundson to the Factory Commissioners that summer presented a much more favourable impression of

conditions in their mills than the evidence collected by Crabtree from his interviews. Sutcliffe informed the enquiry that only five boys and two girls from his workforce of 326 workers were under ten years of age and that he allowed his workers nine half-day holidays during the year, whilst Messrs. Walker and Edmundson insisted that their workers were allowed a full hour for lunch and strenuously denied that they used corporal punishment, maintaining that they 'sent unruly children home' (19).

The Sunday School of the Wesleyan Methodist Association Chapel at Lumbutts enjoyed regular financial support in its early years from the two local employers, the Fielden Brothers, who operated two mills in the village and Messrs. Firth and Haworth, who owned two cotton spinning mills at Causeway Wood, though neither employer actually identified with the cause. The experiences of Alice Fielden (1796-1874), daughter of Joshua Fielden 'one of the earliest Methodists in the vale of Todmorden', and Lawrence Wilson, 'an earnest and consistent member of the Methodist society' at Sowerby Bridge, whom she met and married in 1824, however, provide a well-documented example of a Wesleyan and subsequently Wesleyan Methodist Association family business. Shortly before his marriage, Lawrence Wilson had commenced business on his own account at Hough Stone, Todmorden, making bobbins for textile manufacturers. After their marriage the young couple 'at once resolved that God should be acknowledged in all their concerns and his Blessing daily sought'. When they moved to Pudsey Mill in the Burnley Valley and in 1831-32 to a purpose-built mill at Cornholme, they 'threw open their house and mill for Sabbath and week-evening services' and every morning for twenty years, fifteen minutes before breakfast time, 'the works were stopped, and the workmen called together, a few verses of a hymn sung, a portion of Scripture read, and prayer offered for the Divine blessing; Mrs Wilson taking part along with her husband, and all their Christian workmen, in praise and prayer'

(20).

The most prominent Methodist secessionist industrialists operating within the parish after the Akroyds were the Methodist-Unitarian Fielden family of Todmorden. Of Quaker yeomen farming stock, Joshua Fielden (b. 1748) moved his family to Laneside in Todmorden in 1782 in order to start his own cotton business. In 1803 he relinquished the business to his five sons, under the direction of his third son John (1784-1849). When John Fielden died in 1849 the firm of 'Fielden Brothers' was one of the largest textile concerns in the country with over 2000 workers tending 100,000 cotton spindles and 1500 power looms in eleven mills; a working capital exceeding half a million pounds and its own merchant shipping firm and international agencies. Although favourably disposed towards Fielden on account of his advocacy of the Ten Hours Bill, George Crabtree was not particularly impressed with his factory at Waterside which he visited in 1833 and Fielden's modern biographer has adjudged that Waterside, where wages were respectable by contemporary standards, but never especially high, was 'not much less satanic than the typical textile mill'. However, the Fieldens did provide free medical care and paid injured workers half their accustomed wage; refused to operate relays and did not use the state of the market as an excuse to fire people and it was John Fielden who, as member of Parliament for Oldham, ultimately secured the enactment of the Ten Hours Bill in 1847.

John Fielden also espoused the cause of children's education and in 1816 co-operated with the Methodists in the founding of an undenominational Sunday School in Todmorden. A few years later he established, at his own expense, the 'Fielden Free School' for 'one hundred poor children', one of the first undenominational day schools in the country, and in 1827, five years before it became statutorily compulsory, he opened a factory school for the child workers at Waterside, with the first minister of the Todmorden Unitarian Chapel serving as

schoolmaster. Fielden himself subsequently taught at the school and in 1841 received a revealing letter of thanks from Henry Hirst, a thirteen year old bobbin doffer at Stoneswood Mill, who attended the school for two hours each day, and testified to having made great progress in reading and writing with Fielden as his teacher. He continued:

> I feel a great privilege in coming to school for while I am here I am happy. I was very glad when all those slates came for I knew that our good master had sent them for us. Besides we have a large school room to do our work in and there is a fine large steam pipe to keep the school warm in winter. I am sure the masters think something about us or else they would not do all this for us. We need to be thankful to them for letting us come to school without paying for just look at those uneducated persons in the factory who think nothing about saying foul tales and lying and swearing and grieving God to all heights. Once about a year since I used to think I had a right to swear when I was not in the school but our master taught me better. It is a sin to swear any time for God sees me in the dark as well as in the antemeridian ... There are even at Stoneswood Mill adults who can neither read nor write, poor creatures. I am sorry for them, their minds must be very shallow.

Fielden also helped establish a chapel library; served as superintendent of the chapel Sunday School and formed the 'Todmorden Friendly Society', which taught the more domestic arts of knitting, sewing and reading. Professor S.A. Weaver has aptly summarised Fielden's contribution to the life of the local community to which he ultimately gave his religious allegiance: 'In Todmorden, at least, John Fielden simply <u>was</u> the Methodist Unitarian Church'. It had been Fielden who had organised the members into a society 'for the purpose of purchasing ground and erecting a building ... wherein religious worship of God in one Person shall be carried on'; Fielden who had been appointed to take conveyance of the site chosen and Fielden who absorbed most of the building expenses. Four years after the opening of the chapel in 1824, Fielden bought both the building and property for £480, thus assuming complete responsibility for the congregation's debts and complete control over the congregation's affairs, including the

appointment and payment of ministers, whom he often provided with living quarters at his home. No major industrialist within the parish was more closely involved with the detail of religious life during this period than John Fielden (21).

Whilst there are very few examples of the industrial patronage of Baptist Chapels within the parish during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries industrial capital, as has already been demonstrated, played an important role in sustaining the expansion of the Independent cause within the parish during this period. The magnificent Square, Sion and Harrison Road Chapels were built with generous financial support from merchants and manufacturers such as James Kershaw, Benjamin Dickinson, Jonathan Hodgson, John Haigh, Samuel Hodgson, William Baldwin, Ely Bates and James Hoatson. However, the family of industrialists which was to become most closely associated with Halifax Congregationalism, particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century was the Crossley family of Dean Clough. The founder of the firm John Crossley (1772-1837), a carpet and stuff manufacturer, worsted and woollen yarn spinner, in the year following his marriage to Martha Turner (1775-1854), leased his first mill at Dean Clough in 1802 in partnership with his brother Thomas and James Travis. Her youngest son, Francis Crossley, subsequently attributed his father's business success to the strong Christian principles which his mother infused into the business. She, apparently, had vowed on the first morning when she accompanied her husband to Dean Clough: 'If the Lord does bless us at this place, the poor shall taste of it' and later advised her sons:

> Do not sell your goods for less than they cost, for it would ruin you without permanently benefiting anyone; but if you can go on giving employment to some during the winter, do so; for it is a bad thing for a working man to go home and hear his children cry for bread, and not be able to give them any.

In 1822, the partnership of Crossley, Travis and Crossley was dissolved and John Crossley took over the business. In 1830

he bought the only other carpet manufacturing business in Halifax and in 1833 purchased patents which enabled him to manufacture printed tapestries and velvets. When John Crossley died in 1837, the business, worth around £13,000 and with a workforce, including outworkers of 300, was continued by his three younger sons, John (1812-79), Joseph (1813-68) and Francis (1817-72) all of whom had been put to work in the mill as children. In August 1846, in advance of any legislation, Crossleys reduced the hours of work from twelve to eleven each day without any reduction in pay. In 1851 the firm registered patents for a new power-driven carpet loom which proved to be the springboard for an enormous expansion of production in second half of the nineteenth century.

In 1833, John Crossley the Younger became a member of Square Chapel, Halifax, where both his great-grandparents, Thomas (1717-97) and Betty Crossley (1720-1800), were buried in the graveyard, 'continuing the commitment to the Independent cause shown by his forbears'. In 1836, he was elected a deacon at the chapel and in 1847 promised to pay off half the debt of the Providence Congregational Church which stood at £900 if the congregation undertook to pay off the other half, a foretaste of the philanthropy which was to characterise not only his own later years but also those of his two younger brothers (22).

Quakers in the parish of Halifax, as in many other parts of the country, were also active in business and commerce. An occupational analysis of members of the Brighouse Monthly Meeting from within the parish of Halifax between 1813 and 1838 reveals no fewer than seven merchants, four cardmakers, two yeomen clothiers, two woolstaplers, two cloth dressers, two tailors, a weaver, a manufacturer, a clog and patten maker, a joiner, and a drysalter. The descendants of Joseph Fryer (1670-1751) and Easter Preston (1668-1712) were the first to develop the latent cloth trade of Rastrick and send its products over two hemispheres. They 'probably introduced to

the village its first warehouse and dyehouse and certainly its first steam engine'. The founder of the dynasty Joseph I, made or dealt in kerseys. His son, Joseph II (1707-86) was a yeoman or stuff manufacturer. In 1737 he gave £4.2s.0d towards the rebuilding of Brighouse Meeting House. In the next generation of the family there were seven sons. The eldest Joseph III (1755-1816) and his younger brother Thomas (1760-1816) were in partnership as woollen manufacturers trading as Joseph Fryer and Company until both died in 1816. Joseph was a founder of the Friends' School at Gildersome, which later moved to Ackworth, and Thomas gave £2.2s.0d towards the rebuilding of Mary Law's School in 1802. From 1821-36 Joseph III's elder sons Joseph IV (1781-46) and William (b. 1782) operated a partnership as manufacturers and merchants in Rastrick and New Bridge Street in the City of London. During the period 1764-1802 no fewer than five patents were taken out by members of the Fryer family for a variety of innovatory textile processes including one 'for mixing seals' down with lambs' wool: preparing it to be carded, roved and spun into yarn capable of being woven with silk, linen, wool or cotton into a cloth fit for garments' (23).
There was only one Anglican Church in the parish built by an industrialist before 1851, namely the Church of St Mary, Cotton Stones, Sowerby, built in 1848 by John Hadwen and Sons of Kebroyd, whose family home and silk and cotton spinning mills were in the vicinity. There are, however, numerous examples within the parish of Anglican industrialists actively supporting the established Church, for example, the Edwards family of Pye Nest; the Holdsworth family of Shaw Lodge; the Huntriss family of Westfield; the Lister family of Shibden Hall; the Ramsden family of Jumples and the Waterhouses of Well Head. It was not unusual for a manufacturing family, with forbears buried in the churchyard of one of the parochial chapelries, to maintain its links with a church geographically remote from their industrial premises and even their family

home as in the case of the Holdsworths, whose mill premises at Shaw Lodge, alongside the Halifax branch of the Calder and Hebble Navigation, were several miles away from St Mary's Church at Illingworth, which remained the family church throughout this period. From small beginnings putting out work to handloom weavers in the Shibden Valley, John Holdsworth (1797-1857), the founder of the firm, moved first to Bottoms Mill at Salterhebble, and subsequently to the old mill at Shaw Lodge where further buildings were added as the worsted spinning and manufacturing enterprise developed into the third largest mill complex in the town. In 1833 the firm employed 219 workers, most of whom were female, working a thirteen hour day during the week and finishing three hours earlier on Saturdays. In 1849, the journalist Angus Bethune Reach of the Morning Chronicle was most favourably impressed with the spacious premises and congenial working environment at Shaw Lodge Mills and the firm maintained a reputation for many years of paying its operatives higher wages than other firms in the town (24).

3.2. Religion, Education and Literacy

The clergy of the Church of England were responsible for much of the early educational provision within the parish of Halifax. The York Diocesan Archives provide examples from the sixteenth century of clerical schoolmasters at Halifax, Heptonstall, Elland, Luddenden, Coley, Illingworth and Cross Stone. Moreover, the grammar schools at Halifax, Heptonstall, Hipperholme, Rishworth, Sowerby, Todmorden and Warley, founded or re-founded during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were essentially Anglican foundations. In his returns to Archbishop Herring in 1743, the Vicar of Halifax reported that although the governors of the free grammar school at Heath, near Halifax, had been negligent in their observance of the school statutes approved by the late archbishop, the headmaster, the Reverend John Holdsworth, had been careful to ensure that the seventy boys who were being 'taught and fitted

for the universities' were diligently instructed 'in the Christian religion' and brought 'to church frequently'. At Heptonstall and Hipperholme Grammar Schools, the boys were also catechised and obliged to attend church regularly (25).

Alongside the grammar schools, a growing number of charity schools had been established in the parish of Halifax during the seventeenth century to provide an elementary education for the children of the poor by such benefactors as John Hanson at Rastrick; Nathaniel Waterhouse at Halifax; Sarah Gledhill at Barkisland; Jeremiah Hall at Boothtown and Oliver Heywood at Northowram. During the eighteenth century, following the foundation of the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge in London in 1699, many more charity schools were established. In 1743, Archbishop Herring was informed that there were nine public or charity schools within the parish of Halifax, eight of which were endowed. However these schools were not so generously endowed as the grammar schools and generally had fewer pupils on their rolls. Whilst the grammar school at Rishworth had an annual endowment of fifty pounds and was attended by 'upwards of fifty scholars', the neighbouring 'English' school at Ripponden had an annual endowment of a mere ten pounds and was attended by only fourteen scholars. The annual endowments of the other charity schools ranged from sixteen pounds for the teaching of twelve poor children at Sowerby to five pounds at Coley, where only a 'few children' learned English, and a mere three pounds at Cross Stone, where a small number of children were 'taught by the clerk, who instructs them in the principles of the Christian religion, according to the doctrine of the Church of England and brings them to the chapel'. At Luddenden, where 'twenty children are taught to read English and the Catechism', although the schoolhouse was 'repaired at the expense of the chapelry' there was no endowment to cover school fees (26).

By 1764, the Drummond Visitation Returns reveal that the number of public and charity schools in the parish had apparently

increased to thirteen, eleven of which were endowed. But comparison of the educational data from the two sets of returns needs to be made with extreme caution, for the data is incomplete for both years. For example, there were no returns to Archbishop Herring from Elland, which had at least three charity schools by 1743, and no returns to Archbishop Drummond from Ripponden and Rastrick, which together accounted for three charity schools in 1764. Moreover, two of the Halifax charity schools notified by Dr Legh in 1764 were already in existence in 1743, but were omitted by the vicar from his return for that year. Similarly, the Reverend Henry Whitworth, Curate of Coley, included in his 1764 return the charity school which Joseph Crowther had endowed for the education of twelve of the poorest inhabitants of Northowram in 1711, which had been omitted by his predecessor from his return in 1743.

There is also a problem in obtaining reliable data from the Visitation Returns about the numbers on roll at the charity schools in the parish, for some curates did not supply any figures at all and others referred only to the number of free places available. However, aggregating the number of children on roll from the individual returns for each visitation produces a total of 268 children receiving some form of elementary education in the parish in 1743 and 232 in 1764. In 1743 Dr Legh estimated that there were some 6200 families in the parish, which suggests a juvenile population of around 18,600 on a conservative estimate of three children per family, for whom there was educational provision in public or charity schools for only 1.44 per cent. In 1764, the aggregated returns of the parochial clergy produce an estimated 7216 families, projecting a juvenile population of 21648, for whom there was educational provision for only 1.07 per cent.

Almost all the charity schools established in the parish of Halifax in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were closely associated with the Established Church. Several developed under the patronage of Anglican gentry along the

south eastern perimeter of the parish. A school endowed by Frances Thornhill of Fixby Hall in 1718 'for ten poor girls in Elland to be taught spinning, knitting, sewing, reading, writing and the Catechism of the Church of England' quickly established direct links with the SPCK in London. In 1735 Mary Bedford, widow of John Bedford, a wealthy property owner of Thornhill Briggs, made provision in her will for the endowment of a school for the instruction of five poor boys in reading, writing and arithmetic; and five poor girls in reading, knitting, sewing and the principles of the Christian religion, provided that the inhabitants of Brighouse erected a suitable building for this purpose within a year of her death. Following her death in 1740, the condition was promptly fulfilled when Sir Samuel Armitage, the Anglican squire of Kirklees Hall, opened a subscription list and ultimately personally contributed over half the costs of construction of the new schoolhouse, which opened in 1741. His support for the foundation ensured its success as the expected endowment failed to materialise, despite the repeated efforts of the Rastrick curate and churchwardens to resolve a protracted legal dispute with Mary Bedford's trustees. In 1743, Sir Samuel also became a trustee of a charity school which had been opened in Elland in 1740 under the terms of the will of Grace Ramsden, a native of Greetland, which had made provision for the erection of a schoolhouse for the instruction of forty boys in reading, writing and arithmetic and the Catechism of the Church of England. Initially the school had only twenty-four scholars, but the numbers had increased to thirty by 1764, when Archbishop Drummond was informed that the boys were taught English and accounts and 'catechised and brought to church'. In the 1820s, Richard Oastler, the Tory Evangelical land steward of the Thornhill family which no longer resided at Fixby Hall, started a school in Fixby 'for all the children of the poor who chose to come, where they were taught reading, writing, sewing, knitting and useful domestic occupations: and

above all, where they were trained as good Christians to venerate the Church, and to honour the clergy and their superiors' (27).

Although the eighteenth and early nineteenth century charity schools of the parish were predominantly Anglican endowments, they were not exclusively so. In 1712 Joseph Brooksbank, a prosperous London Dissenter, had provided an endowment for teaching forty poor children in his native Elland to read the Bible and repeat the Catechism of the Westminster Assembly. When the Charity Commissioners reported on the school in 1829, they observed that since the foundation of the school the office of schoolmaster had been combined with that of minister of the Dissenting Chapel in Elland which had also been endowed by the Brooksbank family. Indeed, it was not uncommon for Dissenting ministers to open small fee-paying public schools to supplement their meagre incomes during this period. John Fawcett and John Taylor, Baptist ministers at Wainsgate and Queenshead respectively, and Thomas Evans, the Unitarian minister at Mixenden, provide well-documented examples of this practice and in 1772 a schoolhouse was erected adjoining the manse at Northowram to enable the Independent minister Robert Hesketh and his successors to augment their stipends by teaching children from the village (28).

Charitable and public school provision throughout the eighteenth century was essentially piecemeal and hopelessly inadequate to the task of educating the children and youth of the parish when measured against the estimated size of the juvenile population in 1743 and 1764. However, supplemented by the rudimentary schooling provided by an indeterminate number of dame schools and a sprinkling of private academies, it contributed to the achievement of an adult male literacy rate of 60 per cent between 1754 and 1762, which had risen to 64 per cent by the period 1799-1804, notwithstanding a population increase of around 64 per cent during the intervening period. However if, as Lawrence Stone suggests,

literacy trends based upon the signatures of bridegrooms reflect improvements in the quality of educational provision fifteen years earlier, the improvement in adult male literacy rates between 1799-1804 may well have resulted from the initial impact of the Sunday School movement on the parish between 1784-1789 (29).

The debate about the origins of Sunday Schools within the parish of Halifax has been controversial, protracted, and, in the absence of conclusive evidence to support the claims advanced by the different denominational contenders, increasingly sterile. J.U. Walker, the historian of Wesleyan Methodism in Halifax, writing in 1836, confessed that 'on account of conflicting opinions' he was unable 'to ascertain to which denomination the honour of the introduction of Sunday Schools into Halifax belongs', but this did not deter him from claiming that 'the Wesleyan Methodists, however, were the first to introduce those institutions into the parish of Halifax, one being formed at Bradshaw prior to the year 1790'. J.G. Miall, the historian of Yorkshire Congregationalism, writing in 1868, claimed that 'to Mixenden belongs the honour of originating one of the first Sunday Schools in England, and perhaps the very first in the parish of Halifax'. Citing 'an old manuscript in his possession', he maintained that during the pastorate of the Reverend Thomas Evans between 1764 and 1779, Abram Burns 'was paid a trifle for his labour as a Sabbath-day teacher', assisted by Benjamin Patchett, an elder of the chapel and Evans himself who 'frequently collected the children together in the aisles of the chapel to impart scriptural instruction to them' between services on Sundays, examining their knowledge of Dr Watt's Catechisms and the Catechisms of the Westminster Assembly. Rejecting this claim, a later Methodist historian, E.V. Chapman, maintained that Sunday School classes were held by the Wesleyans 'in various cottages' in Heptonstall where 'adults as well as children learned their pothooks' some time before the construction of the Octagon Chapel in 1764 (30).

Whilst individual chapels within the parish may have made some rudimentary educational provision for children long before Robert Raikes (1735-1811), a wealthy Anglican Evangelical, introduced and publicised his Gloucester Sunday School experiment in the early 1780s, it would appear that the Sunday School movement in the parish of Halifax received a major new impetus from the work of Raikes after 1781. The Gentleman's Magazine recorded that during 1784 'Sunday Schools became general in Leeds and its neighbouring towns' and at the beginning of August that year the Leeds Intelligencer reported:

> Sunday Schools have commenced at Halifax, and nearly 600 children attended the Parish Church at that place on Sunday the 25th of July (31).

The Sunday School movement appealed to Evangelicals across denominational divisions and offered the children of the poor the opportunity to acquire a degree of literacy on the only day of the week on which they were not required to work. A Sunday School was established at St Thomas's Church, Heptonstall, in 1782 and the Reverend John Fawcett, whose 'Advice to Youth or the Advantages of Early Piety', published in 1778, had included an exhortation to the young 'to persevere in the reading of the Scriptures', was active in establishing Baptist Sunday Schools at Hebden Bridge and Wainsgate from the early 1780s. After initial problems were encountered in finding suitable winter accommodation for the school at Hebden Bridge 'to his great regret, the institution declined, and was at length relinquished', but was apparently re-established at Ebenezer Chapel in 1786. Fawcett campaigned vigorously for the religious education of the children of the poor, subsequently publishing a tract offering 'Hints on the Education of Children, particularly the Children of the Poor', priced at fourpence and 'designed to be put into the hands of the lower class of people who have not access to more elaborate treatises'. He also wrote an immensely popular moralistic tale for children, 'The History of John Wise', which ran through numerous editions including an illustrated edition

circulated widely by the British and Foreign Bible Society (32).

The majority of Sunday Schools founded before 1800, however, were undenominational schools with paid teachers. In 1792 a 'Committee of Gentlemen' established twenty such Sunday Schools in Halifax itself, each with provision for thirty scholars to be taught by a master, who was to be paid ten shillings a month and to ensure that his scholars accompanied him to his own place of worship. James Waddington of Hope Hall bequeathed five pounds per annum for ten years to supply the schools with books, but the schools appear to have gradually decreased until the scheme was abandoned in January 1802, when only two remained. The initiative by 'gentlemen' in 1792 may have originated from the concern of men of property to arrest the spread of Painite republican atheism amongst the lower classes in the wake of the publication of Thomas Paine's Rights of Man, a concern which also stimulated the Reverend John Fawcett to write a short summary in popular form of the evidence for Christianity 'with a view to counteract the efforts of the enemies of religion and to confirm the minds of the wavering'. Early Sunday School provision was also motivated by a strict Sabbatarianism. Two gentlemen who set up a Sunday School in a cottage at Highroad Well during this period were apparently 'greatly disturbed by the lawless and mischievous ways of wild lads' on the Sabbath (33).

Many of the denominational Sunday Schools which began to proliferate the parish from 1799 also attracted support from men of substance from within the community. The account book of the Northgate End Unitarian Sunday School, founded in March 1799, records subscriptions of one guinea each from Messrs. Swaine, Cooke, Kershaw, Briggs, Rhodes, Richardson and Threlkeld, which, with other donations, enabled suitable premises to be rented and a teacher employed for a weekly stipend of one shilling. Moreover, both of the superintendents of Square Sunday School, founded by the

Independents in 1804, were described as 'gentlemen' and because one of them was 'often absent on business' the management of the school was subsequently vested in a committee, for it was not considered appropriate to entrust the management of the school 'to the care of the teachers' themselves until a decade after its foundation in September 1814. The first superintendents of the South Parade Wesleyan Sunday School, founded in 1805, included Robert Emmett, a shalloon maker, and Messrs Cousins and Jardine, excise officers. At Southowram, land was made available to the Wesleyans for the erection of a Sunday School in 1825 'for the education and instruction of the children of the poor of all religious sects and denominations' by Thomas Drake (1776-1862) of Ashday Hall, a London lawyer and wealthy Anglican landowner. However, the twelve managing trustees, all Wesleyans, were drawn predominantly from a much humbler social background. They included six stone delvers; two blacksmiths; a cardmaker; a cordwainer; a farmer and a solitary gentleman and nearly half a century elapsed before the school was clear of debt (34).

By 1824 there were no fewer than ten Sunday Schools in the Halifax Wesleyan Circuit with a total of 1600 scholars, six attached to Wesleyan chapels and others in locations where chapels had not yet been built. In 1816 the Halifax Independents had opened a Sunday School at the new Sion Chapel near the centre of the town and during the following two decades were actively engaged in extending Sunday School provision to some of the more remote industrial communities around the perimeter of the town at Caddyfield, where a large number of children 'cannot read at all and ... are remarkably rude and unaccustomed to discipline; Pellon; Highroad Well; Norwood Green; Hipperholme; Salterhebble; Wheatley; Ovenden and Clark Bridge, where the children 'had never seen anything of the kind before, and who seemed from their appearance (many of them coming bareheaded and barefooted) and from their conduct to be destitute at home of any restraint or religious

privileges'. In the Upper Calder Valley, the Baptists displayed a similar zeal for the foundation of new Sunday Schools, which often preceded the establishment of new societies and chapels but, throughout the parish as a whole, the Methodists, partly on account of the diaspora generated by the series of secessions which afflicted the movement between 1797 and 1851, remained the most prolific providers of Sunday School education during this period, with the Anglicans in second place (35).

Of the forty-nine Sunday Schools which had been established in the Upper Calder Valley by 1833, twenty were Methodist; ten Baptist; seven Church of England; one Independent and one Unitarian. No fewer than 44 per cent of the 9669 Sunday School enrolments at these schools were Methodist; 20 per cent Baptist; nearly 19 per cent Anglican; a fraction over 1 per cent Independent and almost exactly 1 per cent Unitarian. The proportion of Methodist and Anglican enrolments remained virtually unchanged ten years later when Edward Baines's survey of the parish as a whole revealed that there were no fewer than 140 Sunday Schools within the parish with 6497 teachers and 28,346 scholars. Of the enrolments in 1843 nearly 46 per cent were Methodist; nearly 20 per cent Anglican; 18 per cent Independent; nearly 12 per cent Baptist and nearly 1 per cent Unitarian.

The pattern of denominational provision of 1833 and 1843 was confirmed in the Educational Census of 1851 which revealed that no fewer than fifty-eight of the 136 Sunday Schools enumerated in the parish were Methodist and thirty-two Anglican. The Wesleyans alone had as many schools as the Anglicans and total Methodist enrolments of 9450 amounted to nearly double the Anglican total of 5916. As with the Census of Religious Worship of 1851, only the returns for the Educational Census of the Todmorden Registration District have survived. They reveal that the Methodists, with 43 per cent, had the largest percentage share of total attendances, followed by the

Baptists, who were stronger in the Upper Calder Valley than in the parish as a whole, with 28 per cent, the Anglicans with 21 per cent, the Independents, who were weaker in the Upper Calder Valley than in the parish as a whole, with nearly 5 per cent, and the Inghamites with 2 per cent (36).

Undenominational Sunday Schools continued to be established during this period in exceptional circumstances where there was no immediate prospect of separate denominational provision, but by 1851 only one of the forty-six Sunday Schools in the Todmorden Registration District was undenominational, accounting for less than one per cent of the total attendances. The initiative for the founding of the undenominational Union Sunday School in Todmorden in 1816, with which John Fielden became closely associated, came from the Wesleyans. Both Anglicans and Nonconformists were involved in the establishment of the Ovenden Sunday School in 1818. Peter Bold of Ovenden House, the proprietor of Grove Mills, had served as churchwarden at Illingworth Church in 1817 and persuaded the curate and other influential families from the church to subscribe to the school, which also had the backing of a number of Independents from Square Chapel including John Wilson of Myrtle Grove, a damask manufacturer of Forest Mills and Samuel Blagborough, the village carpenter. In 1820, however, although the Sunday School was clearly very successful, with 220 scholars and sixty-eight teachers on its books, it reported to the Halifax Sunday School Union that:

> It is our misfortune to be unconnected with a place of worship, so that the entire weight of supporting the school devolves upon the teachers.

Accordingly, later that year the school was registered as a place of public worship by the Independents, where they held Sunday and mid-week evening services until the opening of Providence Chapel in 1837. At Salterhebble, Independents, Wesleyans and Anglicans jointly managed the Salterhebble Union Sunday School, also founded in 1818, on the whole successfully until 1850 when 'it appearing to the trustees that the school

cannot in future be conducted in harmony by the various denominations' it was resolved that the Wesleyans take title of the property on the payment of compensation to the Independent and Anglican trustees (37).

The Sunday Schools attached to the Square and Sion chapels had taken the initiative in formally launching the interdenominational Halifax Sunday School Union in 1820, which had been joined by most local Anglican and Nonconformist Sunday Schools by 1831, when the first quinquennial 'Sing' was held to celebrate the jubilee of Robert Raikes's inauguration of the Sunday School movement in 1781. Of the 13,801 teachers and scholars participating in the celebrations that year 50 per cent were Methodists, 31 per cent Independents, 18 per cent Anglicans and 1 per cent Unitarians. Although no Baptists were recorded as being present on this occasion, by 1846 there were contingents representing both the Particular and General Baptist New Connexions. The initial interdenominational cooperation, however, was soon replaced by a growing sectarian rivalry between the Nonconformist denominations and the Established Church. After 1831 the Anglicans withdrew from the event and in 1836, whilst the Nonconformists held their second quinquennial Jubilee Sing at the Piece Hall, they assembled all the children from their Sunday Schools and Day Schools at the Halifax Parish Church to hear an address by the Reverend J. Gratrix (38).

The 17,000 children attending the Halifax Sunday School Jubilee in 1841 were revealingly described in an official report as 'an invading well-disciplined army - cheerful and well-clad'. The training in diligence and obedience which the Sunday Schools provided commended them to employers, many of whom willingly closed their factories and workshops for the Whit Tuesday Sings and encouraged their young employees to attend Sunday School regularly. Support for Sunday Schools was not confined to large employers like the Akroyds and Fieldens. Joseph Halliday, a card maker for thirty-five years at Dob Royd

Stainland informed the Children's Employment Commission in 1842 that the eleven children he employed, including his own, all went to Sunday School, where he himself was a teacher. Other children attending Sunday School interviewed by the Commissioners included Mary Pratt, aged eight, who attended a Methodist Sunday School and worked at Rastrick Collins's card setting shop in Brighouse and William Richardson, aged fourteen, who attended the Harrison Road Independent Sunday School and worked for James Royston and Co., card setters, in Halifax. Sunday School teaching was also highly regarded by employers and two speakers at the Halifax Wesleyan Sunday Schools annual tea party in January 1843 reminded their audience that at the recent elections of Chief Clerk and Collector to the Halifax Town Trustees, two of the candidates were 'mainly recommended to the offices they sought by an influential and highly respectable trustee, on account of their exemplary characters as Sunday School teachers for many years' (39).

The genuinely popular appeal of the Sunday Schools in the first half of the nineteenth century, evidenced by the sheer number of scholars and teachers involved in an essentially voluntary capacity in the movement, also derived, as Dr Hugh McLeod has observed, from 'the skill with which they mixed religion and education with entertainments and outings' and from the strong tribal loyalties which they evoked. The hugely successful Halifax Jubilee Sings, which even the Illustrated London News reported in 1846, provided a lively spectacle as the colourful banners processed into the Piece Hall; a sense of community in the congregational singing accompanied by the music of the massed bands; and welcome refreshment in the form of spiced currant buns, oranges and ale. In the intervening years between the quinquennial Piece Hall Sings, Whitsuntide festivities were organised on a smaller scale within the local communities of the parish, but the impact of the temperance movement on the nature of the celebrations was increasingly

being felt. At Southowram in the 1840s the practice of providing Whit Tuesday Sunday School singers with beer with their dinner was discontinued and in March 1849 a teacher raised objections at a teachers' meeting 'to the children being taken to sing in those places of vice and misery called taverns, public houses or beer shops'. The outcome was that after singing at one or two public places in the village, the children adjourned to a field 'for recreation and the enjoyment of innocent games and pastimes' (40).

The primary appeal of the Sunday Schools to working class parents and children, however, lay in the social welfare and rudimentary education in literacy which the Sunday Schools succeeded in providing without jeopardizing the family economy. The son and biographer of Dr John Fawcett observed in 1818:

> Of all the benevolent designs by which the present age has been so honourably distinguished, Sunday Schools may be considered as one of the most effective; especially in the manufacturing districts where the introduction of machinery, while it finds employment for the children of the poor, deprives them of weekday advantages for education and exposes them to the danger of acquiring vicious habits by associating promiscuously together (41).

In 1825, it was reported that out of 390 children enrolled at Sion Sunday School in Halifax, 220 had no other means of education, nine were orphans and sixty-four were from one-parent families. In 1825 and 1830 Benevolent Societies were established at Sion for the relief of sick teachers and scholars and for clothing needy and destitute children. During the hungry forties, many other schools ran Dorcas Societies to provide clothes for the needy and opened soup kitchens. During such periods of acute depression schools in the communities worst affected suffered losses of both teachers and scholars. Providence Sunday School, Ovenden, which had seventy teachers and 396 scholars on its books by the end of 1838, the year in which it opened, reported in 1840 that 'many of our most efficient teachers have removed to different parts of the country to get employment' and expressed regret when the

number of teachers had dropped to twenty-four and the number of scholars to 185 in 1847 'at the falling off of both children and teachers, many for want of food and clothing' (42).

One of the most controversial aspects of the rudimentary education offered by Sunday Schools during this period was the teaching of writing on the sabbath, which had the capacity to offend both strict Sabbatarians and those concerned lest too much emphasis on secular education undermine the primary function of the schools to impart religious instruction. Writing classes on weekday evenings commenced in 1829 at Square and 1830 at Sion, but at Square it was emphasized that 'the admittance of the scholars to this department depends upon the regularity of their attendance and good behaviour on the Sabbath'. Some Wesleyan Sunday Schools, for example Sowerby, founded in 1805, taught reading and writing alongside the Scriptures from the outset, but by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century the leaders of the Wesleyan Connexion had moved decisively against such teaching. Repeatedly, in 1814, 1823 and 1837, the Wesleyan Conference condemned the practice, suggesting perhaps that the ban was not easily enforced. It certainly aroused considerable local controversy. One book published in 1829 bearing a Halifax imprint entitled 'The impropriety and sinfulness of teaching the poor to write on Sundays' drew a swift response from the Reverend Joseph Barker, a Methodist New Connexion minister stationed in Halifax in 1830, entitled 'Mercy triumphant, a vindication of teaching writing on Sundays', which argued that teaching children who lacked other educational opportunities to write on the sabbath was an act of mercy and so could not possibly be regarded as unlawful. Some Wesleyan Sunday Schools appear to have enforced the ban. In 1842 Mary Pratt, who attended a Wesleyan Sunday School in Brighouse told the Children's Employment Commissioner that she 'could read a little bit', but could not write and the Independents at Bridge End, Rastrick, made a rule that no child could join a writing

class until they had been in attendance for a year, apparently to discourage scholars transferring to their school simply to take advantage of this facility. Moreover, the earliest extant records for Mount Tabor Wesleyan Sunday School from I847 emphasize that writing and arithmetic was not to be taught on Sundays in accordance with the resolution of the Wesleyan Conference, but that evening classes in writing and the elements of mathematics were provided for regular Sunday attenders. At Heptonstall, however, the Wesleyan attempt to suppress the teaching of writing on the Sabbath led to the secession of part of the society to the Wesleyan Association. Elsewhere, troubled consciences were apparently calmed by teaching aids designed to enable children to acquire skills of literacy by combining theological teaching with the learning of the alphabet, for example:

A is for Angel who praises the Lord
B is for Bible, God's most Holy Word
C is for Church where the righteous resort
D is for Devil who wishes our hurt
E is for Eternity spent with the Lord.

By 1849, however, writing was being openly taught at the Wesleyan Sunday School at Greetland as well as reading and religious knowledge (43).

Thomas Laqueur discovered a strong negative correlation between church attendance and per capita Sunday School enrolment in 1851, arguing that in northern urban centres like Halifax, which ranked fourth out of fifty-five urban centres in strength of Sunday School enrolment but forty-third in church attendance, there was a strong tendency for Sunday Schools to replace churches or chapels as a focus of working class religious life. Indices of church attendance derived from the 1851 Census of Religious Worship, however, as has already been demonstrated need to be treated with extreme caution, given that the data on which they are based is seriously incomplete for Halifax. The fact that a mere thirty scholars out of some 14,000 belonging to the Halifax Sunday School Union in 1843 went

on to join the church appears at first sight more alarming, but perhaps less so when the wide age-range of the scholars represented by that figure and the difficulties of monitoring the transition of the young into adult church membership are taken into account (44).

Certainly some Sunday Schools, as Laqueur suggests, became closely identified with radical agitations particularly during the 1830s and 1840s. Benjamin Wilson, reflecting in his autobiography upon the role of William Thornton the Halifax Chartist and radical Methodist preacher at the Peep Green Chartist meeting in 1839, recalled that he had first heard him lecture in the Wesleyan School at Skircoat Green. Moreover, Chartist meetings were held at the Providence Independent Sunday School in the 1840s. There is also evidence that some Wesleyan Sunday Schools identified with the Reformers during the 'fly-sheets' controversy which split the Wesleyan Connexion during this period. The majority of the trustees at Southowram Sunday School gave their support to the Reformers, whilst the chapel trustees remained loyal to the Wesleyan Conference. Some of the trustees expelled for reading James Everett's pamphlets attempted to take possession of the school and on 31 January 1851 the teachers resolved by a large majority to boycott the chapel services:

> believing that benefit would accrue to the children from staying in the School in the morning instead of going to Chapel as heretofore, and leaving it to the discretion of the superintendent whether they shall attend Chapel in the afternoon or stay at School and hear a sermon from one of the expelled or Reform preachers.

Whilst such gulfs between parent churches and their Sunday Schools emerged at times of crisis, the scale of the continuing investment in the Sunday School movement during this period and the expansion of church and chapel building suggests that in the majority of churches and chapels links were maintained and considerable numbers of former Sunday School scholars ultimately nurtured into membership (45).

Early in the second decade of the nineteenth century two new

day schools were opened in Halifax by the Anglican National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church and the non-denominational British and Foreign Schools Society. Local historians have traditionally dated the foundation of the Halifax National School from the opening of the Bell School near to Holy Trinity Church in 1815. However, archive evidence now suggests that a National School had been established in Hopwood Lane, some three years earlier in 1812, within a year of the launch of the National Society by members of the SPCK in London. The minutes of the Halifax British School for January 1813 record that there was an abortive attempt by the founding committee of the Halifax British School, which included the Reverend Joseph Cockin of Square Independent Chapel and the Halifax Wesleyan Circuit superintendent, the Reverend Jabez Bunting, 'to unite its exertions and funds with the committee of an institution already in being for educating the children of the poor upon the Madras Plan'. However, the Directors of the National School rejected the initiative on sectarian grounds, their secretary and treasurer Jeremiah Rawson maintaining that the proposal was utterly impracticable 'unless we abandon entirely one of the main motives for the formation of our institution ... the religious instruction of the children upon the Principles of the Establishment' (46).

The new National School building provided accommodation for 400 scholars, but according to the diarist Anne Lister of Shibden Hall, the Reverend Andrew Bell, who visited the school in 1816, was not impressed with what he saw, finding 'very great fault, calling both masters and governors blockheads'. In 1833, the school had only 160 scholars enrolled, fifty boys and 110 girls and had only filled half its capacity by 1836. In 1819 a charity school founded by Miss Elizabeth Wadsworth at Holdsworth was recognised as a National School and in 1825 a National School was opened at Illingworth. By 1824, a National School had been opened in Ripponden and in September

1830 a handbill issued from Sowerby Parsonage announced the imminent opening of the Sowerby National Schools, where 'boys will be taught reading, writing and arithmetic and girls, reading, writing and arithmetic, plain sewing and knitting for two pence per week each'. The Factory Act of 1833 introduced a daily compulsory requirement of two hours education for children under thirteen, which was increased to three hours by the Factory Act of 1844, effectively inaugurating the half-time system and greatly increasing the demand for school places. St James's Church, Halifax had its own infant school at Pellon and National School at Cross Hills by 1844 and in 1845 a National School was opened at Todmorden. However, existing charitable provision in Elland and Cross Stone delayed the opening of National Schools in both chapelries until 1847. In 1848, Robert Wainhouse 'conveyed a piece of land to the minister and churchwardens' of St Paul's Church 'to be a school for the education of children and adults ... of the labouring and manufacturing and other poorer classes' of King Cross (47). The Halifax British School, which opened in rented premises in April 1813, employed the Lancasterian monitorial system of teaching. Among the gentlemen appointed to solicit donations were the minister of Square Independent Chapel, the Reverend Joseph Cockin; Wesleyan ministers Jabez Bunting and William Leach; Methodist New Connexion minister, John Grundell; several leading Independent and Methodist laymen and Unitarian banker Rawdon Briggs. The school aimed 'to enable the scholars to read the Scriptures' and it was resolved that 'the Bible, "the religion of Protestants", will be the only book used in the schools'. The school, which acquired 'large and commodious' purpose-built premises in Albion Street in 1818, received support from members 'of almost every Christian denomination, including the Church of England'. Of the 3532 children who passed through the school during the period 1813-21 30 per cent were Wesleyans; 23 per cent were Independents; 20 per cent Anglican; 15 per cent New Connexion Methodists; 6 per cent

Table 18: Sunday School Scholars in the Parish of Halifax, 1843

Source: E. Baines, The Social, Educational and Religious State of the Manufacturing Districts, Leeds, 1843, Table IV.

	Number of Scholars	Percentage Share
Church of England	5633	19.9
Baptists	3323	11.7
Roman Catholics	60	0.2
Christian Brethren	208	0.7
Society of Friends	-	-
Independents	5117	18.1
Inghamites	-	-
Wesleyans	8040	28.4
Association Methodists	1099	3.9
Methodist New Connexion	2921	10.3
Primitive Methodists	946	3.3
Unitarians	267	0.9
Other	732	2.6
Total	28,346	

Table 19: Religious Denominations of Scholars attending the Halifax British School, 1813-1821

Source: Annual Reports from Minutes, WYAS, CDA, MISC: 83/31/2.

	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821
Church of England	75	73	70	93	91	91	95	105
Baptists	27	23	22	22	35	24	27	31
Society of Friends	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Independents	113	67	62	73	91	102	148	144
Wesleyans	188	138	125	136	115	114	135	119
Methdt New Connxn	63	48	38	49	63	82	94	104
Unitarians	36	27	19	23	29	27	24	30

Unitarian; 6 per cent Baptist and under 1 per cent Quakers. In 1833 there were 508 scholars, 350 boys and 158 girls, enrolled at the school, vastly more than at any other school in the township, and by 1836 some 4700 children (3064 boys and 1636 girls) had passed through the school (48).

Parents of children at the school were requested to display thirteen printed regulations 'in some conspicuous part of the house', reminding them to ensure that their children arrived at school punctually and orderly 'with clean hands and face, hair cut short and combed and with clean shoes'. They were urged 'to avoid the company of bad children'; 'to use no ill words or names'; 'to avoid quarrelling and contention'; 'to observe a proper solemnity when reading the Holy Scriptures'; 'to pay due respect to parents and friends'; 'to speak the truth'; 'to be regular in attendance at their Sunday Schools and the place of worship to which they belong' and 'to behave with solemnity in all places of public worship'. Moreover, 'the parents of those children who have the privilege of attending this school' were instructed 'to prevent them from playing in the streets or fields on the evening of the Lord's Day' (49).

In 1841 an Infant School 'for the children of the labouring and manufacturing classes of society of every religious persuasion' was erected in Northowram 'upon the principles of the British and Foreign Schools Society', with the assistance of a grant from the Committee of the Privy Council. An HMI reported in 1844 that the school was 'chiefly under the management of the Independent Minister'. Elsewhere in the parish Nonconformist denominational Day Schools had been erected by the Wesleyans at Greetland in 1816 and later in Sowerby Bridge, both employing the Glasgow system of co-educational schooling at the infant stage. In 1818 a Wesleyan Day School had also been erected at Stones, near Ripponden. Shortly after the opening of their chapel in 1837, the Primitive Methodists at Lindwell opened a day school, meeting in the chapel itself and in 1846 the

Wesleyan Day School at Sowerby Bridge was extended, with special provision for half-timers. Sir James Graham's abortive Education Bill of 1843 which threatened to introduce Anglican controlled state schools stimulated the Independents at Square and Sion to open Day Schools in 1844 and 1847, 'giving proof of the value' voluntaryists 'attached to education' (50).

The 1833 Education Enquiry revealed that there were some 5567 children under instruction in fifty-seven schools in the township of Halifax, a ratio of pupils to population of 36 per cent. 68 per cent of these children attended Sunday Schools, a ratio of pupils to population of 25 per cent; a further 14 per cent attended charity or public schools, a ratio of pupils to population of 5 per cent and 18 per cent attended private schools, a ratio of pupils to population of 6 per cent. This distribution contrasted markedly with the distribution of children in Leeds schools, where the bulk of children between 1818 and 1843 attended private schools supported solely by fees. However, during the following decade the situation in the parish of Halifax changed. In 1843 Edward Baines reported that there was a total of 8508 children under instruction in eighty-three schools in the township of Halifax, a ratio of pupils to population of 43 per cent, an increase of 7 per cent since 1833. 68 per cent of these children attended Sunday Schools, a ratio of pupils to population of 29 per cent, an increase of 4 per cent since 1833. However, by 1843 there were only 6 per cent of children enrolled in charity or public schools, less than half the proportion of ten years earlier, whilst the number of children in private schools had risen to 59 per cent, a ratio of pupils to population of 8 per cent, an increase of 2 per cent since 1833. Moreover in the parish as a whole, whilst the Sunday School population was nearly two and a half times the size of the Day School population, and provided a ratio of pupils to population of 22 per cent by 1843, the majority of Day School children, 76 per cent of the

total, were educated in private schools and only 24 per cent in public schools. Clearly, with a ratio of public schools to population of just over 2 per cent and a ratio of private schools to population of just under 7 per cent the educational provision by Sunday Schools for a further 22 per cent of the population was significant. According to Baines's survey, over of the 22,713 Sunday School scholars in the parish were able to 'read in the Scriptures'. In view of the controversy surrounding the teaching of writing, which was not confined to Wesleyan Methodism, Baines did not attempt to provide any indication of how many of the scholars were able to write. His survey reveals, however, that 28 per cent of all Sunday School scholars in the parish of Halifax attended the schools of the denomination in the forefront of the controversy over Sabbath writing, the Wesleyan Methodists, more than attended the Sunday Schools of any other denomination, which might indicate that there was either widespread evasion of the connexional ban at grass-roots level or that even where the ban was enforced it had little effect on Sunday School recruitment. Given the difficulty of determining which of these explanations is most appropriate, it is impossible to relate with any precision the controversy over the teaching of writing to the debate about the reasons for the catastrophic decline of adult male literacy in the parish of Halifax during the period after 1804 (51).

Analysis by Lawrence Stone of the signatures of bridegrooms in the Halifax Parish Registers during the period 1831-37 has shown that whilst the national literacy rate for males rose from an estimated figure of about one third in 1642 to exactly two-thirds in 1840, in Halifax it plummeted from 64 per cent between the years 1799-1804 to 38 per cent between the years 1831-37 'a level not far off what it had been two hundred years before'. Clearly this catastrophic fall must be related primarily to the rapid rise in population in the parish of Halifax, which had more than doubled between 1740 and 1801 and

more than doubled again between 1801 and 1851, imposing an enormous strain on the developing educational provision. However it is interesting to speculate what the rate of declining adult male literacy might have been without the educational provision of the public schools, which sprang primarily from a Christian concern for the education of the children of the poor, and the Sunday Schools, some of which are known to have taught writing on the sabbath and others on weekday evenings. The Sunday Schools, moreover, made a particular contribution to the provision of education for girls, for whom there was a particular paucity of educational provision during this period. The Education Enquiry of 1833, for example, revealed that whilst only 42 per cent of the children receiving elementary education at the Day Schools in the Halifax township were girls, 50 per cent of the Sunday School scholars in the township were girls and that girls were also in a majority over boys in the Sunday Schools of the Upper Calder Valley (52).

The contribution of the churches and chapels of the parish of Halifax to the educational and cultural development of the parish was by no means confined solely to the provision of schools. The £130 profit from the 1836 Piece Hall Sing was 'distributed proportionately among the schools taking part for the establishment and development of Sunday School libraries' which became the springboard for the development of a host of mutual improvement societies. In 1845 a Young Men's Society was commenced at Square Chapel, together with a Saturday evening class 'to promote a taste for reading' in the older boys. In 1850 a Young Men's Christian Society was formed at Sion Chapel 'for mutual improvement by means of lectures and discussions'. The Reverend William Turner, minister of Northgate End Unitarian Chapel from 1829-54, had been one of the founders of the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society in 1830 and 'for a quarter of a century ... was a constant and zealous promoter' of the Halifax Mechanics Institute, which

enjoyed the patronage of members of most religious denominations in the town during this period. In 1830, Joshua Dodgson, a Wesleyan Local Preacher, had attempted without success to form a Mechanics' Institute in Elland and in n 1839-40, the Wesleyan Methodist Association Chapel in Bridge Street made a donation of £5.12.6d. to the Todmorden Mechanics Institute, which had been founded in 1836 (53).

When Charles Dibdin, the popular composer, visited Halifax in 1788, he described the town as 'the most musical spot, for its size, in the kingdom', marvelling at 'the facility with which the common people join together ... in every species of choral music'. As Dr James Walvin has observed, 'religious life was clearly seminal in encouraging and spreading popular musicality'. Handel's 'Messiah' was first performed in Halifax in 1766 under the direction of Joah Bates to celebrate the opening of the new Snetzler organ at the Parish Church and such was its popularity by 1788 that Dibdin observed 'cloth makers as they sweat under their loads in the cloth hall roar out "For his yoke is easy and his burden is light"'. Musical Festivals were held regularly at the Parish Church and other venues from the 1790s; the Halifax Choral Society was founded in 1817; the Halifax Subscription Concerts in 1827; the Halifax Orchestral Society in 1833 and the Halifax Madrigal Society in 1844. Such societies contributed to a cross-fertilisation of musical talent which helped to sustain a strong musical tradition within the churches and chapels of the parish, which itself found expression in the popular Piece Hall Sings (54).

3.3. Religion and Politics

3.3.1. Electoral Politics

When Halifax became a new two-member parliamentary borough under the terms of the Great Reform Act of 1832 fewer than 2 per cent of the total population and only 7.5 per cent of the adult male population qualified for the new ten pound householder franchise in a constituency where copyhold tenure was widespread and rents relatively low. Although the size of the electorate had almost doubled by 1847, it still represented under 3 per cent of the total population of the parliamentary borough with fewer than 12 per cent of adult males registered as electors. Methodists who, with a ratio of membership to population of approximately 11 per cent in 1831 and a ratio of attendances to population of 17 per cent by 1851, constituted the largest of the Nonconformist sects within the parliamentary borough during this period possibly accounted for between 9 and 15 per cent of voters in Halifax borough elections between 1832 and 1847 (55).

It must, however, be emphasized that there exists no precise means of determining the exact proportion of Methodists within the Halifax borough electorate during this period. A.E. Teale, whose thesis on the development of Methodism in Halifax and its vicinity was completed in 1976, found the identification of individual Methodist voters a problem on account of the dearth of chapel records before 1860, maintaining that:

> The main difficulty in attempting to ascertain how the Methodists voted is that of establishing positive identification of Methodists from the poll books for the parliamentary elections of 1835, 1837, 1841 and 1847. This is possible in the case of seventeen Methodists whose names are mentioned either by J.U. Walker as holding some office in the Methodist chapels in Halifax, or identified as Methodists in the columns of the Halifax Guardian.

In the absence of extensive primary evidence of Methodist membership Teale based his assessment of Methodist voting behaviour in the Halifax borough elections of 1835-47 on a

systematic sample of one in four names from the baptismal and burial records of fifteen Methodist chapels in the area over the period 1800-47. From a sample of 2651 names, together with the handful of Methodist voters he had already positively identified, he calculated the number of voters with Methodist connections as ninety in 1835; seventy-eight in 1837; seventy in 1841 and seventy-three in 1847, amounting to between 8 and 15 per cent of the total electorate. He identified an additional three Methodists who were registered but did not vote in 1835, five in 1837, one in 1841 and three in 1847, but discounted abstentions of both Methodist and non-Methodist voters in his calculation of Methodist voters as a percentage of the total borough electorate. He acknowledged that names derived purely from baptismal and burial registers might not necessarily have been those of society members, but simply those of adherents or families with even more tenuous links choosing to avail themselves of conveniently situated chapel premises. He did, however, note the contrast between the number of names in his sample derived from the baptismal registers of the wealthier urban Wesleyan chapels, such as Wesley Broad Street, which yielded twenty-three parent voters between 1834 and 1850, and those derived from the relatively poorer country chapels, such as Ogden Mount Zion, which failed to yield any individuals with voting qualifications during the same period, though this is perhaps less surprising in view of the chapel's location outside the boundaries of the new parliamentary borough (56).

Since Teale completed his research, considerably more Methodist chapel and circuit records have become available for the period before 1860, together with the poll book for the 1832 Halifax borough election, allowing a more extensive positive identification of individual Methodist voters over a wider timespan. Using the abundant Methodist archival evidence in conjunction with the pollbook evidence with its invaluable occupational data and the evidence of contemporary histories,

newspapers and commercial directories, particularly that compiled in 1845 by J.U. Walker, the Wesleyan proprietor of the Halifax Guardian, it has been possible to identify positively some 190 Methodist voters at Halifax borough elections during the period 1832-47. Methodist abstentions have been included in the totals on the grounds that some may have represented either a conscious expression of political neutrality or even a response to the fear of political intimidation, besides other more mundane explanations for the failure to record a vote such as illness or absence on business or apathy (57).

My own figures correspond fairly closely with the number of voters with Methodist connections identified by Teale, particularly for the elections of 1835 and 1841, though there would have been a greater degree of discrepancy in the figures showing Methodist voters as a percentage of the total electorate if Teale had included abstentions in his calculations. The apparent decline in the proportion of Methodist voters after 1841 may partly be attributed to the failure of Methodism after 1841 to keep pace with population growth and partly to the limitations of the evidence for the identification of Methodist voters by 1847. No complete record of local membership has survived for the Primitive Methodist and Methodist New Connexions for the period 1832-48 and the last extant list of Wesleyan members for the Halifax Circuit was compiled in 1830, so new Methodist voters appearing on the registers for the later elections of the period may have escaped identification unless they held office as circuit stewards, chapel trustees, local preachers, class leaders or Sunday School teachers. A near contemporary, if somewhat impromptu, survey of the voting behaviour of Wesleyans in the 1841 Halifax election, published in the Wesleyan Chronicle and later in The League, identified some eighty-one Wesleyan voters, twenty-nine more than it is now possible to identify, suggesting that Methodist voters may have accounted for nearly

14 per cent at the very least of the total Halifax electorate in 1841 (58).

The Wesleyans supplied by far the largest number of Methodist voters in the parliamentary elections of the borough of Halifax throughout the period, accounting for perhaps as much as 10 per cent of the electorate between 1832 and 1841 when all the evidence is taken into account, although apparently declining sharply thereafter to around 5 per cent by 1847. The Methodist New Connexion, with between 3 and 4 per cent of voters, accounted for a considerably smaller proportion of the total electorate throughout the period, whilst the Primitive Methodist representation within the electorate remained negligible, reflecting the dearth of working-class voters in the Halifax borough electorate. An analysis of returns to Lord Morpeth in May 1832 reveals that there were a mere twenty ten-pound occupiers in the proposed new Halifax constituency who could be considered to be wage-earning workmen and these tended to be foremen rather than labourers, comprising 'a generally respectable class of individuals'. Moreover, analysis of the social composition of the Halifax borough electorate during the period 1832-47 has identified fewer than 4 per cent of the electorate as working class. Indeed, an informed observer told the 1835 Select Committee on Bribery at Elections that very few factory workers qualified for the vote in the first two elections in Halifax after the Reform Act. Not surprisingly, therefore, even the office holders of the leading Primitive Methodist chapel in the constituency failed to obtain the franchise in 1835 and only one, slightly tenuous second generation Primitive Methodist voter at the 1847 election has been identified for the whole of the period 1832-47 (59).

Another category of Methodist almost invariably denied the vote during this period was the travelling preacher. Although the names of both Anglican clergy and Dissenting ministers occur quite frequently in the Halifax pollbooks there is no record of

any Methodist travelling preacher having voted at a Halifax borough election during the period 1832-47. However, at least one Wesleyan minister, the Reverend W.M. Bunting, eldest son of the Reverend Jabez Bunting, who was stationed in Halifax from 1832-35, succeeded, in the face of strong liberal objections, in getting his name on the register after the 1835 election, only to have been moved to another station by the time of the next election before he was able to exercise his hard-won right to vote (60).

Wesleyan ministers of the 1830s and 1840s were undoubtedly men of growing substance in the local community with a life-style comparable to that of many of the more prosperous members of their congregations. In 1834 William and Harriet Bunting were able to accommodate other members of the Bunting family who had travelled to Yorkshire for the opening of the new Albion Street Chapel in Leeds, offering them a variety of fare including tea and muffins, jugged hare, veal cutlets, cold beef, ham, apple tart, cheese, porter and brandy together with the loan of their carriage for the journey to Leeds. Moreover in 1847, a year when provisions were 'very dear' and 'the poor great sufferers', the diary of the Reverend Amos Learoyd, the Halifax Wesleyan minister, reveals that the resources of the manse permitted regular visits to the baths; the purchase of a music stool for one of the children and a new silk dress for Mrs Learoyd; the search for suitable domestic servants and the deposit of a considerable sum of money in the savings bank. It also records Learoyd's approval of the proposed candidature of Edward Miall at the 1847 Halifax election. The problem for most Methodist travelling preachers was not so much that they lacked the means or the inclination to qualify for the franchise, but that the system of itinerancy did not leave them long enough in any particular station to make registration worthwhile (61).

This does not mean to say, however, that they failed to exercise political influence. In the decade before the

passing of the Great Reform Act, disenchantment with the overt political stance of the superintendent minister of the Halifax Wesleyan Circuit, 'a state pensioner' who 'in his preaching was always dabbling in politics and praising the government of the country' drove at least one rank-and-file Wesleyan, George Buckley, into the fledgeling Primitive Methodist society, where he soon became a class leader, chapel trustee and society steward. His motives were explained by his son in a biography published shortly after Buckley's death in 1834:

> My father considered it a disparagement to the ministerial character to descend from the sublime truths of the gospel to the cavils of political party, which generally engender hard thoughts and damp religious feeling.

Ironically, within a decade of penning these lines, George Buckley junior was himself to emerge as a leading figure in working-class radical politics. Indeed, he is the solitary voter with Primitive Methodist connections to be identified at a Halifax borough election during the period 1832-47 (62).

By 1837 there is evidence from within the constituency that the political influence of Wesleyan travelling preachers at election time was regarded as unexceptionable. During the election campaign of that year a correspondent to the Tory Halifax Guardian complained that the Whig ministry by causing the general election to take place at a time when Wesleyan travelling preachers were 'necessarily present at conference', deliberately aimed to deprive them 'of that influence among the constituents which naturally attaches to them'. Moreover, an appended editorial comment, approving the exercise of electoral influence by Wesleyan travelling preachers, expressed the hope that, despite the timing of the election, such influence would remain unimpaired (63).

Later in the year, however, the Halifax Guardian reacted in a notably less sympathetic manner towards the intervention of one of the Halifax Methodist New Connexion ministers, the Reverend John Bakewell, in the church rate controversy, deploring the manner in which, it maintained, Bakewell had 'unwarrantably

exercised his official powers at the bidding of a certain political clique in his congregation'. It continued:

> That a minister of religion, and that, too, amongst the disciples of 'voluntaryism' should thus lend himself as the willing tool of a few politico-religious partisans, is truly contemptible. But this is nothing uncommon among the voluntary communities. Their daily bread depends upon their slavish submission to the mandates of the 'great ones' in authority, especially in such communities as the Methodist New Connexion, where the lay delegate system so greatly preponderates (64).

Despite their differences in polity and organisation, the various Methodist bodies shared a broadly common attitude at connexional level to secular politics repeatedly enjoining members and particularly pastors to respect the so-called 'no politics rule'. The address of the Methodist New Connexion Conference in 1831, whilst sympathetic to parliamentary reform, made it clear that so far as pastors were concerned 'we presume that they never take part in political discussions, remembering their master's declaration: "My kingdom is not of this world"'. Wesleyan ministers were warned at the height of the controversy surrounding the Reverend J.R. Stephens in 1834 to 'carefully avoid political contention and strife' and Primitive Methodist travelling preachers were requested, in the following year, neither 'to make speeches at political meetings nor at parliamentary elections'(65).

Although there is some evidence to suggest that these solemn injunctions were not always observed at circuit level, evidence also exists to suggest that, in some cases, they were. The Reverend Samuel Dunn, who served as a Wesleyan minister in the Halifax Circuit during the period 1842-44 and later became a leading figure in the Wesleyan Reform Movement, maintained:

> I have never meddled with party politics, never (taken) such a prominent part in any state of affairs as to afford even a clue to the friends in the circuits in which I have travelled as to whether I am a Radical, Whig or Conservative (66).

Injunctions to the Methodist laity to tread warily in the sphere of secular politics, particularly by the Wesleyan,

Primitive Methodist and Wesleyan Methodist Association Conferences, were no less frequent during the decade following the Great Reform Act, though in the mood of euphoria which swept the country during the passing of the Reform Bill in 1831-32 there appears to have been some relaxation of the 'no politics rule' even within the traditionally more conservative Wesleyan Connexion (67).

This erosion of the principle of political neutrality became more pronounced as the distinction between ecclesiastical and secular issues became more blurred with the rise of Puseyism in the Church of England, reaching a climax in 1843 when Wesleyans stood alongside Political Dissent in its opposition to the educational clauses of Sir James Graham's Factory Bill. In 1831, however, Wesleyans were advised after it had become clear that parliamentary reform could not be long delayed, to consider 'any additional civil rights' as 'talents entrusted to your care, to be employed in promoting the interests of humanity and religion' but simultaneously cautioned: 'Let not worldly politics engross too much of your time and attention'. In the following year came more specific advice, reiterated in 1835 and 1836:

> We affectionately advise you to take care how you listen to any solicitation urging you to become political partisans', for 'ċan you, with perfect security to your religious character, become the agents of political parties? (68)

In Halifax the failure of Wesleyans at circuit level to heed such advice is illustrated most strikingly in the political career of George Buxton Browne, the most neglected and, in some respects, the most significant figure in the immediate post-reform politics of the newly-enfranchised parliamentary borough and a prime example of a species often incorrectly supposed to be thin on the ground, the Wesleyan liberal layman. A civil engineer by profession and a Mancunian by birth, George Buxton Browne had been sent by parents converted under the influence of Methodism to the Moravian school at Fulneck. When he came

to Halifax in his mid-twenties, around the time of the Luddite disturbances in 1812 he soon became involved in circuit affairs. In 1815, he became Local Preachers' Secretary for the Halifax Circuit, an office which he held at least until 1824 and possibly until 1828. In 1818, he became the first secretary of the newly formed Prayer Leaders' Meeting, subsequently serving as president in 1820 and chairman in 1821 and by 1830 he was a circuit steward. A lively and competent public speaker, endowed with considerable private means, he was a generous supporter of the Halifax British School and the Mechanics Institute of which he became President in 1834 (125). He became a trustee of the Boothtown Wesleyan Chapel and School in 1831 and was the principal benefactor of the Hopwood Lane Wesleyan Sunday School opened in 1832. He was active in the temperance and later the total abstinence movements and the campaign to abolish colonial slavery as well as being a staunch supporter of overseas missions and assisting both financially and administratively, usually in the capacity of treasurer or chairman, a host of other causes (69).

His interest in liberal politics was awakened during the campaign for parliamentary reform in 1830. As he later told a West Riding Reform Meeting at Wakefield:

> He had but lately come forward to take a decided part in the moving of political transactions. He had been brought up amongst those who were afraid of what the reformers would do; and he had never countenanced reform till it became a measure of the government. He was only a reformer of yesterday, and it was with great pleasure he saw all were now coming to one point (70).

He had been among the local requisitioners for parliamentary reform early in 1831; had spoken at a public meeting to petition the House of Lords in October 1831, proclaiming that the passage of the Reform Bill through the House of Commons was already evidence that 'truth is mighty and will prevail'; had formed part of the delegation to London to encourage Earl Grey to continue the struggle for the bill when it was again in jeopardy in May 1832; and, on his return, had declared at a

meeting of reformers at the Piece Hall:

> Nothing could so much promote the spread of true Christianity as a proper enlargement of the civil liberties of mankind and, therefore, based as this measure was on that principle, he most sincerely regretted its rejection by the House of Lords. It was not now a question of a few poor and discontented (demanding reform) but of persons of property and understanding, of sound and honest principles, who would not do wrong to any man. When they talked of reform they did not mean revolution; their object was not to unsettle property, but to establish the liberties of Englishmen on the surest and firmest foundation (71).

Following the enactment of parliamentary reform, he was involved in the search for suitable Whig-Liberal candidates to contest the first Halifax election and, at a preliminary meeting, used his influence to promote his conviction of the need for the orderly conduct of political meetings. In December 1832, he acted as chairman of the election committees of the two Whig-Liberal candidates, Charles Wood, son-in-law of the prime minister, Earl Grey and a member of a leading West Riding Whig gentry family, and Rawdon Briggs junior, a member of a local Unitarian banking family. At the nomination meeting he congratulated his fellow constituents 'on having obtained the Reform Bill, which he considered a grand machine for reforming all the abuses in our state, whether civil or ecclesiastical' and introduced Charles Wood as a committed reformer who 'had laboured honestly and truly in the cause of the people, which he (Mr Browne) believed to be in truth the cause of God' (72).

After the successful return of the two Whig-Liberal candidates Browne was instrumental in securing an uneasy rapprochement between the Whigs and the Radicals, whose own candidate in the 1832 election, Michael Stocks, had been pushed into third place. Outlining his support for the alliance at a meeting in November 1834, Browne declared that 'he was one of those who were for pushing on reform to the utmost length, until every abuse was done away with in church and state' (73).

At the 1835 election, Wood was re-elected, but the electoral

pact failed to secure the return of the Radical, Protheroe, who was defeated by the Conservative, J.S. Wortley by a single vote in a cliffhanger poll which resulted in radical attacks on Tory property. Browne himself faced bitter recriminations, including a charge of intimidation, which subsequent legal action failed to rebut. He also received a massive demonstration of support not only from some 1250 'respectable' Radicals and Dissenters, who presented him with a sympathetic address, but also from a large section of the Wesleyan community in Halifax. The Halifax and Huddersfield Express reported that a delegation of three trustees, two stewards and a local preacher presented him with an address signed by 460 adult males, including seventy-five office holders, expressing their 'utter disbelief of Mr Browne's having done anything to compromise the Christian character, or to cloud the high reputation he has uniformly maintained amongst them' (74). Local Wesleyan confidence in him was further demonstrated two years later when he was elected representative of the Halifax and Bradford Districts to the financial committee of the Wesleyan Conference. Meanwhile, he had easily topped the poll in the first elections to the Halifax Board of Guardians in February 1837, serving as chairman until he resigned on an issue of principle in May 1838, and had again acted as Wood's campaign manager at the 1837 general election. When he died suddenly in 1839, such eloquent tributes were paid to his evangelical piety that they almost completely eclipsed references to his political career. Indeed, the Huddersfield and Halifax Express's final epitaph was qualified in terms which would have appealed to the hearts even of those within the Wesleyan hierarchy. Having acknowledged fleetingly that he was 'of liberal politics and an ardent friend of civil and religious liberty', it concluded:

> He felt, however, most at home in advocating and promoting those measures which involve questions of humanity and benevolence, for example, the cause of the oppressed negro (75).

George Buxton Browne's counterpart in local conservative politics was the Halifax schoolmaster and personal friend of Jabez Bunting, Thomas Steel Swale, whose political stance was more closely aligned to that of the Wesleyan connexional hierarchy and whose unswerving loyalty to the Church of England was matched by a firm adherence to conservative principles which, he maintained, would 'ultimately preserve our country from anarchy and destruction'. As a Vice-President of the Halifax Conservative Association he was one of only a handful of Methodists who ascended into the 'dizzy heights' of local Tory society, but was determined not to allow such worldly preoccupation stand in the way of his primary evangelical commitment and on at least one occasion declined an invitation to propose a toast at the annual Conservative Waterloo dinner on account of 'an engagement of a religious nature', assuring his political associates 'that no engagement but one which I always consider paramount to any other could induce me to deny myself the pleasure of meeting my Conservative friends'. Moreover, when he was attacked in some sections of the press in the wake of the 1835 election for his rampant Toryism, the Halifax Guardian reminded its readers that during the campaign he had publicly interrogated J.S. Wortley on 'points affecting the conscientious scruples he entertained as a Wesleyan' before giving him 'his unqualified and efficient support' (76).
Like Browne, he was noted for his philanthropy and his involvement in many aspects of the life of the community. He was associated in an official capacity with the Halifax General Dispensary, the Infirmary, the British School, the Literary and Philosophical Society and the savings bank. But like Browne, he did not neglect those concerns which arose directly out of his evangelical piety. He was secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society and helped found both the Halifax Anti-Slavery Society and the Halifax Wesleyan Missionary Society, the second society of its kind to be founded in England, which he served as secretary for twenty-one years and later as

treasurer. He was active in his support for the Wesleyan Sunday School movement and also a committee member of the anti-socialist Halifax Association for the Refutation of Infidelity and Suppression of Blasphemy (77).

Swale's obituary described him as 'a Wesleyan Methodist of the old school' and the five years following his death in 1842 saw the development of a new form of Wesleyan political activism which he would hardly have recognised. Just over a year after his death, at the thirtieth anniversary of the Halifax Wesleyan Missionary Society, which he had been instrumental in forming, speaker after speaker, alluding to the educational clauses of Sir James Graham's Factory Bill, criticised both the Conservative government and the 'present unsatisfactory attitude of the Church of England', culminating in the following scathing denunciation of the bill by the Reverend James Everett of York:

> Governments are too fond of dabbling in ecclesiastical matters; and now as regards this education question (cheers) ... It is nothing but a piece of ecclesiastical Jesuitism. It is intended as a general enclosure act for finally enclosing the different religious communities within the pale of the Established Church. But keep your own schools ... and tell your M.P.s that if they support such a bill, you will mark them next election (loud cheers) (78).

The nub of the Wesleyan opposition to the bill was not so much to the privileged position of the Established Church as a state institution, but rather to the dangers of giving control over religious instruction to a church tainted with 'High Church blindness and semi-popish ignorance' as the Reverend Philip Hardcastle emphasized at a lively public meeting in April, when he also underlined the unprecedented nature of the Wesleyan protest:

> This is the first occasion of my addressing a meeting of this character ... and I do trust that so long as we live, we shall not find it necessary ... to be again convened together under circumstances that call upon us to oppose any measures brought forward by the government (79).

In the face of such formidable opposition, which also derived

considerable strength from local Methodist New Connexion; Primitive Methodist and other Dissenting communities, the bill was withdrawn in June, although the reverberations of the furore it had aroused in Halifax continued until the end of the year, with the Anglicans temporarily withdrawing from inter-denominational activities. Moreover, in 1844 the Halifax Wesleyan congregations were again involved in petitioning parliament against the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, which favoured the Unitarians and in 1845 against the Maynooth grant, which favoured the Roman Catholics. Halifax Wesleyans were represented at the Anti-Maynooth conference in London by the Reverend Samuel Dunn and Alexander Grylls Suter, a highly respected local preacher, whose concern to maintain the Protestant ascendancy had led him into conservative politics almost a decade earlier, when he had made an impromptu speech at a dinner in honour of J.S. Wortley in November 1836 declaring that whilst he had:

> hitherto taken no prominent part in politics ... in the present crisis ... he deemed it his duty, as the political line of demarcation was now that between Protestantism and Popery, to hesitate no longer in publicly declaring on which side he took his stand ... Popery he believed to be inimical to the best interests of his fellow-men (80).

When the education issue re-emerged in 1846 the new government proposals were accepted by the Wesleyans after some deliberation, though not before the superintendent of the Halifax Wesleyan Circuit, the Reverend Amos Learoyd, had spoken in opposition to them at a meeting of Independents at Sion Chapel and George Buxton Browne junior had chaired a similar meeting at the Oddfellows Hall, where opposition to the proposals, at this stage, was fairly muted. But anger over the Maynooth endowment persisted, helping to ensure that religion, for the first time, dominated the campaign in the forthcoming election. Chairing the adoption meeting of the former Independent minister and editor of the Nonconformist, Edward Miall, whose candidature pushed the religious issue to the fore, Edmund Minson Wavell, the town clerk of Halifax and a

leading Wesleyan layman, declared:

> I candidly avow to you that it is the great question of religious endowment (of Roman Catholic priests in Ireland) which now induces me to leave that privacy in which it has been my happiness and pleasure for many years to live as regards political questions ... I disclaim any degree of feeling unkindly to my Roman Catholic brethren ... but I do in my conscience regard the endowment of Romanism as attended with such enormous evils, that so long as I have a voice to raise or a vote to give, it shall be raised and given in opposition to such a measure ... Mr Miall may differ from me ... in many details of political view ... but I firmly believe that in the selection of Mr Miall for the great principles of Nonconformity and for the advantages of religion, we have an advocate more powerful; and who will confer more substantial advantages on religion and the Dissenting interests than any votes of persons less gifted and less able to propound our views upon the floor of the House of Commons (81).

With a choice of three other candidates besides Miall, namely local Conservative manufacturer, Henry Edwards; Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Charles Wood and Chartist, Ernest Jones, the Halifax election of 1847 produced more permutations of voting behaviour; a higher incidence of cross-party voting and the highest Conservative poll on record. After the election it was acknowledged on both sides that only massive Conservative support had enabled Sir Charles Wood to survive the Radical voluntaryist challenge. The _Halifax Reformer_ maintained that of the 356 split votes given to Wood at least 200 were primary Tory votes and no more than sixty primary Whig votes and Wood himself admitted after the election that 'nothing but the support of the Conservatives carried us through' (82).

The largest number of positively identified Methodist votes went to the radical alliance of Miall and Jones (27%), compared with 24 per cent of non-Methodist votes, with a slight preponderance of Wesleyan over Methodist New Connexion votes. The second largest category of Methodist votes went to Edwards with Wood (22%) compared with 39 per cent of non-Methodist votes, but there was a significant proportion of Methodist voters, mainly Wesleyan, plumping for Edwards (15%) compared

with only 10 per cent of non-Methodist voters and a significant proportion of Methodist New Connexion voters plumping for Wood (19%), compared with 9 per cent of Methodist voters and 6 per cent of non-Methodist voters (83).

Wood's foremost supporter in every election since 1832 had been the leading Methodist New Connexion industrialist and free trader, Jonathan Akroyd, who had collapsed and died at a boisterous pre-election meeting arguing the merits of the Whig government's education scheme. A number of prominent New Connexion Methodists had helped shape the new Political Dissent as it had emerged as a force to be reckoned with in Halifax politics in the 1840s and Wood's controversial support for the Maynooth grant and his intransigence on the voluntaryist issue placed both parties in a dilemma. Wood confided to his agent in June '5/6 of my friends are Dissenters and I cannot go up as the representative of a church party'. He therefore resolved to fight the election upon the issue of 'education for all classes'. In the event a number of leading Methodist New Connexion Liberals remained loyal to Wood, including George Beaumont, John Styring, John Horner, William Birtwhistle and Henry Blackburn, others such as Daniel Ramsden, Henry Horsfall and Edwin Lumby split their votes between Wood and Miall, whilst Samuel Dennis, James Millington and Jabez Waterhouse voted for the radical alliance. James Millington, a former superintendent of the Hanover Methodist New Connexion Sunday School declared at Ernest Jones's election meeting that he believed the Dissenters of Halifax were 'willing to sink all political questions in that one absorbing question - endowment of religious parties', but did exert his influence to obtain a hearing for Jonathan Akroyd at the election meeting where he collapsed and died. Jabez Waterhouse, secretary to the Hanover Methodist New Connexion Sunday School was appointed honorary secretary to Miall's election committee (84).

There was also for the first time at the 1847 election a higher ratio of Methodist to non-Methodist abstentions and a higher

proportion of Methodist abstentions than at any previous Halifax borough election. J.A. Jowitt, who has suggested that the influence of the working-class non-electors in Halifax post-reform politics was significant, particularly in the form of exclusive dealing, has noted, in his occupational analysis of voting at the 1847 election that by far the largest number of Radical votes were derived from the shopocracy, the group most susceptible to pressure from non-electors. Although there is no recorded case of a Methodist shopkeeper suffering intimidation at the 1847 election, there is evidence of a radical Wesleyan grocer, John Boddy, profiting from exclusive dealing at that election and of intimidation of Wesleyan shopkeepers at two previous elections. 'For several Saturdays' the Select Committee on Bribery at Elections was told 'a mob beset the door' of Edward Metcalfe, a Wesleyan grocer who voted for the Tory candidate in the 1835 election, continuing there:

> till he has been obliged to shut up his shop; the mob has called out 'Blue' to anyone going into the shop, and in fact deterred the country people from going in (85).

After the 1837 election, Joseph Scowby, a Wesleyan preacher, toy dealer and basket maker, received an unsigned hostile letter after voting for the Tory candidate:

> Holy Soul! - In thy sanctum sanctorum thou prayed to the Lord to direct thee in thy politics, but he turned a deaf ear to thy knavish supplications, and the devil whispered blue, his favourite colour ... the common saying through the borough is the Devil and Scowby.

The Halifax Guardian, noting that this was the first time Scowby troubled himself about electioneering matters, commented:

> No sooner does he most conscientiously and in the spirit of a Christian come forward to record his vote as an independent elector, than he is immediately made the object of the most cowardly, infernal and wretched attack by some scoundrel in the Liberal ranks.

Undeterred, Scowby voted Conservative again in 1837, though in the 1847 election he voted for the Radical alliance (86).

During the period 1832-41, Methodist voters showed a marked preference for Liberal candidates, though there was always a nucleus of Wesleyans plumping for the Conservative candidate, which in 1835 affected the outcome of the election, and generally a greater diversity in Wesleyan than in Methodist New Connexion voting behaviour, which was more uniformly Liberal-Radical. Moreover, Wesleyan voters showed a greater tendency towards cross-party voting than Methodist New Connexion voters before 1847 (87).

Apart from a marked absence of cross-party voting, even amongst Wesleyans, a broadly similar pattern of Methodist voting behaviour can also be identified within the Halifax and Hebden Bridge polling districts of the West Riding county constituency in the contested elections of the period. Between sixty-one and seventy-one Methodist county voters have been positively identified from within the parish during the period 1835-48, some residing within the borough of Halifax possessing dual voting rights, others possessing only the county franchise, usually by virtue of their ownership of one of the numerous freehold properties which abounded in the ancient parish (88).

At the first two general elections after the Great Reform Act, Lord Morpeth was returned unopposed for the new West Riding division of Yorkshire and so the opportunity to vote in the largest constituency in the country did not come for almost three years, during which time there was considerable activity by both parties at the revision courts, including an abortive attempt to register some 217 Methodists and other Nonconformists in the parish of Halifax as chapel trustees - a controversial claim accepted by the revision courts in some other constituencies. The Methodist claimants, some from the out-townships of Elland-cum-Greetland; Hipperholme-cum-Brighouse and Northowram; others from Halifax itself included both Wesleyans and Methodist Secessionists. Amongst the Halifax claimants were three trustees of Wesley Chapel, Broad Street; fourteen trustees of the new Hanover Street Methodist

New Connexion Chapel and thirteen trustees of the Ebenezer Primitive Methodist Chapel, including the intrepid Joseph Smith, who later succeeded in getting his name on the register by eluding the officers responsible for serving notice of objection, only to have his vote disqualified after the 1837 election and receive a sharp rebuke from the Tory Halifax Guardian that 'what is morally wrong cannot be politically right'. These claims, largely instigated by the Reform Association, certainly alarmed the Conservatives who objected that 'there are not less than sixty Dissenting chapels within this parish', each with an average complement of fifteen trustees, 'all of whom with two or three exceptions would vote against a Church and King candidate' (89).

On accepting office in the Whig government in May 1835, Lord Morpeth's re-election was opposed by the Hon. John S. Wortley, when Morpeth was returned with a considerable majority. In the Halifax District, where nearly two in every three voters voted for Morpeth, four in every five of the positively identified Methodist voters voted Liberal, and the remainder who favoured Wortley were all Wesleyans. At the 1837 general election, when the Halifax District again emerged as a Liberal stronghold with three in every four voters voting Liberal, the two Liberal candidates were returned, with the majority of Methodist voters splitting their votes between them, though with a more substantial minority than in 1835, again mainly Wesleyan, plumping for the Conservative Wortley. At the 1841 election, as the Halifax Reformer later lamented, 'the result was for the first time adverse to the Liberal cause in the West Riding' and the two Conservative candidates were elected. In the Halifax and new Hebden Bridge polling districts, where the Liberal vote was considerably higher and in Hebden Bridge almost double the Conservative vote, the majority of Methodist voters again split their votes between the Liberal candidates, with most of the remaining Methodist votes, again mainly Wesleyan, going to the two Conservative candidates. In

February 1846, when Wortley succeeded to his father's peerage, Morpeth was re-elected unopposed and in July 1846, on his promotion to cabinet office, there was evidence of the intensive registration activity of the Anti-Corn Law League, a new factor in West Riding politics, which was also to secure Morpeth's unopposed return in the following year, together with that of League leader, Richard Cobden (90).

The Liberal resurgence was, however, abruptly checked by the emergence of voluntaryism as an issue in county politics in the by-election of 1848, necessitated by Morpeth's succession to the earldom of Carlisle, when the Conservative candidate, Denison, defeated the Liberal voluntaryist candidate, Sir Culling Eardley. In the Halifax polling district there was a clear majority of voters favouring Eardley and in the neighbouring Hebden Bridge district Eardley secured more than double the number of votes given to his opponent. Prominent Methodists of both the Old and New Connexions were amongst Eardley's entourage at a pre-election meeting at the Halifax Piece Hall and Methodist voters in the parish expressed a strong preference for Eardley, but with a substantial mainly Wesleyan minority supporting Denison, representing a more decisive Methodist commitment to voluntaryism than in the Halifax borough election of the previous year (91).

Most striking was the high degree of local Wesleyan support for Eardley. A Leeds Wesleyan, writing to Jabez Bunting during the election campaign, had anticipated that Eardley, a candidate who 'fears God and hates Popery', would attract considerable Wesleyan support. The Halifax Guardian, however, in an impassioned pre-election editorial, expressed the hope that Wesleyans would reject the representative of Political Dissent:

> The most Jesuitical attempts have been made by the Political Dissenters of the West Riding to induce the Wesleyans publicly to identify themselves with Eardley's party ... The Wesleyans have too much respect for their own principles and too much regard for the memory of that good and holy man whose name they bear, ever to disgrace

> either the one or the other by associating Methodism with a selfish and bigoted clique of Dissenters, who seek the return of Sir Culling Eardley in order the more readily to accomplish the set purpose of their hearts - a separation of Church and State.

In the event, 53 per cent of local Wesleyans voted for Eardley; 31 per cent for Denison, whilst a further 16 per cent abstained (92).

Methodist voting behaviour in the West Riding elections of the period shows a remarkable consistency, with a majority of Wesleyan electors and virtually all Methodist New Connexion voters in the local sample reflecting the Liberal bias of the electorate of the parish as a whole and the urban freeholders of the county generally. In each of the elections of the period, however, a substantial Wesleyan minority expressed a distinct Conservative preference, justifying to some extent the otherwise misplaced trust of the Tory Halifax Guardian in the Old Connexion by 1848.

Table 20: Methodist Voters as a Percentage of the Halifax Borough Electorate, 1832-47

Sources: Pollbooks, Methodist chapel and circuit records.

Abbreviations: MNC: Methodist New Connexion; PM: Primitive Methodist; WM: Wesleyan.

	1832	1835	1837	1841	1847
Methodist voters	70	95	100	78	86
Total electorate	531	648	932	774	993
Methodist voters as % of total electorate	13	15	11	10	9
WM voters	50	68	66	52	54
WM voters as % of total electorate	9	10	7	7	5
MNC voters	20	27	34	26	31
MNC voters as % of total electorate	4	4	4	3	3
PM voters	-	-	-	-	1
PM voters as % of total electorate	0	0	0	0	0

Table 21: Voting Behaviour in the 1832 Parliamentary Election for the Borough of Halifax (Two Members Returned)

Sources: Pollbook, Methodist chapel and circuit records.

Abbreviations: MNCV: Methodist New Connexion voters; WMV: Wesleyan voters; MV: Methodist voters; NMV: Non-Methodist voters; PS: Percentage share (rounded).

Result of Poll: Briggs (Lib.) 242 votes; Wood (Lib.) 235 votes; Stocks (Lib./Rad.) 186 votes; J. Stuart Wortley (Cons.) 174 votes. Electorate: 531; MV: 70.

	MNCV	WMV	MV	PS of MV	NMV	PS of NMV
Briggs (Plumpers)	0	0	0	0	4	1
Stocks (Plumpers)	1	5	6	9	53	11
Wood (Plumpers)	1	1	2	3	4	1
Wortley (Plumpers)	0	6	6	9	74	16
Briggs/Wood	12	9	21	30	129	28
Briggs/Stocks	3	10	13	19	56	12
Wood/Stocks	0	3	3	4	28	6
Briggs/Wortley	0	5	5	7	14	3
Stocks/Wortley	2	2	4	6	23	5
Wood/Wortley	1	5	6	9	42	9
Abstentions	0	4	4	6	35	8

Table 22: Voting Behaviour in the 1835 Parliamentary Election for the Borough of Halifax (Two Members Returned)

Sources: Pollbook, Methodist chapel and circuit records.

Abbreviations: MNCV: Methodist New Connexion voters; WMV: Wesleyan voters; MV: Methodist voters; NMV: Non-Methodist voters; PS: Percentage share (rounded).

Result of Poll: Wood (Lib.) 336 votes; Wortley (Cons.) 308 votes; Protheroe (Lib.) 307 votes. Electorate: 648; MV: 95.

	MNCV	WMV	MV	PS of MV	NMV	PS of NMV
Protheroe (Plumpers)	1	1	2	2	11	2
Wood (Plumpers)	0	1	1	1	4	1
Wortley (Plumpers)	3	27	30	32	203	37
Protheroe/Wood	20	29	49	52	226	41
Protheroe/Wortley	0	2	2	2	17	3
Wood/Wortley	1	7	8	8	48	9
Abstentions	2	1	3	3	44	8

Table 23: Voting Behaviour in the 1837 Parliamentary Election for the Borough of Halifax (Two Members Returned)

Sources: Pollbook, Methodist chapel and circuit records.

Abbreviations: MNCV: Methodist New Connexion voters; WMV: Wesleyan voters; MV: Methodist voters; NMV: Non-Methodist voters; PS: Percentage share (rounded).

Result of Poll: Protheroe (Lib.) 496 votes; Wood (Lib.) 487 votes; Wortley (Cons.) 308 votes. Electorate: 932; MV: 100.

	MNCV	WMV	MV	PS of MV	NMV	PS of NMV
Protheroe (Plumpers)	0	2	2	2	10	1
Wood (Plumpers)	0	1	1	1	6	1
Wortley (Plumpers)	3	17	20	20	256	31
Protheroe/Wood	29	37	66	66	400	48
Protheroe/Wortley	0	2	2	2	16	2
Wood/Wortley	0	2	2	2	12	1
Abstentions	2	5	7	7	132	16

Table 24: Voting Behaviour in the 1841 Parliamentary Election for the Borough of Halifax (Two Members Returned)

Sources: Pollbook, Methodist chapel and circuit records.

Abbreviations: MNCV: Methodist New Connexion voters; WMV: Wesleyan voters; MV: Methodist voters; NMV: Non-Methodist voters; PS: Percentage share (rounded).

Result of Poll: Protheroe (Lib.) 409 votes; Wood (Lib.) 383 votes; Sinclair (Cons.) 320 votes. Electorate: 774; MV: 78.

	MNCV	WMV	MV	PS of MV	NMV	PS of NMV
Protheroe (Plumpers)	1	0	1	1	10	1
Wood (Plumpers)	0	0	0	0	4	1
Sinclair (Plumpers)	4	22	26	33	255	37
Protheroe/Wood	20	22	42	54	327	47
Protheroe/Sinclair	0	3	3	4	26	4
Wood/Sinclair	0	2	2	3	8	1
Abstentions	1	3	4	5	66	9

Table 25: Voting Behaviour in the 1847 Parliamentary Election for the Borough of Halifax (Two Members Returned)

Sources: Pollbook, Methodist chapel and circuit records.

Abbreviations: MNCV: Methodist New Connexion voters; PMV: Primitive Methodist voters; WMV: Wesleyan voters; MV: Methodist voters; NMV: Non-Methodist voters; PS: Percentage share.

Result of Poll: Edwards (Cons.) 511 votes; Wood (Lib.) 507 votes; Miall (rad,) 349 votes; Jones (Chartist) 280 votes. Electorate: 993; MV: 86.

	MNCV	PMV	WMV	MV	PS of MV	NMV	PS of NMV
Edwards (Plumpers)	3	0	10	13	15	95	10
Wood (Plumpers)	6	0	2	8	9	52	6
Miall (Plumpers)	0	0	5	5	6	21	2
Jones (Plumpers)	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Edwards/Wood	6	0	13	19	22	351	39
Edwards/Miall	0	0	3	3	3	16	2
Edwards/Jones	0	0	0	0	0	14	2
Wood/Miall	3	0	3	6	7	53	6
Wood/Jones	1	0	1	2	2	16	2
Miall/Jones	10	1	12	23	27	222	24
Abstentions	2	0	5	7	8	52	6

Table 26: Voting Behaviour in the 1835 Parliamentary By-Election for the West Riding (occasioned by the appointment of Lord Morpeth as Chief Secretary in Ireland)

Sources: Pollbook, Methodist chapel and circuit records.

Abbreviations: MNCV: Methodist New Connexion voters; WMV: Wesleyan voters; MV: Methodist voters.

Result of Poll: Morpeth (Lib.) 9066 votes; John S. Wortley (Cons.) 6259 votes. MV: 61.

	MNCV	WMV	MV
Morpeth	12	28	40
Wortley	0	10	10
Abstentions	2	9	11

Table 27: Voting Behaviour in the 1837 Parliamentary Election for the West Riding (Two Members Returned)

Sources: Pollbook, Methodist chapel and circuit records.

Abbreviations: MNCV: Methodist New Connexion voters; PMV: Primitive Methodist voters; WMV: Wesleyan voters; MV: Methodist voters; D: subsequently disqualified.

Result of Poll: Morpeth (Lib.) 12576 votes; Strickland (Lib.) 11892 votes; Wortley (Cons.) 11489 votes. MV: 66.

	MNCV	PMV	WMV	MV
Morpeth (Plumpers)	0	0	1	1
Strickland (Plumpers)	0	0	0	0
Wortley (Plumpers)	1	0	19	20
Morpeth/Strickland	12	1D	22	35
Morpeth/Wortley	0	0	2	2
Strickland/Wortley	0	0	0	0
Abstentions	2	0	6	8

Table 28: Voting Behaviour in the 1841 Parliamentary Election for the West Riding (Two Members Returned)

Sources: Pollbook, Methodist chapel and circuit records.

Abbreviations: MNCV: Methodist New Connexion voters; WMV: Wesleyan voters; MV: Methodist voters.

Result of Poll: Wortley (Cons.) 13165 votes; Denison (Cons.) 12780 votes; Milton (Lib.) 12080 votes; Morpeth (Lib.) 12031 votes. MV: 66.

	MNCV	WMV	MV
Wortley (Plumpers)	0	0	0
Denison (Plumpers)	0	1	1
Milton (Plumpers)	0	0	0
Morpeth (Plumpers)	0	0	0
Milton/Morpeth	9	21	30
Wortley/Denison	2	18	20
Morpeth/Wortley	0	1	1
Milton/Denison	0	1	1
Abstentions	4	9	13

Table 29: Voting Behaviour in the 1848 Parliamentary By-Election for the West Riding (occasioned by Lord Morpeth's succession to the earldom of Carlisle)

Sources: Pollbook, Methodist chapel and circuit records.

Abbreviations: MNCV: Methodist New Connexion voters; WMV: Wesleyan voters; MV: Methodist voters.

Result of Poll: Denison (Cons.) 14743 votes; Eardley (Lib.) 11795 votes. MV: 71.

	MNCV	WMV	MV
Denison	4	17	21
Eardley	9	29	38
Abstentions	3	9	12

3.3.2. Parochial, Township and Municipal Politics

Although it has been widely acknowledged that the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 and the introduction of the Municipal Corporations Act in 1835 opened up new opportunities for Nonconformists to engage in the political affairs of the local community, A.E. Teale's analysis of the relationship between Methodism and politics in the parish of Halifax during the second quarter of the nineteenth century has rejected any suggestion that Halifax Methodists played any significant role in the politics of local government during this period. Dr Teale's conclusion that Methodists in Halifax 'did not involve themselves to any great extent in local government affairs', however, was circumscribed by the relatively few individual Methodists positively identified and the range of evidence consulted. With the identification of a wider cross-section of individual Methodists it can now be argued that as the structure of local government was transformed by the reforming legislation of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Halifax Methodists gradually permeated almost every stratum of political activity within the urban community in a manner entirely consistent with Methodist involvement in the electoral politics of the period (93).

The traditional ruling Tory Anglican élite which had dominated the county bench and the parochial and township vestries since the Restoration was thrown into disarray in Halifax even before the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 and the enactment of Roman Catholic Emancipation in 1829, when in 1827 it was rocked by a bitter conflict over the issue of vicarial tithes. Within six months of his appointment as Vicar of Halifax the Reverend Charles Musgrave, who had already taken legal advice concerning his right to vicarial tithes, invited the 'gentlemen proprietors' of the parish to a meeting at the vicarage on 10 September 1827 to discuss 'the rights and interests of the living'. After hearing the vicar's case, the meeting was adjourned for a week whilst a letter was sent to

the churchwardens of all the townships in the parish requesting them to send a deputation to the adjourned meeting to hear details of the vicar's claims, which were subsequently considered at township meetings throughout the parish where strongly-worded resolutions were passed opposing the vicar's claims to small tithes.

The Vicar's supporters were led by the Anglican Tory manufacturer Henry Lees Edwards of Pye Nest and his opponents by Richard Oastler, the Anglican Tory land steward of the absentee Thornhill family of Fixby, one of the largest landowners in the parish. The 'ranks of the opponents of the vicar's party' Oastler observed were 'filled with men every way their superiors in honour, true respectability, loyalty, wealth and above all in steady, constant and firm attachment to the Church of England' and included Christopher Rawson (1777-1849) a leading Tory, who subsequently served as Deputy Lieutenant of the West Riding; Robert Stansfield of Field House and Dr Joseph Fawthrop the surgeon of Square. Oastler set up a central committee to coordinate the opposition from the townships and draft a 'Parish Agreement for Resisting the Claims of the Reverend C. Musgrave, Vicar of Halifax', which attracted some 1400 signatures. After a bitter and protracted struggle, which cost the vicar's opponents £3339.4s.2 1/2d., a compromise was eventually reached in 1829 whereby the vicar's claims were commuted into a fixed vicar's rate by act of Parliament, seven years before the Tithe Commutation Act addressed the issue nationally. The resolution of the problem healed the divisions within the local Tory Anglican élite, but during the 1830s it was increasingly forced onto the defensive by a resurgence of urban liberalism and political dissent which accompanied the return to power of the Whigs in 1830 and by the new phenomenon of parochial and municipal Chartism which emerged in the 1840s (94).

In the out-townships the vestries appear to have remained firmly under the control of the more substantial local property

owners throughout the period. Notwithstanding the prominent role played by the township of Skircoat in the resistance to vicarial tithes during the period 1827-29, when Benjamin Wilson the Chartist attended his first vestry meeting in the township in 1843 he felt distinctly uncomfortable because he was the only working man present. He later commented in his autobiography that local affairs had been left 'in the hands of a few rich men' whose main preoccupation appeared to be to ensure that 'the roads near their own residences were kept in good repair'. Despite the persistence of Wilson and other radicals in challenging the dominant clique at every opportunity in the years which followed, Wilson later acknowledged that 'it was several years before we could make any headway' on account of 'the great amount of influence that was brought to bear against us' (95).

Occasionally, a more substantial Methodist layman living or owning property in one of the out-townships succeeded in penetrating the local ruling élite. The prominent Methodist New Connexion liberal manufacturer George Beaumont, who resided in the township of Northowram and who had declined the office of churchwarden at the Halifax Parish Church vestry meeting in March 1833 on the grounds that 'being a Dissenter he could not conscientiously discharge the duties of office', accepted office as churchwarden for the township of Northowram in 1844, having served with 'a few of the most substantial property owners in the township' on the Board of Highway Surveyors in 1840-41 (96).

The main arena in the sphere of parochial politics, however, for Nonconformists in the 1830s was the vestry of the Halifax Parish Church, where clashes over the levying of church rates assumed a new intensity in the wake of the 1832 Reform Act. Since advanced notice had to be given before a meeting could be held to fix a church rate, Dissenting ratepayers could attend in strength and attempt to disrupt the proceedings. At the Halifax Vestry meeting in July 1833, Michael Stocks, the

unsuccessful radical candidate in the 1832 parliamentary election, well-known for his sympathies with the grievances of Dissenters, was called to the chair, whereupon he made the observation that 'in these reforming times he had wished that the reformed Parliament had passed an act to remove the liabilities of Dissenters to contribute to the necessary repairs of the church'. Not surprisingly the subsequent presentation of the churchwardens' accounts for the previous year generated a storm of angry protests, in which the Methodist New Connexion laymen George Beaumont and Peter Kenyon Holden were very much to the fore. During the proceedings, as the Halifax Guardian reported:

> The ringers' salary; washing surplices; communion wine; registers; masons', glaziers', joiners', iron, painters' and plasterers' work; the lighting of the church with gas; coals for the boiler to air the church; all underwent the operation of the Radical pruning-knife (97).

Wesleyans do not appear to have taken a prominent role in the campaign at this stage. Indeed the Halifax Guardian carried a number of pieces pointedly dissociating Wesleyans from the more extreme attacks on the Church Establishment. These articles were, however, countered by a letter to the Halifax and Huddersfield Express from a Halifax Wesleyan arguing that Wesleyans ought now to be regarded as Dissenters, and at a public meeting shortly afterwards the leading Wesleyan Liberal George Buxton Browne joined George Beaumont and two of the town's Dissenting ministers in moving resolutions for a petition to the House of Commons calling for the abolition of church rates. At the vestry meeting in July 1834 the churchwardens' estimates for the forthcoming year were reduced by a half and in 1835, on the initiative of the vicar and churchwardens, alternative voluntary financing of church maintenance was proposed and adopted for an experimental period (98).

When the churchwardens resumed the levy of a modest church rate in 1837, however, the Halifax Guardian reported that the

attempts by the 'anti-church party ... headed by that prince of comicalities, the celebrated Peter Kenyon Holden' to impose a Dissenting chairman were resisted and the rate approved, despite Holden's protests that 'he stood there as a Dissenter, conscientiously to object to any rate being laid, and if a rate was laid he should never pay it'. On this occasion, George Beaumont, conscious of the indefinite postponement of a statutory settlement of the thorny issue of church rates by the Whig government earlier that year, urged local Dissenters to adopt a more conciliatory approach in an open letter to the Halifax Guardian, thereby incurring the wrath of Holden and his Methodist New Connexion supporters who persuaded their minister, the Reverend John Bakewell, to issue a controversial public rebuke of Beaumont for allegedly undermining the voluntary principle (99).

For a time Beaumont's counsel prevailed and in 1839 at a well-attended vestry meeting 'not one voice nor one hand was raised against the granting of the rate'. Nor did any problem arise during the period from March 1840 when Tory Wesleyan, T.S. Swale, served as churchwarden, but, shortly after his death in January 1842, a new challenge came from the Chartists, who obtained a majority against the imposition of the rate at a thinly attended vestry meeting and the matter was ultimately resolved only by invoking the authority of the archdeacon's court (100).

Swale was the only Wesleyan to serve as churchwarden during the period up to 1851, though at the time of his death he was in his second term of office. Although since 1743 it had been customary for one of the two churchwardens to be elected by the ratepayers (the other was nominated by the vicar)the office did not appeal to Dissenters because it was considered too closely associated with the ecclesiastical administration of the parish church and this was the reason why George Beaumont declined to serve in 1833. Swale, whose loyalty to the Church of England was somewhat exceptional by 1842 even amongst

Wesleyans, was able to commit himself unreservedly to all that the office entailed and indeed his final act of worship before his sudden death in 1842 was at the parish church (101).

But Swale was also aware of the political potential of the office and during his first term of office spearheaded the Tory opposition to the New Poor Law. At a vestry meeting in February 1841 called to consider 'the propriety of petitioning the legislature to reject any bill having for its object the perpetuation of the Poor Law Amendment Act', he declared:

> The amended Poor Law system had ... in general ... operated very much to the disadvantage of those sacred rights which belonged to the poor man. The British constitution was based on the principles of the Holy Scriptures and the great principle of the Holy Scriptures was benevolence to those in a state of necessity. But under the New Poor Law they found everything done to reduce the existence of the poor when they became necessitous to the lowest possible minimum of support.

At the same meeting, James Uriah Walker, the Tory Wesleyan proprietor of the Halifax Guardian, moved the resolution:

> This meeting feels called upon to express its abhorrence of the 'Workhouse Test' by which poverty is punished as a crime and the divine law violated by the separation of husband and wife, and of parents and children; and views with deep regret the endeavour ... by the government to extend and prolong the powers of the Poor Law Commissioners (102).

Methodists took a keen interest in the problem of poverty throughout the period. Among those who served as overseers of the poor were the Wesleyans John Oldfield Bates, Samuel Denton, William Heap, James Keighley and Joseph Sutcliffe and New Connexion Methodists Telemachus Gledhill and P.K. Holden. Wesleyans, with Methodist New Connexion support, were also actively involved in the move to deal with the growing problem of vagrancy. At a vestry meeting in 1834 'to consider the propriety of establishing a night asylum for the reception of vagrants and other houseless poor' financed from the poor rates George Buxton Browne and Alexander Grylls Suter moved the resolutions and three Wesleyans, Samuel Denton, Joseph Sutcliffe and Samuel Brown, together with New Connexion

Methodist P.K. Holden, served on the seven-man committee set up to study the feasibility of the scheme and seek the approval of the Poor Law Commissioners (103).

The Night Asylum was opened in the Union Cross Yard towards the end of 1834 and despite criticism of the costs involved continued to operate for two years. More Wesleyans, T.S. Swale, William Hatton and John Jackson, were appointed to the committee in October 1835. Following its eventual demise, T.S. Swale proposed its re-establishment through voluntary subscriptions, but on a resolution seconded by Wesleyan William Emmett and carried by a large majority at a vestry meeting in June 1837 it was agreed that it should continue as a charge on the rates with Wesleyans T.S. Swale and Peter Suter serving on the new management committee. In the event, however, the Poor Law Guardians decided to investigate the possibilities of including provision for vagrants within the new workhouse (104).

Perhaps the most highly politicised parochial appointments during the 1830s were to the office of constable. Until new legislation was introduced in 1842, the annual appointment of petty constables was legally the responsibility of the court leet. In practice, however, by 1830 the constables were elected by the ratepayers at the vestry meeting and subsequently sworn in by the lord of the manor's deputy. In 1832, in an election which was regarded as a test of strength between the political parties, the Liberal Methodist New Connexion candidate, Daniel Ramsden, easily topped the poll and was duly elected. Later, when two head constables were appointed annually it came to be assumed that both should be of liberal politics in order to counter the solid Toryism of the bench, but in the aftermath of the serious disorder accompanying the general election of 1835, the _Select Committee on Bribery at Elections_ was informed by the Halifax solicitor, William Craven, a member of the Tory election committee, that the effectiveness of the constables, both 'partisans of the

Yellow side', had been gravely impaired (105).

At a subsequent meeting, therefore, in an attempt to forestall further criticism, George Beaumont took the lead in urging the development of an effective police force, backed by two other prominent New Connexion Liberals, Daniel Ramsden and P.K. Holden, who were appointed to a sub-committee to investigate the problem. Before the year was out, however, Holden succeeded in securing his own election as constable, whereupon T.S. Swale promptly led a successful Tory move to have the appointment rescinded at the court leet on the grounds that Holden was too old for the office, having previously claimed exemption from jury service on account of his age, and that many of his supporters had been non-ratepayers. After this incident, T.S. Swale and A.G. Suter together renewed pressure for a well-regulated, politically neutral force and when, in 1841, during Swale's term of office as churchwarden, the Chartists threatened a massive presence at the vestry meeting to secure the nomination of their own candidate as constable, Swale took the chair determined to resist the threat, which in the event never materialised (106).

Methodists of both Old and New Connexions were also involved from the outset in the highly-politicised elections to the Board of Guardians, which was responsible from 1837 for the administration of the New Poor Law within the Halifax Poor Law Union. All four successful candidates for the township of Halifax at the first elections in 1837 were Liberals nominated by a specially convened Whig-Radical meeting chaired by the New Connexion Methodist, P.K. Holden, at which there were other major contributions from the floor from Samuel Dennis and Jabez Todd of the Methodist New Connexion and the Wesleyan William Denton. Two of the candidates nominated by this meeting were also Methodists: the Wesleyan, G.B. Browne, who subsequently topped the poll at the election with 932 votes, and the Methodist New Connexion manufacturer, Jonathan Akroyd, a less popular choice with some of the Radicals at the nomination

meeting on account of his opposition to the Ten Hours Bill, who came a close second in the poll with 905 votes. Moreover, leading the field amongst the unsuccessful non-Liberal candidates was the Wesleyan A.G. Suter, who polled 622 votes and amongst those returned unopposed from the township of Northowram was the New Connexion Methodist George Beaumont (107).

The Liberal triumph ensured the initial success of the New Poor Law in Halifax, where the first purpose-built union workhouse of the mid-Pennine textile belt was opened at a cost of £12,000 in March 1840, in marked contrast to neighbouring unions such as Todmorden, where determined and sustained opposition supported by the Fieldens delayed the implementation of the new legislation. Although the Commissioners were more favourably received in Halifax than elsewhere at the outset, there is evidence that the new legislation became increasingly unpopular as its full implications began to be realised. G.B. Browne who on his election to the chair at the first meeting of the Board of Guardians had appealed to his colleagues to 'endeavour to do the best they could in carrying the law into operation as good subjects' resigned shortly after his re-election as chairman for a second term when he learned that the guardians were to be denied the discretion with regard to the continuation of outdoor relief 'and must act as cruelly as the unfeeling commissioners ordered'. Nor did George Beaumont, whose Methodist New Connexion congregation at Ambler Thorn walked out of the chapel before he was due to preach a sermon in March 1839, to dramatise 'the incongruity of the accursed New Poor Law and that gospel which enjoins that those "whom God has joined together no man shall put asunder"', seek re-election to the board when his term of office expired that month (108).

By the time that the workhouse was fully operational in March 1840, most of the guardians were opposed to the new system and Methodists who later served as guardians like the New Connexion

Methodist Samuel Dennis and the Wesleyans James Keighley and James Uriah Walker were often outspoken critics of the New Poor Law. James Keighley, who expressed his own preference for the old system of which he had first-hand experience as a former overseer, maintained that the operation of the workhouse test had given a boost to private charity which now provided the only means of escape for the pauper from entry into the workhouse. Other Wesleyan guardians directed attention towards the spiritual welfare of the workhouse inmates, with George Thompson expressing concern for their religious instruction and J.U. Walker pressing for the appointment of a chaplain, whilst the Methodist New Connexion guardian, Samuel Dennis, tried to ensure that Methodist ministers visited the workhouse regularly, apparently achieving more success with the ministers of the New Connexion than with those of the Old Connexion (109).

Methodists also concerned themselves with environmental improvement by claiming membership of the local body of improvement commissioners, the Halifax Town Trustees, up to 1848 and thereafter by seeking election to the municipal corporation. Under a local act of 1823 any adult male could claim trusteeship if he owned or occupied property in the town of annual value or annual rental of £40. Until 1840 the work of the trustees was carried on at fortnightly meetings of the whole body with few procedural rules and no standing committees but, in that year, after the trustees had earned notoriety for the 'irregular and slovenly manner' in which their affairs were conducted and had accumulated a debt of nearly £12,000, a reformed constitution was adopted with provision for quarterly meetings along Methodist lines, standing committees and an executive committee to assume responsibility for the day-to-day administration (110).

The opening up of trusteeship to occupiers as well as owners of property enabled a handful of Methodists, including the Wesleyans, William Hatton and A.G. Suter, and the New Connexion

Methodist, John Styring, to claim membership along with property owners like the Wesleyan, William Emmett, but there was no great influx of Methodists into the ranks of the trustees until the 1830s and 1840s. By 1840 there were some twenty-three Methodist trustees, twelve claiming their membership through property ownership and eleven through occupation. By 1845 the number had risen to thirty-two, including twelve Wesleyan and four Methodist New Connexion property owners and three Methodist New Connexion occupiers out of a total body of 190 trustees, which constitutes a significantly higher proportion of 'identified Methodist trustees than the thirteen positively identified by A.E. Teale out of a total of 182 for 1843. Moreover, by 1848, no fewer than fifty-three trustees, forty-one of them Wesleyan and twelve of them Methodist New Connexion, approximately twenty per cent of the total complement of 258, were Methodists (111). The Wesleyans appear to have had more members qualifying for trusteeship, or simply prepared to claim trusteeship once qualified, than their New Connexion contemporaries, though individual New Connexion Methodists, such as Daniel Ramsden and Samuel Dennis, were among the most active members of the body. During the period 1840-48, six Wesleyans and three New Connexion Methodists served on the General Committee; three Wesleyans and one New Connexion Methodist on the Reservoir Committee; nine Wesleyans and one New Connexion Methodist on the Watch Committee and two New Connexion Methodists on the Water Committee (112).

Although resistance from within the trustees to the new form of authority envisaged in Lord Morpeth's original Public Health Bill of 1848 was led by the Wesleyan George Buxton Browne junior, Methodist influence within the trustees following the municipal incorporation of the borough in March 1848 undoubtedly helped facilitate the orderly transition of power to the new municipal corporation. Of the sixteen members of the Halifax Town Trustees General Committee in 1848, at least

one third were Methodists, including the New Connexion Methodists, Daniel Ramsden, the chairman, Samuel Dennis, the vice-chairman, and John Holt and the Wesleyans, William Heap, James Keighley and William Hatton. Indeed Keighley and Hatton formally proposed and seconded the resolution whereby the powers of the trustees were transferred to the municipal corporation in October 1848 (113).

A.E. Teale could find no evidence whatsoever of Methodist involvement in the affairs of the new municipal corporation. Having examined the names of twenty-nine councillors and ten aldermen referred to in the council minutes for 26 May 1848, he concluded that none could 'be positively identified as being Methodists'. He suggested, moreover, that some Methodists, unspecified by name, preferred to engage in musical activities 'rather than concerning themselves with local politics' and that, in general, 'Halifax Methodists did not seek local political power and thus by default made it easier for others to rule' (114).

It may be that some Halifax Methodists regarded music as an alternative to political involvement in an age of efflorescence in the performance of both sacred and secular music within the local urban community, but Teale's conclusion that Methodists deliberately eschewed involvement in local politics is no longer tenable. After 1830 Halifax Methodists had become increasingly involved in the politics of parochial, township and Poor Law Union administration and, in the highly charged political atmosphere which existed in the town in the wake of the 1847 parliamentary election when the radical alliance of Political Dissent and Chartism had forced the dominant Tory and Whig-Liberal elites into an incongruous, essentially pragmatic electoral pact, it was unlikely that Methodists with a keen political appetites would relinquish the opportunity to participate in the politics of the newly incorporated municipal borough.

Indeed, the evidence shows that at the first Halifax municipal

elections in May and June 1848 at least nine Methodists were elected councillors from a total of no fewer than sixteen Methodist candidates standing for election. Moreover, two of the successful New Connexion candidates, Daniel Ramsden and Samuel Dennis, were subsequently elected aldermen and the Wesleyan, William Hatton, nominated to fill a later vacancy, though he declined to stand. He was, however, with fellow Wesleyan, John Boddy, and the New Connexion Methodist, Edward Ramsden, among three Methodists elected to serve as ward assessors, whilst Wesleyan, William Mewburn, topped the poll in the election for revising assessor and Wesleyan, E.M. Wavell, became one of the first town clerks of the new authority (115). Benjamin Wilson saw the first election of councillors in May 1848 as a triumph for the 'friends of Jones and Miall' who had 'carried all before them' and the Halifax Reformer declared that the 'Whig-Tory victory' at the 1847 parliamentary election had been 'fully and fairly avenged' with only a handful of Whigs and Tories elected, the remainder being 'all of the movement party - friends of progress, of retrenchment and of reform'. It also hailed the results as a victory for Nonconformity:

> Only three or four, we believe, of the whole body of councillors are churchmen; while there are three members of the Society of Friends; three Baptists; nine or ten Independents; one Wesleyan; four or five of the Methodist New Connexion; and, altogether at least five-sixths of the body are Nonconformists (116).

By the end of the next month, when the results of the supplementary elections occasioned by the appointment of aldermen were published, Francis Roper, the sole Wesleyan elected to the council in May had been joined by four or more Wesleyan councillors, William Heap, John Jackson, George Thompson and John Jeffrey. Moreover, the prominent Methodist New Connexion Liberal, George Beaumont, who had been defeated along with two other members of the Akroyd family in May 1848, despite the major role he had played in securing the

incorporation of the municipal borough, became a councillor and borough magistrate in 1849 (117).

Table 30: Methodists Serving as Halifax Town Trustees, 1823-48

Sources: G.R. Dalby, 'The Work of the Halifax Town Trustees', unpublished M.A. thesis, 1953, Appendix B; Methodist chapel and circuit records.

Abbreviations: WM: Wesleyan; MNC: Methodist New Connexion; PM: Primitive Methodist.

	WM	MNC	PM	Total
Trustees	41	12	0	53
Finance Committee	0	0	0	0
General Committee	6	3	0	9
Reservoir Committee	3	1	0	4
Watch Committee	9	1	0	10
Water Committee	0	2	0	2

Table 31: Votes Cast for Methodists in the Halifax Municipal Elections, May-June 1848

Sources: *Halifax Reformer*, 24.5.1848; 2.8.1848; Methodist chapel and circuit records.

Abbreviations: WM: Wesleyan; MNC: Methodist New Connexion.

First Election of Councillors:

North West Ward			
Daniel Ramsden	MNC	162 votes	Elected
George Thompson	WM	1 vote	Not Elected
St James's Ward			
John Ramsden	MNC	208 votes	Elected
Eagland Bray	WM	110 votes	Not Elected
St John's Ward			
John Holt	MNC	139 votes	Elected
William Hatton	WM	74 votes	Not Elected
Market Ward			
Francis Roper	WM	99 votes	Elected
Samuel Denton	WM	1 vote	Not Elected
North Ward			
Samuel Dennis	MNC	103 votes	Elected
George Beaumont	MNC	75 votes	Not Elected
Samuel Howarth	MNC	48 votes	Not Elected

Supplementary Elections:

Trinity Ward			
William Heap	WM	115 votes	Elected
St James's Ward			
John Jackson	WM	179 votes	Elected
North West Ward			
George Thompson	WM	139 votes	Elected
Market Ward (1)			
John Jeffrey	WM	70 votes	Elected
Market Ward (2)			
Edwin Lumby	MNC	69 votes	Not Elected

3.3.3. The Politics of Protest

The release of John Wilkes (1727-97) 'the popular champion of the people's rights' from imprisonment in April 1770 was greeted in Halifax and other West Riding towns with the 'ringing of bells, fireworks and other demonstrations of joy' and slogans such as 'Wilkes and Liberty' were displayed in 'in almost every window'. However, it was the Declaration of American Independence of 1776 which re-awakened in Britain a movement for parliamentary reform which was sustained during the 1780s by Major John Cartwright's radical constitutional societies, the Reverend Christopher Wyvill's more moderately inclined Yorkshire Association and Protestant Dissenters in their unsuccessful campaigns for civil and religious liberty. The movement developed against a background of endemic dearth and distress when harvests were poor and in 1783, the most serious of a spate of bread riots across the Pennines erupted in Halifax, resulting in the execution of two of the ringleaders for robbery on Beacon Hill (118).

It was not until 1791-92, however, that an organised popular radical movement developed in the West Riding, stimulated by the outbreak of the French Revolution, the publication of Tom Paine's avowedly republican Rights of Man, the foundation of the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information and the London Corresponding Society. By November 1792, when magistrates at Bingley obliged a Halifax bookseller, who had sold copies of a penny paper, The French Constitution, to acknowledge the error of his ways, a Jacobin society had been established at Halifax and at a huge open-air meeting in the town early in 1794 plans were approved for a National Convention. In 1795 the Home Secretary asked the local attorney Robert Parker to investigate rumours that Jacobins in Elland were involved in plans for an armed insurrection (119).

Such activity stirred Pitt's government into a policy of repression which continued throughout the war with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. However, during the

closing years of the war, when Major Cartwright renewed his campaign for parliamentary reform in the wake of the Luddite disturbances, he found that Halifax was one of only two towns in the north where petitioning for parliamentary reform was already well under way in 1813. Halifax Radicals took a prominent part in the popular movements for reform in the period up to 1820 and in the agitation which preceded the passing of the Great Reform Act of 1832. The diarist Anne Lister remarked on the atmosphere in the town in August 1819 after the Peterloo Massacre when 'a great many people' gathered in the streets 'talking together in groups' and Benjamin Wilson dated the birth of the radical tradition in Skircoat Green from the massacre at St Peter's Field, when the village 'went into mourning' (120).

From the outset the local clergy took a prominent role in resisting the radical threat and in upholding public order, affirming with the gentry, merchants, manufacturers and other inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Halifax their loyalty to the crown following the outbreak of the War of American Independence in an address transmitted to the Earl of Dartmouth, the Secretary of State for the American Colonies, in November 1775, which expressed their 'grateful sense' of the blessings enjoyed under the reign of George III and their 'protestation' at the conduct of the colonists 'now in open rebellion'. In 1783 a fortnight after the Halifax bread riot the Vicar of Halifax, Henry Wood and Joshua Horton of Howroyd in their capacity as magistrates proclaimed an order that all corn brought into Halifax 'be publicly exposed for sale in the open market and that no corn or meal be sold privately' (121). In 1792, Dr Henry Coulthurst, Wood's successor, chaired 'a very numerous and respectable meeting of the principal inhabitants of the town' at the Talbot Inn 'for the preservation of peace and good order, liberty and property against the various efforts of Levellers and Republicans' and following the Jacobin plot at Elland, which Coulthurst had been instrumental in

bringing to the attention of the Home Office, he urged the Home Secretary to appoint more local magistrates as a matter of urgency for there was not by that date a single acting magistrate in the whole of 'this very large parish containing 70000 souls and equal in extent to the county of Rutland . Coulthurst, who had promised on his appointment to become an active justice 'in gratitude to the body of freeholders' whose petitioning had secured his nomination to the crown living in 1790, was appointed to the commission of the peace in 1797 (122).

In 1796 Coulthurst had preached a resoundingly loyal sermon before the University of Cambridge on the anniversary of King George III's accession, taking as his text Ecclesiastes, chapter 10, verse 20: 'Curse not the king, no, not in thy thought; and curse not the rich in thy bedchamber', an exhortation which Coulthurst maintained was peculiarly apt in this 'Day of Tumult and Confusion' and in 1804, in a sermon at Halifax Parish Church before the Halifax Volunteer Corps of Infantry, he proclaimed:

> You wish not to wander in the trackless wilds of revolutionary experiments. Tell the usurper that you will obey the law of your country, that you will submit yourselves to all your governors, that you abhor that low-born tyrannical system which rules by petulant clamour, where every chartered libertine arrogates dominion; that you abhor every pitiful particle of Gallic flippancy (123).

In June 1812, in the wake of the Luddite disturbances Dr Coulthurst, who had played an active role in the suppression of the disturbances, reported to Earl Fitzwilliam that whilst Halifax was currently in a 'state of calm', he feared that 'at bottom there is a deep laid system of organised Rebellion and Revolution'. Following the Prince Regent's amnesty early the following year Coulthurst took oaths of allegiance to the crown from forty-one former Luddites, twenty-five of whom were from his own parish (124).

The use of the pulpit of the Halifax Parish Church to proscribe

radicalism in all its manifestations continued under Coulthurst's successor, Knight. Anne Lister commented in her diary for Sunday 25 August 1822 that Mr Franks, junior, had preached a forty-two minute sermon at the Halifax Parish Church:

> as much to put us in love with our political as religious constitution and perhaps, more apt against radicalism than for the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, on behalf of which there was a collection after the service (125).

Prominent local Dissenting ministers also held aloof from the Painite radicalism which emerged during the French Wars. The biographer of Dr Fawcett concluded that the Baptist divine was:

> a true patriot and well understood the principles of civil and religious liberty; but it was his uniform study to practise himself and to inculcate upon others the rule laid down by his Divine master: 'Render unto Caesar ...'. The feelings of his heart and the dictates of his judgment led him to cherish the most ardent love for his native country, praying for 'kings and all that are in authority, that we may live a peaceable and quiet life in all godliness and honesty' (126).

In the highly-charged atmosphere of the period, however, some refused to recognise their political quietism. The biographer of the Reverend Joseph Cockin, the Independent minister of Square Chapel commented that:

> It is often said that a minister has nothing to do with politics, and Mr Cockin was perfectly willing to have nothing to do with them. He always said, that whoever ruled, and whatever was their government, he would live in peaceable subjection to their authority. While he left others to take their own way, for himself he avowed, without either disguise or reserve, the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; though it cannot be said that he supported it with much argument, or defended it with much ability. As far as he had any political principles, they were rather courtly, and they became more so as he advanced in years, which he indicated very plainly by two sermons, he published; one of them, a jubilee sermon, entitled 'The Loyal Subject'; and the other entitled 'The Oppressor Punished', which he preached when Bonaparte fled from Russia. But after all ... he could not purge himself from the charge of Jacobinism, nor escape gross insults, because he would not join in abusing and cursing the French; neither would he subscribe his life and fortune to carry on a sanguinary and destructive

> war which burdened England with taxes ... and has made the weight of government too heavy for the prosperity of the country. Notwithstanding, therefore, all his quietism and his loyalty, he was vilified by name in the Leeds Intelligencer, which was then a popular and influential journal; in the Orthodox Churchman's Magazine; and in a pamphlet on democratic scheming (127).

Other members of Dissenting sects were also willing to assist the authorities to maintain public order at times of crisis. According to Sir Francis Wood, the Deputy Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding, 'several Quakers with whom we talked and reasoned' at Rastrick, where 'numberless' outrages occurred in the wake of the Luddite disturbances in the summer of 1812 were willing to take the lead in forming an association for the preservation of the peace (128).

Of all the Nonconformist sects, however, it was the Wesleyans who were most conspicuously resolute in their opposition to radical protest, particularly following the Kilhamite secession of 1797, which local Wesleyans attributed at least in part to the influence of the writings of Paine. J.U. Walker, who conducted interviews with Methodists of both the Old and New Connexions and allowed them to read his account of the Kilhamite secession before it went to press, maintained that the root cause of the secession at Bradshaw was the introduction of Painite literature to the members of the Wesleyan society:

> Amid these hills a reading club together with a debating society unfortunately was formed to which the detestable works of Paine were admitted ... this club was not only joined by many of the members of the Wesleyan congregation but of the society also and doubtless proved the principal cause of the future disturbances.

One of the seceders had apparently boasted: 'Mention me a sentiment or paragraph in Paines's Rights of Man and I'll tell you the very page where it is to be found in that book' (129).

It was the association of Luddism in Halifax with the Painite radicalism of the veteran republican John Baines, 'a man notoriously disaffected to the government', who presided over a democratic club at the Crispin Inn, that later alarmed Jabez

Bunting, superintendent of the Halifax Wesleyan Circuit, in 1812. Baines organised a vast parade of working men, each wearing white crepe arm bands, to accompany to the grave at the South Parade Wesleyan Chapel the body of Samuel Hartley (1788-1812), one of two Luddite casualties mortally wounded in the furious assault on Rawfolds Mill near Cleckheaton on 11 April 1812. At the inquest into the deaths of the Rawfolds victims, which returned a verdict of 'justifiable homicide', it was observed that 'neither of these victims of lawless violence manifested any sense of religion'. However, Hartley was the son of Samuel (1746-1824) and the late Elizabeth (1750-1806) Hartley both of whom had connections with the South Parade Chapel. Samuel Hartley senior is listed as a member of the Wesleyan society at Halifax in the circuit directory for June 1811 and Elizabeth, who had died in 1806, had been buried in the chapel graveyard, and no doubt the family approached Bunting for permission to bury her son in the same grave (130). Bunting, in his first superintendency, was no doubt sensitive to the growing criticism in official circles of the looseness of the affiliation of many to Methodism in the disturbed manufacturing districts and also acutely aware of the particular threat to Methodist preaching posed by Sidmouth's bill. He had himself described the proposed legislation as 'a fearful measure', campaigned vigorously in the Manchester and Liverpool districts against the bill and collected thirty pounds in the Halifax Circuit to help defray the costs of the campaign. So, whatever sympathies he may have felt for the 'members of his flock ... subjects of grinding misery ... exposed to the seductions of rash and ignorant men' he decided boldly to denounce 'all violations of the law' and adopt a distinctly circumspect attitude towards the Luddite funeral. Accordingly, he allowed Hartley to be buried alongside his late mother in the chapel graveyard and was present at the funeral service, but he instructed a junior colleague, Mark Dawes, to conduct the service, much to the displeasure of the crowds who

had gathered and who obliged the young minister to make an undignified exit from the graveyard after the burial by scrambling over the chapel wall (131).

On the following Sunday Bunting refused to conduct an afternoon memorial service for Hartley, though he was again present at the chapel, calling upon the popular revivalist and politically quietist preacher, Jonathan Saville (1759-1842) to deliver the sermon. The memorial service attracted 'the largest congregation that ever assembled in Halifax Chapel', with hundreds obliged to stand outside under the watchful eye of constables patrolling 'to keep the peace'. 'At that time, perhaps more than ever', Jonathan Saville later recalled, 'infidelity was busy amongst the lower classes' and as his sermon reached its climax he contrasted the death of a believer with that of an infidel:

> when the tired Christian has been toiling on the ocean of life, he comes at last to the harbour's mouth and angels are standing on the shore to welcome him home. But the infidel, as he comes in, sees devils waiting for him, and he cries, 'Tack about, tack about!' But no, in he must go. Infidel, die hard! Never strike the black flag when Death confronts you!

His pointed reference to Painite infidelity apparently went down well with his Methodist congregation, but aroused hostility in other quarters. 'Vengeance for the Blood of Innocents' was chalked on walls and doors and stones were thrown at Saville as he went to conduct his class meeting on King Cross Lane, which would have taken him close to where Hartley had lived. Bunting also regarded himself as a marked man after the episode and his friends judged it hazardous for him to proceed to his country appointments alone. Ironically, before he accepted an invitation to superintend the Halifax Circuit, Bunting had made it a condition of his appointment that he preach only twice on the Sabbath in the larger chapels in the circuit or to congregations of any considerable magnitude and on the Sunday in question he was already planned at South Parade in the morning and the evening and so might

well have claimed he was acting in accordance with his usual practice (132).

The role of popular religion in the Luddite disturbances of 1812 excited considerable contemporary discussion. Thomas Broughton, a Barnsley weaver, who turned informer, in a deposition sworn before Sheffield magistrates in August 1812, maintained that in Halifax the Luddites met 'as Dissenters under the cloak of Religion'. Both Broughton's motives for volunteering information and the precise sources of his information are unclear and the reliability of his evidence, which appears to have been based more on rumour and hearsay than on first-hand acquaintance with Luddite activities in the main areas affected by the disturbances, have been challenged, but he was not alone in assuming a link between the disturbances and popular religion. The official introduction to the report of the Special Commission at York, published in 1813, lamented that:

> Encouragement was given by the doubts cast on the moral turpitude of these crimes; and raised to its height by the religious fanaticism which unhappily exists in an excessive degree in those populous districts (133).

Certainly the Methodist hymn 'Behold the Saviour of Mankind' had been sung as one group of prisoners, including John Hill (1777-1813), a Greetland cotton spinner, who was probably a lapsed Methodist, had been led out to the scaffold, prompting at least one observer, Colonel Norton, to comment that the men 'were all Methodists'. T.P. Bunting, in his biography of his father, relates how after the executions 'when great pains were taken to prove that certain Methodists were amongst the offenders' his father conducted 'minute and difficult enquiries to vindicate, as he successfully did, the people of his charge'. Moreover, Bunting's own celebrated denial in his letter to George Marsden in January 1813 that 'none of the persons committed (at York) were members of our body' is supported, at least as far as the Halifax Circuit is concerned, by the membership lists in the Halifax Circuit Directory for

1811 (134).

Bunting did, however, acknowledge that 'six out of the seventeen who were hanged were Sons of Methodists'. Of the Methodist fathers, Joseph Hey, a respected senior Wesleyan local preacher in the Halifax Circuit, would have been most intimately known to Jabez Bunting from his regular appointments on the circuit plan and his attendance at the circuit local preachers' meetings. In conversation with Thomas Shillitoe and Joseph Wood, two Quakers who undertook pastoral visits to the families of the bereaved after the executions, Wood recorded in his diary that Joseph Hey's company was:

> very agreeable to me, he being, I believe a truly pious man and a local preacher in the Methodist society; and having had to express my belief ... that he had discharged his duty to his son we parted in a near sympathy.

Hey had ensured that the two Quakers spoke with his other two sons with whom they recorded 'they had a comfortable time' (135).

Shillitoe and Wood did not make any other specific allusions to Methodists amongst the families of the bereaved which they visited, but there was an attempt forestalled by Thomas Jackson, Bunting's fellow superintendent in the Sowerby Bridge Circuit, to bury the bodies of some of the Luddites executed at York in the graveyard of the Greetland Wesleyan Chapel. Jackson, after consultation with Bunting, hurried to the chapel 'to warn anyone who should attempt to take forcible possession of the premises' and ordered the gates and doors to be secured by strong locks. His action won him the support of a local magistrate, who maintained that 'as the convicts were not Methodists, but nominal churchmen, it was therefore right that they should be interred in the churchyards of the parishes to which they belonged'. Jackson himself does not appear to have become a target of Luddite recrimination, although by the time of this incident, the disturbances were effectively over. 'In these calamitous times', he later wrote in his autobiography, 'I never hesitated to preach obedience to the laws, according

to the precepts of the New Testament, and to warn people against the dangerous courses to which they were incited; yet I was never interrupted in any of my night journeys across the moors, or in lonely roads' (136).

There is really no doubt at all where local Wesleyan ministers and indeed Anglican clergymen stood on the issue of Luddism. When, shortly after the disturbances, in May 1813 an address was presented to Joseph Radcliffe (the Huddersfield magistrate who had been the most intrepid opponent of the Yorkshire Luddites) on behalf of the inhabitants of the parish of Halifax, expressing their thanks for his action in suppressing Luddism 'at a period of general alarm and considerable panic', among the 294 signatures, headed by Dr Coulthurst, were those of Wesleyan ministers Jabez Bunting, William Leach and Zechariah Yewdall, along with prominent Methodist laymen of both Old and New Connexion. Between Halifax Parish Church, where Coulthurst filled the pulpit, and the South Parade Wesleyan Chapel, where Bunting reigned supreme, stood the Crispin Inn, where the veteran Painite radical John Baines had held court and where both the nineteenth century antiquarian Frank Peel, recording an oral tradition and E.P. Thompson after him saw a fusion of the Luddite machine breaking and the Painite republican movements in Halifax. Whether this fusion was real or imaginary in the minds of contemporaries or in the perception of later historians, in the view of Georgian clerics and Wesleyan ministers, who recognised a potential threat, men of courage were needed to resist the challenge when and if it came. In the words of his son, Jabez Bunting 'expressed his unshaken confidence in God and his determination to do his duty' (137).

But courage alone was not enough. as Bunting confided in his letter to George Marsden in the wake of the Luddite executions in January 1813:

> However solicitous to make the best of this it is after all an awful fact; and confirms me in my fixed opinion that the progress of Methodism in the West Riding of

> Yorkshire has been more swift than solid; more extensive than deep; more in increase of numbers than in the diffusion of that kind of piety which shines as brightly and operates as visibly at home as in the Prayer Meeting and the crowded Lovefeast.

Throughout 1812, Methodism continued to grow in Halifax, showing a five per cent increase in 1812 and a twelve per cent increase in 1813 if the newly-created Sowerby Bridge Circuit is included in the aggregate figure. In November 1812 the South Parade Chapel, enlarged to accommodate 2000, was re-opened. 'Our seats are nearly all let', Bunting continued in his letter to Marsden, 'and in the Town we have much comfort and considerable prosperity', but 'in the Country', he added, 'I expect no good till Discipline is fully revived; and that cannot be without risking the division of several societies' (138).

The risk was taken and quarterage dues enforced with the loss of four leaders or local preachers. Bunting broke up the societies at Salterhebble and Skircoat Green and most of the members were lost, including Joshua Dodgson, who later became a prominent figure in the Wesleyan Reform Movement in Elland. the extent to which, if at all, Luddism or conflicting political attitudes and sympathies were issues in this enforcement of discipline is impossible to assess. Certainly Bunting's insistence that no member of the Methodist society was implicated in the actual disturbances cannot be disproved from the available evidence, though Methodism in 1812, as Bunting himself admitted, had a constituency much wider than those formally identified through membership (139).

Wesleyan discipline continued to be enforced as machine-breaking gave way to renewed agitation for parliamentary reform after 1812. In December 1816, Brother Merchant, a Wesleyan local preacher, was 'charged with attending a political meeting at Ripponden when he should have been in class'. A committee of five was appointed by the local preachers' meeting to meet with Merchant 'to thrash out the matter'. Next month, the

local preachers' meeting minutes recorded:

> Brother Merchant thinks he has done wrong in attending the meeting at Ripponden and promises not to go to another meeting of the same kind. Passed over by a severe censure from the meeting.

Another Ripponden local preacher, Thomas Cheetham, also ultimately acknowledged the primacy of spiritual over political concerns during the years 1819-20 as he later recalled in his autobiography:

> During the political ferment which agitated this country in the years 1819 and 1820, I unhappily imbibed the sentiments and temper of those who were for 'correcting abuses and reforming the state' ... Political subjects were the daily theme of my converse and political writings employed my leisure hours. Thus, my seasons of retirement for spiritual exercises were much neglected, and religious conversation gave place to political disquisition. The result was that the Spirit of God was offended and withdrew leaving me to mourn over my folly and lament 'the absence of my Saviour God'.

Subsequently, however, he recovered from his 'sore evil' when he resolved to 'fear God and honour the King' and 'no more meddle officiously with the affairs of the State', endeavouring to 'live soberly, righteously and Godly in this world' and to 'secure a happy departure from its evils into another and better' (140).

Some Wesleyans like G.B. Browne, whose political career has already been examined, first appeared on political platforms during the Reform Bill struggle of 1830-32. Many others, caught up in that same ground-swell of political agitation, displayed an increasing political awareness by appending their names to requisitions for meetings to consider parliamentary reform. Early in June 1830, John Broadbent and Francis Noble, both prominent Elland Wesleyans, were amongst the requisitioners and Abraham Hanson, an Elland Wesleyan local preacher, was amongst the speakers at an open-air meeting at Hullen Edge which resolved to form the Elland Political Union to campaign for parliamentary reform. In February 1831, Francis Noble, making his début as a political speaker

commending the Whig Reform Bill shortly before its first reading in the House of Commons, told his audience:

> I am never fond of appearing before the public, but circumstances appear to render it necessary I should do so. I stand here at the earnest request of friends whose opinions I respect. I recollect well, when a boy, being frequently in company with persons of opposite political principles. The one was a King and Constitution man, to be sure; and the other was styled a Jacobin and every opprobrious name. The principles that I imbibed were 'King and Constitution' and I do not know that there is an ounce of blood in my veins contrary to that sentiment (Hear, hear). It has been said that the Reformers, in seeking for a change, are attempting to bring about a revolution; but I repel the imputation (Cheers) ... It is because I deprecate anything of the kind and wish to prevent it from taking place in my day that I take part in this day's proceedings. I do not profess to have comprehensive ideas of the state of the nation but I have learned at least that there is something very like oppression (Hear, hear). I have learned that there is a great number of individuals suffering starvation and privations in the midst of plenty ... Let all then do their duty in bringing about a change so desirable, a change which whilst it leaves the rich man in the enjoyment of his privileges shall restore the rights of the poor (Cheers).

Early in October 1831, when the Reform Bill faced rejection in the House of Lords, at a meeting in the schoolroom of Elland Wesley, on the motion of Francis Noble, a petition was launched in support of the bill which collected 1185 signatures in a single day (141).

Meanwhile at Halifax in February, prominent Wesleyans like Alexander Grylls Suter, William Denton, John Rayner and John Wilkinson Foster and New Connexion Methodists like Jonathan Akroyd, George Beaumont, Peter Kenyon Holden and Daniel Ramsden had added their names to a requisition for a meeting to consider petitioning Parliament for parliamentary reform, a meeting which George Beaumont, one of the speakers, declared would long be remembered by the 'friends of freedom in Halifax'. Shortly afterwards a political union was established in Halifax modelled on the Birmingham Political Union, whilst at Ovenden, later in the year, a union modelled

on the more radical National Union of the Working Classes was established at a meeting addressed by Abraham Hanson of Elland and chaired by the handloom weaver, Benjamin Rushton, a lapsed Methodist New Connexion local preacher whose continuing popularity as a preacher with the remoter societies of the circuit was a growing source of embarrassment to the Halifax Methodist New Connexion Circuit. A local preachers' meeting in April 1829 had recorded its disapproval 'of the conduct of our Lightazles' friends in employing Benjamin Rushton to preach in the school connected with Soyland' and similar disapproval 'of the conduct of our friends at Ovenden in employing preachers from other bodies' in January 1830 was probably a reference to the same problem (142).

Rushton, who had been one of the driving forces behind the building of the new Salem Chapel in 1815, but who later directed his energies towards support of the Methodist New Connexion cause at Ovenden, was already a veteran reformer by 1830. He had been active in radical politics at the time of Peterloo and may have either been expelled or chosen to withdraw from the Methodist New Connexion at the time of Cobbett's appeal to Methodists in 1820-21 to refuse to pay their dues. His Methodist background, continuing grass roots association with Methodists and predominantly radical sympathies were characteristic of a generation of local preachers, including the cobbler, Abraham Hanson of Elland Wesley and the woolcomber, William Thornton of the Round Hill Primitive Methodist Chapel, Northowram, who, during the 1830s, brought radical instincts into Methodism and Methodist insights into radicalism until, in the case of the former, expulsion by the Wesleyan authorities, and in the case of the latter, emigration to escape prosecution, severed their increasingly tenuous links with the movement in 1839 (143).

Methodist support for parliamentary reform in Halifax continued unabated throughout 1831, particularly during the crisis caused by the Lords' rejection of the second bill in October. George

Beaumont had summed up the expectations of many shortly before the bill was rejected when he declared that the Lords cannot 'prevent the enlightened, whether in the middle or lower ranks of society from having a mighty influence in the affairs of state' and, following the bill's rejection, William Thornton, arguing that the bill had been 'a healing measure, calculated to make the people loyal, happy and contented and to give stability to the throne and prosperity to the people' urged on the members of the Halifax Political Union 'the necessity of uniting for the purpose of redeeming the productive classes from that debased degradation to which the borough mongers and the Pitt clubs have reduced them'(144).

Popular pressure reached its height during the days of May in 1832, when the third Reform Bill was placed in jeopardy by the Lords' continuing intransigence and Grey's resignation after the king's initial refusal to create sufficient peers to ensure the bill's passage. During the crisis, which was ultimately resolved by the Lords' acquiescence when William IV threatened to create more peers, the Halifax Political Union received an influx of 200 new members, collected 13,700 signatures for petitions delivered to London by a deputation led by George Buxton Browne and organised a massive public meeting at the Piece Hall, addressed by Browne and other speakers, including the New Connexion Methodists Jonathan Akroyd, P.K. Holden and John Rhoebottom, which attracted an estimated attendance of between 25,000 and 30,000 (145).

Following the enactment of the Reform Bill, many Methodists renewed their efforts to secure the abolition of colonial slavery, a distinctly humanitarian cause which had long been viewed sympathetically by the Wesleyan authorities. During the essentially non-partisan campaign, which continued until the system of negro apprenticeship was brought to an end in 1838, both the Wesleyan South Parade and Hanover New Connexion Chapels were made available for anti-slavery meetings; liberal and conservative minded Methodist ministers like John Bakewell

of the New Connexion and William Bunting of the Old Connexion and laymen at both extremes of the political spectrum like G.B. Browne and T.S. Swale attended the same meetings and even, in the latter case, travelled to London together as delegates of the Halifax Anti-Slavery Society to the Exeter Hall Conference in 1833, whilst Wesleyan, New Connexion, Primitive and Wesleyan Associationist Methodists of every hue across the Calder valley supported petitions to end the system of negro apprenticeship in 1838. G.B. Browne, one of a number of leading Wesleyans including A.G. Suter, George Thompson, John Jackson and E.M. Wavell at the forefront of the campaign, who never missed an opportunity to commend the cause and who, as early as 1831, at a public meeting to present a loyal address to King William IV, had added his own congratulations to the new monarch for having freed by royal proclamation all crown slaves in the colonies, in 1838 made one of his last and most impassioned speeches against negro apprenticeship, arguing that to hold the apprentice 'a single day more in bondage' was 'a crying sin against God' (146).

Methodist support for the other great evangelical crusade of the 1830s and 1840s, the campaign for factory regulation, was, however, more ambivalent, partly, it has been suggested, on account of the alleged high church tendencies of many of the factory reformers; partly, no doubt, on account of the involvement in the factory movement of the former Wesleyan minister, Joseph Rayner Stephens, whose resignation in 1834 had produced a secession from the main Wesleyan body in Halifax; and partly because of the vested interests of Methodist manufacturers. In Halifax at least two Wesleyan ministers, William Bunting in 1834 and Amos Learoyd in 1847, revealed their lack of sympathy for the movement, whilst the Akroyds, the leading Methodist New Connexion manufacturers in the town, masterminded a determined counter-attack on the movement by local manufacturers and Anglican clergy alienated by Oastler's campaign against vicarial tithes. There was, however,

consistent support for the Ten Hours Bill from at least one Wesleyan manufacturer, William Hatton; from working class radicals with Methodist connections such as Benjamin Rushton and William Thornton and a degree of sympathy from G.B. Browne, who chaired a factory reform meeting in 1832, but only when education became the primary issue, as in Sir James Graham's abortive Factory Bill of 1843, was there determined and sustained opposition to a government attempt at factory regulation from the local Wesleyan, New Connexion and Primitive Methodist communities (147).

Although some Halifax Methodists were critical of the New Poor Law at vestry and board of guardian meetings, mainstream Methodists in Halifax appear to have remained equally aloof from the popular anti-poor law movement, which was closely associated with the factory movement in the West Riding. At its first public meeting in Halifax, attended by Richard Oastler, William Smith and William Culpan, both former Wesleyan local preachers expelled from the Halifax society in 1834 for their support for J.R. Stephens, proposed and seconded a resolution calling upon 'ministers of religion of all denominations' to come forward and champion the rights of the poor by opposing the New Poor Law. Their speeches were followed by contributions from two other radicals with Methodist backgrounds. William Thornton, drawing on an Old Testament analogy in proposing a resolution denouncing the New Poor Law maintained that it:

> placed the poor in circumstances worse than the children of Israel, who were required to make bricks without straw. The Israelites could go about and hear the birds sing; but when they (the working men of England) could not work, they were denied that privilege and compelled to go into a Bastille ... Their task masters had given £20,000,000 to abolish slavery abroad, but they could not find in their hearts to relieve their distressed fellow-countrymen at home.

Benjamin Rushton, seconding the resolution, criticised the Whig government's simultaneous provision of a salary of £15,000 for the new Archbishop of Canterbury, whilst another speaker

criticised the Wesleyan, G.B. Browne, for hypocrisy as a campaigner against slavery in chairing meetings of the Board of Guardians (148).

When the campaign against the New Poor Law became absorbed into the nascent Chartist movement during the following year, the same individuals remained to the fore and the gulf with mainstream Methodism, uniformly opposed to Chartism at connexional level, became even more pronounced. The Cleckheaton chapel opened by William Smith and the seceding Wesleyan supporters of J.R. Stephens from the Halifax Wesleyan Circuit became a Chartist Church with visiting preachers such as Benjamin Rushton denouncing 'with fiery eloquence ... the men who refused political justice to their neighbours and who held them down till their life was made one long desperate struggle for existence'. So too did the Primitive Methodist Round Hill Chapel at Roper Lane, Northowram, with which William Thornton had associations, making 'a quiet schism' from Primitive Methodism to Chartism in 1839, along with the Keighley Primitive Methodist Chapel; whilst the Methodist New Connexion Chapel at Ambler Thorn, having incurred the public disapprobation of the circuit quarterly meeting for making a collection at the chapel 'for the Chartist fund for the defence of the agitator J.R. Stephens', accepted full responsibility for its actions in order 'to exculpate the Connexion and place the stigma on ourselves' and joined the Barkerite secession in 1841 (149).

Both Thornton and Rushton embarked on lecture tours for the Stephens Defence Fund and played a prominent role in the vast open-air Chartist meeting at Hartshead Moor in May 1839, which Thornton opened in prayer, prompting O'Connor with tongue in cheek to remark: 'when we get the People's Charter I will see that you are made the Archbishop of York'. At the same meeting, Abraham Hanson of Elland Wesley, seconding a vote of confidence in O'Connor in a speech which resulted in his expulsion from the society by a specially convened District

Meeting, regaled the crowd with his anti-clerical sentiments:

> Were they prepared to keep from the present sectarian preachers? (Yes, loud cheering). They preach Christ and a crust, passive obedience and non-resistance. Let the people keep from those churches and chapels (We will!). Let them go to those men who preach Christ and a full belly, Christ and a well-clothed back - Christ and a good house to live in - Christ and Universal Suffrage (Cheers).

William Thornton, shortly after this meeting, emigrated to America to escape prosecution and in March 1840, William Brooke, who had attended Elland Wesley Sunday School during the period 1829-37, was among those indicted and later convicted for riot and conspiracy at Bradford no doubt strengthening further the resolve of orthodox Methodists to counter the influence of the movement (150).

In 1842 the Todmorden Chartists were thwarted in their attempt to keep people away from the Blackshaw Head Wesleyan Chapel anniversary by organising a rival camp meeting nearby 'to spoil the collection' by 'a multitude of scholars and other members of the chapel congregation who immediately commenced singing hymns and spiritual songs and never ceased till the meeting was entirely dispersed'. The Halifax Guardian reported:

> The crest-fallen Chartists scampered off in all directions. As many as conveniently could sneaked in at the back door of the Blue Bell Inn and in the true spirit of revenge drank all the ale and porter and smoked all the tobacco that came within their reach. And, if report be true, they gormandised all the oat cake, sweet parkin and penny muffins in the neighbourhood.

Moreover, the Chartists suffered a further rebuff later in the year when the employees of Jonathan Akroyd refused to be drawn into the plug riots (151).

After the 1847 election, when the Chartist candidate Ernest Jones had been received enthusiastically by New Connexion Methodists such as James Millington and Primitive Methodists such as George Buckley, and with the emergence of municipal Chartism in 1848, New Connexion Methodists became more receptive to Chartist ideas. At a Reform Meeting called by the mayor, in June 1848, a resolution moved by Alderman Dennis

'that the great and uncalled for increase in the public expenditure, the attempts to repress the utterance of public opinion and the utter contempt shown for the petitions of the people, all combine to show that the present House of Commons is unworthy of public confidence' was successfully amended by James Clayton and Benjamin Rushton to include direct reference to the People's Charter'. Earlier that year, however, some New Connexion Methodists had withdrawn their names from a requisition initiated by Chartists calling a meeting to sympathise with the French Revolution and in June, at a local preachers' meeting at Todmorden. a charge was brought, though never substantiated, that a local preacher named Lea had 'been giving utterance in the pulpit to his political creed (Chartism)'. Wesleyan concern, however, was such that a committee of enquiry was appointed to investigate the matter (152).

For most of the Chartist period Wesleyan and New Connexion Methodists were more willing to become associated with the predominantly middle class Anti-Corn Law League, despite the official neutrality of the Wesleyan Conference on this issue. George Beaumont chaired the inaugural meeting of the Halifax Anti-Corn Law Association in February 1839 and Jonathan Akroyd, who later declared that the Corn Law was decidedly opposed to that religion which proclaimed 'peace on earth and good will to man', was also prominent in the leadership of the movement. Other leading Methodist supporters of the League included New Connexion Methodists James Akroyd, William Birtwhistle, John Styring, Daniel Ramsden and John Holt and Wesleyans William Hatton, Samuel Denton, John Jackson and John Dennison (153).

Trade unionism, although never a major force in an area whose economic structure ensured that the working-class movement developed a stronger political than trade unionist complexion during the age of the Chartists, became a keenly debated issue for a time in 1834 in the wake of the conviction and transportation of the six Dorchester labourers. Although the

labourers were mainly Wesleyans, Conference, which had warned Methodists in 1833 against involvement with 'associations which are subversive of true and proper liberty, employing unlawful oaths and threats and force to acquire new members and to accomplish purposes which would tend to destroy the very framework of society', refused to take up their cause. By 1834 there was growing concern that Methodists were becoming involved in the spread of unionism in the West Riding and in April a Methodist operative, writing anonymously to the Halifax Guardian, maintained that many Methodists were involved in trade unionism locally, protesting that 'the power of the unions is of such a nature as to compel members of all religious denominations to place themselves under their demoralising influence'. Moreover, at the Wesleyan local preachers' meeting in September, the minutes recorded that:

> a question was asked respecting the lawfulness of local preachers preaching special sermons to secret orders. The meeting expressed its strong disapprobation of such conduct; and Mr Galland (the superintendent minister), to the great apparent satisfaction of the meeting, expressly forbid any local preacher to address a secret order as such.

At Midgley, however, it had become customary for a friendly society to hold their annual Whitsuntide service at the Methodist New Connexion Chapel by 1833 (154).

Old and New Connexion Methodists alike reacted strongly to the growth of Owenite Socialism during the 1830s and early 1840s. To the Wesleyans, socialism was synonymous with infidelity; to Methodists of the New Connexion it was full of 'loathsome rottenness'. An Owenite branch had been established in Halifax by 1837 and during 1838 anti-socialist lectures were delivered by the Reverend Peter Duncan, a Wesleyan minister, and P.K. Holden, a New Connexion Methodist. In March 1838, the Halifax Guardian, which under the editorial direction of the Wesleyan J.U. Walker spearheaded the attack on socialism in Halifax, alleged that socialists had infiltrated the Halifax Temperance Society, which had a broader basis of Methodist

support in the 1830s than the 1840s, following the proscription of the movement by the Wesleyan Conference in 1841. These allegations were, however, strenuously denied by James Millington, one of the leading Methodist New Connexion supporters of the temperance movement, and the onslaught on socialism was not resumed until the end of the following year, when John Brindley, the self-appointed crusader against socialism, was invited to give a series of lectures at the Northgate Hotel in December 1839 and January 1840. The meetings, chaired by the Wesleyan, A.G. Suter and Wesleyan minister, the Reverend F.A. West, resulted in an 'extensively signed' petition being forwarded to Parliament and the formation of the Halifax Association for the Refutation of Infidelity and Suppression of Blasphemy which aimed to disseminate 'the principles of Divine Truth in opposition to infidelity and especially to socialism, without reference to the peculiar views of any body of Christians'. No fewer than fourteen of its forty-member executive committee were Wesleyans, in addition to A.G. Suter and J.U. Walker, who acted as treasurer and secretary respectively (155).

Moreover, in April 1840, the Reverend Joseph Barker, who had previously served in Halifax as a Methodist New Connexion minister, returned to the town to give a series of anti-socialist lectures at the Oddfellows Hall to audiences estimated on each occasion at around 2000. The series concluded with the formal adoption of a resolution:

> that the religion of Christ is calculated, if honestly received and faithfully reduced to practice, to eradicate the evils of society and make mankind truly happy; and that, on the contrary, the system of Robert Owen, if brought into general practice is calculated to increase the evils of society and make mankind vicious and miserable.

The campaign against Owenite Socialism, with its challenge to conventional Christian theology and morality, was one which Methodists in general and Wesleyans in particular could support wholeheartedly. Wesleyan alarm at the socialist presence in

the town, based in premises formerly occupied by the Wesleyan seceders, was intensified by their attempt to secrete socialist literature into Wesleyan tracts in Southowram and other parts of the town in 1839. Moreover, one of the leading protagonists of the socialist case at Brindley's meetings was a former Methodist. For the Wesleyans, socialism, like anti-Sabbatarianism, Unitarianism and Roman Catholicism, all of which provoked them into bursts of political agitation in the 1830s and 1840s, posed a threat which could be clearly identified and challenged without the confusion or compromising of principles which might be involved in the support of other forms of extra-parliamentary protest in the age of reform. To a large degree, this attitude was shared by the major offshoots of Wesleyanism, the Methodist New Connexion and Primitive Methodism, though not by the more radical Stephenite and Chartist factions which seceded in the 1830s and 1840s (156).

Chapter Four

Religion and Late-Victorian Society, 1852-1914

4.1. The Church of England

The disturbing revelation of the Census of Religious Worship that over half of the population of the Municipal Borough of Halifax had apparently failed to attend worship on Census Sunday in 1851 stimulated Halifax churchmen to increased efforts to reach the unchurched masses. However, during the period 1852 to 1914 it was evident that despite an expanding network of churches and missions their efforts achieved only limited success because the Church of England still lacked both the organisational flexibility and the adequate resources to meet effectively the challenges posed by an increasingly urbanised industrial society and a vibrant Nonconformity imbued with a similar sense of urgency about mission. Reflecting on his vicariate in Halifax during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Dean Francis Pigou acknowledged in 1898 that:

> Nonconformity is undoubtedly a great power in Yorkshire. It is supported ... by the influence and purses of wealthy capitalists and employers of labour, and though I am prepared to find what I am about to say challenged, I honestly think that the Church of England does not do much more than hold her own (1).

Halifax remained a remote corner of the diocese of Ripon for another thirty-six years after 1852. An attempt in 1875 to make Halifax the nucleus of a new diocese for the industrial West Riding proved abortive and a new diocese based on Wakefield was not finally established until 1888. Although the new diocese was immediately sub-divided into two new archdeaconries of Huddersfield and Halifax, the latter comprising the deaneries of Halifax, Birstall and Dewsbury north of the river Calder, it lacked the organisational structure and financial resources to make a significant impact on parish life for most of the period up to the First World War. Whilst confirmations were held more frequently after 1888 in churches throughout the Halifax Rural Deanery and the

new bishop, William Walsham How, fresh from his experiences as a suffragan bishop in the East End of London, made an unprecedented visit at the outset of his episcopate to a factory at Soverby Bridge, confessing to engineering workers at the firm of Pollit and Wigzell that 'the Church of England in the past had been, perhaps, too much the church of the aristocracy' and expressing his fervent hope that it might now become 'the church of all classes', a twentieth century Archdeacon of Halifax has concluded from an examination of the parish magazines of the parish of King Cross (as well as those for the parish of Newsome in the Archdeaconry of Huddersfield) that the diocese and its bishop remained remote from the consciousness of the ordinary parishioner throughout How's episcopate. Moreover, many of the urgent recommendations of the first bishop's diocesan commission of 1889 had still not been implemented when the second bishop's diocesan commission reported in 1909. Indeed, it was not until 1910 that an appeal was launched to establish an effective system of diocesan finance based on recommended voluntary contributions of a shilling from all communicant members of the church within the diocese and only in 1914 that the large Rural Deanery of Halifax which straddled the vast ancient parish was reluctantly sub-divided for an experimental period of two years at the instigation and insistence of Dr G.R. Eden, How's successor (2).

The primary visitation of Bishop Robert Bickersteth of Ripon (1857-84) in 1858, seven years after Horace Mann had concluded in his report on the Census of Religious Worship that 'the labouring myriads' had become 'thoroughly estranged from our religious institutions', revealed the existence of a deeply entrenched system of pew rents in many churches in the parish which local clerics perceived to be a major obstacle to the encouragement of the working classes to attend worship. The Reverend William Gillmor, Vicar of Illingworth, drawing the attention of the bishop to the iniquities of the system, maintained that 'so long as it continues in the existing

illegal form, the good that might otherwise be done cannot possibly be effected'. The Reverend James Sanders, incumbent at Ripponden, appended a letter to his return on 'the abuse of the pew system', which he denounced as 'the bane of our church', maintaining that 'our congregations would increase but for the horrid pew system' and complaining that some of the pew owners who insisted on preserving the system did not even reside in the parish. His views were shared by the vicar of St Peter's Sowerby, who protested that:

> The present arrangement of pews is a great evil. Some have pews who do not or seldom attend and refuse to let them on terms easy to the poor: the 117 free sittings are nearly all occupied by the Sunday scholars and the poor do not like to sit among the children.

The returns reveal that there were still no free seats at Holy Trinity, Illingworth, Luddenden, Rastrick and Ripponden in 1858 and only two free pews at Lightcliffe, whilst at Cross Stone the free seats were mostly 'in the aisles' and at Hebden Bridge entirely 'against the church wall'.

However, at Heptonstall, the vicar claimed that in effect 'all seats are free as we have had no appropriation of seats' and revealed that he had purchased additional accommodation for 150 worshippers at his own cost in 'a schoolroom about three miles from the church', where regular Thursday evening services were held. In fact, some 7513 seats, amounting to almost one third of the 21,189 Anglican sittings within the parish in 1858 were free and at least one clergyman reported from Queenshead, where the major employer, the Foster family of Black Dyke Mills, was closely identified with the Anglican Church, reported that 'the people are well-disposed towards the church'. Moreover, factory workers had clearly been accustomed to attending worship at both Illingworth and Mytholmroyd since the incumbents commented in their returns that their congregations had recently declined 'owing to the stoppage of two factories'. The Vicar of Ripponden also implied that he had millworkers in his Sunday congregation, drawing attention to their absence from weekday services.

Moreover, his use of the Ripponden National School on Sunday evenings for Litany and Scripture Exposition and other hired rooms, cottages and 'occasionally the wayside as weather will permit' testified to his determination to reach the unchurched masses.

Apart from at St Peter's, Sowerby, where the average size of congregation inexplicably exceeded the size of the parish population, the proportion of the local population attending Anglican worship in 1858 ranged from 1.5 per cent at St Michael's, Shelf, on the rural periphery of Halifax, to 25 per cent at St James's, in central Halifax, which was regularly filled to capacity, and averaged just over 7 per cent within the parish as a whole. However, well over a third of the churches in the parish reported that their congregations were increasing whilst just over a third reported that their congregations were fairly static and a mere four, including St. Peter's, Sowerby, reported that their congregations were currently declining.

The percentage of the local population attending communion was generally considerably lower, ranging from under 1 per cent at over half the churches sending in estimates to just over 7 per cent at St James's, Halifax. At St Peter's, Sowerby, however, the average number of regular communicants amounted to double this figure. The latest confirmation figures supplied by the clergy in their returns averaged thirty-one, well under half the average annual number of baptisms, and the Vicar of King Cross pleaded in his return for more frequent celebration of the confirmation rite. The sacrament of Holy Communion was, however, celebrated at least monthly in the vast majority of churches in the ancient parish, far more frequently than in many other parts of the diocese in 1858, where communicant life has been judged by a modern Anglican historian to have been 'deplorably low' (3).

Over a dozen incumbents had assistant curates by 1858, when there were some forty-seven clergy within the ancient parish serving a population estimated by the Vicar of Halifax of

around 150,000, a ratio of pastors to people of 1:3191. Whilst this amounted to a significant improvement on the ratio of 1:5664 in 1841 it was still considerably poorer than the ratios of 1:2748 and 1:2214 achieved in 1764 and 1743 respectively. Moreover, several of the returns to Bishop Bickersteth revealed the growing concern of the clergy of the parish about the increasingly inhospitable environment in which they ministered. The Vicar of St Mary's, Cottonstones, complained that:

> In this as well as other places the too numerous beerhouses prove snares very injurious to the people. Some legal restriction upon the present facility for obtaining licences for such houses does seem to be required.

Whilst in the neighbouring Consolidated Chapelry of St George's, the incumbent protested that:

> The district is a hotbed of Dissent and Infidelity abounds amongst the working classes. There are two large dissenting chapels within a very short distance of the church, so that I have to labour under many disadvantages.

The Church of England's concern for the spiritual welfare of the working classes was further evidenced in the Bickersteth Visitation Returns by its continuing commitment to popular education. Virtually all the clergy reported thriving Sunday Schools, but with a significantly higher proportion of female enrolments than male, and no fewer than twenty-three of the clergy also reported the existence of Parochial Day Schools in their districts. The largest enrolments for both types of school were in the urban industrial centres of Brighouse, Elland, Halifax (with particularly high enrolments at St James's) , King Cross, Mount Pellon, Queenshead and Sowerby Bridge (4).

By far the largest number of Day School enrolments and attendances were reported by the newly appointed vicar of All Souls, the new church commissioned by Edward Akroyd in 1856 for his workforce which was 'fast approaching completion' in 1858. Situated 'on a commanding elevation' overlooking Akroyd's Haley Hill weaving and combing sheds and close to his

model housing development at Akroydon the history of the firm later maintained that:

> in choosing this position, the founder sought to impress upon the workpeople in their daily avocation the aspect of a temple to the living God and to inculcate the everlasting truth - that man has a craving for something higher, loftier and purer than the material world around him.

Akroyd expressed the hope that 'every man, woman and child' would 'feel that henceforth this is their Church ... and above all show that interest by regularly attending its ordinances'. In the furtherance of this aim, all the sittings in the church were free and unappropriated. Indeed one of the sermons preached during the octave of the dedication of All Souls by the vicar, the Reverend C.R. Holmes, M.A., and later published in a commemorative booklet, entitled: 'The Necessity for Free Churches and the Iniquity of Pew Rents', maintained:

> Had the sittings been let or sold (like the seats in a theatre) for so much a year, according to their good or bad position what would have become of Christ's poor? ... I can assure you from my own experience that the fact of there being a payment for admission to any single portion of the building does operate in the strongest possible manner to deter the poor man from entering the church ... You must not shut yourselves up in your cushioned pews and selfishly enjoy the riches of Christ's gospel, forgetting Christ's poor who are shut out (5).

Akroyd was one of the first and also one of the few local manufacturers of substance to make the transition from Nonconformity to the Established Church. Indeed, during this period he became one of the leading spokesmen for the Established Church in the West Riding and a strong advocate of Voluntary Church Schools in the National Education Union. The reasons for his change of denominational allegiance cannot be explained simply in terms of naked social ambition. Although 'brought up and educated as a Dissenter' attending until he arrived 'at man's estate the chapel of the New Connexion in Halifax with the rest of the family' he retained a sympathy for the Established Church into which he had been baptised as an infant, subsequently donating to the church of St Mary at

Illingworth a magnificent new font and baptistry window 'to the glory of God and from love to the Church in which he received the Sacrament of Baptism'. He had been tutored as a child by the Reverend Anthony Moss, incumbent at Illingworth from 1779-1836 and then sent to the Barkisland Endowed School. His father, whilst remaining throughout his life a prominent supporter of the Methodist New Connexion, had 'willingly accepted the office of churchwarden at the old Parish Church of Halifax and faithfully attended the services during his term of office', failing to find 'any conscientious objection to attendance at the National Church on the ground of doctrinal difference'. Edward Akroyd emerged from the wars with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France as a patriotic 'Church and King' Tory and the later circumstances of his father's death, collapsing at the Northgate Hotel whilst under pressure from Chartists and Radical Voluntaryists at a stormy election meeting in 1847, undoubtedly strengthened his determination to sever his radical nonconformist roots and to use his father's rich pecuniary legacy to build a fine new Anglican church for his workpeople on Haley Hill.

The extent of Akroyd's disillusionment with Nonconformity is further evidenced by his decision to exhume his parents' bodies from the burial ground at Salem Chapel as soon as a mortuary chapel had been constructed in the graveyard at All Souls, though when the hearse carrying the coffin of his mother up Haley Hill unceremoniously released its load into the snow, stalwarts of the Methodist New Connexion cause were inclined to view the unfortunate accident as an act of divine retribution. Moreover, it was also rumoured that the site for All Souls had been deliberately chosen by Edward Akroyd so that its pinnacled tower, 236 feet high, would totally eclipse the view from Akroyd's residence at Bankfield of the spire of the new Square Congregational Church, rising to a height of 235 feet, which was being built with the financial support of the rival Nonconformist Liberal manufacturing Crossley carpet family in the valley below.

Besides the construction of Akroydon and All Souls Church, Edward Akroyd made similar provisions for his workpeople at Copley. He had already commenced a model housing development in the late 1840s to provide good quality rented housing accommodation in order to attract an adequate labour force for his mill. However, believing that 'property has its duties as well as its rights', he proceeded to establish 'various institutions designed for the well-being of the inhabitants', including:

> Factory Schools ... the organisation of Evening Classes; the Library and Newsroom; the Allotment Gardens or the Horticultural and Floral society and lastly by my co-operation in the erection of a Church, of which the foundation stone was laid by myself in May 1863 and which was consecrated during the summer of 1865.

Akroyd, nominated the Reverend J.B. Sidgwick, a disciple of Dr Hook, Vicar of Leeds, the foremost champion of the Oxford Movement in the North of England, to the living at Copley, but subsequently became engaged in a bitter dispute with Sidgwick when the incumbent's views became 'more developed' or in Akroyd's view 'more Romish', including his introduction of a Confessional in the church vestry on Saturday afternoons and his assumption of the power of absolution. When Akroyd withdrew his voluntary contribution to the vicar's stipend in 1872 as a mark of his disapproval of his churchmanship the congregation at Copley was apparently split down the middle, with some rallying to the support of Sidgwick making up the deficiency to his income by special offertories and others withdrawing from the church to worship with the Wesleyans in the village schoolroom which Akroyd readily made available for Sunday and weekday evening services (6).

Although Edward Akroyd was perhaps the most generous industrial patron of the Established Church within the parish of Halifax during this period, he was by no means an isolated example. Despite Francis Pigou's contemporary claim in his autobiography that Nonconformity in the West Riding rather than Anglicanism was the principal beneficiary of 'the influence and purses of

wealthy capitalists and employers of labour' and recent research by Dr Simon Green suggesting that the great majority of churches and chapels in the Halifax-Keighley district of West Yorkshire depended for their financial salvation on numerous small contributions and incessant bazaars rather than industrial patronage, there are many examples of local textile manufacturers, brewers and mineowners generously supporting the building and beautification of Anglican churches throughout the parish during this period (7).

The Rawson family provided £6000 for the construction of the church of St John the Divine near their mills at Thorpe, Triangle, in 1880 and held the sole gift of the living throughout the period up to 1914. The same family also made generous donations to Ripponden Parish Church, whilst another branch of the family financed the building of the church of St Mary the Virgin at Luddenden Foot. The Fosters of Black Dyke Mills were generous supporters of the Anglican Church in Queensbury and a member of the family who subsequently moved to Lightcliffe paid for the re-building of St Matthew's Church in 1873. The Holdsworths of Shaw Lodge Mills and the Baldwins of Clark Bridge Mills contributed liberally to the Anglican churches at Illingworth, Salterhebble and Savile Park, whilst another prominent Victorian textile manufacturer, Henry McCrea of Warley House, opened the subscription list to the Church of St John the Evangelist at Warley with a donation of £1000 and continued to support the church after its consecration in 1878 both by regular cash donations and by the frequent opening of his home and its extensive grounds for Sunday School treats, garden parties and other church functions (8).

Other local textile manufacturers, including Sir Henry Edwards of Pye Nest; Joshua Appleyard of Clare Hall and William Huntriss of West Field were generous supporters of the funds for the redemption of the Halifax Vicar's Rate and the refurbishment of Halifax Parish Church. Michael Stocks of Upper Shibden Hall, a brewer and mineowner, built St Mary's, Rhodes Street in 1870 at a cost of £10,000 in memory of his wife

for a section of the densely populated urban parish of St James's, subsequently surrendering his right of presentation to the Vicar of Halifax. Samuel Webster, the brewer, subscribed to the building of Christ Church, Pellon, where he was later buried, and another local brewing family, the Ramsdens of Jumples, made numerous gifts to St Mary's, Illingworth and financed the building of a mission church at Holmfield in 1897 (9).

Like the Akroyds, the Fosters of Black Dyke Mills, also directed their charitable benevolence towards improving industrial relations. The Halifax Courier attributed the firm's provision of a library of 500 volumes for the use of its workpeople in 1854 to a paternalistic concern 'to do something for the moral and mental cultivation of their workpeople'. observing that in Queensbury 'an excellent feeling exists between the employer and employed', whilst one of several local clergymen present at a soirée to commemorate the opening of the library proclaimed:

> Never in the whole period of his life did he enjoy such a thrilling moment of ecstasy as the present. There was something delightful in seeing employers aiming at the edification of those in their employment (10).

Not all churches, however, derived their principal endowments from industrialists. A number of churches in the township of Ovenden benefited from the generosity of a group of unmarried or widowed women inspired by the ministry of the indomitable Reverend William Gillmor, the high church Vicar of Illingworth from 1836 to 1878. These included St George's Ovenden, endowed by Miss Jane Moss, daughter of a former Vicar of Illingworth; Christ Church, Pellon, endowed by two widowed sisters, Mrs Lancashire and Mrs Brooke of Birk's Hall and St John's, Bradshaw, endowed by Miss Wadsworth of Holdsworth House. Other benefactresses of local Anglican churches included Mrs Doherty Waterhouse of Well Head who contributed quietly and unobtrusively 'to many a struggling church'; Miss Lilia Boucher of Blackheath, London, the anonymous benefactress of St Mark's, Siddal and Mrs Master-Whittaker, who enabled a

new church to be built on the site of the Vale Bobbin Mill in Cornholme in 1900. Around the same time Lord Savile contributed generously towards the building of All Saints, Elland as a chapel-of-ease and in 1913 the family of the first Vicar of Northowram, Canon Watkinson, built the Church of St Matthew at Northowram, the first permanent church building to be erected in the large urban township (11).

The majority of churches, however, were built or refurbished by public subscription, supplemented by fundraising events and ecclesiastical grants. By March 1878, over 100 individuals had contributed to the fund for the restoration of Halifax Parish Church. Of these contributions, only twenty were for sums of £100 or more, many of which were from the families of local industrialists. The remainder was made up of contributions ranging from as little as ten shillings to eighty-five pounds. Some were from wealthy Anglican supporters outside the parish, some from local Nonconformists and others anonymous, including a donation of two guineas from 'a Sunday School teacher'. The building of St Thomas's Church, Greetland in 1861 was financed by numerous small voluntary contributions and larger sums of money raised through bazaars, whilst a stained-glass window in the church vestry of St Mary's presented by 'the working classes of Illingworth' in 1869 was also paid for by numerous small donations. £200 was raised by voluntary subscriptions to supplement the principal benefactions of £500 and £250 of Mesdames Lancashire and Brook and Mr and Mrs John Gott for the building of Christ Church, Pellon in 1854. In addition, grants totalling £525 were received from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the Ripon Diocesan Society, the Co-operative Society and the Incorporated Society for Promoting the Enlargement, Building and Repairing of Churches and Chapels, the latter on condition that '273 seats should be reserved for the poorer inhabitants of the parish for ever' (12).

During the long vicariate of Archdeacon Musgrave, who had welcomed the 'increasing efforts' after 1851 'to place the

opportunities of religious worship within the reach of all', no fewer than thirty-eight churches were built or restored in the ancient parish of Halifax. A testimonial presented to the Archdeacon by his grateful parishioners on the occasion of his eightieth birthday in 1872 rejoiced that Musgrave had lived to see with his own eyes:

> the spread of our beloved Church through the large and important parish over which you have presided for forty-five years and of witnessing the ever-increasing attachment to its doctrines and forms of worship (13).

However, in the process, Musgrave had not only amassed a considerable personal fortune, which exceeded £8342 by the time of his death in 1875, but had also moved out of the old vicarage alongside the Parish Church, situated cheek by jowl with the town's rapidly declining Irish quarter and the new railway development, into an elegant mansion in fashionable Savile Green in 1852, with accommodation for a butler and housekeeper, a large servants' wing and extensive grounds containing three cottages. Francis Pigou, Musgrave's successor, described the status and influence of the Vicar of Halifax, who, in addition, had thirty-four livings in his gift, as semi-episcopal enjoying:

> more patronage than some Bishops, far more than the Vicar of Leeds or the Vicar of any of the great West Riding towns.

Moreover, at least one of Musgrave's successors, the Venerable Joshua Ingham Brooke, Vicar of Halifax from 1889 to 1904, used this patronage to bestow at least one living on a member of his family, the Reverend William Ingham Brooke, Vicar of Holy Trinity from 1898 to 1905 (14).

There were, however, clouds on the horizon following the death of Archdeacon Musgrave which caused at least two eminent Anglican divines, Dean Farrar and the Reverend Henry White, to decline the prestigious crown living, the former refusing even to visit the town before reaching his decision. Moreover, Pigou himself initially declined the living, having:

> heard how the town was exercised about the obnoxious Vicar's Rate ... If the Vicar's Rate was not paid, the

> actual income of Halifax Vicarage would be reduced to £700 a year, and of this some £400 was derived from fees for marriages. There seemed to be a resolute determination not to pay, but to resist this rate. I felt it would be quite impossible to do what had to be done with less than six curates, and I declined the living on that ground and that only.

He was later prevailed upon to reconsider his decision and finally accepted the living. Arriving in Halifax in 1875 he found the parish 'torn and angry about the Vicar's Rate', with deep black-edged posters on hoardings proclaiming: 'Judas Vicar's Rate, died 1875, buried in a pauper's grave, to know no Resurrection'. A campaign by Nonconformists had already raised a sum of £12,000 to meet any cases of prosecution for non-payment and Dr Enoch Mellor, the influential minister of Square Independent Chapel who having instructed his congregation to 'button up their pockets' had suffered the distraint of a joint of ham from his own larder by the vicar's agent, when he had himself declined to pay the rate.

The vexed problem was eventually referred to the government who, after much enquiry and debate, brought in a bill in 1877 providing for the redemption of the rate at twenty-three year's purchase by the payment of a sum of £11,200 to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Leading members of the Anglican laity in Halifax led by Mrs Prescott of Somerville and including the industrialists Sir Henry Edwards, Joshua Appleyard, H.C. McCrea, John Foster, William Huntriss, Colonel Akroyd, John Waterhouse and Samuel Webster made substantial donations ranging from £250 to £1000 to a redemption fund and within a period of six weeks some £12,955 had been raised from 360 contributions, many of them from Nonconformists 'anxious that an end should be put to this internecine strife', thereby securing an annual income of over £2000 permanently to the Vicarage of Halifax (15).

Even after the redemption of the Vicar's Rate the benefice was, with that of Bedale, the most valuable in the diocese of Ripon by 1888. It was five times more valuable than the living at Wakefield; four times more valuable than the living at

Huddersfield and almost double the value of the benefices at Bradford and Leeds. It also contrasted markedly with the value of the other benefices within the Rural Deanery, which ranged from £144 at Warley to £530 at Sowerby Bridge and where no fewer than eleven were valued at under £200. John Appleyard's Charity for Poor Clergymen in the Parish of Halifax, which had been established in 1865, enabled small sums to be distributed annually to poor clergymen at the discretion of the Vicar of Halifax. Between 1867 and 1905 around half a dozen poor clergymen each year benefited from the charity, receiving gifts of between four and twenty-five pounds. During his vicariate, Francis Pigou instituted a fund for the augmentation of some of the poorer livings of the Halifax Rural Deanery but complained that:

> the utmost I could get, spread over that large area of wealth, was about £300 a year. The view taken was thus expressed to me: 'You know, Vicar, he takes Living as I takes mill. If he worked in our mill, he would never get as much'.

The first Wakefield Diocesan Commission of 1889 considered that the income of a living was inadequate where the gross annual income was returned as under £200. The second Diocesan Commission of 1908 considered that no benefice with an annual income of under £250 should be regarded as adequately endowed and identified no fewer than fourteen benefices in the Halifax Deanery which fell into this category, despite the appropriation of the Archdeacon Brooke Memorial Fund to help relieve the problem. By 1914, whilst there was only one benefice whose net value remained under £200, there were a further two dozen valued at under £300 (16).

Following the death of Musgrave in 1875, it had been argued that the vacancy to the valuable crown living presented an opportunity 'of no ordinary importance' to create a new diocese of Halifax to serve the industrial West Riding. It was proposed that the income for the new see would be derived partly from a portion of the existing income of the Halifax Vicarage which was expected to be augmented by as much as £1500

per annum as further leases came up for renewal and partly from voluntary contributions. There existed promising initial support for the project when £20,000 of the appeal fund's target of £50,000 was pledged immediately, but the scheme ultimately failed and Wakefield became the preferred base for the new diocese in 1888. Historians of the Diocese of Wakefield have accounted for the ultimate preference for Wakefield primarily in terms of Wakefield's advantages as a communications and administrative centre, without any consideration of Francis Pigou's own explanation of the failure of the Halifax scheme in his autobiography, a vital and hitherto neglected source for the understanding of the outcome (17).

Pigou, who, as Vicar of Halifax, had been invited by R.A. Cross, to give his views on the respective merits of the rival claims of Halifax and Wakefield in a private consultation with the Conservative Home Secretary, maintained that two other factors had a critical bearing on the decision in Wakefield's favour. First, Wakefield's claims had 'the support and persistent advocacy of its Conservative Member', whereas not one of Halifax's Members of Parliament 'all being at that time Radicals and favouring Disestablishment lifted up their voices that Halifax might thus be raised to the dignity of a City'. Secondly, a petition had been forwarded to the Home Office signed 'by several clergymen' on behalf of the poor clergy of the parish of Halifax opposing the proposed appropriation of the expected additional revenues from the renewal of leases for 'establishing and enriching a See' rather than for 'the augmentation of the smaller livings of the poorer clergy'. Cross, who told the House of Commons on 1 May 1877 that it was intended to leave the decision about whether the new see should be based at Wakefield or Halifax 'to Her Majesty in Council' and that 'no doubt there was a great deal to be said in favour of both towns' left Pigou with the distinct impression that the balance of the evidence favoured Wakefield, since there had been no objections from the Wakefield clergy to Wakefield's claim. Pigou therefore concluded that it was the petition

from his own clergy and the controversy surrounding financial priorities within the ancient parish that had 'sealed the fate of the Bishopric' (18).

A similar controversy arose over the other major project with which Pigou became involved at the outset of his ministry in Halifax, the restoration and refurbishment of the Halifax Parish Church. On first entering the old parish church, Pigou had 'knelt down and prayed that he might 'be allowed and spared to see it restored'. He later reflected:

> No words can adequately describe its forlorn-looking state ... An organ-gallery with mixed choir was at the west end, shutting off much available space. Throughout the nave were high square pews in which it was whispered in my ear that rubbers of whist were sometimes played. The Rokeby and Holdsworth Chapels were filled up - the one with a gallery, the other with rude benches for the Sunday School. Two pews called 'the Cow and Calf' occupied the place of the present Chancel Screen. The spacious Choir itself was in a most dilapidated state. Large nails in the carved oak mullions served as pegs on which to hang hats; dust here, disorder there. But worst of all was the fact that it was a vast charnel-house. Anyone who could pay a certain sum and claim to be a parishioner could be interred in it. The floor was strewn with human remains. When the Bishop of Ripon and Sir Gilbert Scott came to inspect it, prior to its restoration, I went from pew to pew, lifted up a carpet, put my hand through openings in the floor, and brought out a skull or a thigh bone. Constantly when the Church was crowded to excess at evening service, someone was carried out, fainting, overcome by this insidious, all-pervading odour!

The installation of a heating system without any regard for the consequences of laying pipes through broken coffins once the system became operational had exacerbated the situation, but when it was proposed to embark upon a major programme of restoration and refurbishment there were vociferous objections on the grounds of cost. J.D. Hutchinson, one of the local Members of Parliament, criticised the proposed expenditure of £15,000 at a time of high unemployment without first allowing parishioners the opportunity to express their views on the scheme. The matter was ultimately taken to the Consistory Court at Ripon where the Chancellor allowed a faculty for the restoration on the grounds of public health. In 1878 the

church was closed for sixteen months during which the floors were relaid and the interior redesigned under the direction of Sir George Gilbert and John Oldrid Scott. The western gallery was removed, the choir brought forward to occupy new stalls in the chancel and the organ installed in the north aisle. The oak box pews were reduced in height and a new screen designed by J.O. Scott was constructed across the nave. The interior walls were stripped of their plaster, whilst exterior work included repair of the roofs, restoration of the parapets and pinnacles and the levelling and grassing of the churchyard (19).

With the exception of Archdeacon Brooke, for whom the appointment to the vicarage of Halifax between 1889-1904 formed the climax of a long ministry spent, for the most part within his native West Riding, appointments to the vicarage of Halifax after 1875 were seen as stepping stones to higher ecclesiastical office. Francis Pigou, a powerful and eloquent preacher, was appointed chaplain-in-ordinary to Queen Victoria during his vicariate (1875-89) and went on to become successively Dean of Chichester and Dean of Bristol. The scholarly Archdeacon Henry Edwin Savage, 'a moderate High Churchman', appointed to the vicarage of Halifax in 1904, 'a post of peculiar difficulty' which he 'faced with wisdom and courage', left Halifax in 1909 to become Dean of Lichfield. Andrew Ewbank Burn, Vicar of Halifax from 1909 to 1920 and an authority on the Athanasian Creed and the Te Deum, later became Dean of Salisbury (20).

Although northern parishes had tended not to attract Oxford and Cambridge ordinands as readily as their southern counterparts in the later Victorian period, the majority of parochial clergy serving in the Rural Deanery of Halifax by 1905 were graduates of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, with a smattering of graduates from Durham, London and Trinity College, Dublin. The range of the theological and political interests and sympathies of the clergy of the deanery during the period 1899 to 1914 is reflected in the minutes of the Halifax Ruri-Decanal

Council and Chapter which recorded the presentation of papers on subjects as diverse as 'Parochial Councils, their value, constitution and work'; 'Sabbath Observance'; 'Holy Marriage and the Report of the Divorce Commission'; 'The Attitude of Church People towards the Socialist Movement'; 'The Church and the Peace Movement' and 'Propitiation and Expiation: the difference between the Christian and Buddhist Solution of Life' and recorded resolutions against the 1906 and 1908 Education Bills and Welsh Disestablishment (21).

They reflect a growing social concern amongst the parochial clergy, which had been signalled by Archdeacon Brooke in a Sunday evening sermon at Halifax Parish Church in August 1889. Responding to a series of articles in the Halifax Guardian on the slums of Halifax he had exhorted his hearers to:

> Think of our own parish. Are we content with that? Does this church and its services make sufficient and suitable provision for the spiritual wants of the poor that are crowded around it? Are there no foul places, houses unfit for any decent life - dens in which vice and misery alone can find a home? Else how is it possible to hear of localities where in one house after another men and women are to be found lying in a state of helpless drunkenness? What does all this mean to us? That we cannot help it and that it is no concern of ours, that we have enough to do to look after ourselves or, a little better than this, that we feel a deep horror and shame as we hear of such things and then leave them without an effort5 because we doo not see what we can do to remedy them? Oh, my friends let it not be so with us (22).

In 1875 there had been fifty-eight clergy within the Deanery of Halifax serving thirty-six parishes with a total population of 179,604, a ratio of pastors to people of 1:3097, compared with a ratio of pastors to people of 1:2084 for the neighbouring Deanery of Huddersfield, which had four more parishes and seven more clergy for a considerably smaller population of 135,497 and a ratio of pastors to people of 1:3805 for the neighbouring Deanery of Bradford, which had three more parishes and five more clergy for a considerably larger population of 239,747. By 1889 the first Bishop's Diocesan Commission reported that there were some sixty-nine clergy serving an estimated

population of 211,718 in the Deanery of Halifax, providing a slightly improved ratio of pastors to people of 1:3068, compared with seventy-one clergy serving an estimated population of 167,532 in the neighbouring Deanery of Huddersfield, a ratio of pastors to people of 1:2359. By 1908 the second Wakefield Diocesan Commission reported that the number of clergy in the Halifax Deanery had increased to seventy-four, yielding a ratio of pastors to people of 1:2947 from a population figure of 218,093 derived from the 1901 Census, compared with 1:2307 for Huddersfield, where both the population and the number of clergy had fallen since 1889 (23). The Diocesan Commissions of 1889 and 1908 also calculated that the proportion of the deanery population for which church accommodation was available either in parish churches or mission rooms had risen from 15.54 per cent in 1889 to 15.96 per cent by 1908 in the Halifax Deanery and from 20.76 per cent to 20.88 per cent over the same period in the Huddersfield Deanery. The parishes providing the highest proportion of accommodation in relation to the size of their populations in both years tended to be those serving either scattered semi-rural communities with declining populations such as Barkisland, Coley, Cottonstones, Cragg, Norland, Southowram and Thorpe or those serving inner-urban communities with declining populations such as Holy Trinity and Halifax Parish Church. Mount Pellon, the parish with the lowest percentage provision in 1889, had more than doubled its provision by 1908, when the parish most demonstrably failing to keep pace with population growth was the densely populated industrial suburb of King Cross (24).

The first Wakefield Diocesan Commission of 1889 had urgently recommended the creation of a new parish for King Cross. However, the only response to the recommendation had been the building of the Mission Church of St Hilda in 1898 and the specific recommendation had still not been implemented when the second Wakefield Diocesan Commission reported in 1908, prompting the commissioners to remark that:

> nothing short of a fully equipped parish will meet the needs of the very large population concerned and when St Hilda's has been formed the parish of King Cross will still remain the most populous in the Diocese. There can be no doubt that this step is urgently needed in the interests of Church work in Halifax.

In the event a further four years elapsed before St Hilda's became a Consolidated Chapelry in 1912 (25).

In December 1899 at one of the first meetings of the Halifax Ruri-Decanal Council, Archdeacon Brooke, introducing for discussion the subject of 'Church Extension in the Deanery', commented upon:

> the lack of church accommodation at Siddal and Salterhebble generally, King Cross, Pellon, St Augustine's, St James's, Halifax, All Souls, Skircoat, Hebden Bridge, Heptonstall, Cross Stone, Brighouse, Rastrick and smaller places such as Mixenden, Wainstalls and Eastwood.

The following April a Church Extension Society for the Deanery was formed with an executive committee comprising the Archdeacon, members of the clergy and nine leading laymen (26).

Whilst six of the eight recommendations of the 1889 Diocesan Commission for the creation of new missions had been implemented by 1908, four out of five recommendations for the creation of new chapels-of-ease at Rastrick, Siddal, Cross Stone and Commercial Road, Halifax remained unimplemented. Moreover, the 1889 Commission's recommendations for the appointment of additional clergy had only partially been met by 1908, in one instance by the appointment of a Church Army Captain instead of a second curate. However, by 1908 seven out of the eight recommendations of the 1889 Commission for improvements to parochial schools had been adopted, though the Halifax Deanery still lagged considerably behind its neighbour, Huddersfield, which had 5796 more Day School places and 3597 more average pupil attendances than Halifax. Indeed there were slightly fewer parishes with Day Schools in the Halifax Deanery in 1908 than there had been in 1889 and average attendances had dropped from 7254 in 1889 to 6940 in 1908

despite the creation of additional places by improvements to existing buildings. As Francis Pigou acknowledged, it had proved 'difficult to keep up our own voluntary schools side by side with the Board Schools'.

The 1908 Diocesan Commission recommended that the Halifax Deanery erect a further three Mission Churches, Mission Rooms and Sunday Schools and improve and extend four other premises used for Sunday School work which was urgently needed for 'developing and strengthening the religious training of the young ... owing to the large number of children who receive no definite religious teaching in the Day Schools'. Whilst the report of the commissioners revealed that the Halifax Deanery had increased its Sunday School enrolments from 17,498 in 1889 to 18,668 in 1908 and had more Sunday School Scholars on its books than any other deanery in the diocese it also reported that the number of Sunday School teachers had fallen slightly from 1527 in 1889 to 1520 in 1908 (27).

Sunday School Teachers formed the largest category of lay workers in returns made to the bishop by the clergy of the deanery in 1889. Of 645 lay workers attached to the seven Anglican Churches serving central Halifax in 1889, seven were Lay and Scripture Readers, 290 were Sunday School Teachers, 131 were choir members and 251 were District Visitors. Francis Pigou replenished his 'small army of devoted teachers' at Halifax Parish Church, who were responsible for a Sunday School numbering 1200 children, from his confirmation candidates and personally participated in their training. He also recognised the success of church choirs, whose recruits were predominantly male and drawn from a variety of backgrounds, commenting:

> It is marvellous with what power and pathos ordinary mill hands will render some of our more familiar anthems ... We had a splendid choir at Halifax trained by Dr Roberts and subsequently by the late and deeply lamented Mr Garland.

By 1914 there were at least 1289 church choir members in the Deanery of Halifax, only thirty-two of whom were paid for their services. The thirty-nine choirs for which returns were received comprised 542 boys, 501 men and 246 women and included

the smallest choir in the diocese at St John's Bradshaw, with a mere seven members. However, the number of Lay Readers within the Deanery had risen by only ten to seventeen (28).

Dr Mantle, presenting a paper on 'How Laymen can help in the work of the Church', to the Halifax Ruri-Decanal Council in 1901, however, felt in necessary to criticise the prevalent 'spirit of indifference' which was particularly pronounced among the male members of church families:

> They were determined to make their businesses a success on a weekday, but there was an absence of the same spirit to make the worship of a Sunday equally or still more successful ... It was not all drink that was answerable for the indifference. Other things were occupying the minds of men ... chiefly money-making, gambling and athletics. When men got football on the brain, as many did, then God and all thoughts of Him were driven out (29).

However, there is evidence to suggest that at least some male members of the Halifax bourgeoisie took an active role in church life. Moreover, the presence of the whole family at church on a Sunday morning and the older members of the family at evening worship appears to have been a characteristic of middle class church attendance at the new St Jude's Church, opened in 1890 to serve the Victorian residential suburb of Savile Park. The novelist Phyllis Bentley, whose father, Joseph Bentley was a woollen manufacturer at Dunkirk Mills, recalled in her autobiography:

> Every Sunday morning, having brushed Papa's top hat with a special soft brush kept for the purpose in the hall. (we) marched off in a small crocodile to the new St Jude's Church where Papa was a churchwarden - Phil and Norman leading, Frank and Phyllis next, Papa and Mamma proudly bringing up the rear ... I was considered too young to accompany the rest of the family to church on Sunday evenings (30).

In other parishes embracing a wider social constituency the problem of how to attract and retain men in worship was increasingly exercising the minds of evangelical churchmen like Canon Charles Llewellyn Ivens, who introduced the first regular services for men in the district at Christ Church, Sowerby Bridge in 1888, commenting in 1906:

> Now they are common enough among both Churchmen and Nonconformists in the varying forms of Men's Services, Men's Bible Classes and Pleasant Sunday Afternoons. And yet it should never be forgotten that these services are but expedients to meet the present distress and that the Christian Church must never be satisfied until the men of England are found worshipping with the other members of their families Sunday by Sunday in the regular services of the Church.

Ivens discovered that the best attended services often combined topical themes such as 'The Church and the Labour Movement' with the added attraction of a brass band, but despite the appeal of such services, he continued to express concern at the frequent absence of men from the celebration of Holy Communion. He regularly lamented the dearth of young men coming forward for confirmation, enticed away from church at the age of eighteen or twenty, he surmised in his parish magazine, by the lure of such alternative pursuits as 'the country walk' or 'the newspaper at the club'. He attributed the decline in attendance at his Young Men's Class from forty to seventeen over the period 1887 to 1896 to 'the keeping open of the Billiard Room on a Friday night' and its subsequent improvement to the establishment of a Chapter of the St Andrew's Brotherhood in the Parish, the transfer of the Bible Class to Sunday afternoons and occasional special attractions such as a Ladies' and Gentlemen's Cricket Match (31).

Statistics reveal a significantly higher proportion of women than men among those confirmed in parishes throughout the Halifax Deanery during the period 1888-1914. 66 per cent of 5760 confirmation candidates from nine Halifax urban churches during this period were women, outnumbering the men by about 2:1. The proportion of men from Halifax Parish Church was slightly higher at 35 per cent but even at Christ Church, Sowerby Bridge, where Canon Ivens had made ministry among men a particular priority, only 37 per cent of the 937 candidates confirmed during this period were men. Ivens attributed the disproportionate number of female confirmation candidates in no small measure to 'the quiet current of opposition which lads

meet in mills and workshops - not from Nonconformists who are generally very sympathetic but from the men who make no profession of religion', reinforcing the impression that churches with working class constituencies found it considerably more difficult to attract and retain men within the active life of the church (32).

It was hoped that the growing multiplicity of church organisations would draw people with a variety of interests and needs into the life of the church community. Halifax Parish Church advertised in its parish magazine in the 1880s Bible Classes for Men and Women; a Girls' Friendly Society; Mothers' Meetings; a Girls' Sewing Class; a Cricket Club, playing home matches in grounds of Shibden Hall with the permission of John Lister, whilst Canon Ivens, reflecting on twenty-one years of ministry at Sowerby Bridge in 1908, expressed his approval of the 'growing number of organisations in parochial life: Temperance Societies, Bible Classes, Boys' Brigade, Brotherhoods and the like' which he regarded as an extension of the church's ministry and an indication of 'its growing enthusiasm for the social well being of the people' (33).

After 1875, Francis Pigou met every Monday morning with his curates to collect lists of sick parishioners which were assigned to district visitors 'so that it was almost impossible, even amongst the 12000 souls in our parish, for anyone to remain ill without being regularly visited'. Choral Festivals; Flower Services; Evangelistic Missions and Conventions; special services for the blind and deaf; organ recitals; masonic gatherings; a service for the dedication of the colours of the local regiment and even 'a special service for the whole company of a circus' were held at the Halifax Parish Church during Pigou's vicariate. However, he expressed concern that the popular Anglican festival services such as the traditional harvest thanksgiving services were increasingly being appropriated by the Nonconformists (34).

Moreover, two divisive issues continued to generate tension within the Anglican churches of the deanery during this period.

The issue of pew rents remained a sore point at Illingworth until the issue was finally laid to rest in 1894 when 'the majority were persuaded to agree to the abolition of the rents and the Church became free to all God's children as their Father's house' (51). Ritualism also aroused continuing controversy. For example, when a special Vestry Meeting at the Halifax Parish Church in November 1913 voted to accept a gift of candlesticks from an anonymous donor, Mr E.H. Hill, one of the leading opponents of the proposal, which had the full backing of the Vicar, Dr Burn, protested that 'the custom of placing candles on the communion table had not been in use in Halifax for the last 250 years' and declared that 'he may no longer feel able to take communion if candlesticks were introduced' (35).

Whilst the evidence does not allow a full reconstruction of patterns of church attendance in the parish of Halifax during the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, there was a growing concern after 1900 among some clergymen about declining levels of religious observance. The Reverend G.R. Oakley, Vicar of Illingworth, discerned an ebb in church attendance during this period which he later attributed to 'the materialism of the prosperity of the pre-war years'. Writing to his parishioners in similar vein in October 1900, Canon Ivens expressed his anxiety that attendance at morning worship at Christ Church, Sowerby Bridge, 'has perceptibly diminished' and revealed that some of his congregation also felt that evening congregations were 'not as large as they used to be', except on special occasions. He expressed similar concern six years later, when he also noted 'a serious falling off' in the number of communicants at the great festivals of Christmas, Easter and Harvest, lamenting that 'the capacity for worship' lay buried 'beneath the rubbish of pleasure seeking and self indulgence', whilst reaffirming that 'golf, motoring, football and theatregoing, however useful as relaxations, can never take the place of the uplifting of the heart in worship to God'. Indeed, the number of Easter communicants was 121 fewer in 1906

than in 1905. However, analysis of average monthly communicants at Christ Church during the period 1889 to 1910 reveals a highly fluctuating pattern during the period 1889 to 1910, with a dramatic recovery in 1907, a sharp decline again in 1908 followed by a period of relative stability in 1909-10. Confirmations at Halifax and Sowerby Bridge reveal a similarly fluctuating pattern throughout the period 1888 to 1914, with a sharp decline at Christ Church from 1907 and at Halifax Parish Church from 1910 (36).

There was, however, throughout the period a continuing popular dependence upon the Church of England for rites of passage. Canon Ivens frequently remarked upon the large attendances when funeral sermons were preached and also felt the need to remind those who chose to be married in church that the sacrament of holy matrimony ought 'to be treated as no idle ceremony'. He solemnised on average only six marriages per year at Sowerby Bridge between 1867 and 1887, most couples adhering to the custom of marrying in the Halifax Parish Church. Between 1887 and 1907, however, when Ivens dispensed with his fee in order to encourage couples to marry in their local parish church, the average number rose to twenty-four per year (37).

Francis Pigou, married on average 700 couples a year at the Halifax Parish Church during this period, sometimes marrying 'ten or twenty young couples at a time'. Reflecting in his autobiography on his experience at Halifax, he observed that marriages were contracted very early 'in these manufacturing districts', where wages were good and young people were 'of necessity brought much into close and daily contact with each other in mills and factories', adding that 'giving in marriage was the least agreeable of our offices' because 'the behaviour is rarely devout' and for this reason he chose to conduct the marriages of Sunday School teachers and churchgoing couples privately. He related how one of his curates at Luddenden on putting to a bridegroom the question 'Wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife?' had been astonished when he had received

the reply: 'I woll if lass will black my boots'. Nor was the marriage ceremony the only occasion when popular religious attitudes grated upon Pigou's more refined sensibilities. He squirmed when hats were casually discarded into the font on entry to the Halifax Parish Church; when the eagle lectern was variously described as the 'turkey' or the 'goose'; and took exception to the use of an old hat for the taking up of the offertory at one of the other churches under his patronage in the parish (38).

There was also a strong public identification with the Church of England in time of war. Shortly after the outbreak of the Crimean War an 'exceedingly large' congregation at the Halifax Parish Church, including the mayor and town council, heard Archdeacon Musgrave deliver an 'impressive' sixty-minute sermon from a text from Deuteronomy on divine judgment following which a collection was made for the wives and children of British soldiers which realised forty pounds. Canon Ivens, following British reverses in the South African War in 1899, attempted to lift his Sowerby Bridge parishioners from their despondency by exhorting them to:

> thankfully recognise the wave of enthusiasm which has passed over our country which shows that Englishmen are as resolute and patriotic as ever and that the sun of England's greatness has not yet gone down.

In 1906 the Halifax Vestry Meeting approved the 'erection of a brass tablet in the Halifax Parish Church in memory of the ... men of the parish of Halifax who lost their lives while serving their country' during the South African Wars (1899-1902) and in August 1914 the Rural Dean of Halifax announced that 'the recent declaration of war against Germany had involved the whole country in serious responsibilities in which the clergy would have to bear their part'. Arrangements were made for regular intercessions to be offered in Anglican churches throughout the deanery for those serving in the forces and weekly celebrations of Holy Communion for those rising early for work on the home front (39).

By 1914, despite the recovery which it had made in the late-

Victorian and Edwardian era, it was evident that formidable challenges still faced the Church of England at both parochial and diocesan level. By 1913 there were seventy-five clergy serving a population of 214,807 within the Rural Deanery of Halifax. Whilst this ratio of pastors to people of 1:2826 constituted the best ratio since 1743, it had been achieved partly through a decline in population after 1900. In 1913 there were no fewer than forty-eight churches and chapels-of-ease and twenty-seven mission rooms providing a total accommodation for 36,960, just over one sixth of the population of the deanery. In September 1908, Canon Ivens remarked in a letter to his parishioners in his parish magazine that 'during the last twenty-one years we have seen what used to be a fragment of the Diocese of Ripon ... become a compact well-organised diocese'. However the impact of the diocese on parochial life was only coming to be felt towards end of the period. In 1914 the Bishop of Wakefield, Dr Eden, finally succeeded in obtaining the agreement of the local clergy for the subdivision of the vast deanery, albeit initially only as a two-year experiment. Moreover, his recommendation in 1910 that all communicant members within the diocese be invited to make a voluntary contribution of one shilling to a Wakefield Diocesan Fund found only a limited response within the Halifax Deanery and the amount contributed by the deanery fell short of its apportionment by nearly £200 in 1914 (40).

Table 32: Church Building in the Parish of Halifax, 1852-1914

Sources: A. Goodwin, 'How the Ancient Parish was Divided', THAS, 1961; Wakefield Diocesan Church Calendar and Church Almanack; Census, 1891.

Abbreviations: CC: Consolidated Chapelry; DC: District Chapelry; MC: Mission Church; P: Parish; R: Rebuilding (the date of erection of the previous structure is shown in brackets).

1854	Barkisland, Christ Church (DC 1858)
1854	Heptonstall, St Thomas; R (c1200)
1854	Halifax, Mount Pellon, Christ Church (DC 1855; P 1868)
1858	Halifax, Salterhebble, All Saints (P 1845)
1859	Halifax, Haley Hill, All Souls (P 1855)
1859	Brighouse, St Paul (MC)
1860	Halifax, Charlestown, St Thomas (DC 1862; P 1868)
1861	Greetland, St Thomas (DC 1862; P: 1868)
1864	Harley Wood, All Saints (CC 1864; P 1868)
1865	Norland, St Luke (DC 1877; P 1868)
1865	Copley, St Stephen (CC 1866; P 1868)
1866	Elland, St Michael (MC)
1868	Ripponden, St Bartholomew; R (1737)
1869	Siddal, St Mark (MC)
1870	Halifax, St Mary (DC 1870)
1870	Brighouse, St James (MC)
1873	Luddenden Foot, St Mary the Virgin (CC 1873)
1875	Halifax, St Augustine (DC 1876)
1875	Lightcliffe, St Matthew; R (1775)
1877	Ovenden, St George (CC 1878)
1878	Warley, St John the Evangelist (DC 1878)
1880	Thorpe, St John the Divine (CC 1881)
1882	West Vale, St John the Evangelist (DC 1886)
1887	Halifax, St Michael and All Angels (MC)
1887	Stainland, St Andrew; R (1840)
1890	Halifax, St Jude (DC 1891)
1890	Rishworth, St Matthew (MC)
1895	Southowram, St Peter (MC)
1897	Holmfield, St Andrew (MC)
1897	Boothtown, St Edward (MC)
1898	Halifax, St Hilda (MC; CC 1912)
1902	Cornholme, St Michael and All Angels (DC 1903)
1903	Elland, All Saints (MC)
1903	Wainstalls, St Aidan (MC)
1906	Wheatley, St Peter (MC)
1907	Pye Nest, St James (MC)
1908	Norwood Green, St George (MC)
1911	Hove Edge, St Chad (MC 1912)

1912 King Cross, St Paul; R (1847)
1913 Northowram, St Matthew (P 1909)

Notes: Missions were also established at Bailiffe Bridge, St Aidan; Boothtown, Plough Croft; Brighouse, St Andrew; Charlestown, Pearson Street; Elland, St Michael; Halifax, Dean Street, Good Shepherd, St Barnabas, St Mary, St Michael; Hebden Bridge, Charlestown, St John; Luddenden, St Aidan; Lumbutts; Ploughcroft; Priestwell; Norwood Green; Ovenden, Nursery Lane; Rastrick, St John; Southowram, St Peter; Sowerby Bridge, St Mark.

Table 33: Communicants and Congregations in the Parish of Halifax, 1858

Source: Bickersteth Visitation Returns.

Chapelry/ Parish	Popn	Communicants		Congregations	
Barkisland	1800	-	-	200	(11.1%)
Bradshaw	3000	12	(0.4%)	90	(3.0%)
Brighouse	4500	35	(0.8%)	567	(12.6%)
Coley	8700	18	(0.2%)	400	(4.6%)
Cross Stone	10000	45	(0.4%)	575	(5.8%)
Elland	7609	-	-	617	(8.1%)
Haley Hill	5709	40	(0.7%)	400	(7.0%)
Halifax Parish Church	25159	200	(0.8%)	1000	(4.0%)
Halifax, St James	1500	106	(7.1%)	373	(24.9%)
Hebden Bridge	3763	32	(0.8%)	115	(3.0%)
Heptonstall	6500	55	(0.8%)	600	(9.2%)
Illingworth	9543	22	(0.2%)	450	(4.7%)
King Cross	3222	35	(1.1%)	325	(10.1%)
Lightcliffe	2500	30	(1.2%)	175	(7.0%)
Luddenden	5000	45	(0.9%)	335	(6.7%)
Mount Pellon	2000	15	(0.7%)	140	(7.0%)
Mytholmroyd	3340	25	(0.7%)	283	(8.5%)
Queens Head	10000	8	(0.1%)	177	(1.8%)
Rastrick	3900	45	(1.1%)	250	(6.4%)
Salterhebble	3800	38	(1.0%)	75	(2.0%)
Shelf	3400	4	(0.1%)	50	(1.5%)
Cragg Vale	2011	25	(1.2%)	150	(7.4%)
Sowerby Bridge	5000	59	(1.2%)	-	-
Sowerby, St Mary	2011	35	(1.7%)	350	(17.4%)
Sowerby, St George	2300	45	(1.9%)	145	(6.3%)
Sowerby St Peter	400	52	(13.0%)	600	(150.0%)
Southowram	6570	12	(0.2%)	90	(1.4%)
Bradford Parish Church	110,000	200	(0.2%)	1400	(1.3%)
Huddersfield Parish Church	11,000	100	(0.9%)	917	(8.3%)

Notes: The population figures are the estimates supplied by the clergy in their returns, except for Halifax Parish Church, where the population of the township of Halifax at the 1851 Census has been used in the absence of an appropriate estimate from the Vicar. The other figures show the average number of regular communicants and the average size of congregations.

Table 34: Parochial Day and Sunday School Enrolments and Attendances, 1858

Source: Bickersteth Visitation Returns.

Chapelry/ Parish	Day Schools		Sunday Schools			
	Total		Male		Female	
Barkisland	-	-	37	(30)	27	(21)
Bradshaw	125	(116)	44	(35)	65	(50)
Brighouse	339	(213)	280	(180)	220	(200)
Coley	268	(193)	170	(150)	240	(225)
Cross Stone	128		119		167	
Elland	510	(325)	220	(180)	200	(170)
Haley Hill	880	(770)	141	(115)	163	(120)
Halifax PC	420		200	[combined	total]	
Hx, St James	592	(445)	245	(166)	310	(240)
Holy Trinity	150	(100)	28	(16)	58	(42)
Hebden Bridge	-		55	(45)	74	(60)
Heptonstall	-		113	(103)	77	(72)
Illingworth	201		75		76	
King Cross	420	(340)	120	(90)	140	(100)
Lightcliffe	-		70	(60)	60	(50)
Luddenden	270	(270)	60	(50)	80	(70)
Mount Pellon	310	(200)	200	(135)	200	(135)
Mytholmroyd	130	(115)	90	(55)	100	(95)
Queens Head	630	(510)	60		70	
Rastrick	-		102		100	
Ripponden	200		95		125	
Salterhebble	110	(90)	150	(130)	150	(130)
Shelf	120	(70)	40	(35)	[combined	total]
Sowerby Bridge	338	(211)	90	(78)	170	(130)
Sby, St Mary	229	(206)	90	(66)	96	(74)
Sby, St George	235	(203)	101	(92)	107	(90)
Sby, St Peter	209	(174)	145	(110)	190	(150)
Southowram	63	(45)	54	(40)	63	(49)

Notes: The figures in brackets are the actual attendances. The Day School totals include infants and the Sunday School totals include adults where differentiated by gender.

Table 35: Clergy and Church Accommodation in the Rural Deanery of Halifax, 1889-1908

Source: Wakefield Diocesan Commission, 1909.

Parish	Number of Clergy		Accommodation	
	1887	1908	1889	1908
Halifax PC	6	6	19.2	25.6
All Souls	2	2	13.1	15.2
Holy Trinity	2	2	31.8	47.3
St Augustine	2	1	6.9	6.7
St James	2	1	12.0	12.6
St Mary	2	2	17.2	19.2
St Thomas	1	1	9.4	13.8
Barkisland	1	1	27.6	36.0
Bradshaw	1	1	17.7	22.7
Brighouse	3	5	18.2	14.1
Coley	2	2	16.2	21.3
Copley	1	1	66.7	46.9
Cornholme	-	1	-	24.3
Cross Stone	2	2	11.4	6.5
Elland	2	4	11.1	12.7
Greetland	1	1	33.3	27.9
Harley Wood	1	1	4.8	8.3
Hebden Bridge	3	2	21.3	15.2
Heptonstall	2	2	20.0	19.4
Illingworth	2	3	13.0	13.9
King Cross	2	4	7.0	4.2
Lightcliffe	2	1	17.1	20.0
Luddenden	2	1	13.5	18.6
Luddenden Foot	1	1	34.3	34.4
Mount Pellon	1	2	4.5	9.6
Mytholmroyd	1	1	18.6	16.0
Norland	1	1	20.0	28.2
Ovenden	1	1	16.7	9.0
Rastrick	2	3	12.2	11.7
Ripponden	2	2	22.2	27.4
All Saints	3	3	14.1	13.1
St Jude	-	1	-	18.5
Southowram	2	2	13.8	21.7
Sowerby, St George	1	1	15.9	16.2
Cragg Vale	1	1	35.5	60.5
Sowerby, St Mary	1	1	40.0	48.6
Sowerby, St Peter	2	1	48.5	41.3
Sowerby Bridge	2	2	16.2	15.8
Stainland	1	1	9.4	9.0
Thorpe	1	1	75.0	90.9
Warley	1	1	15.6	18.1
West Vale	1	1	15.6	16.1
Total	69	74	15.5	16.0

Notes: The church accommodation includes churches and mission rooms and is expressed as a percentage of population in each parish. The totals for Brighouse include St James's Chapel-of-Ease. The calculations for 1908 are based on population data derived from the 1901 Census.

Table 36: Communicants at Christ Church, Sowerby Bridge, 1889-1910

Source: Christ Church Parish Magazine.

Year	Communicants (monthly average)	% Change
1889	227	
1890	-	
1891	271	(+19.4) [one month only]
1892	209	(-22.9)
1893	242	(+15.8)
1894	173	(-28.5)
1895	243	(+40.5)
1896	236	(-2.9)
1897	242	(+2.5)
1898	254	(+4.9)
1899	251	(-1.2)
1900	255	(+1.6)
1901	247	(-3.1)
1902	262	(+6.1)
1903	244	(-6.9)
1904	239	(-2.0)
1905	279	(+16.7)
1906	257	(-7.9)
1907	311	(+21.0)
1908	253	(-18.6)
1909	259	(+2.4)
1910	254	(-1.9)

Table 37: Confirmations at Halifax Urban Churches, 1888-1914

Source: Wakefield Diocesan Church Calendar.

Year	Male	Female	Total	% Change
1888	133	310	443	
1889	89	228	317	-28.4
1890	64	156	220	-30.6
1891	74	161	235	+6.8
1892	67	176	243	+3.4
1893	47	150	197	-18.9
1894	75	160	235	+19.3
1895	157	232	389	+65.5
1896	108	197	305	-21.6
1897	67	160	227	-25.6
1898	97	187	284	+25.1
1899	69	134	203	-28.5
1900	81	136	217	+6.9
1901	76	182	258	+18.9
1902	75	138	213	-17.4
1903	80	168	248	+16.4
1904	118	198	316	+27.4
1905	53	134	187	-40.8
1907	62	111	173	-7.5
1909	113	126	239	+38.1
1911	93	156	249	+4.2
1912	81	128	209	-16.1
1913	68	85	153	-26.8
Total	1947	3813	5760	

Notes: There are no returns available for 1906, 1908, 1910 and 1914. The Churches represented are Halifax Parish Church, All Souls, Holy Trinity, St Augustine, St James, St Mary, St Thomas, St Jude (from 1895), St Hilda (from 1911).

Table 38: Confirmations at Halifax Parish Church, 1888-1914

Sources: Wakefield Diocesan Church Calendar; Confirmation Register, Halifax Parish Church.

Year	Male	Female	Total	% Change
1888	133	310	443	
1889	31	83	114	-74.3
1890	18	70	88	-22.8
1891	17	71	88	
1892	13	65	78	-11.4
1893	20	47	67	-14.1
1894	37	61	98	+46.3
1895	53	76	129	+31.6
1896	52	84	136	+5.4
1897	26	42	68	-50.0
1898	42	77	119	+75.0
1899	33	64	97	-18.5
1900	20	34	54	-44.3
1901	30	73	103	+90.7
1902	29	37	66	-35.9
1903	38	44	82	+24.2
1904	44	61	105	+28.0
1905	12	38	50	-52.4
1906	11	20	31	-38.0
1907	9	30	39	+25.8
1908	22	32	54	+38.5
1909	47	41	88	+63.0
1910	12	45	57	-35.2
1911	55	55	110	+93.0
1912	42	51	93	-15.4
1913	34	41	75	-19.3
Total	897	1672	2569	

Table 39: Confirmations at Christ Church, Sowerby Bridge, 1888-1914

Sources: Wakefield Diocesan Church Calendar; Christ Church Parish Magazine.

Year	Male	Female	Total	% Change
1888	0	1	1	
1889	44	36	80	
1890	7	9	16	-80.0
1891	-	-	-	
1892	12	11	23	+43.7
1893	17	41	58	+152.1
1894	19	15	34	-41.4
1895	9	37	46	+26.1
1896	5	26	31	+32.6
1897	21	51	72	+132.2
1898	22	40	62	-13.9
1899	16	27	43	-30.6
1900	7	16	23	-46.5
1901	17	30	47	+104.3
1902	16	25	41	-12.8
1903	14	38	52	+26.8
1904	-	3	3	-94.2
1905	13	52	65	+2066.6
1906	-	-	-	
1907	35	18	53	-18.5
1908	-	-	-	
1909	11	40	51	-3.8
1910	14	23	37	-27.4
1911	4	15	19	-48.6
1912	-	-	-	
1913	42	38	80	+321.0
1914	-	-	-	
Total	345	592	937	

Table 40: Value of Benefices in the Rural Deanery of Halifax, 1888-1914

Source: Wakefield Diocesan Church Calendar.

Benefice	1888	1901	1914
Barkisland	114	166	260
Brighouse	300	298	320
Clifton	-	-	200
Coley	428	480	460
Copley	150	198	250
Cragg Vale	150	150	244
Cross Stone	368	340	350
Elland	300	275	299
Greetland	300	343	343
Halifax PC	2000	1900	2000
All Souls	350	300	451
Holy Trinity	260	216	304
St Augustine	200	200	262
St Hilda	-	-	220
St James	300	270	289
St Jude	-	270	354
St Mary	200	224	276
St Thomas	280	250	287
Bradshaw	190	190	265
Illingworth	333	340	346
Ovenden	270	326	255
Harley Wood	266	320	330
Hebden Bridge	280	290	233
Heptonstall	300	280	315
King Cross	300	390	360
Lightcliffe	325	310	318
Luddenden	300	310	300
Luddenden Foot	185	207	265
Mount Pellon	300	288	361
Mytholmroyd	156	197	264
Norland	145	180	244
Rastrick	300	300	345
Ripponden	350	320	259
Salterhebble	300	300	423
Southowram	300	300	329
Sowerby, St George	174	228	256
Sowerby, St Mary	190	220	260
Sowerby, St Peter	296	260	319
Sowerby Bridge	530	500	482
Stainland	310	300	317
Thorpe	130	198	250
Warley	144	225	263
West Vale	100	180	290
Wyke	-	-	259

Notes: The values represent the net value after deductions for poor rate, highway rate, municipal rate, land tax and church repairs but not voluntary deductions for the payment of curates.

4.2. Nonconformity

4.2.1. Roman Catholics

The Roman Catholic community in Halifax which had expanded rapidly as a result of Irish immigration in the second quarter of the century continued to grow during the period up to 1858 when the number of weekly communicants at St Mary's averaged around 1000, an increase of 27 per cent on the maximum number of individual attendances which may be assumed from the data collected for the Census of Religious Worship in 1851. The mission at St Mary's served a vast area extending northwards from Halifax to Shelf and Queenshead, south-eastwards to Elland Edge and westwards beyond Stainland as far as the Lancashire border and included an estimated Catholic population of 5000 at the time of the Bishop of Beverley's Visitation in 1858.

The Visitation Schedule provides a valuable insight into the religious life and age structure of the Halifax Catholic community in the mid-Victorian period. Mass was celebrated twice on Sunday mornings; baptisms and churchings were held in the early afternoon and there was an act of worship every Sunday evening. Confessions were held on Friday evenings and Saturday afternoons and before and after the celebration of Mass. During the twelve months prior to the visitation baptisms at St Mary's had numbered 162 and there had been forty-one marriages and seventy-three deaths. Eight new converts had been received into the congregation; Lent communicants had averaged 150 and Easter communicants had numbered 1800. There were 181 boys and 156 girls enrolled at the Sunday School; sixty-three boys and sixty-eight girls at the Day School and fifty-six boys and twenty-five girls attending evening classes. Some ten confraternities and guilds had been established since 1849 including a recently founded Young Men's Society with sixty members (41).

During the following decade St Mary's was enlarged and refurbished. A new 'beautiful and highly artistic stained-glass window' was installed above the altar during alterations

in 1860 and following devastating storm damage in 1863 the church was extensively rebuilt. The roof was entirely reconstructed, the chancel re-decorated, new low open seating provided and a new high altar, organ recess, porch and western tower added at a cost of around £2000. In 1867 a new branch mission from St Patrick's, Huddersfield, was opened in rented rooms at Brighouse, which served an estimated Catholic population of 400 by 1875. Priests from St Patrick's regularly celebrated mass in the town until 1876, when Father Alfred Watson was appointed first resident priest. In 1879 adaptable purpose-built premises were constructed for use as a Day School during the week and as a place of worship on Sundays. The mission served an area which extended northwards to Hipperholme and Norwood Green, eastwards to Kirklees Hall, southwards to Rastrick and westwards to Southowram. In 1876, a new Catholic Day School was opened at Todmorden and, in the following year the new St Joseph's Church, when the Catholic population was estimated at a mere 238, under 1 per cent of the total population of the town (42).

The estimated Catholic population in Halifax had risen to 5800 by 1874 and 5900 in 1877, the highest estimate recorded in the diocesan records during the whole of the period up to 1914. In 1878 when the missions at Brighouse and Halifax became part of the new Diocese of Leeds their estimated Catholic populations numbered 412 and 5820 respectively. The communities had increased in size by a further 6 and 3 per cent respectively by 1880, a year in which the number of baptisms at both missions also increased. By 1891, when Father Bernard Wake, the priest-in-charge at St Mary's recommended that Hebden Bridge and Luddenden Foot be formed into a branch mission under the care of Father Maximillian Tillman, the Catholic population of Halifax alone was estimated at 7000.

Canon James Gordon, who succeeded Father Wake in 1892, took major decisions with considerable cost implications in order to provide for the needs of the growing Catholic community. He bought a considerable amount of property near St Mary's in

Clarence Street and erected new schools in 1894 to accommodate 400 scholars at a cost of £3000. He also recognised the need to provide a new church for the growing Catholic community around Haley Hill and Claremount, which had been nourished by the missionary endeavours of Father Wake and the opening of the St Joseph's Catholic Day Schools at Godley Bridge in 1873. In 1894 Father Jerome Quinlan was appointed by Dr Gordon, Bishop of Leeds and brother of Canon Gordon, to oversee the building of the new Church of the Sacred Heart and St Bernard, which was completed at a cost of £5000 on a site at Sunnyside, Range Lane, and dedicated by Bishop Gordon in 1897. Father Quinlan encouraged the Sisters of the Cross and Passion to take up residence at a convent in Horley Green in January 1895. They immediately assumed responsibility for St Joseph's School, visited the sick and poor in their homes, gave instruction to new converts, induced lapsed Catholics to return to the Church and later helped inaugurate the tradition of an annual Whitsuntide procession of witness which became a highlight in the local Catholic calendar during the period from 1906 to 1914 (43).

In 1896 Father John Russell, an assistant priest at St Mary's, rented a mission room in Hollins Mill Lane, Sowerby Bridge, but within a year the cause had been amalgamated with that at Hebden Bridge and Luddenden Foot. Mass was not celebrated again in Sowerby Bridge until 1908, when another room was rented in an old mill in Nicholl's Yard. In 1896 the Church of St Thomas of Canterbury, Hebden Bridge, was completed at a cost of £1530, with members of the congregation supplying the equivalent of £600 in labour charges and in 1898 a new church was opened in Luddenden Foot at a cost of £1600. During the early 1880s Father Patrick Brady, an assistant priest at St Mary's, had regularly visited usually on foot Catholic families in Greetland, West Vale and Stainland. In 1896 the first resident priest was appointed to West Vale, where he celebrated Mass initially in the Mechanics' Hall. A site was later purchased for a combined church and school building,

which opened early in 1902. There were two abortive attempts in 1899 and 1906 to establish West Vale as a separate mission, both of which failed on account of financial difficulties. Consequently, in September 1909, Father P.J. Kealy was appointed to the joint charge of West Vale and Sowerby Bridge. In 1910 a parochial hall was created in the basement of the existing building at West Vale and in 1914 land was acquired for the building of a presbytery house. In 1913 the Catholic community in Sowerby Bridge moved to a larger and more convenient meeting room under the Victoria Assembly Hall in Bolton Brow. Meanwhile, in Halifax itself, Father Michael Bradley, priest-in-charge of St Bernard's during the period before 1914 became actively involved in missionary work amongst the Catholic community in the densely populated lower part of the town, celebrating Mass in the Old Assembly Rooms, Woolshops, which were re-opened for divine worship and 'dedicated to St Patrick, apostle of the Irish people' in October 1911. However, his intention to build a new church there had to be abandoned with the outbreak of the First World War (44).

Statistics for baptisms at Brighouse, Halifax, Hebden Bridge and Luddenden Foot reveal a fluctuating pattern in the 1890s and a pronounced downward trend after 1901. Baptisms in Brighouse, which reached their peak of twenty-eight in 1894, fluctuated between twenty-two and twenty-five during the three years from 1895 to 1898 and between fifteen and eighteen during the period up to 1911. In Hebden Bridge and Luddenden Foot the number of baptisms increased steadily from 1894 until they peaked at forty-one between 1898 and 1901, declining thereafter to twenty-nine by 1911. In Halifax, the numbers fluctuated markedly during this period, reaching their peak with 275 in 1901 and their lowest ebb with 221 in 1911. Statistics for Easter communicants reveal a similar fluctuating pattern and a pronounced downward trend after 1901, except in Hebden Bridge and Luddenden Foot. The number of Easter communicants in Brighouse fluctuated considerably between 1894 and 1897 but

rose steadily in the four subsequent years to a peak of 250 in 1901, falling back slightly to 247 in 1902. At Halifax, attendances also fluctuated between 2574 and 3285 during the period 1894 to 1901, reaching their peak in 1898. At Hebden Bridge and Luddenden Foot, however, whilst the numbers fluctuated considerably between 1895 and 1901, they increased dramatically after 1901 against the trend elsewhere, reaching a peak of 509 in 1902 (45).

The number of Catholic conversions averaged twenty-two per year for the three years between 1894 and 1898 when figures are available for both Halifax missions. Perhaps the most remarkable conversion during this period was that of John Lister (1847-1933) of Shibden Hall. The bachelor heir of a prominent local Anglican landowning family, Lister was himself brought up in the Church of England. In 1871 his Anglo-Catholic leanings led him to seek an interview with Cardinal Manning, the Roman Catholic Primate, following which he was admitted into the Roman Catholic Church at the Church of St Mary of the Angels, Bayswater. Shortly afterwards he provided the site and laid the foundation stone for the new St Joseph's Catholic School at Godley and accepted nomination as Catholic candidate for the Halifax School Board which, he declared, enabled him to repay to the Catholic community in Halifax 'the infinite debt of gratitude he owed to the Roman Catholic Church'. It was on his initiative that the first and only Roman Catholic Reformatory School in the Diocese of Leeds was founded in 1877 in farm buildings and a former National School on the Shibden estate. The National School, which had also housed a Sunday School, had been founded by John Lister's father in 1857 and in 1870 John Lister had installed a small chapel in his father's memory to which tenants and workpeople on the estate had donated a fine stained-glass memorial window over the altar. This chapel now became the chapel for the Shibden Industrial School which provided a basic education together with practical training in a range of useful trades and occupations for initially sixty and eventually as many as

150 Catholic boys from deprived social backgrounds. John Lister secured donations for the school from influential friends and acquaintances, including a donation of £200 from the Duke of Norfolk and took an active interest in the management of the school and the welfare of the boys (46).
He also founded the Halifax Catholic Registration Society in 1875 in order to ensure that all Catholics who were entitled to vote had their names put on the electoral roll and was the founding secretary of the Catholic Working Men's Association in 1882. A former Radical member of the Liberal Association, he emerged in the 1890s as a prominent ethical Socialist campaigning against the economic and social inequalities of capitalist society. Whilst at Oxford University he had been deeply influenced by the writings of John Ruskin and William Morris and became a fully-fledged member of the Fabian Society in June 1891. He offered hospitality to visiting Fabian speakers at Shibden Hall and read a wide range of Socialist literature including 'that exhilarating work by Karl Marx entitled Das Kapital'. He was a founder member of the Halifax Labour Union in July 1892 and became first national treasurer of the Independent Labour Party at its inaugural conference in Bradford in January 1893, a post which he retained until he left the party in 1895. Shortly afterwards, he contested Halifax for the Independent Labour Party in a by-election in which he polled 3028 votes, a staggering 25.4 per cent of the vote. Criticised by other members of the party, notably Robert and Montague Blatchford, in 1894-95 for his refusal as a town councillor to confer in detail on agenda items with the Labour Union before voting at council meetings, he received support from his friend Keir Hardie and survived a move to censure him and strip him of his parliamentary candidature. He contested Halifax again in the general election of 1895 polling 3818 votes, an increase of 790 votes on the by-election of 1893 but representing a decreased share of the vote of 20.5 per cent. He subsequently contested the municipal elections in November 1895, but then quickly drifted out of

local and national Labour politics (47).
Although Lister's Labour politics have been subjected to close scrutiny notably by Dr K. Laybourn and Dr P. Dawson and his atypical social background emphasized surprisingly little attention has been paid to his extraordinary religious evolution, which Lister himself regarded as a vital aspect of his political creed. In his first public speech in Halifax after his conversion at the stone-laying ceremony at St Joseph's School, he condemned the pressures being placed on Catholic parents in the wake of the 1870 Education Act to send their children to 'secular, godless schools, where the little ones of Catholic parents would never learn even the simplest principles of their religion' and applauded 'the activity and spirit' with which Catholics and members of other religious bodies had 'come forward to meet the present dangerous crisis'. Lister perhaps shared a closer affinity with educational voluntaryists such as the Halifax Congregational minister, the Reverend Bryan Dale, who helped found with Lister the Halifax branch of the Fabian Society and became its first President, than atheistic Bradlaughites like James Beever. His extraordinary success in the 1893 by-election in securing 25.4 per cent of the vote, 'exceeding', in Dr Laybourn's view, the 'wildest expectations' of contemporaries must surely be attributed at least in part to his appeal to Catholic voters whom he had actively encouraged to register as electors through his painstaking work with the Halifax Catholic Registration Society, which he had founded in 1875. His subsequent refusal to allow the dictates of a party caucus to impose constraints on his exercise of his duties as an elected town councillor revealed a sharp divergence between his own moral individualism and the collectivist attitudes of other members of the party whose route into membership had been via the factory shop floor and the local trade councils. Moreover, his ultimate disillusionment and withdrawal from Labour politics can only be properly understood in the context of the religious as well as the philosophical influences which shaped his political

attitudes. The grounds of Shibden Hall which one day played host to an open-air Labour meeting addressed by Keir Hardie, another day were thrown open to the Catholic scholars of St Bernard's for their gala and athletic sports by this benevolent devotee of both Karl Marx and Cardinal Manning (48).

By 1901, the estimated sizes of the Catholic communities in Brighouse, Hebden Bridge/Luddenden Foot and Halifax were 400, 600 and 5434 respectively. In Brighouse, the Catholic community was no larger in 1901 than it had been in 1875 and from 1902 it actually declined to 178 by 1908, recovering considerably though by no means completely to 352 by 1912. In Hebden Bridge and Luddenden Foot the size of the Catholic community was also smaller in 1912 than it had been in 1901, though it had peaked at 924 in 1904. In Halifax and West Vale the estimated Catholic population of 5260 in 1912 was also considerably smaller than in 1901. Having reached a peak of 5681 in 1904 the size of the community contracted in every subsequent year except 1908 when the trend was momentarily halted and 1912 when the community registered its largest annual rate of growth since 1858. Moreover, the estimated size of the Catholic population for Halifax and West Vale in 1912 was only some 260 higher than the estimated size of the Halifax Catholic population in 1858 and so the available evidence appears to offer some support for the view advanced most recently by Sheridan Gilley that the Roman Catholic Church was perhaps not so extraordinarily successful as has sometimes been supposed in retaining the loyalty of its working class members during the period 1852-1914. The persistent financial problems experienced by the church in the period up to 1914 and the geography of its support would appear to confirm that Roman Catholicism in Halifax operated within a predominantly working class constituency but its growth in the period up to 1914 was hardly spectacular. A critical church-building project in the town's poorest working class quarter had been abandoned by 1914 and virtually all the available statistical indicators point to an underlying declining pattern of growth after 1901.

One possible explanation for the decline was suggested by Dr Cowgill, Bishop of Leeds in his remarks at the opening of the St Bernard's Bazaar at the Halifax Mechanics Hall in November 1911 when he observed that:

> He did not know of any mission in the diocese that had lost so many souls in emigration in late years and it was becoming a serious matter.

If younger Catholic married couples were choosing to emigrate increasingly from Halifax during this period this might also explain the marked decline in the number of baptisms after 1901 (49).

Nevertheless the Catholic community was growing in confidence during the later Victorian and Edwardian era and adopting a higher public profile, defending its sectarian schools on public platforms in 1872, 1902 and 1906, when banners proclaiming 'Catholic Schools: No Surrender' were carried in the inaugural Whitsuntide Walk at St Bernard's. The frequently reported presence at prizegivings and other special occasions at the Shibden Industrial School of local civic dignitaries, sympathetic Anglican clergymen, such as the Reverend C.R. Holmes, Vicar of All Souls, Protestant Nonconformist ministers, such as the Reverend F.E. Millson and Methodist laymen such as Alfred Ramsden, Eagland Bray and E.M. Wavell, some of whom had in the past adopted a conspicuously anti-Catholic stance, signified the growing public acceptance of the local Catholic community during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. However, the continuing intractability and violence of the Irish question created problems for the local Catholic community throughout the period, for example there were ugly scenes following the Phoenix Park murders in May 1882 when a mob in Brighouse smashed the windows of St Joseph's Church and the Town Hall and brought pressure to bear on local employers 'to turn off all the Irishmen employed by them'. However when Cardinal Logue, Archbishop of Armagh and Lord Primate of All Ireland, visited Halifax in July 1913 to dedicate a new sanctuary and high altar at St Bernard's, he was

received, as he ascended Horton Street 'with an enthusiasm usually reserved for royal visits, thousands lining the way'. It was the first visit of a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church to Halifax since Cardinal William Rokeby, Archbishop of Dublin and Vicar of Halifax had returned to Halifax to die in November 1521 (50).

4.2.2. Unitarians

Whilst the evidence does not allow a complete reconstruction of the patterns of development of the three Unitarian congregations at Halifax, Elland and Todmorden during the whole of the period from 1852 to 1914 certain conclusions may nevertheless be drawn about the distinctive character of each community from the evidence which is available. Northgate End Chapel in Halifax retained its reputation as a centre of cultural vitality and its links with a number of highly influential families after 1851 but during the later Victorian period appears to have developed an appeal to families of more modest means through its abolition of pew rents in 1873 and its commitment to a vigorous and varied work amongst children and young people. Meanwhile, the cause at Southgate, Elland, which achieved neither the level of support nor the status within the community of its Halifax counterpart, had more mixed fortunes and struggled for survival in the later part of the period, ceasing to maintain regular worship in 1915. At Todmorden, by contrast, Unitarianism continued to thrive under the patronage of the Fielden family, whose industrial paternalism and economic vicissitudes continued to have a major impact on the development of the local community throughout the period up to the outbreak of the First World War (51).

The growth of Northgate End Unitarian Chapel, Halifax, during the second half of the nineteenth century is reflected in the growing number of teachers and scholars from the Sunday School attending the Halifax Piece Hall Sings. Attendances from Northgate End nearly trebled between 1846 and 1890, climbing gradually at first and then with gathering momentum until they reached a peak of 355 by 1890, when the last sing was held at

the Piece Hall. In 1870 it was decided to demolish the existing chapel and erect a spacious new chapel on the same site with rooms underneath to accommodate the growing Sunday School. The new building was opened in 1872 by the chapel's most distinguished member, the Rt Hon. James Stansfeld, President of the Local Government Board in W.E. Gladstone's First Liberal Ministry, whose family had been closely associated with the chapel since its foundation. In 1884 new class and lecture room extensions were added to the building in memory of Stansfeld's father, Judge James Stansfeld (1792-1872) and further alterations were made to the chapel in 1890 (52).

The Sunday School Superintendent's annual report for 1885 revealed that there were some twenty-nine adults engaged in Sunday School work and 129 boys and 126 girls enrolled as scholars at Northgate End in 1885. Whilst this represented an increase of three on the previous year's total it amounted to rather fewer than attended the Piece Hall Sing in 1880. The commitment of the teachers is evidenced by their attendance which had averaged 90 per cent during the year, whereas that of the scholars had averaged 57 per cent. Moreover, it was also reported that there was an encouraging attendance by parents at the Annual Sunday School Anniversary and Prize Giving, during which the Orchestral Society had played and 'some capital recitations' had been delivered. In addition to an Elocution Society of twenty-six members and a forty-strong orchestra, there was a school choir of twenty members and a Band of Hope of 185 members. Seventy-nine boys and fifty-three girls were enrolled in the Sunday School Library and during the year the boys had proved the more voracious readers borrowing some 595 volumes compared with the 364 volumes issued to the girls (53). The Northgate End Chapel Magazine exhorted the 'young folk' within the chapel community to take an interest in astronomy ('Take an opera glass and look at Saturn'); natural history ('This is the time for mosses on walls and trees') and politics (citing John Bright: 'I hold that it is very wise in young men

to devote themselves to some prudent extent to the political life of their town and the country of which they are citizens'). A Young People's Rambling Society was formed which visited such places of natural and historical interest as Cragg Vale, Copley Wood and Shibden Hall, where John Lister provided 'a very interesting history of the hall'. It is not surprising therefore that the first troop of the Halifax Boy Scouts was formed at Northgate End Chapel shortly after the launch of the movement in 1907 (54).

The available statistics for chapel membership for the 1880s confirm this impression of a vibrant and expanding chapel community. Membership rose steadily from 210 in 1883 to 281 in 1888, declining slightly in 1889 before reaching a peak of 289 in 1889. A gender analysis of the membership list for Northgate End Chapel in 1889 reveals that there were rather more men (152) than women (137) in membership at the chapel, an unusual feature, more characteristic of churches drawing from a middle rather than a working class constituency as the work of Dr Hugh McLeod on London and Dr Rosemary Chadwick on Bradford has demonstrated (55).

The trust deeds of Northgate End for 1861 and 1880, as one might expect, reveal a number of men of substance associated with the chapel. The trust deed for 1861 included William Briggs the banker; James Stansfeld the county court judge; his son James Stansfeld junior and Dickenson Edleston the dyer, whilst the deed for 1880 included a former cabinet minister, the Rt Hon James Stansfeld; his son Joseph James Stansfeld; Robert Edwin Nicholson, the partner in a family hardware and mill furnishing business; John Whiteley Ward, Esquire, justice of the peace, and William Carr, engineer and manager of the Halifax Gas Works (56).

The most distinguished chapel trustee of the period was the Rt Hon. Sir James Stansfeld, who served as Liberal Member of Parliament for Halifax from 1859 to 1895 and subsequently became the first honorary freeman of the borough. Within a few years of entering Parliament he achieved ministerial

office, serving as a junior minister from 1863-66 and from 1868 to 1871, when he was promoted to the cabinet as President of the Poor Law Board. When the Poor Law Board amalgamated with the Local Government Board later that year, Stansfeld was appointed President of the Local Government Board, holding the office until Gladstone's government fell in 1874 and returning briefly to it in Gladstone's Third Ministry in 1886. In 1895, having declined a peerage he was awarded the Knight Grand Cross of the Bath. His biographers, J.L. and B. Hammond, emphasized the formative influence of Unitarianism and Northgate End in developing the strong social conscience which was so evident throughout his subsequent political career particularly in his support for continental liberal movements and his advocacy of women's rights (57).

There is, however, evidence to suggest that Northgate End Chapel which had once reputedly had more carriages drawing up alongside its doors than Halifax Parish Church was not as dominated by families of substance as its reputation might imply by the late-nineteenth century. An occupational analysis of the 1889 membership list supplemented by information from White's Directory for 1887 reveals a marked absence of landed or propertied gentry and members engaged in industrial manufacture; a mere handful of members engaged in managerial or professional occupations and a profusion of members engaged in a variety of trades and small businesses. Indeed, trades and business people accounted for almost eighty per cent of the members whose occupations have been traced and almost ten per cent of the total chapel membership. They included Alfred Bancroft, a plasterer and slater, whose wife, Sarah, is listed as a milliner ; Joseph Burford, a tobacconist; Henry Clarke, a watchmaker; John Crabtree, a hatter; William Carr Hebden, a manufacturing chemist; Thomas Dean Hodgson, a hairdresser; John Holroyd, a butcher, tripe dresser, neat's foot oil and dripping maker; Joseph Lund, a boot and shoemaker; Thomas Riley, a bookseller; Luke Roper, a clog maker and marine store director; Isaac Spencer, a

brassfounder and finisher; John Stott, a designer and printer; Stephen White, a housepainter and paperhanger and Benjamin Wilson, a leather merchant and boot and slipper manufacturer (58).

This conclusion is supported by other evidence from this period. Offertories at Northgate End, which showed an increase in 1885, averaged sixteen shillings per member during that year. Moreover, whilst there were three substantial individual contributions of sums of around fifty pounds to a fund which raised just over £300 for alterations to the chapel in 1890, the remaining 88 subscriptions ranged more modestly from two shillings to twenty five pounds. These included only twenty-five contributions of sums valued at one guinea and over; thirty-four contributions of sums valued at between ten shillings and one pound and twenty contributions of sums valued at under ten shillings, nineteen of which were actually of sums valued at five shillings and under. A major source of revenue for the chapel during this period following the abolition of pew rents in 1873 was from leases of property owned by the chapel. In 1872, the former schoolroom was leased to the Halifax Cocoa Company and other tenants and a former minister's house was converted into two well-appointed shops fronting Northgate. Bequests appear to have been rare. However, in 1883, Mrs Briggs, a member of the congregation,

bequeathed to the trustees of the church a sum of fifty pounds, the interest of which was to be paid to the minister and congregation 'at the close of morning service on Christmas Day of each year' (59).

The ministers of Northgate End were invariably appointed by all who contributed financially to the upkeep of the chapel and not solely by the trustees. Besides the ministry of the Reverend William Turner, M.A., which ended with his death in 1854, there were two further long and distinguished pastorates at Northgate End during this period, namely those of the Reverend Russell Lant Carpenter, B.A. between 1856 and 1866 and the Reverend Francis England Millson between 1872 and 1906. Carpenter, who

hailed from a brilliant family of theologians and scientists and was one of the earliest graduates of the new University of London, was an ardent temperance reformer, campaigner against slavery and developed a keen interest in the problems of sexually transmitted diseases. Millson, who married the daughter of Judge Stansfeld, made notable contributions to the cultural and educational life of the town as well as that of the chapel community. In 1886 he launched a new chapel magazine with a major series of articles on aspects of Unitarianism based on ten lectures he had delivered at the chapel in 1883, reaffirming that:

> It is sympathy in a real religious life rather than in any set of religious opinions which keeps us together as a congregation. We have no creed, and it is not possible to give any authoritative account of our opinions.

Distinguished assistant ministers at the chapel during this period included Professor P.E. Richards, MA, Oxford, minister from 1902-06 and William Lawrence Schroeder, MA, Manchester, minister from 1908 (60).

Southgate Unitarian Chapel, Elland, experienced more mixed fortunes after 1851 with both attendances and membership displaying immense fluctuations. In 1860 the existing chapel at the bottom of Langdale Street was demolished to make way for the Langdale Estates housing development and a new chapel opened in 1861 on Huddersfield Road. Fifteen years later this chapel was itself demolished at the request of the Elland Local Board for highway development, re-erected at the local authority's expense and re-opened with accommodation for 160 in 1876. During the years 1874 and 1875 the morning congregation had averaged a mere six and the evening congregation nineteen. In 1875 monthly cottage services were held at West Vale and by 1879, after the re-opening of the chapel, an average attendance of 100 had been achieved. However, during the period 1885-91 attendances averaged around forty and the cause appeared again to be struggling. In 1915 regular services were discontinued, but occasional services continued to be held up to 1924 when the chapel was let to Salvationists

(61).

By contrast, at the western extremity of the ancient parish in the Upper Calder Valley the Unitarian cause continued to thrive in Todmorden under the patronage of the Fielden family, who exercised a direct control over chapel affairs until 1882 and a strong personal influence on the life of the chapel community until 1910. The three sons of John Fielden (1784-1849), Samuel (1816-1889), John (1822-1893) and Joshua (1827-87) continued in industrial partnership together until 1879, when Joshua retired from the firm on account of ill health. Samuel Fielden, who lived at Centre Vale, Todmorden, until his death in 1889, was the only one of the three Fielden Brothers to reside solely in Todmorden. John Fielden acquired a country retreat at Grimston Park, Tadcaster in 1872, though after his death, his widow, Ellen, the daughter of an Anglican clergyman, returned to the family home at Dobroyd Castle, where she died in 1909. Joshua moved out of Stansfield Hall near Todmorden in 1871 to Nutfield Priory, an estate in Surrey. In 1889 the firm became a limited liability company with Edward Brocklehurst Fielden (1857-1942), a son of Joshua, occupying the position of company chairman for the fifty years up to 1939. He became an Anglican and a member of the House of Laity in the Church Assembly, but Sarah Fielden (1820-1910), the widow of Samuel, and the granddaughter of a Liverpool Unitarian minister, who continued to live at Centre Vale until her death, maintained an involvement in the life of both the chapel and the local community (62).

In 1869 the three Fielden brothers erected in memory of their father at a cost of £36,000 a magnificent new Unitarian Church in Honey Hole Road, Todmorden, which has been described as 'probably the finest Unitarian Church in the kingdom'. Designed by John Gibson, the Fielden family architect, in Early English Decorated Gothic, the main features of the building included a lofty spire rising 196 feet, a bell tower with carillon, an open oaken nave roof supported by arches springing from pillars of Devonshire marble, a two manual organ by W.

Hill and Son of London, and costly stained-glass windows by Capronnier of Brussels. During the opening celebrations, John Fielden proclaimed: 'We have erected a beautiful building out of the abundance which has been given to us' and offered no apologies for the style and scale of the building's construction:

> I have always been an admirer of the beautiful old churches in our land. To me ... a feeling of reverence is aroused on entering buildings such as Westminster Abbey or St Paul's Cathedral ... I came to the conclusion that a building of the same character would produce the same effect in our valley.

During 1869 the old chapel was fitted up by the Fieldens for use as a Sunday School, which opened in 1870, receiving large numbers of local children into its classes throughout the period up to the First World War (63).

The Fielden family, as the town's principal employers, continued to exercise a considerable influence on the development of the town during the later Victorian period. In 1875 the Fielden brothers presented to the town a magnificent Town Hall in memory of their father and uncles. Built at a cost of £54000 in the classical style from designs by John Gibson, it was opened 'amidst much rejoicing' by Lord John Manners, the Postmaster-General. During the celebrations a fine bronze statue of John Fielden by the eminent sculptor J.H. Foley, paid for from subscriptions raised largely by factory workers was unveiled outside the Town Hall, but later moved to Fielden Square (64).

Samuel Fielden for many years regularly played the harmonium in the old chapel and helped many Unitarian causes. He built for his wife, Sarah, who was keenly interested in education, Centre Vale School and established the Sarah Fielden Chair of Education at Manchester University in her honour. In 1874 Sarah Fielden and the Reverend Lindsey Taplin, the minister of Todmorden Unitarian Church, were elected to the School Board for Todmorden and Hebden Bridge and Mrs Fielden later became the first coopted member of the Todmorden Division Education

Committee. John Fielden was Chairman of the Relief Committee during the Cotton Famine (1861-63), during which period Fielden Brothers paid their workers half wages for cleaning machinery. In the years which followed John Fielden found additional employment for many in the construction of Dobroyd Castle, his palatial new home on the hillside above Todmorden. He also built for the firm's employees the Fielden Coffee House and Club-Room and provided the site for the Fielden Hospital, which was built by John Ashton Fielden, the son of Samuel and Sarah Fielden and given to the Hospital Committee in 1894. During later life, John Fielden reverted to the Conservative politics of his grandfather, serving as Chairman of the Todmorden Local Board up to the time of his death. His younger brother, Joshua, served as Conservative Member of Parliament for the Eastern Division of the West Riding from 1868-80 and also sat on the Todmorden Local Board. He supported the establishment of science classes in the town and was a patron of the Musical Society. He also served as President of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association for a year (65).

All the Unitarian ministers serving in Todmorden during this period were graduates, with one exception. The outstanding pastorates were those of the Reverend Lindsey Taplin, M.A., between 1856 and 1880 and the Reverend Arthur W. Fox, M.A., between 1898 and 1920. Taplin started the first Mutual Improvement Society in the town in 1856, which survived until 1898; organised rambles in the countryside for young men and an annual Sunday School trip to the seaside (losses underwritten by Fielden Bros.) which continued without interruption until 1906; revived the Todmorden Mechanics Institute; established a Unitarian Tract Society in 1867, a Savings Bank in 1868 and a Band of Hope in 1869. Taplin ran a Sunday School teachers' class from 1859 to 1870 and in 1869 the growing Sunday School moved to the Fielden Brothers factory at Waterside for a year before occupying the refurbished former chapel building. In 1869 the Todmorden Drum and Fife Band was affiliated to the Church and in 1873 the John Fielden Memorial Library was opened

for the use of church members and Sunday School scholars (66). In 1872 the Fielden family handed over the management of the church to an elected committee of church members, allowing them to use the revenue from pew rents to meet expenses. The Fieldens still paid the minister, choir, bellringers, fuel bills and remained responsible for the upkeep of the grounds. New rules were drawn up to ensure that the new arrangement worked satisfactorily. All church members, who had to be over twenty-one, pay a registration fee of one shilling and remain on the church roll for a year before being recognised as members, had the right to vote at church meetings for a congregational warden who also served as chairman of the executive committee of eight members. The Fielden influence was exercised by another warden appointed by the family until in 1882 the Fieldens endowed the church and ceased to exercise a direct control over its affairs (67).

In 1900 during the ministry of the Reverend Arthur Fox the Sunday School was extended; a Reading and Debating Society established in 1902; and a branch of the Women's Unitarian League in 1908. Efforts were also made to improve relations with other denominations. During the early years of the Reverend Taplin's ministry the orthodox churches, alarmed by growth of Unitarianism in Todmorden, had engaged Dr Brindley to lecture in the town and a bitter controversy had ensued, which re-surfaced when the new church was opened in 1869, when their were complaints in the local press about the church bells. In 1887, however, the Sunday School Union arranged a series of united services for Baptists, Free Methodists and Unitarians which initiated 'a kindlier feeling between Unitarians and their fellow Nonconformists'. Baptists and Free Methodists were invited to the welcome meeting for the Reverend Arthur Fox in 1898 and in 1905 he led an inter-denominational Bible Class. The spirit of co-operation continued up to the outbreak of the First World War, when another united service was held. However, early in 1915 the Vicar of Todmorden declared his intention not to take part in a 'Come to Church Sunday' if

'Unitarians, Christadelphians and Spiritualists' were allowed to join the rest (68).

4.2.3. Baptists

Baptist membership in Halifax continued to increase during the second half of the nineteenth century, reaching a peak of 1255 members in 1905, a pattern of growth which closely mirrored national trends. Between 1906 and 1914, although the annual growth rate fluctuated, the underlying trend was downward and by 1914 total membership stood at 1147, a decrease of nearly 9 per cent since 1905. Until the union of the General and Particular Baptist Churches was effected in 1891 each tradition strove for ascendancy within Halifax itself. In 1854 both the General and Particular Baptists built impressive large new chapels with Sunday School accommodation at basement level close to the centre of the town.

The General Baptists, originally based at Haley Hill, opened their 'neat and spacious' chapel 'in a more favourable part of the town' on North Parade in 1854, aiming to fill it 'comfortably and regularly'. The financial anxieties of the congregation were eased in 1855 when 'a generous firm in this town' engaged to pay the interest on the chapel debt for the next five years provided that the congregation removed the principal. By 1861 this had been achieved when it was reported that the chapel had been freed from debt and 'the expense of many things necessary to its completion and comfort has also been met'.

Efforts were then channelled into increasing the chapel membership. During one week in July 1861 revival prayer meetings were held every evening resulting in improved congregations, an increase in the number of experience meetings and the initiation of regular cottage prayer meetings 'in different neighbourhoods'. By 1863 it was reported that congregations at North Parade had 'greatly increased so that almost all the available sittings in our spacious chapel are already appropriated'. During the year a branch preaching place and Sunday School were opened at West Vale and a purpose-

built chapel and school completed in 1870. In 1871 West Vale formally obtained its independence from North Parade, which was itself extended during the year, and another new chapel was opened under its auspices at Lee Mount, Ovenden, from where it was soon reported that 'the labours of our lay brethren have been blessed to the conversion of many'.

During the period from 1855 to 1875 the membership at North Parade nearly quintupled from eighty to 379. However in 1878 it was reported that the cause at Lee Mount had suffered a severe blow by the opening of a new Anglican Church in the vicinity:

> The prestige of the establishment, a desire for change and novelty, so manifest in the youthful mind, and other surrounding influences, have led very many of the young to leave the school and congregation and join in the teachings and services of the more imposing sanctuary.

Membership at North Parade climbed steadily during the following decade reaching a peak of 466 in 1889. Thereafter, the underlying trend was downward and by 1914 membership had declined to 256 (69).

Throughout the period up to the amalgamation of the General and Particular Baptist Churches in 1891, the North Parade General Baptist Chapel had the largest membership of all the Halifax Baptist Chapels. The Particular Baptists who already had a chapel on Pellon Lane opened the 'spacious and commodious' schoolroom in the basement of their new chapel which was nearing completion on Trinity Road in January 1854, when one speaker, alluding to the scale of the new undertaking, urged 'the necessity of having men of substance among them'. During the opening celebrations of the elegant and imposing new chapel in the following year, Francis Crossley exhorted his hearers to 'endeavour to relieve this place of as much debt as possible for you cannot have a heavy debt upon a place without its being a drawback'.

Initially the chapel's prospects appeared auspicious. Even before the chapel opened an estimated congregation of 1300 witnessed the baptism of sixteen believers in the unfinished

building and after the official opening of the chapel membership increased rapidly. In 1858 the popular Baptist preacher and evangelist, Charles Haddon Spurgeon was invited to Halifax to preach in aid of the Chapel Building Fund. He preached in the afternoon and evening of 7 April to a congregation of between 5000 and 6000 at the Halifax Piece Hall during a heavy snowstorm. When a section of the stand collapsed as people were leaving their seats at the end of the evening meeting only two people were injured, causing Spurgeon to remark: 'If I had been an unbeliever to this day in the doctrine of the supervision and wise care of God, I must have been a believer in it at this hour'. Within four years, with the help of the Crossley family the debt on the chapel had been liquidated.

By 1867 membership at Trinity Road had reached 206 but suffered a decline in the following four years to 128 in 1871. By the end of the long pastorate of the Reverend James Parker from 1871 to 1892, however, membership had risen to 320, assisted by an evangelistic mission led by Messrs Fullerton and Smith in 1881. It peaked at 401 in 1901. However, even the appointment as minister in 1902 of the gifted Bible expositor William Graham Scroggie who later exercised an influential ministry at Edinburgh could not hold membership at this level and when he left Halifax in 1905 it had fallen to 381. After his departure the decline became more pronounced and by 1914 membership had fallen to 245 (70).

In the Baptist strongholds of the Upper Calder Valley the membership of the hilltop General Baptist Chapels of Shore and Heptonstall Slack peaked earlier in 1884 and 1894 respectively with membership totals of 318 and 359. By 1914, their membership rolls had declined to 186 and 305 respectively. Here industrial migration from the hilltop weaving communities was a major factor in numerical decline as reports in the General Baptist Handbooks frequently observed. In 1857 it was reported from Heptonstall Slack:

Our geographical position is most unfavourable to our

numerical increase. The mountains, amid which our Zion stands, being found ineligible for the purposes of modern trade, great numbers of our friends are compelled to migrate to large centres of manufacture in search of employment (71).

In 1861, following the publication of the census figures, it was reported in similar vein from Heptonstall Slack that:

> Our Zion, while beautiful for situation, is, we regret to add, located in the centre of a decaying population ... Hence for a number of years it has been our painful duty to report some diminution in our numbers.

The report concluded on an optimistic note, however, by noting that the Sunday School had been 'liberally supported and from thence come valuable accessions to the fellowship of the church' and that the Tract Society had resumed operations. Given the chapel's geographical situation and the unfavourable economic climate it is remarkable that membership remained so buoyant for much of the period and that in 1914 total membership was actually higher than it had been in the early 1860s (72).

The chapel community at Shore also proved remarkably resilient in the face of adverse economic and social conditions. In 1863 it was reported that:

> the past year has been one of extraordinary suffering ... through failure of the cotton supply and consequent stoppage of the mills. We have been helped by the Leeds and Manchester Baptist Relief Committee which sent regular relief. Some have removed from the neighbourhood and others have been kept from the house of God through want of clothing, but the numbers in our schools and congregations have been well-maintained.

By 1877 in its centenary year the Shore site included a chapel, farm, cottages for the sexton and chapel keeper, manse, schoolroom, lecture room, five classrooms, drinking fountain and a cemetery containing 1500 graves. However, the underlying trend in membership at the chapel after 1884 was downward and by 1914 membership had decreased by over 40 per cent (73).

At Birchcliffe, by contrast, membership continued to grow throughout the 1880s and 1890s, reaching a peak of 374 in 1905,

but subsequently declining to 333 by 1914. In 1889 it was resolved to build a new chapel on account of 'dry rot in the old chapel, the growth of aestheticism, and the inability to obtain seats'. When the new chapel opened ten years later it was pronounced 'one of the finest church properties belonging to the Denomination'. The cost of the building with furnishings totalled £14,000 and had been completely defrayed by 1912, though difficulties were encountered during the period 1907-12 'owing to disruptive influences in local industrial conditions' (74).

At the Particular Baptist Churches of Hebden Bridge and Wainsgate, in their contrasting urban and rural locations, membership peaked at 309 and 154 respectively as late as 1912 and 1913. In 1880 the entire interior of Hope Chapel, Hebden Bridge, which had opened in 1859, was beautified and re-fitted to provide more seating accommodation. In addition to establishing the cause at Brearley, the congregation at Hope also assisted the causes at Sowerby Bridge and Roomfield, Todmorden. By the time of the outbreak of the First World War, however, 'young people were already leaving the district for careers in the larger centres of population and the outbreak of war made a heavy drain on the young life of the Church'. The chapel at Wainsgate which had been rebuilt in 1860 at a cost of £1458, was enhanced during the period 1891-1914 by the gift of an exquisite marble pulpit, an oak communion rail, a new communion table and stained-glass windows. During this period it also developed a fine musical tradition, taking the first prize at the Nonconformist Choirs Festival at the Crystal Palace in 1908 (75).

Zion Strict Baptist Church at Siddal resolved to resist the trend towards open communion and chose to remain outside the Yorkshire Baptist Association for much of the period, but is most remarkable for its founder David Smith's fusion of religious, commercial and political commitment. The son of a Skircoat weaver, David Smith (1819-92) established links with the Wesleyans and Independents before being baptised by

immersion at Hebden Bridge in 1844. For a time he helped Joseph Brearley, a handloom weaver with Baptist connections who had opened a Sunday School at Pellon. In 1854 he invited Brearley to continue both his weaving and Sunday School work in a new warehouse he was building in Siddal and the school opened in an upper room in 1856. Two years later the Siddal Strict Baptist Church was established, meeting from 1859 in premises built at the sole expense of David Smith until the opening of the new Zion Chapel in 1883. A dyer by trade, Smith became a leading authority on the art of pattern dyeing through a manual he published in 1849 and a highly successful businessman. In 1861 he became a Baptist preacher and was appointed pastor at Siddal, an appointment which he held for the rest of his life. He also accepted preaching engagements across the country and in 1891 published his autobiography Abounding Grace.

Smith was not only an effective pastor and successful businessman but also served with distinction as a councillor and alderman on the Halifax Municipal Council between 1865-72, 1876-79 and 1881-92 and was responsible for securing improved access for traffic to Siddal. In 1888 he was presented with an illuminated address by the residents of Siddal paying tribute to his work as a councillor in providing for the 'well-being of your neighbours', as a businessman 'in promoting the commercial success of this district' and 'as an individual in providing for the moral and religious culture on which the happiness of the community so much depends'. Membership of the church which he founded remained around forty throughout the period 1870-1884 but had more than doubled to ninety by 1901. It reached a peak of ninety-five during the period 1904-09, falling back to ninety during the period 1910-14 (76).

The underlying downward trend in Baptist membership recruitment in both rural and urban churches of different traditions in the Halifax area before the First World War can be attributed to a decline in Sunday School enrolment. The Reverend E.G. Thomas, writing the centenary history of Heptonstall Slack in 1907 when Sunday School enrolment at the chapel had reached its

lowest ebb for forty years, emphasized the vital relationship between church growth and Sunday School recruitment. He reflected that:

> had there been no conversions among the young of the Sunday School we should not have had the story of the hundred years to tell'.

Sunday School enrolment at Heptonstall Slack had reached a peak of 528 in 1871-72 after which the underlying trend was downward. Within a decade enrolments had fallen to 330. By 1892 they had declined to 188; by 1902 to 170 and by 1912 to 120. Whilst there was a sharp increase to 220 in 1913, by 1914 the total number of enrolments had slipped back to 180, a third of the total in 1871. In the case of Heptonstall Slack the declining rural economy was no longer able to support younger families causing them to migrate in ever increasing numbers to newer centres of production. But declining recruitment was also evident in the urban environment of Halifax and its suburbs after 1902. Sunday School enrolment in the Halifax Baptist Churches which had nearly doubled between 1867 and 1902, when it reached a peak of 2001, thereafter declined sharply and by 1914 enrolment had declined by almost thirty per cent to 1408 (77).

Local Baptists also displayed an interest in popular education. Day Schools were opened at Heptonstall Slack in 1855 and Brearley in 1875. In 1853 a Mutual Improvement Society was established at Rishworth and during 1854 popular lectures for the working classes of Halifax were given by J.P. Chown of Sion Baptist Chapel, Bradford, and W. Walters of Trinity Road Baptist Chapel, Halifax. Around 1860 a People's College offering evening classes in Reading Writing, Arithmetic, History, Grammar, Physiology and Phrenology was established at Vale Baptist Church, Todmorden and in 1875 a Reading and Mental Improvement Society was commenced at Heptonstall Slack (78).

Many Baptists, however, objected to supporting the education of children at voluntary schools with doctrinal standards which they found unacceptable from the local rates and Baptists were

the most prominent Nonconformist group in the local passive resistance movement to the 1902 Education Act. Before the appearance of forty-six members of the Todmorden Citizens' League at the Todmorden Petty Sessions on 28 January 1904 for non-payment of their education rate a prayer meeting was held at the Wellington Road Baptist Chapel. Of the seven Nonconformist ministers summoned to appear before the court, three were Baptists, three Methodists and one Congregational. Moreover, during the period up to 1914 the proportion of Baptist ministers among the resisters rose, whilst that of the other denominations declined (a consequence partly of the Methodist system of itinerancy). Of twenty-two resisters from the Cornholme area in 1904 the majority of those whose religion is known were Baptists, including five men and one woman (the only female resister noted throughout the whole period) from Shore and three from Vale, one of whom was a Sunday School Superintendent and another a Poor Law Guardian. They outnumbered the Methodists by one. Typical amongst them was Joseph Robinson who was forty years of age when he first appeared before Todmorden Magistrates in 1904. His diary reveals that he worked as an engineer at a local cotton spinning factory and regularly attended with his family Shore Baptist Chapel where he would occasionally do repair work. He had recently become a teetotaller, was an active supporter of the co-operative movement and the Liberal Party, canvassing for John S. Higham, the Liberal party candidate in the Sowerby Division (79).

Local Baptists displayed a growing social awareness and concern in the quarter of a century before the outbreak of the First World War. In 1895 during a long, severe winter 1600 gallons of soup; five tons of bread and large quantities of cheese, clothing and fuel were issued from soup kitchens opened by the congregation at Trinity Road Baptist Church. During the same period, the ministry of the Reverend William Jones at Hebden Bridge from 1891 to 1906 was characterised by a growing interest in social welfare. Jones himself played a leading

role in the local community as chairman of the School Board, promoter of the Nursing Association and organiser of the Free Church Council, whilst his congregation at Hope Chapel took an increasing interest in such international issues as 'The Armenian Question'; 'Famine in India' and 'Chinese Labour in the Transvaal'. As international tension increased before 1914 they heard 'A Plea for the cause of Peace to be strengthened, especially between England and Germany' and during the First World War provided a furnished house at Hebden Bridge for the use of Belgian refugees (80).

4.2.4. Congregationalists

The second half of the nineteenth century was one of continuing expansion for Congregationalism in Halifax, but during the first decade of the twentieth century membership started to fall and did not recover before the outbreak of the First World War. In 1851 there had been seventeen chapels serving the whole of the ancient parish, by 1900 there were no fewer than thirty chapels alone in that section of the Halifax District of the Yorkshire Congregational Union which fell within the boundaries of the ancient parish but which did not include Todmorden and the Upper Calder Valley. Membership of the Halifax Congregational Churches had reached 2238 by 1900 and during the next seven years it continued to grow, reaching a peak of 2748 in 1907, in line with trends elsewhere within the Yorkshire Congregational Union. There followed four years of decline to 2638 in 1911, which was temporarily arrested in 1912 when there was a partial recovery of membership to 2702. However, there was a further slump in membership during 1913 and despite a slight upturn in 1914, in the seven years between 1907-14 membership had fallen by 5.82 per cent to 2588. Moreover, Sunday School enrolments at Congregational Churches in the Halifax District declined by 16 per cent from 7632 in 1898 to 6405 by 1914 (81).

Membership at the inner-urban Square Chapel which had increased from 194 to 356 during the Reverend Enoch Mellor's first pastorate from 1847 to 1857 peaked at 471 in 1900, subsequently

declining to 418 by 1914, despite years of recovery in 1903, 1906-07, 1910-11 and 1913-14. During Dr Mellor's two pastorates the congregations at Square, later estimated by Dr J.H. Jowett at between 1000 and 1200 hearers, had reputedly been the largest in the town. Square had also boasted one of the largest Sunday Schools in the town. However, by 1914 the number of Sunday School scholars at Square had also fallen from 726 in 1852 to 468 in 1914, a decline of 35 per cent. Membership at the newer, suburban Park Chapel, founded in 1869 by sixty-nine members from Square, Sion and Harrison Road reached a peak of 447 in 1902, declining to 405 by 1906 before making a partial recovery to 417 by 1914. However, Sunday School enrolments at Park declined by 14 per cent from 495 in 1898 to 425 by 1914. At the upland, semi-rural Booth Chapel, where membership was never as strong as in the lower lying urban and sub-urban chapels, membership remained relatively stable throughout the period 1898-1914, rising from 114 in 1898 to a peak of 122 in 1903 and subsequently declining to 116 by 1914, following a partial recovery in 1911. During the same period, however, Sunday School recruitment at Booth plummeted by 58 per cent from 308 in 1898 to 129 in 1914 (82).
Another upland, semi-rural chapel, Providence Congregational Church at Stainland, which celebrated its centenary in 1914 had increased its membership seventeen fold during its first half century of existence from a mere dozen to 200, but by only 26 per cent to 252 in the half century which followed. Moreover,twenty-two of its members in 1914 were non-resident and Sunday School numbers had fallen by a third in only fourteen years from 480 in 1900 to 320 in 1914. Reflecting in the chapel's centenary history on the reasons for this decline, the Reverend James Hartley, observed:

> What with losses by death and the changing conditions of modern life, it is no small task to hold one's own ... The general attitude to the Christian Church is not what it was fifty years ago. Christian institutions now receive a remnant of attention, whereas formerly they were the chief concern. The pressure of life and the love of pleasure have pushed aside the more sacred things of the

> soul ... Our village does not offer great scope for young people of promising ability, and these naturally seek centres with larger powers ... the population of Stainland ... has ... declined ... Then too, it has to be said, though the truth be unpleasant, that parents are not as keen as formerly for the moral and spiritual training of their children. The result is that a generation has risen with but a dim moral outlook and no spiritual attachments.

The most recent historian of the Providence Chapel has concluded that the chapel 'rose to its greatest height and power' during the period 1863-73. His analysis of baptisms at the chapel by decade reveals that they reached their peak of 584 during the 1860s and in 1873 the chapel was enlarged and a new cemetery provided at a cost of £2000. By the second decade of the twentieth century baptisms had fallen by nearly 80 per cent to 122 (83).

Membership at the contrasting urban Harrison Road Chapel in Halifax rose from fifty-two in 1836 to 250 in 1906, maintaining this level of membership until 1913, when it fell to 240, losing a further ten members by 1914. Analysis of the membership roll for 1914, which records the date when each member was admitted, reveals that the largest proportion of surviving members was admitted to membership during the years 1900-09 (27.75%). A further 27.31 per cent had been admitted to membership during the years 1890-99, suggesting that over half the members in 1914 may have been under forty years of age. Only 5.29 per cent of surviving members had been admitted during the periods from 1860-69 and 1910-14 and a mere 1.32 per cent during the period 1850-59 suggesting that the church may have had few members on its roll who were either very old or very young. Significantly, Sunday School recruitment at Harrison Road had also fallen by almost a quarter from 200 in 1907 to 151 by 1914 (84).

Moreover, analysis of the membership roll for Harrison Road reveals that no fewer than 75 per cent of the chapel membership by 1914 was female. It is therefore not surprising that recruitment of male members appears to have become a

preoccupation of Congregational ministers during this period. The Sion Chapel Manual for 1865 rejoiced that 'many young men have entered into our fellowship', but a membership roll for 1867 revealed that male members of the chapel remained in a minority of 23 per cent with female members constituting the majority of 77 per cent from a chapel membership of 449. The Lightcliffe Congregational Church 'considering the paucity of male members in the church' substituted a nomination for a ballot procedure at a meeting for the election of deacons in 1867, whilst women outnumbered men by forty-one to thirty-three in an incomplete membership list for 1871. In 1883 the Reverend Samuel Pearson introduced men only services on Sunday afternoons at Lightcliffe as a means of reaching working men but the problem of retaining young men within the fellowship of the church was highlighted in 1899 when attendances at the Lightcliffe Congregational Church Young Men's Society had declined to such an extent that the society had to be wound up (85).

Modern historians, echoing the sociologist Charles Booth's observations on Congregationalism in the metropolis in 1902, have concluded that Congregational Churches tended to be predominantly middle class in composition during this period. Certainly, the Congregational system, whereby each church was to a large extent both self-sufficient, depending upon its own membership for the financial support of its ministry, and self-governing, determining and implementing its own policy, appealed particularly to independent-minded industrialists, trades and business people as the trust deeds and subscription lists of local Congregational chapels during this period testify. The trustees of Mixenden Congregational Chapel in 1864 included a carpet manufacturer, two worsted yarn manufacturers, a banker, a stonemason and a schoolmaster. Moreover shortly after the subscription list for Park Congregational Church had been opened at the home of the carpet manufacturer John Crossley in 1865, two thirds of the estimated construction costs of £9000 had been contributed by a mere

seventy-three subscribers. Subscribers to the new Lightcliffe Congregational Church in 1870 included members of the Salt, Crossley, Ormerod, Sugden and Bottomley families and the first trustees included three carpet manufacturers, a damask manufacturer, a woolstapler, two worsted manufacturers, two cotton spinners, a textile baronet, a gentleman, a hosier, a merchant, and the village postmaster who was also in business as a draper and the church secretary from 1870 to 1875 was John Wrigley Willans, a partner in a carpet firm, who left in 1875 to become joint editor of the Leeds Mercury (86).

However, when the Lightcliffe Congregational Church opened its doors in 1871, Wrigley Willans reminded the congregation that the new church was not to be regarded as a rich man's church and that sixty free sittings, amounting to over 16 per cent of the total sittings, had been provided in the new building for 'the poorest of the poor whom they would be glad to see Sunday by Sunday'. Moreover, the biographer of J.H. Jowett maintained that Square Chapel during the ministry of the Reverend Enoch Mellor besides being composed of 'merchants and manufacturers - men of wealth, character and generosity' was also composed of 'a large element of humble, earnest, working people' such as Josiah and Hannah Jowett, the parents of the future Chairman of the Congregational Union and renowned preacher, whose 'family pew in the front gallery was always occupied', but who were not 'in any way prominent' in the chapel's affairs. Both 'sprang from farming folk' but subsequently moved into Halifax where Josiah set up in business from his home as a tailor and draper.

Indeed, J.H. Jowett (1864-1923) delivered his first sermon at the age of seventeen to a 'congregation of homely people' at the schoolroom at Range Bank, a preaching station of Square opened in 1852. His first evangelistic address, however, had been delivered shortly before this to the inmates of 'a common lodging house in Halifax', where the teachers and senior scholars from Square Sunday School had regularly conducted services on Sunday afternoons from 1885. Indeed, in January

1889, 130 inmates were invited to 'a hearty tea' and musical entertainment in the large schoolroom at Square, following which 'wise, pleasant and encouraging words' were spoken by both the minister, the Reverend Eric Lawrence and the young J.H. Jowett. 'Thus', concluded the report of the evening in the Halifax and District Congregational Magazine, 'Christians are striving to bridge the chasm that divides class from class and to command the Love of Christ which they preach by the human sympathy which they cultivate and exhibit'. Moreover, whilst it has not been possible to trace the occupations of many of the members of the Harrison Road Church in 1914 (two of whom resided in Canada and one in Warrington), alongside a manager, a clerk, a draper, a dress and mantle maker, a lathe-chuck maker and a slater and plasterer were six residents of the Joseph Crossley Almshouses, indicating a degree of social diversity within Halifax Congregationalism which appears to have appealed to a wider social constituency during this period than has sometimes been allowed (87).

What cannot be denied, however, is the enormous influence exercised in chapel affairs and within the local community by a relatively small number of families of prominent Congregationalist industrialists, often linked by kinship and marriage and fired with an ardour to outrival each other in good works and perhaps in the process also help to improve industrial relations at their factories by providing moral and religious training and social welfare for their workpeople and their families. Most prominent amongst these philanthropic, paternalistic, Liberal Congregationalist industrialists were the Crossleys, whose influence on the town Dr C. Binfield has compared with that of the Florentine Medicis. During the second half of the nineteenth century the rising Crossley carpet empire under the direction of a second and third generation of the Crossley family dominated the local economy as the firm usurped the position once held by the rival Akroyd worsted enterprise as the largest employers of labour in the town (88).

From the moment the Crossleys had taken possession of Dean Clough they had resolved to tithe their profits for benevolent purposes. This resulted in an unprecedented scale of philanthropy which enabled Congregational chapel building within the ancient parish to scale new heights in the second half of the nineteenth century and transformed the face of the Victorian town of Halifax. In 1852 the Crossleys purchased a site and built a schoolroom at Range Bank near to their mills at Dean Clough, which also served as a preaching station for Square Chapel. They contributed generously towards the building of the magnificent new Square Chapel, an early example of Dissenting Gothic, with accommodation for 1010 adults and 200 children, which opened in 1857. Between 1857 and 1864 they spent around £65,000 on the building of an orphanage at Savile Park (originally intended as an Independent College). In 1872 they opened an Institute for their workpeople at a cost of £7000 containing circulating and reference libraries; large lecture and concert halls and billiard rooms (89).
Moreover, each of the founder's three sons, John, Joseph and Francis made his own distinctive contribution to chapel and community life during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. John Crossley (1812-79), senior partner of the firm from 1837 and chairman from 1864-1877, remained a deacon at Square Chapel for the last forty-three years of his life. He helped finance the building of a manse in 1852 and other improvements to Providence Chapel, Ovenden, near the firm's Dean Clough works in 1860. He laid the foundation stone for a new chapel and schoolroom at Brighouse in 1853; served as chairman of the Square Chapel Building Committee from 1853-57; contributed towards the building of a new Congregational Chapel at Sowerby in 1861 and sold property to Providence Congregational Church Stainland for half its market price in 1862). He served as borough magistrate, councillor, alderman and was twice elected Mayor of Halifax in 1851-52 and 1862-63, when he entertained the Prince of Wales during his visit to Halifax to open the new Town Hall. He later served as Member

of Parliament for Halifax during the period 1874-77, but it was in the sphere of local politics that his most distinguished contributions to the life of the community were made. He was responsible for major redevelopments improving the physical environment of the town centre during the 1850s and 1860s in the wake of the censorious Ranger Public Health Inquiry, including the provision of a Model Lodging House for migrant workers and an innovative housing development at West Hill Park during the period 1863-68 (90).
Initially this comprised a self-help scheme to provide good quality middle-class housing but developed into a more ambitious plan to develop a mixed class community. Like Edward Akroyd's scheme, it was organised in conjunction with the Halifax Permanent Building Society to 'encourage thrifty artisans, clerks and others to obtain freehold dwellings for themselves', but whereas the terraces of Akroydon were named after Anglican Cathedrals in West Hill Park they took the names of Nonconformist heroes: Cromwell, Hampden, Milton, John Bright and William Gladstone. Both schemes have been criticised by Dr J.A. Jowitt who has contended that they represented more 'the rhetoric of moral improvement and social harmony' than the reality. Utilising a socio-economic analysis of the West Hill Park residents from the 1871 Census by Dr S.J. Daniels he has concluded that West Hill Park soon 'became a straightforward middle and upper working-class area, well outside the financial reach of the bulk of the working classes, with the basic amenities of chapel and school being removed from the scheme'. Certainly rising building costs did push up the purchase prices of even the lowest grade of housing by 60 per cent from £100 to £160, which would have been unaffordable by families depending on one man's unskilled earnings at the time that the houses were first put on the market. However, the abandonment of the original plan for a chapel and school ought not to be interpreted as a retreat from the principle of social amelioration. The restrictions imposed upon the development of public houses and other places of public amusement on the

estate were the product of Crossley's continuing zeal for improvement. The need for a chapel had diminished with the opening in 1869 of the nearby Park Congregational Church which had sprung from an initiative of John Crossley in 1864 and after the Education Act of 1870 school provision was regulated by the Halifax School Board of which John Crossley became an active member. Moreover, the Crossley Institute, situated on the western perimeter of the town centre, offered an extensive range of educational and improving pursuits for the Crossley workforce from 1872. Finally, whilst it is true that John Crossley ultimately moved away from the town in straitened financial circumstances during the period 1877-79 this was not merely the result of 'unwise speculation' as Dr Jowitt has implied, but also as a consequence of his boundless generosity and his deteriorating physical health (91).

Francis Crossley (1817-72) laid the foundation stone for the new Square Chapel in 1855; built twenty-six Gothic almshouses on the eastern perimeter of the grounds of his mansion at Belle Vue, primarily for the use of retired employees of the firm, in 1855; established a loan fund to assist small businessmen in the town; provided the site and contributed £1000 towards the erection of Park Congregational Church in 1864 and laid the foundation stone in 1867). On the southern perimeter of his estate he commissioned Joseph Paxton, the architect of the Crystal Palace, to develop a People's Park, which he presented to the town in 1857, where rich and poor might meet together for, as the canopy of the stone pavilion testified 'the Lord is maker of them all'. Dr Jowitt has criticised the choice of site for the park as being too remote 'from the working-class area of the town which was in the valley bottom'. However, Crossley had encountered insurmountable legal difficulties in attempting to obtain suitable alternative sites (the Clare Hall and Shay estates) nearer the inner urban centre of population before settling for what appeared, before work commenced, to be a particularly unpromising piece of scrub land (92).

Whilst his public benefactions, totalling over £150,000, were

recognised when a statue was unveiled in his honour in 1860 'as a tribute of gratitude and respect to one whose public benefactions and private virtues deserve to be remembered', Francis Crossley won distinction primarily as a politician. He was elected Liberal Member of Parliament for Halifax with 572 votes in 1852, increasing his vote by 45 per cent to 830 when he topped the poll in the 1857 election. In 1859 he was invited to stand for the West Riding, which he represented from 1859 until the Second Reform Act, following which he represented the North Riding until 1872. He opposed entry into the Crimean War; university tests; church rates and the Sunday opening of public houses and supported further extensions of the franchise. He lived at Belle Vue until 1861 when he bought an estate at Somerleyton in Suffolk; was created a baronet in 1863 and died in Halifax in 1872 (93).

Joseph Crossley (1813-68) became more directly involved in the day-to-day running of the firm than his elder and younger brothers and less prominently involved in public life of town, though he did serve as a magistrate and as Vice-President of the Halifax Chamber of Commerce. He lived at Broomfield, Savile Park and during the last five years of his life began the construction of forty-eight almshouses with their own private chapel on the South side of People's Park, requiring applicants for residence to have been members of the Protestant Trinitarian Church for at least ten years (94).

Nor did the demise of Joseph, Francis and John Crossley during the period 1868-79 mark the end of the Crossley commitment to moral reform and social improvement as Dr Jowitt has implied for it was continued by members of a third generation of the family, most notably by Edward (1840-1905), eldest son of Joseph and to a lesser extent by Louis John (1842-1891), the only son of John. Edward Crossley's role in the civic and religious life of the town was arguably no less significant than that of his father. He resided locally at Bermerside for most of the period, serving as a director and subsequently chairman of the firm, which had become a limited liability

company in 1864, from 1868-1905. He served two terms on the Halifax Town Council from 1871 to 1877 and from 1881 to 1887 and twice served as Mayor between 1874-76 and 1884-85. He was Chairman of the Halifax Liberal Association between 1882 and 1885 and Member of Parliament for the Sowerby Division between 1886 and 1892. The Reverend Dr Francis Pigou, whom Crossley met in his capacity of mayor when he first arrived at the town, quickly discovered that he was 'an Independent and a Liberationist' and Joseph Chamberlain found him a formidable critic of his Protectionist fiscal policy.

Edward Crossley attended Park from its opening in 1869 but later became a member at Square where his wife, a daughter of Sir Edward Baines, taught in the Sunday School. By 1870 he had completed the almshouses commenced by his father and throughout his life took an active interest in the welfare of the residents, besides serving as a governor of the new Halifax Royal Infirmary and chairman of the governors at the Crossley Orphanage. In 1882 he laid the memorial stones of the new Congregational Chapels of Elland and Norwood Green, but in 1889, following a controversial dispute with the minister, the Reverend E.A. Lawrence, regarding the doctrine of the Atonement, he left Square, helping to found the new suburban Heath Chapel, contributing generously to the building fund and laying the corner stone in 1890. However, his disillusionment with Congregationalism later re-emerged and in 1893 he established an independent Evangelical Protestant Chapel near his summer residence at Ryde on the Isle of Wight. Following his sudden death in Halifax in 1905 it was stated that 'everywhere he did good and used his great wealth for the enlightenment and elevation of mankind' (95).

Whilst his cousin Louis John Crossley, who had pre-deceased him in 1891, had taken a less prominent role in public life, he had also maintained the Crossley Nonconformist Liberal tradition and become a popular and respected local figure. He had joined the family business in 1859, which had benefited enormously from his management skills and scientific and

technical innovations. He had lived throughout the period in Halifax at Lower Willowfield and Moorside, serving as a borough and county magistrate; treasurer of the Halifax Liberal Association and a governor of the Crossley Orphanage. He had played the organ at Warley and Square; taught at Square Sunday School; helped with the Square Young Men's Class and used his pioneering Crossley Transmitter to relay Dr Mellor's preaching to Bradford and Manchester in 1879, a landmark in the development of tele-communications (96).

The severing of the Crossley Nonconformist Liberal tradition, although not the family tradition of philanthropy and public service, became apparent only when Savile Brinton Crossley (1857-1935), the only son of Francis, succeeded Edward Crossley as chairman of the firm in 1905. He had been born in London, brought up in Suffolk, and for much of the period had pursued a military and political career (as Tory Member of Parliament for North Suffolk) away from Halifax. In 1900, whilst on active service in South Africa he stood for election as Conservative candidate for Halifax in the Khaki election of 1900 and topped the poll with 5931 votes, losing the seat as decisively in the Liberal landslide of 1906, when he came bottom of the poll with 5041 votes. However he was a generous benefactor of the Royal Halifax Infirmary and was made a freeman of the borough of Halifax in 1907 (97).

Although they were perhaps the most outstanding local example of a philanthropic Congregationalist family, the Crossleys were by no means the only example. Sir Titus Salt whose major benefactions were at Bradford and Saltaire also contributed generously towards the development of Congregationalism at Lightcliffe during his two periods of residence at Crow Nest Park between 1844 and 1858 and 1867 and 1876. Salt, whose fifth son, Titus, had married a daughter of Joseph Crossley, founded a Day School at Lightcliffe. He later obtained a site for the new Lightcliffe Congregational Church; headed the subscription list; became chairman of the building committee and even gave a fund-raising lecture on the Holy Land with

coloured photographs 'exhibited by the oxy-hydrogen light ... with the object of obtaining money in an easy and pleasant manner' (98).

Other village communities that benefited from Congregationalist industrial philanthropy were Luddenden Foot and Holywell Green. In 1859, Robert Whitworth and Company, worsted manufacturers, built a Congregational chapel and dwelling house near their factory at Luddenden Foot in 1859, which cost between £5000 and £6000 and in 1874 John Shaw and Sons built a magnificent new Congregational chapel with a pulpit of Caen stone and pillars of polished granite at a cost of £10,000 near their Brookroyd Mills as the architectural centrepiece to the village where they had built many model dwellings. They had also built a Mechanics Institute in neighbouring Stainland for the educational advancement of their workforce. Other industrialists who supported Congregational building and re-furbishment schemes included T.S. Scarborough, a worsted spinner and manufacturer, who contributed generously towards the building of the new Stannary Chapel which opened in 1878 and the unspecified local industrialists who provided financial assistance for the renovation of Mixenden Chapel for its bi-centenary in 1888 (99).

Some industrialists undoubtedly supported chapel and school building schemes in the vicinity of their factories to improve the quality of their workforce, particularly in industrial villages such as Holywell Green and Luddenden Foot, where clearly defined communities existed, but also in urban areas where large employers were dominant as in the vicinity ofDean Clough. But the benevolence of Congregationalist industrialists was by no means confined to projects within the immediate neighbourhood of their factories. Sir Titus Salt's patronage of the school and chapel at Lightcliffe had no influence on industrial relations at Saltaire. Moreover, Crossley family largesse was renown not only throughout the ancient parish, but throughout the North of England and indeed even further afield (100).

Industrial patronage, whilst clearly a significant enabling factor in the expansion of Halifax Congregationalism in the second half of the nineteenth century, was not the only factor. The pattern of church planting by cellular division which had resulted in the establishment of Sion and Harrison Road as offshoots of Square before 1851 resulted in the establishment of Park in 1868 and High Road Well in 1908 as a response to the continuing westward expansion of the town. Cultural and doctrinal division were also factors contributing to the foundation of new chapels at Stannary and Heath. The cause at Stannary originated in a dispute over the issue of temperance at Sion resulting in the withdrawal to the Temperance Hall of seven teachers, including the worsted manufacturer T.S. Scarborough, whilst the foundation of Heath originated in the dispute between the Reverend Eric Lawrence and Mr Edward Crossley over the doctrine of the Atonement (101).

Whilst chapel exteriors in the fashionable Dissenting Gothic styles gave increasing expression to 'the spiritual dimensions of men who had grown up with their towns', new and re-furbished chapel interiors continued to emphasize the unchanging priority of the preaching of the word. Commenting on the interior design of the new Square Chapel in 1858, the Congregational Year Book noted that 'the architect has been compelled to consider more closely the requirements of Independent worship than the peculiarities of the Gothic style' namely:

> that the pulpit should be the main object, subsidiary to nothing, and seen by all; and that the roof should be so constructed as to convey to every corner of the room the inflections of the voice of the preacher.

Moreover, in 1895 a small neo-Gothic pulpit at Stainland was replaced by a pulpit which was 'big enough to hold a brass band'. Pride of place in the Halifax and District Congregational Magazine was given to the printed monthly sermon which addressed such issues as 'Business and Religion'; 'A Review of Life' and 'Revelation and Science' and ministers continued to be selected primarily on the basis of their

preaching ability (102).

The most influential Halifax Congregational ministers during the period 1852-1914 were the Reverend Dr Enoch Mellor, M.A., who served two pastorates at Square between 1848 and 1861 and 1867 and 1881 and the Reverend Bryan Dale, M.A., who served as minister of Sion from 1863 and General Secretary of the Yorkshire Congregational Union from 1885 to 1908. Both were able communicators and both served as Chairmen of the West Riding Congregational Union, Mellor also serving as Chairman of the Congregational Union in 1863. Horton Davies has aptly described Mellor's theological position as 'evangelical but liberal', a description which applies also to Dale. Both men shared a passion for urban evangelism, Mellor as a keen supporter of the Halifax Town Mission and Dale as the leader of the Forward Movement in Yorkshire. Both men were politically Liberal until Dale became a founder member of the Halifax branch of the Fabian Society in 1892. Mellor, the son of a Huddersfield woollen manufacturer, educated at Edinburgh and Manchester, developed a keen interest in education and during his pastorates the schools associated with Square and the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society, which taught Square's most distinguished protégé, J.H. Jowett, the art of public speaking, flourished. Dale, who came to Halifax from Essex and who had been educated at London University, developed a keen interest in housing, establishing close links with the Halifax Permanent Building Society and writing its history in 1903.

Mellor's obituary in the Congregational Year Book observed that he had 'secured a position of great influence in the town' and his pronouncements on a range of issues were regularly reported in the local press. In 1871 at the laying of the foundation stone of Lightcliffe Congregational Church, he trounced 'the emperor of the French inflated with Napoleonic ambition' for 'plunging two great nations into a sea of blood'. He championed Disestablishment and was caricatured by political cartoonists during the 1877 election campaign for his

determined opposition to the Halifax Vicar's Rate and his unwavering support for temperance. Responding to the address of the Chairman of the Yorkshire Congregational Union in 1878, he poured scorn on the challenge of scientific thinking to faith: 'We could' he declared 'stand a great deal of talking from such men as Professors Huxley and Tyndall without believing on the whole that it came to much'. His denunciation of the new Halifax Race Course in 1879 from the pulpit of Square Chapel made a lifelong impression on the adolescent J.H. Jowett:

> On the night on which he preached the sermon the great church was crowded in every part. He announced his text: 'Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them'. The sermon that followed laid hold of my young mind and heart and I felt my life throbbing with the moral purpose which possessed the preacher. That sermon so raised the moral sentiment of the town that the races were doomed and Halifax is today freed of the pestilence (103).

Bryan Dale, even before his appointment as General Secretary of the Yorkshire Congregational Union, had urged the need for Congregationalism 'to use its essential freedom to adapt itself to meet the needs of the current situation' by adopting a new liturgy and new forms of organisation; abandoning pew rents and changing the form of admission to membership in order to respond more effectively to the challenge to faith of the current scientific and philosophic speculation. Once in office, he took the lead in planning a Forward Movement for the county with the inauguration of 'aggressive work' in urban evangelism and church extension. But only about half of the county target of £5000 was raised and work confined initially to the Middlesbrough area. In 1901 there was a further initiative involving selected churches in Leeds, Hull, Huddersfield and Bradford but Halifax was not included. Moreover, chapels such as Harrison Road were still operating an extensive system of pew rents in 1914 (104).

The diary of James Frederick Turner, an unskilled worker at Dean Clough, expresses his sense of frustration at not being

able to afford to rent a sitting at Range Bank in December 1881:

> I have been thinking today I would take a sitting in the Chapel as they are no set price, I can give what I like. But I can hardly afford it yet, I may be better able after Christmas. I hope so at any rate.

It also illustrates the close links that existed between Congregationalism and the temperance movement in Halifax, for a year earlier Turner recorded that he had 'signed teetotal at Stannary Band of Hope. Memorials petitioning against the Sunday opening of public houses were sent to Westminster from Sowerby Bridge in 1883 and the Halifax and District Congregational Magazine reported in November 1883 that:

> Out of 22 Congregational Ministers residing in this district, 18 are avowed abstainers. Out of 135 Deacons, 69 are total abstainers. There are 23 Churches in the district, 13 of which use unfermented wine at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. There are 26 Temperance organisations with a membership of 7564, being an increase of 1126. Out of 977 teachers in 23 of the schools, 491 are total abstainers; and out of 6040 scholars in 17 of the schools, 3078 are in the Band of Hope.

The report concluded:

> While this is encouraging, it still shows the necessity for continued effort and prayer to bring to pass the time when the Christian Church shall be united as one man against the vice of intemperance (105).

The social conscience of Halifax Congregationalists also found expression in other spheres. John Henry Whitley (1866-1935), a partner in the family cotton spinning firm of S. Whitley and Company and a Sunday School teacher at Park, became involved in extensive social work amongst socially deprived young people in the town through the Recreative Evening Schools established by the Halifax School Board in 1888 and the Annual Filey Camp, which he took the initiative in founding in 1889. In 1892 Whitley became a borough magistrate and in the following year was elected town councillor. He remained a member of the council until 1900 when he entered Parliament as Liberal member for Halifax, coming second in the poll with 5543 votes. At Westminster, he campaigned vigorously against the Education Act

of 1902 and the Licensing Act of 1904 and at the general election of 1906 topped the poll with 9354 votes. In 1907, when he was appointed a junior treasury minister, he was returned unopposed, and two general elections of 1910 again topped the poll in Halifax with 9504 and 8779 votes respectively (106).

There was also a growing interest in issues of international justice and overseas missions during this period. In the wake of the American Civil War there were collections at Lightcliffe in 1865 and Square in 1866 for the liberated American negroes and their children. In 1889 it was reported that the Halifax Churches currently raised £1000 per year for missionary work overseas, though 'some churches have no annual subscribers and some Sunday Schools contribute nothing'. Following the anniversary services of the Halifax Auxiliary of the London Missionary Society in October 1889 a well-attended mid-week evening meeting at Park School presided over by Edward Crossley, M.P., put questions to a deputation from the missionary society about its work in a room 'decorated with pictures, maps, idols and other curiosities bearing on mission work'. In 1909 local Congregational ministers signed the resolution passed by the Congregational Union extending greetings to the Christian Churches of Germany and in 1911 the congregation at Lightcliffe was invited to sign a petition for world peace on entering and leaving the church. Following the outbreak of war in 1914, a donation was sent to the international Red Cross and a Roll of Honour and ten pocket books ordered for 'the church's young soldiers' (107).

4.2.5. Quakers:

Membership of the Society of Friends in Brighouse and Halifax remained relatively small, but generally stable throughout the period 1868 to 1914, despite the relaxation of their marriage rules in 1860 and a growing evangelical emphasis in their teaching. Membership in Brighouse never rose above forty-eight but never fell below thirty-three, achieving its membership peak in 1890. Between 1909 and 1914 membership

declined from forty-five to forty-one. Membership in Halifax peaked at seventy-three in 1881, declining to fifty-seven by 1914. In Brighouse, however, the number of other attenders fluctuated considerably, peaking at 101 in 1880, but declining subsequently to a nadir of fourteen in 1906, before recovering slightly to seventeen by 1914. In Halifax, the number of other attenders remained generally more stable, if consistently lower than at Brighouse, reaching a peak of thirty-three in 1883, but subsequently declining to twelve by 1914 (108).

Despite the equality of status enjoyed by women within the Society of Friends, women often appear to have been less in evidence amongst the Quakers than in the membership of other local Nonconformist denominations. Membership lists for 1868 reveal a slight preponderance of male members, accounting for thirty-five of the sixty-eight members at Halifax. Males also outnumbered females among the twenty-seven other attenders, accounting for fifteen of the total. However, at Brighouse in 1868 male and female members were evenly balanced and there were double the number of females among the eighteen other attenders. By 1881, male members still outnumbered females by thirty-eight to thirty-five at Halifax, but the fifteen female attenders outnumbered male attenders by one. At Brighouse, by 1881, female members outnumbered males by twenty-one to fourteen and female attenders outnumbered male attenders by fifty-nine to forty-one. By 1914 the gender distribution at Halifax and Brighouse had been transposed. Whereas at Halifax, female members outnumbered male members by thirty-five to twenty-two at Brighouse male members outnumbered females by twenty-one to twenty. At Halifax, female attenders outnumbered males by a wider margin of six to two, whilst at Brighouse male attenders outnumbered females by a narrower margin of six to five (109).

Analysis of the social composition of the membership of the Society of Friends in Halifax in 1868 reveals that the sixty-eight members were drawn from no more than twenty-three families, several of which were inter-connected through

business associations. The firm of Smithson and Co., stuff merchants, for example, brought together members of the Blakey, Edmondson and Smithson families. Only one other industrialist has been identified, another Smithson, with Smithson and Chambers, worsted spinners. Two other Halifax Quakers, David Binns and Joseph Thorp, were listed in an 1866 commercial directory as gentlemen; Thomas Collinson as a tea and coffee dealer; Elizabeth Frost as a confectioner; John James Spencer as a boot and shoemaker; George Webster as a grocer and Joseph John Walker as a corn and provision dealer (110).

Joseph Thorp (1803-1873), who served as a Minister for twenty years, was Clerk successively of his own meeting, of the Brighouse Monthly Meeting and of the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting. He was active in the temperance movement and President of the British League; a stalwart for many years of the Halifax British Schools and a loyal supporter of the Halifax Bible Auxiliary and Town Mission. Joseph Edmondson (1830-1908), who joined Joseph Smithson in business in Bradford and later in Halifax, was for thirty years President of the Halifax Adult School. He became closely involved with Josephine Butler in the campaign for the State Regulation of Vice and also campaigned against intemperance and the opium traffic between British India and China. A committed pacifist, he refused an order from the War Office for a calculating machine which he had invented. Thomas Collinson (1844-1927) continued his father's business as a tea dealer until 1864, when he set up in business himself as a coal merchant. He served for many years as a magistrate and was 'one of the most regular attenders on the bench' (111).

In 1869 a new, larger meeting house was built at Newlands, Rastrick, for the Brighouse Preparative and Monthly Meetings. In 1853 the Settle and Knaresborough Monthly Meetings had been absorbed into the Brighouse Monthly Meeting thereby increasing considerably both its geographical extent and its numerical strength. Indeed throughout the period up to 1914, concern was expressed about the vast extent of the Brighouse Monthly

Meeting, which was the largest in Yorkshire, representing some 976 members by 1878. In 1879 there was an abortive attempt to place Brighouse and Halifax in a much smaller Monthly Meeting of 395 members, together with Huddersfield, Scholes, Dewsbury, Wooldale, High Flatts and Wakefield, but by 1910, the problem had still not been addressed when the Clerk of the Quarterly Meeting wrote:

> Our attention has been called to the extreme difference in the size of our various Monthly Meetings, and we have been invited to consider that size of Monthly Meeting which in our opinion will most promote spiritual life.

In fact, the problem remained unsolved until 1923, when the Brighouse Monthly Meeting was finally sub-divided into three more manageable units (112).

In 1901 the Committee on Ministry and Oversight reported to the Brighouse Monthly Meeting that 43 per cent of new members between 1890 and 1900 had joined by convincement and that it had been suggested to the committee that such members 'often knew more about the distinguishing views of the Friends than many of those who had entered the Society by birth'. Moreover, some of them had complained of the existence of cliques and an aloofness towards 'men and women who belong to the artisan class', which the committee found particularly disturbing given that:

> by far the larger number of our recently admitted members have been drawn from the artisan class, chiefly through the influence of the Adult Schools and Mission Meetings.

The report concluded ruefully that 'the bulk of our members are somewhat apathetic' (113).

In 1903 the Brighouse Monthly Meeting reported that Mission Meetings had been held in the Brighouse Friends Meeting House which had achieved attendances of 100, comprising eighty-five adults and fifteen children 'drawn largely from the Adult School'. It was emphasized that 'most of our members regularly attend and at some time have service in the Meeting'. By 1904, membership had risen by 16 per cent at Brighouse from thirty-seven to forty-three, the largest percentage growth in

any one year during the period 1868 to 1914 and the number of other attenders had increased by nearly 36 per cent from sixty-seven to ninety-one. However, whilst the increased level of membership was maintained until 1913, the number of other attenders had fallen to forty-one by 1905 and seventeen by 1914, suggesting that only a small proportion of those who had been attracted by the Adult School and Mission Meetings became regular attenders at the Brighouse Friends Meeting House (114). Perhaps the most distinctive witness of Quakers within the community during the period 1852 to 1914 was their pacifism. Quakers in Halifax declined to observe the national fast day which was proclaimed following the outbreak of the Crimean War in April 1854 and shops owned by Quakers were amongst the very few remaining open in the town. An address was issued stating their reasons:

> We love our country and believe we shall best evince our love ... by acting as the obedient followers of the Prince of Peace - by praying to the Almighty Father of the whole family of man in the name of him who came not to destroy men's lives but to save them that He would show us what manner of spirit we are of and that he would breathe into the hearts of his erring and contending creatures the spirit of reconciliation and peace.

During the Boer War, however, there appears to have been some variation in the response of members of the Brighouse Monthly Meeting towards the war for the Committee on Ministry and Oversight reported in 1901 that:

> applicants for membership have been led to suppose that our views on the subject of Peace were regarded as a leading feature of the Society and therefore they could not understand the attitude of some Friends in connection with the present war.

At the Brighouse Monthly Meeting in February 1913, however, a resolution was passed urging the government:

> to pursue harmonious co-operation with Germany and to strive to remove all barriers to the establishment of complete friendship so that the burden of armaments may be lessened and peace throughout Europe assured.

In March a series of meetings was held at the Halifax Friends' Meeting House on the theme of 'The Burden of Armaments' with

speakers from Manchester and the Gartno Foundation and Institution in London and advertising free admission to examine the peace question 'in its economic, moral and Christian aspects'. The Halifax magistrate, Thomas Collinson, became a conscientious objector on the outbreak of war and the Halifax solicitor, George Bairstow (1890-1945), who also became a conscientious objector subsequently became a member of the Society of Friends, later serving as Clerk of the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting (115).

4.2.6. Methodists:

Halifax Wesleyanism experienced a huge setback as a result of the Wesleyan Reform controversy, its membership falling by 45 per cent from 2037 in 1849 to 1066 by 1856. However, it began to recover during the period up to 1868 when it experienced its most sustained period of growth during the whole of the period from 1852 to 1914. By 1868 membership of the Halifax Wesleyan Circuit had reached 1563 and the circuit was sub-divided to form the Halifax North (Wesley) and the Halifax South (South Parade Circuits). The years from 1870 to 1876 saw a further period of sustained growth, but it was not until 1883, when membership reached 2167, experiencing its most dramatic growth in a single year since 1794, that the membership total achieved in 1849 before the Reform controversy was surpassed. Following a further spurt of growth between 1886 and 1888 and the separation of the King Cross Circuit from Sowerby Bridge in 1889, when membership reached a peak of 2562, the underlying trend was downward during the period from 1890 to 1914, when membership had declined to 2124, despite intermittent spurts of growth during the years 1896-97, 1899-1901 and 1905-06. Indeed in 1901 the Wesleyans revealed that:

> During the past twenty five years the increase in the whole of the Halifax and Bradford District has been only 100 members (116).

Obliged to move from their historic South Parade Chapel to allow expansion by the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company, the Wesleyans opened a fine new perpendicular Gothic

church in 1880 on a site in Prescott Street described by the Halifax Courier as 'one of the best sites in the borough, being conveniently near the middle of town, yet surrounded by suburban scenery'. Dedicated to St John and designed by local architect William Swinden Barber, the land and building costs of over £16,000 were largely met by compensation received from the railway company as a result of litigation which had reached the House of Lords. The focal point of the interior with its columns of Aberdeen granite and its ceiling of varnished Memel was a pulpit of rich design in Caen stone, raised on an octagonal base beneath a magnificent rose window, filled with stained-glass in memory of John Pritchard, a former Sunday School superintendent, who had been killed by a boiler explosion at his works. However, a move to introduce a liturgy to match the Gothic splendour of the architecture of the building proved abortive when the trustees decided 'that for the moment the services shall be unchanged' (117).

In 1880 the new St John's replaced South Parade as head of a circuit comprising Northowram, Caddy Field, Hipperholme, Southowram, Elland, Skircoat and Siddal, with the addition of Stafford Square in 1913. In 1895, the Halifax North Circuit, which comprised Rhodes Street, Akroydon, Illingworth, Ovenden, Mount Tabor, Queensbury, Pellon, Wheatley and Boothtown, was sub-divided with Rhodes Street Chapel, opened in 1867 as head of the new circuit. The membership of the Rhodes Street Wesleyan Chapel in the expanding western quarter of the town rose by nearly 75 per cent from 229 to 399 in the twenty-one years after its opening, but declined to 290 in the following seven years, recovering during the years 1896-1901, 1905-06 and 1910, but declining to 271 by 1914. The membership of the new King Cross Circuit, formed from Sowerby Bridge in 1888, comprising the King Cross Chapel and its daughter church at West End opened just before the outbreak of the First World War, reached a peak of 402 in 1906, declining to 359 by 1914 (118).

At the beginning of the period in the wake of the Census of

Religious Worship the Wesleyans had sought to reach the unchurched masses through the Wesleyan Town Mission. The first quarterly meeting of the mission for 1854 at Wesley Chapel had been addressed by a number of leading local Wesleyans, three of whom were trustees of both the South Parade and Wesley Chapels, including William Heap, treasurer of the Wesleyan Town Mission, a cardmaker; William Hatton, a woollen merchant and manufacturer; Samuel Thompson, a draper and Eagland Bray, a tea dealer, coffee roaster and grocer. Mr Sykes, the Wesleyan missionary, had also presented a report supplying 'some interesting details of his labours amongst the lower classes to whom he had made 1300 visits during the past quarter'. At the autumn quarterly meeting at South Parade Mr Sykes reporting on a further 800 visits made during the summer had expressed his satisfaction at:

> seeing many connect themselves with Christian churches, Episcopalian, Methodist, Independent and Baptist and in five cases his labours had resulted in conversion. He had experienced some opposition in prosecuting his mission, but generally the people received him well and appeared to profit by his instruction. Amongst the working classes he had met with other missionaries employed by the Church of England and other religious denominations; but much as they were able to do, they were not sufficient to meet the requirements of the masses living in a state of utter destitution as regard their spiritual wants'.

William Heap had then 'adverted to the early history of Methodism in Halifax and expressed a hope that the young people now connected with the circuit would work as did the young people in his youth in conducting prayer meetings, establishing preaching rooms and in attending generally to the interests of the society' (119).

The lack of chapel membership lists precludes analysis of the social composition of Halifax Wesleyanism during the late Victorian period. The trustees at South Parade Chapel during the period 1861-80 consisted exclusively of representatives from industry, business and the professions. The trust deed for 1861 included one gentleman; one manufacturer; a stuff

finisher; two card makers; a wireworker; a printer; an accountant; an agent; an iron merchant; an ironmonger; a draper; two grocers; a chemist; a wine merchant and a pawnbroker. When the trust was renewed ten years later it included: three gentlemen; a damask maker; two worsted spinner; a stuff finisher; a wire manufacturer; two managers; a machine maker; two card makers; three accountants; two agents; a broker; a builder; a bootmaker; a chemist; a draper; a fruiterer; an ironmonger and two wine merchants (120)

Outside Halifax itself Wesleyan trusts gradually came to include some skilled and unskilled labourers. In 1859 the trustees at Illingworth Moor Chapel had included a yeoman; a farmer; two manufacturers; two overlookers; a tailor; an ironmonger; and three other shopkeepers. By 1901, besides a gentleman; a farmer; a manufacturer; three machine tool makers; a commercial traveller and four shopkeepers there were two mechanics; a slater; a wool sorter, a twister-in, a weaver, a shop assistant and a labourer. The trustees of Greetland Chapel in 1903 included not only a newspaper proprietor; bank manager; bookseller; schoolmaster; commercial traveller; grocer and cabinet maker; but also a foreman, warehouseman and a woolsorter, whilst the trustees of Crimsworth Dean Chapel in 1895, reflecting its remote moorland situation, included five farmers; a butter dealer; a beamer; an overlooker; two weavers and a labourer (121).

Moreover, the Register of Marriages for the period 1880 to 1903 for St John's Wesleyan Chapel, where marriages were solemnised for the whole circuit, reveals that there were considerably larger numbers of unskilled workers within the Halifax Wesleyan penumbra. No fewer than twenty-one marks were recorded in lieu of signatures and there was a high incidence of factory operatives and domestic servants amongst the brides. The listed occupations of bridegrooms and brides' fathers reveals substantial numbers of carters, gardeners, labourers, quarrymen, warehousemen and millhands, alongside gentlemen, manufacturers, builders, butchers, chemists, drapers, grocers,

insurance agents, printers, schoolmasters and clerks. The Pew Rent Book of the Northowram Wesleyan Chapel for 1893-94, where rents ranged from 9d. per quarter to 1s. 3d. per quarter, also suggests that its congregation was relatively poor and in 1900 most of the funds for alterations to the remote Blackshawhead Wesleyan Chapel were supplied by a multitude of smaller contributions from members over a period of eleven years with a mere three pounds out of a total slightly in excess of £787 donated by local industrialists. Many of those associated with the chapel were evidently economically dependent on declining industries for the decrease in the size of the Sunday School during the period 1878 to 1906 was attributed to 'friends leaving the neighbourhood owing to scarcity of work' (122).

In the late 1880s George Clegg (1839-1895), a woollen yarn manufacturer and Wesleyan layman at the Rhodes Street Chapel, who became a leading figure in the Holiness Movement after hearing a Salvation Army girl's testimony, employed a team of six female evangelists working from the Miall Street Mission. The Quarterly Meeting subsequently regarded this initiative as a landmark in the development of a new role for women within Halifax Wesleyanism:

> These earnest women have been in every hole and corner of the Circuit - have systematically visited the sick, poor and dying - have held mothers' meetings and cottage services and given many words of encouragement in the Mission Rooms. For the first time in the history of Halifax Methodism the work of a female agency within the Church has been officially recognised (123).

The Methodist New Connexion increased its membership by nearly 10 per cent from 855 to 934 during the Wesleyan Reform controversy from 1849 to 1856. In 1855 twenty-seven Wesleyan Reformers were admitted into Methodist New Connexion membership at Ovenden and twelve at Salem. Membership experienced its most sustained period of growth during the years 1870 to 1879, when it peaked at 1980. Despite further spurts of growth during the years 1893-97 and 1903-06, the underlying trend after 1879 was downward and by 1907, when the Methodist New

Connexion united with the Bible Christians and the United Methodist Free Churches (a union of the Wesleyan Methodist Association and the Wesleyan Reformers in 1857) membership of the three Halifax Methodist New Connexion Circuits had fallen slightly to 1962 (124).

By 1856 Salem was head of a 'large and important circuit' embracing thirteen societies with a membership of around 1000. In that year, however, the circuit was sub-divided into a South Circuit comprising Hanover, Brighouse, Elland, Soyland, Lightazles, Boulderclough, Bailiffe Bridge and Thornhill Briggs and a North Circuit comprising Salem, Ogden, Northowram, Ovenden, Boothtown and Midgley. In 1857 a new Salem Schoolroom was built with financial assistance from both the Misses Akroyd and Messrs Crossley and in 1872 the third Salem Chapel was built. In 1874 a branch Sunday School was opened on Queen's Road to serve the expanding western sector of the town and in 1889, Queen's Road became head of a new Halifax West Circuit, carved out of the Halifax North Circuit, comprising Ovenden, Ogden, and Midgeley, which became part of the Hebden Bridge Circuit in 1909 (125).

Dr Daniel Ainley, medical officer of health for the borough of Halifax, writing the history of Salem Chapel in 1897, maintained that 'with the exception of Mr Akroyd' Salem had been led 'by men of the middle-class type' during its century of existence. Many of these assertive middle-class Methodist New Connexion leaders had also become prominent figures in the municipal politics of the town during the second half of the nineteenth century, when it was widely assumed that what was decided in municipal corridor and council chamber during the week had already been mooted in Methodist New Connexion chapel vestibule and vestry on the previous Sunday. In 1877-78, when Alderman S.T. Midgley, a former shoemaker, was elected Mayor of Halifax, the first civic service to be held in a local Nonconformist chapel was held at Salem, which was popularly referred to as the 'Mares' Nest' during this period. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Methodist New Connexion in

Halifax had produced no fewer than three Halifax mayors, one of whom served three terms of office; twenty-four town councillors; nine aldermen and four justices of the peace (126).

A typical representative of this new middle-class municipal elite was Alfred Ramsden (1827-92) a local druggist who joined the Halifax Courier as a reporter in 1857, rising to the position of editor in 1882. He espoused Liberal politics; became a member of the Halifax School Board in 1875; a town councillor in 1875; alderman in 1880; mayor in 1883-84; borough magistrate in 1886 and served as chairman of the watch committee for over thirteen years. A founder of the Penny Bank Movement, he was also closely associated with the development of the Halifax Mechanics Institute and the Halifax High Level Railway, which was opened during his mayoralty. For nearly twenty years he continued to teach a large class of adults at the Hanover Street Sunday School and served for fifteen years as Local Preachers' Secretary, building up a circulating library of 200 volumes. As a preacher, he attracted 'large, attentive and intelligent congregations' and as an administrator, he played a prominent role in connexional affairs, serving seven times as Secretary of Conference (127).

However, the most celebrated and influential recruit to the Methodist New Connexion cause in Halifax was John Mackintosh (1868-1920), a former millhand who had left textiles in 1890 to open with his wife, Violet a small confectionery shop specialising in the manufacture of home-made toffee, which developed into the largest toffee manufacturing business in the world, with net assets of £350,000 by 1920 when John Mackintosh died leaving a personal estate of £254,564 gross. His father, Joseph, who had moved to Halifax from Cheshire to work at Bowman Brothers, cotton spinners, a mill managed by his elder brother, was a regular chapel attender, first at Salem and then at the mission on Hanson Lane which was the forbear of the Queens Road Chapel and his mother, Mary, was an effective and popular Sunday School teacher.

The values of his Methodist upbringing, especially those of thrift and integrity, provided the basis for his extraordinary business success. The capital sum of £100 with which John and Violet Mackintosh launched their business had been carefully accumulated in the Sunday School Savings Bank and telling entries in John Mackintosh's diary reveal that from the outset he aimed 'to offer only articles extra specially good in an establishment spotlessly clean'. He later acknowledged that he derived his success from:

> giving people something they want and making it what I claim it is, and trying to treat everyone in a human and friendly way.

After the expanding business had moved into a new purpose-built factory on Queen's Road in 1899, John Mackintosh often went straight from his office to the Queen's Road Sunday School to attend meetings, returning afterwards to the factory and remaining at his desk until midnight. His biographer, the Halifax Methodist New Connexion minister, the Reverend G. W. Crutchley, recorded that:

> He frequently declared that much of his ability to conduct his own business and to deal tactfully with other men came from experience gained when in office in the Sunday School.

His son, Harold Vincent Mackintosh (1891-1964), attributed his father's 'delight in fostering friendly personal relations between the firm and its employees and also with its suppliers and customers' to 'his simple, though profound religious faith'. Mackintosh gained a reputation for paying good wages and industrial relations at the firm were so harmonious that he 'never experienced a strike or a threat of one'. John Mackintosh himself attributed his ability to write good business letters and draft arresting advertisements to the communication skills he had learned through holding office in the chapel and Sunday School.

However, not only did John Mackintosh 'put his religion into his business', he also, as his biographer was quick to acknowledge, put 'his business ability into his religion'. He

served as treasurer at the Queen's Road Chapel; secretary to the chapel trustees and later as circuit treasurer, transacting 'the business of the church with as much care and thought as that of a director's meeting in his own office'. His advice on fundraising activities was frequently sought by chapels and missionary societies throughout the connexion and beyond and his philanthropy matched that of the Crossleys and Akroyds. The opportunities for travel which his business interests provided helped to broaden his experience of religious institutions. Every Sunday when in America he visited different Sunday Schools 'always carefully observing the methods of work adopted and gleaning information that might be useful to the schools at home'. He held office in the Queen's Road Sunday School from the age of fifteen and later became succesively secretary and superintendent. He attended six Methodist New Connexion and six United Methodist Church Conferences, including the uniting conference of 1907 and served on various connexional committees. D.J. Jeremy, the historian of business and religion, has concluded that:

> John Mackintosh of Halifax exemplified in the Methodist New Connexion those less visible laymen who participated in the business dimensions of their denominations. Ill-health and a relatively short life deprived him of the chance of emulating Sir William Hartley, who heavily influenced the organisation of the central institutions of Primitive Methodism.

John Mackintosh always put his religious commitment before political ambition, declaring on one occasion that he 'would rather be the President of the Band of Hope than Mayor of Halifax'. When he was elected to the Halifax Town Council in 1913, after repeated representations had been made to him to stand as a Liberal, he explained his political philosophy in the following terms:

> Whilst I have my political and religious opinions, I am a moderate man and can 'live and let live', looking for the best and not the worst in everyone.

He eschewed narrowly partisan politics, regarding himself as the people's representative and voting for anything brought in

by any party which he believed was for the good of the community as a whole.

Harold Mackintosh maintained that his father 'always lived on a modest scale'. His Savile Park home, though large and well-appointed, formed one of a block of three and he sent his children to modest schools. A lifelong abstainer and strict Sabbatarian, he enjoyed choral singing; brass bands; watching 'healthy outdoor games especially football and cricket' and amusing children with a repertoire of tricks 'with matches pennies and handkerchiefs that would have warmed the heart of a professional entertainer'. Echoing Martha Crossley, he summed up his fundamental mission in life in a letter written in 1917:

> My greatest ambition in life is to help others. I don't easily forget the days when luxuries were few and far between, when I promised God if he helped me I would help others. God did his part; I must do mine.

Dr D.J. Jeremy has concluded that whilst John Mackintosh was 'clearly responsible for the pursuance of keener commercial practices in the crucial areas of property and debt management in his local church, he did not attempt 'to exercise an all-enveloping paternalism through his local church such as William Lever contemporaneously exercised at Port Sunlight'. Not only were Methodist New Connexion denominational structures more centralised than those of Congregationalism but Mackintosh also 'saw it as his duty to share both his abilities and his personal wealth with a much wider church community than that located near his factory'. Although the lack of chapel membership lists and factory personnel records precludes the identification of possible overlap between Queen's Road members and Mackintosh employees, Jeremy has concluded that only a handful of the twenty-five trustees of Queen's Road during the period 1900-14 'could possibly have worked at the toffee factory'. However, there is some evidence that between the renewal of the trusts in 1900 and 1914 the chapel trustees, presumably as a result of the Mackintosh connection, were becoming increasingly commercial-minded. By 1914, they included amongst their number three manufacturing confectioners

(John and Harold Mackintosh and John Esdon Henderson); a company secretary; an insurance superintendant; a bookkeeper; a timber merchant; a leather merchant; a manager; a fish salesman and two fruiterers (128).

The social composition of the chapel leadership of the Methodist New Connexion in its rural context contrasted markedly with that in Halifax itself. In 1874 when the trust was renewed at Midgley, the new trustees included eight weavers, a cloth miller, a bootmaker, a porter and a warehouseman, all of whom were Midgley men. The chapel had been saddled with debt since its opening in 1819 but a bazaar in the Co-operative Hall in August 1872 succeeded in reducing the debt to just over twenty pounds. The Union Chapel remained the spiritual home and the focus of community life 'for the majority of village folk' until its closure for re-building in 1883 and scholars travelled to its Sunday School from as far afield as Warley, Wadsworth, Brearley, Luddenden Foot and Luddenden (129).

Membership of the Wesleyan Methodist Association with the nucleus of its support locally in Todmorden and the Upper Calder Valley peaked at 810 in 1853. Following the establishment of the United Methodist Free Churches in 1857, the former Wesleyan Methodist Association Todmorden Circuit was placed in the Rochdale District, whilst the Halifax United Methodist Free Churches Circuit became part of the Leeds and Bradford District. The Halifax Circuit had four chapels and three preaching places with a total of 561 members in 1858, including the large Wesleyan Reform Chapel and School in Lister Lane opened in 1854. In 1862 the Wesleyan Reformers at Boothtown who had formerly met in 'a donkey hole and smithy' built their first chapel (130).

Membership of the Halifax United Methodist Free Churches Circuit which had slumped to 475 by 1861, grew steadily over the next twelve years and by 1873 had reached 664. In 1875 the new Brunswick Chapel was opened to accommodate the Lister Lane congregation and in 1878 the Halifax Circuit was sub-divided to

form the Halifax North and Halifax South Circuits. Another spurt during the years 1883-84 took the membership total to 691, but the following six years were years of decline and by 1890 membership had fallen to 602. After another slight upturn in 1891-92 there followed a further six years of decline and by 1899 membership had fallen to 285. However, the six years preceding the formation of the United Methodist Church were years of growth and by 1907 membership had reached 334 (131).

Some Wesleyan Reformers within the ancient parish continued to assert their independence by eschewing the circuit system. Mount Pleasant Chapel at Wainstalls, a secession from Mount Tabor in 1857, and Thornfield Chapel at Greetland maintained their independence throughout the period. The Wesleyan Reformers at Elland continued to meet in the warehouse of Joshua Dodgson until they moved to their newly built chapel at Southgate in 1855, where Dodgson became one of the founding trustees. His son, Jonathan (1820-1909), who continued to work in his father's dyeing business, became a class leader and popular local preacher and father and son acted as pastors of the chapel until it amalgamated with the United Methodist Free Churches in 1869. Jonathan also became a prominent figure in local Liberal politics serving as an Overseer of the Poor and as director and chairman of the Elland Gas Company (132).

Other features of Free Methodism were its emphasis on total abstinence and its concern for social justice. Both were reflected in the career of Samuel Hoyle (1800-73) a local preacher expelled by the Sowerby Bridge Wesleyan Circuit. After 'a wild profligate youth spent in gambling and drink', Samuel Hoyle had been converted by the Primitive Methodists and joined the Wesleyans in his native Norland, where he had objected to the practice of serving ale to the teachers at the annual Sunday School treat. However, it was delivering a controversial sermon on 'The Danger of Riches' which finally provoked his expulsion by the Wesleyans. He had then helped found a Working Men's Chapel in Sowerby Bridge which later

became part of the Halifax United Methodist Free ChurchesCircuit (133).

Concern for social justice led other representatives of the Free Methodist tradition into Labour politics. James Parker (1863-1948) had come to Halifax in 1883 and had worked as a labourer on the Commercial Street development earning two shillings and fourpence a day. Although educated at a Wesleyan Day School, he now established links with the Brunswick United Methodist Free Church, attending with 400 Sunday School scholars the Piece Hall Jubilee Sings in 1885 and 1890. He subsequently became a town councillor, serving as a member of the Improvements Committee and in 1900 stood for election to Parliament as an Independent Labour Party candidate, coming bottom of the poll with 3276 votes. However in 1906 he increased his vote to 8937 and was returned to Westminster as Member of Parliament for Halifax with J.H. Whitley, who had topped the poll. He subsequently lost by only one vote chairmanship of the new Parliamentary Labour Party to Keir Hardie, but was appointed Secretary of the Labour Party in 1909. He was returned for Halifax with J.H. Whitley again in 1910, polling 9093 votes, and continued to represent Halifax until 1918, serving from 1917 as a junior minister at the Treasury in the wartime Coalition Government (134).

Halifax Primitive Methodist membership nearly doubled during the late Victorian period from 712 in 1852 to 1312 in 1914. It experienced its most sustained and dramatic periods of growth during the years 1864 to 1867, 1882 to 1884, 1902 to 1906 and 1910 to 1915. The Halifax Primitive Methodist Circuit remained a very extensive circuit until in 1869 nine of the chapels to the south and west of Halifax (Norland, Lindwell, Wall Nook, Elland, Mytholmroyd, Brighouse, Rastrick, Warley Clough and Sowerby New Road) were incorporated into the newly created Sowerby Bridge Circuit. In 1872, twelve members from Ebenezer decided to establish a new society about a mile to the west, which by 1874 had opened a new chapel in Queen's Road. In 1876 this became the Halifax II Circuit and its

daughter church at Pye Nest (1902) was a response to the continuing westward expansion of the town. A Halifax III Circuit was formed in 1887, comprising New Bank, Round Hill, Boothtown, Bank Top, and Shelf. In 1896 the Sowerby Bridge Circuit was divided with Brighouse, Elland, Lindwell and Wall Nook forming the new Brighouse and Greetland Circuit (135).

A spacious new Sunday School was constructed at Ebenezer Chapel in 1883 at a cost of £4500 with an assembly hall designed to accommodate 500, a lecture room, six classrooms and a kitchen. Sunday School membership at Ebenezer reached its peak of 407 in 1889. Although the debt incurred by the building had been reduced to £2000 by 1907, the centenary year of Primitive Methodism, it was not finally cleared until 1913 and the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 forced the abandonment of plans to rebuild the chapel at a cost of £5000. Ebenezer Chapel, which had appealed predominantly to the poor in the period from 1822 to 1851, included within its membership successful industrialists and businessmen by the late Victorian period. John William Standeven who had entered the Sunday School as a scholar in 1856 and served as choirmaster from 1870-88 established the firm of Standeven and Company at Hays Mills, Mixenden, in the early 1880s. The firm, which manufactured high class worsted coating and fancy cloth, quickly expanded, acquiring first the Ellen Royde Mills and then the Ladyship Mills. In 1922 Standeven offered to rebuild the chapel at his own expense as a memorial to his mother Charlotte Standeven who had been a life-long member (136).

John Pawson (1851-1924), who was Superintendent of Ebenezer Sunday School for fifty-three years from 1868 to 1921, was the proprietor of a tailoring and drapery business at Blackwall, who often sported a buttonhole as his photograph on a printed greetings card which he sent to children in the Sunday School on their birthdays reveals. But, as the Reverend G. Osborne declared in a eulogy for him in 1924, Pawson would be best remembered for his evangelical piety:

While others postulated Deity, then discussed Him, this

> saint was proving the value of God in the home, church and community ... His was the personality of the old Mission Band which made Bradshaw Lane ... ring with the triumphant declaration that Jesus saves to the uttermost (137).

Methodist members during the late Victorian era were often recruited from the Sunday Schools and there is evidence of a declining rate of Sunday School recruitment during this period though not perhaps to the extent implied by some contemporary verdicts. Dr Daniel Ainley, the historian of the Methodist New Connexion in Halifax, believed that Sunday Schools reached 'their highest water mark of public estimation and patronage' around 1854. However, membership statistics reveal that enrolments at Methodist New Connexion Sunday Schools in Halifax Circuits had increased by over 56 per cent from 3044 in 1857 to 4765 by 1897 when Dr Ainley was writing. Whilst enrolments often fluctuated the underlying trend was upward until 1884 when enrolments peaked at 5032. Between 1885 and 1907 enrolments declined by nearly 22 per cent to 3932. James Parker, reflecting in 1948 on the social changes which had taken place in Halifax during his association with the town, reckoned that 'the Sunday Schools were filled in the years up to, I would say, about 1900'. Indeed Sunday School enrolment in the Halifax United Methodist Free Churches Circuit had declined from 720 in 1893 to 633 in 1899, and despite a more fluctuating pattern of recruitment in the years which followed the underlying trend was downward in the years before 1914, contributing to a declining rate of membership in the United Methodist Church in Halifax virtually throughout the whole of the period from 1908 to the outbreak of the First World War (138).

Analysis of the membership records for individual Sunday Schools also reveals a declining rate of recruitment before 1914. Siddal Wesleyan Sunday School began its life in a small cottage with fourteen scholars in 1862 but by 1870 there were 149 scholars enrolled on the books, meeting in rented premises. When the Sunday School moved into new purpose-built premises in 1877 there were 190 scholars with a staff of

twenty-seven teachers. By 1901 this number had increased to 256, thirty-one of whom were also members of the Wesleyan Society. The Sunday School also boasted a library of 237 volumes; a branch of the Yorkshire Penny Bank, opening on Friday evenings and a Band of Hope in 'a most flourishing condition' with 260 members. However, by 1905 whilst it was reported that the Band of Hope was still active and vigorous it was conceded that attendances had recently shown 'a marked decrease' owing to 'such a large number of our members' attending the Recreative Evening School classes. Indeed, the number of Sunday School scholars had peaked at 343 in 1898 and had declined to 245 by 1914 (139).

George Sutcliffe (1891-1983) reflecting on his youth at Mount Tabor Wesleyan Chapel between 1903 and 1911 in 1981 claimed that:

> Between the ages of twelve and twenty there was Sunday morning service and Sunday School, Sunday afternoon Sunday School, Evening service followed by a prayer meeting, all of which tended to give one religious diabetes and leave one spiritually somewhat sick. Perhaps that is why in later teenage years there was considerable doubt about the genuineness of Christian religious teaching.

However, there is evidence elsewhere of a vigorous and popular work being maintained with Methodist children and young people in Halifax throughout the period up to the outbreak of the First World War. King Cross Wesleyan Sunday School which had no fewer than 703 scholars on its books in 1899 and an additional 103 scholars at a branch Sunday School at Warley Road was bursting at the seams until the opening of a large new purpose-built Sunday School in 1905. Throughout the period 1844 to 1914 a special Children's Sunday Evening Service was held from six until seven, though in 1913 the time of the morning Sunday School was changed from 9.00 to 9.15 a.m. to encourage attendance, which perhaps had begun to wane (140).

4.2.7. Salvationists:

Founded in East London as the Christian Mission in 1865, the Salvation Army had taken its more familiar name in 1878 and had first arrived in Halifax in 1882, despite its founder William

Booth's earlier connections with the town. William Booth (1829-1912) had visited Halifax as a Methodist New Connexion evangelist for a mission at Salem in 1856 and subsequently served as a Methodist New Connexion minister at Bethel Chapel, Brighouse in the Halifax South Circuit in 1857-58. During his ministry in Brighouse he experienced the challenges and frustrations of urban evangelism. His wife, Catherine, described Brighouse as a 'low smoky town' and maintained that the chapel was situated 'in the worst part of it'. She found the superintendent minister 'a sombre funereal kind of being ... utterly incapable of co-operating with Mr Booth in his ardent views and plans for the salvation of the people'. Two of their sons were born in the circuit, William at Halifax during the Salem mission and Ballington at Brighouse during the pastorate at Bethel.

When the Salvation Army arrived in Halifax amidst a blaze of publicity in January 1882, Major Cadman told a crowd of between 8000 and 10,000 spectators that:

> General Booth had had his eye on Halifax for some time he having previously been a minister here ... So far back as five years ago the General said to him he would like Halifax for Jesus - that he had pointed many to the Cross here and would like to come again with his army.

The Salvationists were generally well-received by the crowds and whenever there was 'any interruption worth noticing the Major beckoned to the band who would play afresh some well-known tune and thus put the people in a good humour again'. The Halifax Courier reporter observed a similarity between the faces of the young men he saw and those he had so often seen in the police courts and compared the conduct of the Salvation Army with that of 'the Primitive Methodism of a few years ago'. James Frederick Turner, a working man whose diary for 1881-82 has survived, recorded several attendances at their early meetings in the Cattle Market and at their Stead Street barracks, commenting after one meeting:

> I thoroughly enjoyed myself; they have a rough way of expressing their religious feelings, they are converting nearly all Halifax.

After another meeting, he observed:

> The hymns they sing are so lively ... they have emptied the public houses, theatre and music halls.

However, when General Booth visited Halifax for the purpose of 'presenting colours to the troops' in June 1882, the Halifax Guardian commented that on the whole his reception was disappointing.

The first Salvation Army barracks providing accommodation for between 3000 and 4000 were located within the former liquor bonding warehouses, which had been fitted and furnished at a cost of about £100, which the district would have to refund to the Army's War Chest once they had become established. By 1905 they had barracks in Haley Hill, Ovenden, Copley Street and Bedford Street, all located in predominantly working class areas. In 1910 the memorial stones for their North Parade Citadel were laid by the Mayor of Halifax and others, when the Halifax Guardian reported, a 'great assembly' gathered in the afternoon sunshine, blocking the lower part of Pellon Lane. They were completed at a cost of £3392 and opened in in 1911, when Bernard Booth, speculated that his grandfather, for all he knew, 'might have conceived the idea of founding this Army' in Halifax (141).

4.2.8. Christadelphians, Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses and Spiritualists:

There is only fragmentary evidence available relating to the smaller non-Trinitarian religious movements which found adherents within the ancient parish during this period. Shunned by the orthodox Christian Churches, their activities appear to have been conducted largely beyond the public gaze. Robinson's Halifax Directory of 1905 concludes its denominational summary of places of worship with a miscellany of other smaller groups including the Christadelphians, who had meeting rooms on Harrison Road and Market Street and the Spiritualists who met at St Paul's Spiritual Church and Lyceum on Alma Street. The first influx of Jehovah's Witnesses into Halifax arrived later in 1911 but no reference was made in the

directory to the Mormons who had established a branch in Halifax as early as 1846. In 1913, however, the Vicar of Illingworth, writing in his parish magazine, warned his people against the Mormons who were then active in the neighbourhood and whose object he maintained was 'to entrap young women into leaving their homes and emigrating to Salt Lake City where many of them fell into a life of guilt and shame and sorrow' and in 1915 the Vicar of Todmorden refused to take part in a united act of worship if 'Unitarians, Christadelphians and Spiritualists' were allowed to take part (142).

Mormonism came to Britain via Liverpool in 1837 and was first preached at Preston. Converts were organised into branches which were placed in larger conference and district groupings, though from 1840 many began to emigrate to America. British membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints reached its peak in 1851 and from that date baptisms failed to keep pace with emigration, backsliding, excommunication and death. Many Mormon initiatives in Halifax in the second half of the nineteenth century mirrored those of the mainstream denominations and included the establishment of a Sunday School; Mutual Improvement Association; bible classes; camp, cottage and women's meetings.

The earliest reference to branch activity in Halifax is a report to the Bradford Conference in 1846 which states that a Halifax branch was functioning with twelve members. Membership throughout the period up to 1914 though never large, fluctuated considerably. By 1850, membership had more than doubled to twenty-six, but it was reported that it had been decided to 'give up a room on Ann Street which was used for Sunday worship' and revert to the use of members' homes. By 1852 membership had risen to forty-two but two years later had fallen to nineteen. Individuals are recorded as having emigrated from Halifax from time to time, including the branch president, Jonathan Jackson in 1864. However, in 1867 at a branch council meeting the president, Richard Walker, stated that there were some who were being influenced against the

church due to letters written by former members who had emigrated and stayed in Nebraska, where they had joined Josephites and 'as a result written derogatory material against the work of God and his servants'.

By 1877, branch membership had risen to forty-three, but in 1891 it was decided at a conference priesthood meeting 'to hold a special meeting in Halifax as there was no branch here'. The situation had been transformed by 1898, when it was reported that 'there was a good work being done in Halifax as there were a number of earnest investigators in that district'. By 1902 Halifax branch meetings were being held in the Manchester Unity Rooms, Victoria Street, but in 1906 they were transferred to the Victoria Cocoa House, Gibbet Street. In 1903 it was reported that the Sunday School was growing, with fifty scholars enrolled and attendances averaging thirty. By 1905 the Mutual Improvement Association, founded in 1900, had an attendance of forty-six at its mid-week meetings. In 1908 two meetings for enquirers were held at the Wainstalls Co-operative Hall which attracted attendances of sixty in the afternoon and 100 in the evening.

In 1909 the Mormons acquired their first permanent meeting room in Lister Lane and by 1910 were reporting a regular branch attendance of around fifty. In 1911 they moved to a new meeting room in Gibbet Street. In 1913 it was reported that many were investigating but that 'they were absolutely forbidden to hold street meetings', a sign perhaps that they were making a greater impact in the locality. Later in the year the branch was reported to be 'sailing smoothly after having had some contention'. However, in 1914 the Mutual Improvement Association was terminated 'owing to the disinterest of the saints' (143).

The Memoirs of Hannah Longbottom Batie (1844-1936), provide insights into the appeal and practice of Spiritualism in Halifax during the late Victorian era. Hannah Longbottom Batie attended as a child Mount Tabor Wesleyan Sunday School, becoming a member of the chapel around the age of fourteen and

subsequently a Sunday School teacher. Her memoirs claim contact with deceased relatives from early childhood, but her adult links with other Spiritualists occurred after her brother-in-law Henry Ambler visited a Spiritualist Medium in Bradford following the death of his brother in an accident. Henry Ambler then arranged for a Huddersfield Medium, Edward Wood, to visit his Halifax home regularly on Tuesdays, paying 'all expenses both for broken work and travelling'. Later the meetings were transferred to Sunday afternoons and evenings and advertised at a small rented room in Halifax.

Hannah Longbottom Batie relates how she subsequently became a Spiritualist Medium herself, combining this with her trade as a dressmaker until after four or five years she was persuaded to devote more time to Spiritualism and charge expenses for attending the growing number of meetings which she was invited to address throughout the North of England. Following her marriage, she visited the United States, returning to England in 1896 on account of her own and her husband's ill-health. However, she was promptly called upon to address a meeting of the Halifax Spiritualists at Winding Road, implying that by 1896 regular morning and evening Spiritualist services were taking place at this venue. She initially spoke at the evening service, when 'the place was crowded' and subsequently 'was called on for every Sunday'. By 1905, the only Spiritualist Meeting listed in a local commercial directory was at St Paul's Spiritual Church and Lyceum on Alma Street.

Hannah Longbottom Batie's memoirs provide a number of insights into the appeal and practice of Spiritualism during this period. It appears to have appealed to those from different social backgrounds: Edward Law was an illiterate stonemason; Hannah Longbottom Batie from a family of small shopkeepers and Henry Ambler a successful woolstapler and manufacturer. However, Henry Ambler who combined his initial visit to a Bradford Medium with a business trip, was apparently 'thoroughly handled by the rest of the business men' after his visit 'but he tackled them all'. Hannah Longbottom Batie's

religious background was Wesleyan and echoes of Methodist holiness teaching are occasionally audible in her expression of her Spiritualist beliefs:

> The Spiritualists know they are called upon to live clean, pure, honest and truthful lives and in doing so the dear and loving ones in the higher life will never forsake us.

Spiritualism also appears to have appealed to those with experiences of childhood or sudden bereavement in tragic circumstances both relatively common occurrences during the late-Victorian era (144).

Table 41: Estimated Roman Catholic Population, 1874-1912

Sources: Acta Diocesanae Beverlacenses; Acta Ecclesiae Loidensis.

Abbreviations: BR: Brighouse; HX/WV: Halifax and West Vale; HB/LF: Hebden Bridge and Luddenden Foot.

Year	BR	(% Change)	HX/WV	(% Change)	HB/LF	(% Change)
1874			5800			
1875	400		5600	(-3.45)		
1877			5900	(+5.36)		
1878	412	(+3.00)	5820	(-1.35)		
1879	340	(-17.47)	5544	(-4.74)		
1880	360	(+5.88)	5720	(+3.17)		
1901	400	(+11.11)	5434	(-5.00)	649	
1902	400		5236	(-3.64)	600	(-7.55)
1903	374	(-6.50)	5126	(-2.10)	600	
1904	330	(-11.76)	5681	(+10.83)	924	(+54.00)
1905	330		5340	(-6.00)	500	(-45.89)
1907	286	(-13.33)	4820	(-9.74)	600	(+20.00)
1908	178	(-37.76)	4914	(+1.95)	600	
1909	198	(+11.23)	4714	(-4.07)	606	(+1.00)
1910	308	(+55.55)	4375	(-7.19)	606	
1912	352	(+14.28)	5260	(+20.23)	600	(-1.00)

Table 42: Baptisms and Easter Communicants at Roman Catholic Churches in Halifax and its Vicinity, 1875-1911

Sources: Bishops' Visitation Papers, Acta Diocesanae Beverlacenses, Acta Ecclesiae Loidensis.

Abbreviations: BR: Brighouse; HX: Halifax; HB/LF: Hebden Bridge and Luddenden Foot.

Year	Baptisms			Easter Communicants		
	BR	HX	HB/LF	BR	HX	HB/LF
1875	6	284				
1877		287				
1878	14	291				
1879	17	252				
1880	24	260				
1894	28	242	21	186	3256	
1895	23	226	24	170	2574	279
1896	22			155		
1897	23		30	163		450
1898	25	259	41	235	3285	350
1900	15			242		
1901	15	275	41	250	3255	304
1902	18		36	247		509
1911	16	221	29			

Table 43: Sunday School Teachers and Scholars, Northgate End Unitarian Chapel, Halifax, 1846-90

Source: Plans showing the Numbers of Teachers and Scholars attending the Halifax Piece Hall Sings.

Year	Teachers/Scholars	% Change
1846	130	
1856	162	+24.61
1863	240	+48.15
1876	290	+20.83
1880	320	+10.34
1890	355	+10.94

Table 44: Membership of Northgate End Unitarian Chapel, Halifax, 1882-1890

Source: Membership Lists.

Year	Membership	% Change
1882	210	
1884	233	+10.95
1885	258	+10.73
1886	265	+2.71
1887	281	+6.04
1888	279	-0.71
1889	289	+3.58

Table 45: Membership of Selected General Baptist Churches in the Upper Calder Valley, 1853-1914

Sources: General Baptist Handbooks; Baptist Handbooks.

Note: Where discrepancies occur between the statistics in the General Baptist and Baptist Handbooks for the period 1864 to 1883 the former source has been used when available.

Abbreviations: B: Birchcliffe; HS: Heptonstall Slack; S: Shore.

Year	B	% Change	HS	% Change	S	% Change
1853	301		385		114	
1854	297	-1.33	324	-15.84	114	
1855	304	+2.36	315	-2.78	113	-0.88
1856	306	+0.66	324	+2.86	138	+22.12
1858	306		303	-6.48	186	+34.78
1859	285	-6.86	297	-1.98	170	-8.60
1860	281	-1.40	296	-0.34	170	
1861	302	+7.47	292	-1.35	200	+17.64
1862	306	+1.32	294	+0.68	203	+1.50
1863	303	-0.98	290	-1.36	221	+8.87
1864	300	-0.99	284	-2.07	260	+17.65
1865	306	+2.00	283	-0.35	267	+2.69
1866	296	-3.27	288	+1.77	254	-4.87
1867	287	-3.04	334	+15.97	231	-9.05
1868	301	+4.88	334		271	+17.32
1869	305	+1.33	290	-13.17	256	-5.53
1870	294	-3.61	281	-3.10	248	-3.12
1871	310	+5.44	290	+3.20	254	+2.42
1873	326	+5.16	262	-9.65	275	+8.27
1874	325	-0.31	269	+2.67	278	+1.09
1875	326	+0.31	274	+1.86	260	-6.47
1876	325	-0.31	274		265	+1.92
1877	320	-1.54	278	+1.46	271	+2.26
1878	335	+4.69	295	+6.11	271	
1879	329	-1.79	289	-2.03	308	+13.65
1880	332	+0.91	302	+4.50	315	+2.27
1881	326	-1.81	299	-0.99	313	-0.63
1882	321	-1.53	314	+5.02	321	+2.55
1883	321		290	-7.64	310	-3.43
1884	320	-0.31	308	+6.21	318	+2.58
1885	320		302	-1.95	308	-3.14
1886	324	+1.25	314	+3.97	298	-3.25
1887	331	+2.16	321	+2.23	259	-13.09
1888	340	+2.72	318	-0.93	227	-12.35
1889	338	-0.59	320	+0.63	244	+7.49
1890	342	+4.00	328	+2.50	248	+3.28
1891	328	-4.09	322	-1.83	245	-1.21
1892	354	+7.93	341	+5.90	237	-3.26
1893	348	-1.69	341		229	-3.37

Year	B	% Change	HS	% Change	S	% Change
1894	336	-3.35	359	+5.28	208	-9.17
1895	352	+4.76	220	-38.72	214	+2.88
1896	367	+4.26	226	+2.73	211	-1.40
1897	369	+0.54	227	+0.44	212	+0.47
1898	367	-0.54	218	-3.96	206	-2.83
1899	351	-4.36	229	+5.04	205	-0.48
1900	342	-2.56	227	-0.87	206	+0.49
1901	348	+1.75	230	+1.32	217	+5.34
1902	363	+4.31	243	+5.65	217	
1904	373	+2.75	328	+34.98	213	-1.84
1905	383	+2.68	232	-29.27	203	-4.69
1906	374	-2.35	236	+1.72	220	+8.37
1907	370	-1.07	237	+0.42	213	-3.18
1908	370		334	+40.92	214	+0.47
1909	359	-2.97	334		208	-2.80
1910	359		332	-0.60	202	-2.88
1911	369	+2.78	224	-32.53	197	-2.47
1912	358	-2.98	318	+41.96	191	-3.04
1913	356	-0.56	315	-0.94	188	-1.57
1914	333	-6.46	305	-3.17	186	-1.06

Table 46: Membership of Selected Particular Baptist Churches in the Upper Calder Valley, 1864-1914

Sources: Baptist Handbooks.

Year	Hebden Bridge	% Change	Wainsgate	% Change
1864	180		79	
1865	186	+3.33	81	+2.53
1866	187	+0.54	81	
1867	184	-1.60	80	-1.23
1868	179	-2.72	81	+1.25
1869	183	+2.23	83	+2.47
1870	197	+7.65	91	+9.64
1871	197		91	
1873	200	+1.52	99	+8.79
1874	195	-2.50	103	+4.04
1875	207	+6.15	105	+1.94
1876	212	+2.41	105	
1877	207	-2.36	107	+1.90
1878	242	+16.91	110	+2.80
1879	260	+7.45	116	+5.45
1880	278	+6.92	126	+8.62
1881	285	+2.52	120	-4.76
1882	285		124	+3.33
1883	254	-10.88	124	
1884	270	+6.30	124	
1885	274	+1.48	130	+4.84
1886	296	+8.03	127	-2.31

Year	Hebden Bridge	% Change	Wainsgate	% Change
1887	307	+3.72	130	+2.36
1888	297	-3.26	135	+3.85
1889	300	+1.01	137	+1.48
1890	293	-2.33	143	+4.38
1891	277	-5.46	139	-2.80
1892	262	-5.41	133	-4.32
1893	280	+6.87	130	-2.25
1894	275	-1.78	129	-0.76
1895	264	-4.00	126	-2.32
1896	280	+6.06	131	+3.97
1897	271	-3.21	138	+6.11
1898	272	+0.37	140	+1.45
1899	273	+0.37	148	+5.71
1900	269	-1.46	142	-4.05
1901	265	-1.49	140	-1.41
1902	265		139	-0.72
1904	282	+6.41	144	+3.60
1905	285	+1.06	141	-2.08
1906	288	+1.05	138	-2.13
1907	294	+2.08	138	
1908	284	-3.40	146	+5.80
1909	295	+3.87	144	-1.37
1910	303	+2.71	142	-1.39
1911	302	-0.33	148	+4.22
1912	309	+2.32	150	+1.35
1913	308	-0.32	154	+2.67
1914	306	-0.65	154	

Table 47: Membership of Halifax Baptist Churches, 1864-1914

Source: Baptist Handbooks.

Abbreviations: LM: Lee Mount; NP: North Parade; PL: Pellon Lane; P: Pellon; TR: Trinity Road; S: Siddal.

Year	LM	NP	PL	P	TR	S	Total	% Change
1864		289	175		185		649	
1865		296	216		196		708	+9.09
1866		300	224		202		726	+2.54
1867		322	207		206		735	+1.24
1868		345	223		169		737	+0.27
1869		339	219		169		727	-1.36
1870		354	223		146	40	763	+4.95
1871		357	219		128	40	744	-2.49
1872		323	217		163	40	743	-0.13
1873		336	236		198	36	806	+8.48
1874		350	246		220	36	852	+5.71
1875		379	252		220	40	891	+4.58
1876		376	252		287	40	955	+7.18

Year	LM	NP	PL	P	TR	S	Total	% Change
1878		386	195		299	40	920	-3.66
1879		406	193		299	40	938	+1.96
1880		402	194		288	40	924	-1.49
1881		415	194		321	40	970	+4.98
1882		444	179		334	40	997	+2.78
1883		437	179		334	40	990	-0.70
1884		441	190		310	40	981	-0.91
1885		433	189		307	40	969	-1.22
1886		458	198		316		972	+0.31
1887		453	207		315		975	+0.31
1888		452	225		315		992	+1.74
1889		466	225		295		986	-0.60
1890		457	225		307		989	+0.30
1891		457	219		318		994	+0.50
1892	134	298	234		320		986	-0.80
1893	134	297	228		326		985	-0.10
1894	152	317	247		323		1039	+5.48
1895	167	300	239		320		1026	-1.25
1896	172	296	242		330		1040	+1.36
1897	170	272	250		331		1023	-1.63
1898	171	262	259		347		1039	+1.56
1899	171	254	280		336		1041	+0.19
1900	198	268	283		380		1129	+8.45
1901	192	273	297		401	90	1253	+10.98
1902	211	274	202	93	373	90	1243	-0.80
1904	218	252	216	94	371	95	1246	+0.24
1905	214	252	205	108	381	95	1255	+0.72
1906	194	281	192	123	355	95	1240	-1.19
1907	190	274	207	150	362	95	1278	+3.06
1908	190	296	201	155	235	95	1172	-8.29
1909	197	293	198	167	244	95	1194	+1.87
1910	191	301	191	174	245	90	1192	-0.17
1911	188	305	182	190	242	90	1197	+0.42
1912	189	301	173	193	280	90	1226	+2.42
1913	181	266	164	195	277	90	1173	-4.32
1914	186	256	172	198	245	90	1147	-2.22

Notes: The Baptist Society at Siddal is listed as Not in Association in the 1877 Baptist Handbook but since membership figures are supplied for a large part of the period they have been included in this table. Another society at Butts Green, Halifax, also listed as Not in Association in 1877 appears to have had only a handful of members in the few years where statistics have been supplied and so these have not been included in this table.

Table 48: Sunday School Enrolment at Halifax Baptist Churches, 1867-1914

Source: Baptist Handbooks.

Abbreviations: LM: Lee Mount; NP: North Parade; PL: Pellon Lane; P: Pellon; TR: Trinity Road; S: Siddal.

Year	LM	NP	PL	P	TR	S	Total	% Change
1867		370	493		300		1163	
1868		600	493		300		1393	+19.78
1869		630	465		311		1406	+0.93
1870		743	556		270	170	1739	+23.68
1871		764	480		320	170	1734	-0.29
1872		703	623		353	172	1851	+6.75
1873		610	450		405	130	1595	-13.83
1874		679	443		465	130	1717	+7.65
1875		662	461		465	170	1758	+2.39
1876		695	562		512	170	1939	+10.29
1878	31	302	284	184	454	170	1425	-26.51
1879		590	500		454	170	1714	+20.28
1880		562	527		410	170	1669	-2.62
1881		562	527		433	170	1692	+1.38
1882		620	577		432	170	1799	+6.32
1883		550	577		390	170	1687	-6.22
1884		550	329	280	430	170	1759	+4.27
1885		629	300	292	414	170	1805	+2.61
1886		671	314	285	418		1688	-6.48
1887		667	327	294	479		1767	+4.68
1888		699	360	293	520		1872	+5.94
1889		717	340	286	500		1843	-1.55
1890		722	325	316	540		1903	+3.25
1891		715	335	332	456		1838	-3.41
1892	416	285	321	276	468		1766	-3.92
1893	363	289	304	384	436		1776	+0.57
1894	432	298	305	297	418		1750	-1.46
1895	399	298	273	273	375		1618	-7.54
1896	439	266	294	298	379		1676	+3.58
1897	489	239	299	323	420		1770	+5.61
1898	473	265	338	323	410		1809	+2.20
1899	471	257	334	293	364		1719	-4.97
1900	389	242	307	300	365		1603	-6.75
1901	374	238	317	332	360	320	1941	+21.08
1902	407	252	356	403	360	223	2001	+3.09
1904	362	190	347	390	349	199	1837	-8.19
1905	343	224	292	449	300	199	1807	-1.63
1906	343	248	302	439	300	199	1831	+1.33
1907	352	280	268	472	240	199	1811	-1.09
1908	350	279	235	480	210	199	1753	-3.20
1909	311	245	224	445	212	199	1636	-6.67
1910	324	266	189	445	212	195	1631	-0.30

Year	LM	NP	PL	P	TR	S	Total	% Change
1911	334	263	189	440	185	195	1606	-1.53
1912	307	242	184	420	198	195	1546	-3.73
1913	309	297	177	426	187	195	1591	+2.91
1914	274	307	182	330	120	195	1408	-11.50

Table 49: Membership of Halifax Congregational Churches, 1898-1914

Source: Congregational Year Books.

Year	Total Membership	% Change
1898	2269	
1899	2243	-1.14
1900	2238	-0.22
1901	2270	+1.43
1902	2293	+1.01
1903	2309	+0.78
1904	2291	+2.73
1905	2613	+14.05
1906	2740	+4.86
1907	2748	+0.29
1908	2697	-1.85
1909	2679	-0.66
1910	2654	-0.93
1911	2638	-0.60
1912	2702	+2.43
1913	2559	-5.29
1914	2588	+1.13

Notes: Churches represented include Harrison Road (from 1906); Heath; Mixenden; Northowram; Providence, Ovenden; Holmfield; Wheatley; Park; High Road Well; Sion, Wade Street; Southowram; Square; Range Bank; Stannary and Warley.

Table 50: Membership of Selected Congregational Churches in the Halifax District, 1898-1914

Source: Congregational Year Books.

Abbreviations: B: Booth; P: Park; S: Square. The figures in parenthesis denote percentage change.

Year	B	P	S
1898	114	419	435
1899	122 (+7.01)	408 (-2.62)	420 (-3.45)
1900	122	414 (+1.47)	471 (+12.14)
1901	121 (-0.82)	429 (+3.62)	459 (-2.55)
1902	122 (+0.82)	447 (+4.19)	401 (-12.64)
1903	122	431 (-3.58)	441 (+9.97)
1904	108 (-11.47)	428 (-0.70)	381 (-13.60)
1905	117 (+8.33)	417 (-2.57)	437 (+14.70)
1906	102 (-12.82)	405 (-2.87)	438 (+0.23)
1907	101 (-0.98)	409 (+0.99)	416 (-5.02)
1908	114 (+12.87)	405 (-0.99)	406 (-2.40)
1909	114	415 (+2.47)	407 (+0.27)
1910	112 (-1.75)	407 (-1.93)	429 (+5.40)
1911	120 (+7.14)	415 (+1.93)	414 (-3.50)
1912	115 (-4.17)	393 (-5.30)	397 (-4.11)
1913	117 (+1.74)	405 (+3.05)	401 (+1.01)
1914	116 (-0.85)	417 (+2.96)	418 (+4.24)

Table 51: Sunday School Enrolment at Congregational Churches in the Halifax District, 1898-1914

Source: Congregational Year Books.

Year	Total Enrolment	% Change
1898	7632	
1899	7570	-0.81
1900	7197	-4.93
1901	7484	+3.99
1902	7481	-0.04
1903	7221	-3.47
1904	7477	+3.54
1905	7476	-0.01
1906	7489	+0.17
1907	7514	+0.33
1908	7240	-3.65
1909	6884	-4.92
1910	6918	+0.49
1911	6577	-4.93
1912	6498	-1.20
1913	6411	-1.34
1914	6405	-0.09

Notes: Churches represented include Booth, Brighouse, Waring Green, Eastwood, Elland, Harrison Road, Heath, Park, High Road Well, Sion, Southowram, Square, Range Bank, Stannary, Holywell Green, Lightcliffe, Luddendenfoot, Mixenden, Northowram, Ovenden, Holmfield, Wheatley, Ripponden, Rishworth, Sowerby, Sowerby Bridge, Stainland, Union Croft and Warley.

Table 52: Society of Friends, Members and Attenders, Brighouse and Halifax, 1868-1914

Sources: Membership returns, Brotherton Library and Library of the Society of Friends, Friends House, Euston Road, London.

Abbreviations: BR: Brighouse; HX: Halifax; M: Members; A: Attenders. The figures in parenthesis denote percentage change.

Year	BR: M	A	HX: M	A
1868	38	18	68	27
1873	36 (-5.26)		60 (-11.76)	
1874	36	28	62 (+3.33)	27
1875	33 (-8.33)	28	60 (-3.22)	29
1880	34 (+3.03)	101	63 (+5.00)	28
1881	35 (+2.94)	100	73 (+15.87)	29
1883	45 (+28.57)	96	58 (-20.55)	30
1890	48 (+6.66)	69	61 (+5.17)	33
1893	44 (-8.33)	70	57 (-6.56)	26
1896	38 (-13.64)	66	53 (-7.02)	27
1897	31 (-18.42)	99	53	25
1898	33 (+6.45)	90	55 (+3.77)	22
1899	36 (+9.09)	97	58 (+5.45)	21
1900	37 (+2.77)	90	60 (+3.45)	27
1901	36 (-2.70)	82	56 (-6.66)	29
1902	34 (-5.55)	82	58 (+3.57)	29
1903	37 (+8.82)	67	64 (+10.34)	25
1904	43 (+16.22)	91	65 (+1.56)	19
1905	43	41	60 (-7.69)	20
1906	39 (-9.30)	14	59 (-1.66)	17
1907	41 (+5.13)	20	55 (-6.78)	17
1908	44 (+7.32)	26	55	36
1909	45 (+2.27)	29	54 (-1.82)	15
1910	44 (-2.22)	21	53 (-1.85)	20
1911	44	20	54 (+1.89)	17
1912	44	20	54	17
1913	43 (-2.27)	20	61 (+12.96)	18
1914	41 (-4.65)	17	57 (-6.55)	12

Table 53: Annual Growth Rate of Halifax Methodist Denominations, 1852-1914

Sources: Minutes of Conference.

Abbreviations: MNC: Methodist New Connexion; PMC: Primitive Methodist Connexion; UMC: United Methodist Church; UMFC: United Methodist Free Churches; WMA: Wesleyan Methodist Association; WMC: Wesleyan Methodist Connexion.

Year	MNC	PMC	UMC	UMFC	WMA	WMC
1852	-1.7	+1.4			-2.8	-7.6
1853	+1.4	+0.7			+16.4	-4.6
1854	+1.3	+2.2			-9.5	-0.4
1855	+1.5	-4.1			+3.7	-0.7
1856	-2.3	+1.7			+2.5	+1.6
1857	+20.9	0.0			0.0	+6.6
1858	+2.4	+0.4		+5.6	+5.0	+1.1
1859	-3.1	0.0		-5.2	+7.2	+0.8
1860	-2.7	+1.7		-7.3	-0.7	+5.6
1861	-2.5	+2.7		-3.6	+6.3	+0.4
1862	+3.5	+2.7		+4.0	+3.1	+0.8
1863	-5.4	-3.1		-2.0		+4.3
1864	+4.1	+13.9		+4.3		+7.3
1865	+7.8	+5.9		+13.7		+4.7
1866	-0.6	+3.3		-4.5		+1.7
1867	+6.1	+3.5		+4.6		+3.9
1868	-6.0	-2.9		+5.7		+2.0
1869	-2.6	+0.5		+1.6		-1.5
1870	+3.5	-31.9		+0.6		+3.2
1871	+9.6	-17.6		0.0		+5.2
1872	+7.6	-2.8		+1.8		+1.9
1873	+3.7	+1.0		+5.2		+0.1
1874	+1.4	+2.1		-5.9		+4.9
1875	+3.0	-6.4		-3.4		+0.7
1876	+7.1	+1.2		+6.0		+13.2
1877	+3.8	+1.4		-1.9		-0.2
1878	+17.5	+3.9		-1.7		-4.6
1879	+4.1	-2.6		+4.7		+0.05
1880	-3.8	+0.4		0.0		-4.2
1881	-3.3	-5.2		-1.4		-3.8
1882	-2.1	+7.1		-4.7		-3.0
1883	+2.5	+7.6		+10.7		+24.7
1884	-0.2	+2.7		+2.8		-4.1
1885	-4.4	+0.9		-5.6		-0.04
1886	-3.3	-4.5		-2.0		+4.0
1887	-2.6	-5.3		-2.7		+2.4
1888	+1.4	+1.0		-1.3		+3.5
1889	+2.6	+6.1		-0.2		+11.8
1890	-2.5	-4.8		-1.8		-0.8
1891	-0.5	-2.0		+4.3		-1.3
1892	-1.1	+0.4		+4.3		-1.9

Year	MNC	PMC	UMC	UMFC	WMC
1893	+2.6	-4.2		-1.8	-5.2
1894	+4.3	-6.9		-46.3	-2.7
1895	+1.7	+0.4		-0.6	-5.2
1896	+1.1	-0.2		-1.4	+2.7
1897	+2.0	+3.1		-0.6	+4.3
1898	-2.4	+3.0		-10.1	-2.0
1899	-0.1	+0.6		+1.0	+2.6
1900	+0.6	-1.7		-6.2	+1.3
1901	-0.2	+9.5		-5.0	+5.0
1902	+2.8	+4.6		+3.8	-0.9
1903	+1.8	+8.9		+2.3	-2.5
1904	+0.05	+12.6		+1.6	-1.9
1905	+0.6	+0.4		+0.3	+0.2
1906	+2.8	+3.6		+5.8	+3.2
1907	-0.5	-2.2		+1.8	-1.2
1908		0.0			-2.4
1909		-1.6	-1.5		-3.0
1910		+0.7	-0.4		-1.3
1911		+1.0	+0.2		-0.4
1912		+2.4	-1.6		-2.7
1913		+1.4	+1.3		-0.7
1914		+1.8	-3.0		-0.8

Notes: The above figures are derived from the Halifax Circuits of their respective denominations with the exception of the WMA figures, which are derived from the Todmorden Circuit, which was transferred in 1862 to the Rochdale District.

Conclusion

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the parish of Halifax was experiencing a demographic revolution and undergoing the first phase of its modern industrial and urban transformation, the Church of England maintained a firm foothold within the ancient parish. Some of the disadvantages of its vast size and inhospitable terrain were mitigated by the effective subdivision of the parish into three parochial chapelries with their ten chapels-of-ease scattered across the sprawling parish. Moreover, during this period, all of the ten chapels-of-ease within the parish were rebuilt and enlarged and a second church (Holy Trinity) was erected in Halifax itself. These improvements, achieved without any disturbance of the existing parochial structure and before the availability of public money from the Austrian war indemnity to fund new church building, suggest that the Hanoverian Church of England was neither as inert nor as complacent in the parish of Halifax as has sometimes been implied, and therefore confirm the findings of J.F. Altholz and R. Leese for Birmingham and the Black Country. Furthermore, the ratio of pastors to people of 1:2214 achieved within the parish of Halifax by 1743, although declining to 1:2748 by 1764 and 1: 5664 by 1841, was not surpassed until after 1900 (1).

Eighteenth and early nineteenth century episcopal visitation returns also reveal an impressive level of pastoral concern and devotion to clerical duty at parochial level which shows that Anglicanism was far from moribund in the parish of Halifax in the Georgian era. Indeed, Anglican performance in the parish of Halifax compares very favourably with that of the Established Church in some much smaller parishes of the rural south. Both the 1743 and 1764 visitation returns reveal a remarkable 100 per cent celebration of the canonical standard of two Sunday services in chapelries throughout the parish, a higher proportion than in any of the eight regions sampled by Professor F.C. Mather in his investigation of Anglican public

worship in the period 1714-1830. Indeed, performance in southern parishes outside London fell considerably below the standard achieved in the parish of Halifax and other northern parishes, ranging from 22-26 per cent in the parishes of West Sussex, Essex and Hertfordshire to 67 per cent in the parishes of Oxfordshire, probably because of the higher incidence of pluralism and clerical non-residence in these smaller southern parishes (2).

Moreover, there was also a higher proportion of chapelries in the parish of Halifax (66.6 per cent in 1743; 81.8 per cent in 1764) celebrating Holy Communion at least quarterly during the eighteenth century than in the parishes of West Sussex (54.4 per cent in 1724), Essex and Hertfordshire (79.2 per cent between 1766-78) and a higher average per capita attendance at Holy Communion in the chapelries of Halifax (9.2 per cent in 1743 and 4.7 per cent in 1764) than in the parishes of Oxfordshire (under five per cent between 1738-1811). Weekday worship was also celebrated regularly in the three parochial chapelries of the parish of Halifax and there is evidence of worship within the parish being enhanced by musical innovation during this period, supporting F.C. Mather's assertion that 'the musty formalism and commonplace moralising' customarily attributed to the Georgian Church was not characteristic of all Anglican worship' (3).

Professor Mather's research did not, however, reach any conclusions about the styles of preaching or theological opinions of Georgian churchmen, both of which defy quantitative investigation. Whilst some surviving sermons delivered by Halifax clergymen such as those of the Reverend Dr Henry Coulthurst were challenging, thoroughly evangelical expositions of Scripture, J.U. Walker, the historian of Wesleyan Methodism in Halifax, complained that much Anglican preaching, although sometimes eloquent, often lacked power:

> The clergy, or at least a portion of them, could discourse and harangue with considerable fluency; they could adorn their orations with the offsprings of a vivid imagination, illustrate them systematically, and garnish

> them with learned quotations from the sages of Athens and Rome. But their sermons were without power; the scripture was not clearly explained; a frigid morality was insisted upon, while the heart remained untouched. And cold and ineffectual indeed must be that ministry, however learned and scholastic, which strikes not at the root, which aims not at the heart.

The episcopal visitation returns, however, reveal that catechising was faithfully performed throughout the parish providing further support for Professor Mather's optimistic re-assessment of mainstream Georgian churchmanship, particularly in the 'stony ecclesiastical pastures of the north and west', where the parochial system has often been considered to have been less effective than in the lowland parishes of rural southern and eastern England, but which Mather maintains appears to have attracted 'shepherds of a more than usually dedicated type' during the period from 1740 to 1830 (4).

An examination of the more fully-documented churchmanship of the Vicars of Halifax during this period, however, reveals that Halifax incumbents displayed some of the weaknesses as well as some of the strengths identified by Dr Peter Virgin in his thoroughly researched study of the Georgian clergy. The evidence from the Drummond Visitation Returns for the later years of the incumbency of Dr George Legh supports Dr Virgin's argument that some senescent clergy remained in their benefices for far too long, whilst his successor, the Reverend Dr Henry Wood appears to have spent considerable periods of time away from the parish at the rectory at Hemsworth, which he held in plurality with the Halifax living, personifying the growing abuse of pluralism in the later eighteenth century. On the other hand, the Reverend Dr Henry Coulthurst exemplified, par excellence, Dr Virgin's clerical 'workhorses of the magistracy', performing a significant contribution to the maintenance of law and order in the parish during the French Wars, when Painite radicals and Luddite sympathisers aroused considerable anxiety amongst the propertied classes.

However, the evidence of the increasing wealth of the Halifax living during the vicariate of the Reverend Charles Musgrave,

undermines Virgin's argument that spectacular rises in the values of poorer livings between 1800 and 1840 renders 'in tatters the conventional view which holds that the chasm separating the rich clergy from the poor, already wide by the end of the seventeenth century, widened still further between 1700 and 1840'. Whilst statistical averages for the country as a whole may appear to support Virgin's contention that 'anti-clerical propagandists grossly and unfairly exaggerated the extent of the clergy's wealth' in Hanoverian England, in Halifax, where the Vicar was one of the wealthiest beneficed clergymen in the country by 1835, the gap between the incomes of the vicar and his curates had widened considerably after Charles Musgrave increased the value of the benefice by commuting his small tithes and clerical dues to a lucrative yet highly unpopular Vicar's rate in 1829. Moreover, the poverty of some of the clergy within the parish remained an embarrassment to his successors into the first decade of the twentieth century and aroused bitter controversy when it was proposed to further enhance the revenue of the benefice by elevating its status to that of an episcopal see in 1877 and to enhance the appearance of the Halifax Parish Church by embarking on a costly scheme of reburbishment in 1878 (5).

The Church of England also undoubtedly suffered at parochial level from weaknesses of episcopal administration at diocesan level during the Georgian period. The Reverend George Huntington later observed that the West Riding's 'crying need of a complete ecclesiastical organisation only met a tardy and unwilling recognition on the part of the legislature so lately as the year 1835, when, after much delay and much needless opposition, the diocese of Ripon was formed'. Before the new legislation came into effect in 1836, episcopal visits to the parish were few and far between and the infrequency with which confirmations were held was a source of deep clerical anxiety at parochial level. Moreover, it was not until the creation of the diocese of Wakefield in 1888 that a bishop actually resided in the West Riding and a more personal and effective

form of episcopal management began to evolve (6).
On balance, however, when all the evidence is taken into consideration, the Reverend G.R. Oakley's verdict that the Georgian Church was 'asleep religiously' appears too pessimistic an assessment of the condition of the Church of England at grass roots level in the parish of Halifax during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The parish may have suffered from episcopal neglect and some of the parochial clergy may have exhibited individual weaknesses but these were more than offset by the high degree of devotion to clerical duty displayed by the overwhelming majority of parochial clergy during the period from 1740 to 1830.
However, whilst the pessimistic view of the condition of the Georgian Church presented by some Victorian clerics and later historians can no longer be sustained by the Halifax evidence, nor can it be argued that the Evangelical Revival and the growth of Methodism, developed within the parish primarily as a consequence of Anglican parochial renewal as Dr Edward Royle has suggested was the case in Huddersfield and York during this period. This is not to deny that Anglican Evangelicals such as the Reverend William Grimshaw of Haworth and the Reverend Henry Venn of Huddersfield and his protégé the Reverend George Burnett at Elland played an important role in the development of Methodism and the revival of Old Dissent within the parish but to assert that it was not until 1790, with the appointment of the Reverend Dr Henry Coulthurst, that Evangelical churchmanship began to exercise a major guiding influence on the ministry of the parish and by then Evangelical Nonconformity and in particular Methodism were both well-established.
By contrast, when the Reverend Henry Venn had been appointed to the living of Huddersfield over thirty years earlier in 1759, Methodism was then in its infancy and the revival of Old Dissent had barely commenced. Moreover, during his ministry which continued until 1771, Venn had regularly opened his pulpit at Huddersfield Parish Church to John Wesley, who had

agreed to restrict the visits of his itinerant preachers to the parish. Indeed, although a chapel had opened at Netherthong in 1759, no Methodist chapel had been opened in Huddersfield itself until 1776, nearly a quarter of a century after the opening of the first purpose-built Methodist preaching house in Halifax. Moreover, following Venn's departure from Huddersfield in 1771 there was an interval of two decades before an Evangelical successor was appointed to the Huddersfield living and a consequent influx of disillusioned Evangelical Anglicans into the ranks of Evangelical Nonconformity (7).

At York, where the Reverend William Richardson exercised a powerful evangelical ministry from 1771 until his death in 1821, Dr Royle has maintained that Methodism, contrary to the general assumption that it was a product of Anglican weakness, 'grew out of the strength of the revival within a Church which was unable to contain it' and that it remained until 'at least the second quarter of the nineteenth century as much an adjunct of the Church of England as a separate denomination'. Consequently York Wesleyans did not avail themselves of the opportunity granted by the Wesleyan Connexion under the Plan of Pacification of 1795 of holding their own Holy Communion services until 1815. In Halifax, however, separate services were held almost immediately despite the opposition of a substantial minority within the society and the appointment of an evangelical vicar in 1790. By 1790, when John Wesley paid his last visit to the parish, Halifax was already the head of a large Wesleyan Circuit and following his death in 1791 became head of a new district encompassing Colne, Keighley, Bradford and Huddersfield. Whilst some Methodists continued to attend worship at the parish church for another half century the denominational distinctions between Anglicanism and Methodism in Halifax were becoming more pronounced and the Reverend Joseph Cockin criticised the Reverend Samuel Knight, another Evangelical, who succeeded Coulthurst in 1817 for exhorting his parishioners 'to adhere exclusively to their own

party', which he maintained had widened 'the distance between Conformists and Nonconformists in Halifax' (8).

It seems more likely that in the parish of Halifax as in the neighbouring parish of Bradford, both significantly larger and more heavily populated parishes than Huddersfield, that Evangelical Nonconformity developed partly as a response to the institutional failure of the Church of England to meet effectively the challenge of accelerating demographic, social and economic change in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This view is supported not only by the conclusions of informed contemporary Anglican observers of the parish of Halifax such as John Crabtree but also by the research of later historians of Nonconformity in the industrial West Riding such as Dr B. Greaves and Dr J.A. Jowitt. Moreover, my own research reveals that in the industrialising townships of the parish of Halifax with expanding populations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries where Anglican provision was weak or non-existent such as Northowram and Skircoat, Nonconformity tended to be strong, suggesting that demographic, economic, and social changes in the parish imposed an increasing strain on already overstretched Anglican structures and resources, thereby presenting an opportunity for the development of Nonconformity with its new missionary impetus derived from the Evangelical Revival; its more flexible structures and additional resources to meet the needs of a new industrial and urban society (9).

Other factors, however, also need to be taken into account, such as the organisational genius of John Wesley himself and the capacity of Methodism under his leadership to absorb what his most recent biographer has described as 'a heterogeneous scattering of local renewal movements and societies under local leaders and travelling evangelists'. Nor should the appeal of Methodist Armininian theology; the power of evangelical preaching and the persistence of personal evangelism be underestimated. James Riley of Bradshaw, in the township of Ovenden, who had been deeply affected by Wesley's preaching in

Halifax in 1748, travelled to Haworth Parish Church on the following Sunday to hear the Reverend William Grimshaw preach, subsequently persuading others from the remote village to accompany him. Later Grimshaw and a succession of local preachers were invited to preach at Riley's cottage in Bradshaw, which became the springboard for the establishment of a Methodist society in the village, which built its first chapel at Upper Brockholes in 1772. The absence of mechanisms of social control in the vast open parish resulting from the lack of resident gentry and an overstretched ecclesiastical structure; the distinctive pattern of landholding within the parish with its multiplicity of small freehold tenancies and the potential of Methodist organisation for developing a sense of community in the semi-rural industrialising villages and hamlets of the parish were also powerful contributory factors to the Methodist revival and the revival of Old Dissent as the contemporary observations of J.U. Walker and John Crabtree reveal (10).

The rapid growth of Evangelical Nonconformity and especially Methodism shows that religion did not lack appeal in the industrialising villages and the developing urban centres of the parish in the second half of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. The rapid expansion of Evangelical Nonconformity within the parish by 1851 provides support for the view that the role of religion in society increased rather than diminished during this transitional period of industrialisation and urbanisation. Whilst the lack of manuscript returns for the 1851 Census of Religious Worship does not permit a reconstruction of the social composition of the membership of individual chapels such as that undertaken by Dr Mark Smith for Oldham, it is reasonable to assume from the extent of chapel building and the level of Sunday School enrolment and chapel attendance revealed in both the 1851 census and Baines's survey of 1843 that large sections of both the urban and semi-rural populations were involved in organised religious activity.

Moreover, although the extent of Anglican recovery has been exaggerated by historians who have based their assessment on calculations of the Anglican percentage share of aggregate attendances derived from the incomplete statistical summaries of 1851 Census of Religious Worship, comparison between indices of per capita Anglican attendance in 1851 and communicant rates in the eighteenth century and church attendance in the early nineteenth century suggests a modest Anglican recovery by mid-century. The Anglican index of attendance for the municipal borough of Halifax in 1851, which makes no allowance for multiple attendances, has been calculated at 23.4, slightly below that of Huddersfield (25.9), but significantly above that of Bradford (9.8). By contrast, average attendances at Holy Communion in the parish of Halifax in 1743 and 1764 amounted to 9.2 and 4.7 per cent of the adult population respectively, whilst, calculations of per capita attendance at Sunday worship in Elland in 1837, the only chapelry for which the Longley Visitation Returns supplied data of both estimated population and Sunday congregation size for the same year, reveals an average per capita attendance of 6.2 per cent. Moreover, there had also been a significant expansion of Anglican church accommodation by 1851, when the Anglican churches in the municipal borough of Halifax were able to accommodate 14.3 per cent of the population, a provision of accommodation which was only just surpassed by all the remaining Nonconformist churches all together (11).

Close relationships have also been identified between the churches and the rise of industrial society in both its rural and urban contexts. Evangelical Nonconformity as the experience of Cornelius Ashworth of Walt Royd, Wheatley, reveals proved particularly well-suited to the life-style of the domestic outworkers of the parish, who figured so prominently in Nonconformist trust deeds and non-parochial registers during the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The structures of Evangelical Nonconformity also adapted easily to patterns of industrial migration as evidence

from the Upper Calder Valley reveals. Moreover, some enterprising rural yeomen clothiers who successfully made the transition to urban factory-based production, most notably the Akroyd family, had strong Nonconformist roots, bringing considerable wealth and influence to the religious causes which they espoused. Indeed, there is evidence of both Anglican and Nonconformist manufacturers investing some of their industrial capital in the provision or enhancement of church and chapel accommodation during this period. Moreover, not all such patronage occurred within the immediate vicinity of the workplace, emphasizing the complexity of the motivation underlying such beneficence. However, there is evidence to suggest that at least one major large-scale employer with Methodist roots, Jonathan Akroyd, whatever his intentions, may well have succeeded in influencing the religious allegiance of at least some of his workforce, though his son, Edward Akroyd's, change of religious allegiance, weakens E.P. Thompson's case that employers saw particular advantages in Methodism as means of inculcating factory discipline into the first and second generations of factory workers. Moreover, the involvement of powerful Nonconformist industrial entrepreneurs in philanthropic largesse and social and political leadership remained a feature of Halifax religious life throughout the period up to 1914, most notably in the career of the Methodist toffee manufacturer, John Mackintosh, who died in 1920 (12).

During the transition from a semi-rural to an urban industrial society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the demographic revolution caused literacy rates to plummet, the role of the churches in the development of popular education in the parish of Halifax was also of crucial importance. My own research provides support for Thomas Laqueur's thesis that the Sunday School movement developed a genuinely popular appeal during the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It also provides some support for his view that tension developed between some Sunday Schools and

their parent bodies during this period. It suggests, however, that such tension, occurring in Halifax usually only in times of crisis such as the Wesleyan Reform controversy, was less generally evident in the parish of Halifax than in the predominantly non-denominational and Nonconformist Sunday Schools of the north-west studied by Laqueur. It also expresses reservations about his use of indices of church and chapel attendance derived from the incomplete statistical data of the 1851 Census of Religious Worship to argue that there was a strong negative correlation between church and chapel attendance per capita Sunday School enrolment in 1851. It concludes that whilst the majority of Sunday Schools in Halifax before 1800 were undenominational in character, denominational schools rapidly became the norm during the first half of the nineteenth century against a background of growing sectarian rivalry between the Established Church and Nonconformity. It suggests that these denominational Sunday Schools became major recruiting grounds for church and chapel members during the nineteenth century and that when Nonconformist Sunday School recruitment began to decline during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, so too did chapel membership (13).

My own research into the relationship between Methodism and politics in the parish of Halifax during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries provides support for Dr David Hempton's conclusion that the relationship was more complex than has sometimes been assumed and reveals a greater degree of Methodist political involvement than has often been allowed. In particular, it challenges Dr A.E. Teale's conclusion that Halifax Methodists inclined towards political diffidence during the first half of the nineteenth century. Whilst accepting that some Halifax Methodists 'found themselves having to make political decisions' after 1832 and that others began 'to respond in a much more decisive way' by the time of the parliamentary elections of 1847 and 1848, Teale argued that the primary concern of Halifax Methodists to spread 'scriptural holiness in society' effectively precluded their active

participation in the post-reform politics of the new parliamentary borough constituency of Halifax and 'appreciably slowed down the work of the political reformers'. Moreover, he insisted that although Halifax Methodists displayed 'an overall preference for the Liberals' in the parliamentary elections of the period 1835-41 their political behaviour 'was not designed to set the town ablaze'. He also maintained that the vast majority also 'excluded themselves from direct association with radical politics' and deliberately eschewed the pursuit 'of local political power and thus, by default, made it easier for others to rule' (14).

Both Teale's research and my own reveal that more Methodists than has sometimes been allowed gained the vote after 1832 in a constituency where rents were generally low and where it was harder for the lower classes to qualify for the vote than in many other places. Moreover, there is a broad correlation between the pluralistic pattern of Methodist voting in the elections of 1835-47 discerned by Teale from his sample of voters derived from Methodist baptismal registers and that suggested by my own research based on a larger sample of individuals positively identified as Methodists from a variety of Methodist chapel and circuit records. However, my own research, beginning with the 1832 election and differentiating between Wesleyan and Methodist New Connexion voters, shows a slightly larger nucleus of predominantly Wesleyan Tory support amongst Methodist voters in the elections of 1835, 1841 and 1847 than does Teale's (15).

My own research also emphasises Methodist reluctance to become associated with the popular movements of the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and confirms the strength of Methodist opposition to Owenite Socialism noticed by Teale. However, it demonstrates how, with the emergence of the radical-nonconformist alliance at the Halifax borough election of 1847 and municipal Chartism in the following year, some prominent New Connexion Methodists adopted a more accommodating attitude towards the Chartists. Moreover, it also reveals

that when Ernest Jones returned to Halifax on his release from prison to establish a base for his Chartist activities in 1850, he was received sympathetically by, amongst others, the Wesleyan proprietor of the Halifax Guardian, J.U. Walker. The more conciliatory attitude towards the Chartists, however, was neither universal amongst Methodists nor fully reciprocated by the Chartists. The funeral of Benjamin Rushton, the Ovenden Chartist and former Methodist New Connexion local preacher, whose career in many respects exemplified the incongruity of Methodist and Chartist allegiances, was significantly an essentially secular affair (16).

My own research also reveals that Halifax Methodists were not as reluctant to support the Anti-Corn Law League as Teale implies and were more active than Teale appears to allow in other forms of extra-parliamentary protest such as the great evangelical crusade against colonial slavery and the nonconformist assault on the educational clauses of Sir James Graham's abortive factory bill of 1843. Teale's assertion that Halifax Methodists 'did little to hinder Tory economic and social policies' overlooks the strength of the Wesleyan, Methodist New Connexion and Primitive Methodist opposition to the controversial bill. Nor does Teale appear to appreciate the growing Methodist and Dissenting disenchantment with the Halifax Liberal Member of Parliament, Sir Charles Wood, on account of his support for both Graham's bill in 1843 and the equally controversial Maynooth grant in 1845, which predisposed many of them to seek a new political alignment several years before the climacteric 1847 election campaign, which now appears a rather less decisive factor in the shaping of Methodist political attitudes than Teale implies (17).

Nor can Teale's assertion that the primacy of Methodist evangelistic commitment 'appreciably slowed down the work of the political reformers' be accepted without qualification. Whilst it is true that Halifax Methodism produced some notable political quietists such as Jonathan Saville, the revivalist Wesleyan local preacher, the career of another contemporary

Wesleyan local preacher, George Buxton Browne, hitherto completely neglected by historians, reveals that evangelical piety and a strong social and political conscience were not necessarily incompatible. Browne emerged from political obscurity during the Reform Bill struggle to become a central figure in the post-reform politics of the new urban constituency for almost a decade until his sudden death in 1839. Experience of leadership, public speaking and organisation within the chapel community all helped to identify Browne and other Methodists such as Francis Noble of Elland, who also came to prominence during the Reform Bill struggle, as obvious leaders within a wider community experiencing political awakening but still in many respects politically inarticulate. Methodism, with its multiplicity of opportunities for public speaking, helped to equip politically aware individuals to articulate the political hopes of the wider community to which they belonged as passionately as they expressed the theological aspirations of their chapel communities. Often the language of the chapel became the language of the political meeting. William Thornton, haranguing an anti-Poor Law meeting, compared the condition of the poor under the New Poor Law with the plight of the Hebrew slaves in captivity in Egypt, whilst Ben Rushton, observed, cynically at a general election meeting in 1841 that all the candidates were promising:

> plenty of gold and silver like the stones in Jerusalem streets and loaves as large as Goliath of Gath (18).

Teale's failure to identify G.B. Browne's instrumental role in cementing the Liberal-Radical alliance of 1835 and in the controversy arising from 1835 election, which rocked the local Wesleyan community; or the equally prominent role in Tory politics of leading Wesleyan Tories such as T.S. Swale; or the sensational endorsement by the Wesleyan town clerk of Halifax, E.M. Wavell, of Edward Miall's candidacy at the 1847 election seriously undermine his contention that Methodists tended 'to remain quietly in the background' when the political temperature rose. Teale also totally disregards the

considerable contribution of Methodists to the parochial, township and municipal politics of the period. Moreover, his argument that music may have provided an alternative to political involvement for a significant proportion of Methodists is weakened by the lack of specific examples (19). However, both Teale's research and my own reveal more Methodist voters among the electorate of the Halifax borough constituency between 1832 and 1847 and a greater variety of political attitudes and allegiances among Methodist voters at grass roots level than has sometimes been allowed in general treatments of the relationship between Methodism and politics during the age of reform. Although Methodist New Connexion voters were usually Liberal or Radical in their political preferences, Wesleyan Methodism can no longer be characterised as monolithically Tory, despite the oft-quoted remark of Jabez Bunting at the Wesleyan Conference of 1839 that: 'We are as a body Conservative' and Benjamin Disraeli's famous caricature of a Tory election agent eager to harness the Tory Wesleyan vote in his novel, Coningsby. Hence it is no longer feasible to postulate an exclusively conservative or radical influence for Methodism on society. The wide political spectrum which Methodism represented, however, undoubtedly made for social stability by helping to hold together individuals with potentially divisive political tendencies and contributed to the development of both popular liberalism and popular Toryism as well as influencing the shape and nature of the radical tradition through those individuals who like Benjamin Rushton could not be contained within their chapel communities. The chapel may thus have played a significant part alongside other socio-economic factors in the politicisation of its members and also have enabled those with different political attitudes and allegiances to coexist within the same social community, a possibility which stereotyped views of Methodist political attitudes and allegiances have tended to discount (20).

My own research suggests that, whilst there was a significant Anglican recovery in the period 1852 to 1914 when no fewer than

forty new Anglican churches and a large number of new mission churches and rooms were established in areas of growing population within the ancient parish of Halifax, there were limitations to the extent of this recovery. Although Anglican revival in the parish and deanery of Halifax was more impressive than that achieved within the neighbouring parish and deanery of Bradford, it was considerably less impressive than that achieved within the neighbouring parish and deanery of Huddersfield, with which it was, in terms of industrial and urban expansion, more directly comparable in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By 1901 Bradford had more than twice the population of Halifax whereas that of the county borough of Huddersfield only achieved a sustained lead over that of the county borough of Halifax during the first decade of the twentieth century. The Bickersteth Visitation Returns suggest that whilst Halifax Parish Church had higher per capita communicant rates and church attendances than Bradford Parish Church in 1858, it was surpassed in both respects, but particularly in the level of church attendance, by Huddersfield Parish Church. The Diocesan Commissions of 1889 and 1908 also reveal that the Deanery of Huddersfield provided church accommodation for 5 per cent more of its population than the Deanery of Halifax during this period. Moreover, it was not until after 1900, when the population in the Deanery of Halifax had begun to fall, that the ratio of pastors to people within the ancient parish of Halifax exceeded the 1743 ratio. There is also evidence to suggest that diocesan reform was only beginning to make a significant impact within the ancient parish of Halifax by end of period (21).
There is, however, within the parish of Halifax evidence that Anglicanism developed a growing appeal to the working classes after 1852. The Bickersteth Visitation Returns reveal a deep concern amongst many Anglican clergy within the parish to attract the unchurched masses in the wake of the publication of Horace Mann's report on the Census of Religious Worship in 1854. They also reveal a considerable opposition to the

system of pew rents, which were perceived to be the root cause of working class alienation from worship. However, they also reveal that by 1858, nearly a third of the Anglican sittings within the parish were free and unappropriated and that pew rents had been effectively abandoned at Heptonstall. Moreover pew rents were explicitly rejected as a source of ecclesiastical revenue by the Reverend C.R. Holmes on the grounds that they were considered to 'operate in the strongest possible manner to deter the poor man from entering the church', when All Souls Church opened in 1859. This well-publicised decision challenges the assertion of Dr Simon Green, in a recent revisionist interpretation of the pew-rent system, that 'in 1870 every church and chapel in Halifax, Keighley and Denholme charged pew-rent' and that the first religious institution to offer 'free and equal seating' to its congregations in Halifax was Northgate End Unitarian Chapel in 1873. (22).

Moreover, the Bickersteth Visitation Returns reveal a high per capita attendance at worship at some churches located in predominantly working class parishes, such as St James's, which was attended by a quarter of the population of the parish and regularly filled to capacity in 1858. The returns also reveal a considerable continuing Anglican commitment to popular education through the provision of Parochial Day Schools and Sunday Schools. Indeed by 1908 the Halifax Deanery had more Sunday School scholars on its books than any other deanery in the diocese, including both Bradford and Huddersfield. Moreover, a growing number of mission rooms had also been opened in the ancient parish before 1914 in an attempt to reach the unchurched masses (23).

However impressive Anglican Sunday School provision appeared in the Halifax Deanery in comparison with other deaneries in the Wakefield diocese, it was nevertheless completely outstripped by that of the Nonconformist denominations in the ancient parish during the period 1852 to 1914, as the statistics of participants in the Halifax Piece Hall Sings reveal. The

number of Nonconformist scholars participating in the last Piece Hall Sing in 1890 was almost double the number of scholars enrolled in Anglican Sunday Schools in 1889. Moreover, the number of Nonconformist Sunday School teachers participating in the Sing was 3598, more than double the number of 1527 enrolled Anglican Sunday School teachers in 1889. Although Anglicanism had made a recovery within the parish during the previous half-century the parish remained a Nonconformist stronghold confirming Francis Pigou's remark in 1898 that 'Nonconformity is undoubtedly a great power in Yorkshire and that the Church of England does not do much more than hold her own' (24).

Although there was no late-Victorian census of religious worship in Halifax, an indication of the continuing vitality of the religious institutions within the parish can be gauged from the number of participants at the last Sunday School Jubilee Sing to be held in the Halifax Piece Hall in 1890. The Halifax Courier reported that there were no fewer than 30985 participants from ninety-three Nonconformist Sunday Schools within the ancient parish. Collectively the Methodists accounted for 9882 scholars, comprising 5923 Wesleyan; 3678 United Methodist Free Church; 3366 Methodist New Connexion and 2245 Primitive Methodist scholars. The Congregationalists and Baptists accounted for 6472 and 2593 scholars respectively and other Sunday Schools 1010, including 320 from the Northgate End Unitarian Sunday School. No Anglicans were present, but diocesan records reveal that there were a further 17,498 scholars enrolled at Anglican Sunday Schools within the Halifax Deanery in 1889. When both figures are aggregated it becomes apparent that there were at least 48,483 children within the boundaries of the ancient parish associated with Sunday Schools in 1890. Given that the population of the County Borough of Halifax in 1891 was 89,832, this figure must have included a very large proportion of children from within the local community (25).

This evidence also confirms the impression that religious

institutions within the parish, which collectively represented the largest form of voluntary association within the life of the local community during this period, displayed a continuing vitality in the late-Victorian period. Indeed, their success was remarkable when compared with the success of other voluntary associations or with the performance of religious institutions in the twentieth century. For example, membership of the Halifax Trade Societies fluctuated between 3000 and 4000 and that of the Halifax ILP between 500 and 600 during the 1890s, whilst membership of registered Liberal, Conservative and Working Men's Clubs in the borough of Halifax in 1903 amounted to 1122, 1067 and 1072 respectively. Moreover, the registered electorate for the Halifax parliamentary division only amounted to 9328 in 1871 and 11,998 in 1884, whilst the maximum attendances of over 15,000 at the Halifax Rugby Club's newly opened stadium at Thrum Hall barely exceeded half the number of participants in the Halifax Piece Hall Sings. Furthermore, a religious census conducted in 1989 by a research organisation with the approval of the major denominations revealed that a mere 10 per cent of adults attended church in West Yorkshire, the same as the national average. This confirms the views of Dr David Bebbington, Jeffrey Cox and Dr Edward Royle that the criteria for measuring the success of religious denominations in the late-Victorian period has often been set unrealistically high (26).

However by the outbreak of the First World War there is some evidence to suggest that Anglicanism was showing some signs of decline within the ancient parish. Canon Ivens, the Evangelical Vicar of Sowerby Bridge, expressed increasing concern after 1900 about declining church attendance, whilst confirmation candidates at both Sowerby Bridge and the Halifax Parish Church were declining by 1914. Moreover, the Reverend G. R. Oakley, the Tractarian Vicar of Illingworth, discerned an ebb in church attendance and religious observance in the period before the outbreak of the First World War which he attributed to 'the materialism of the prosperity of the pre-war years'.

Moreover, by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, virtually all the available indicators reveal that Nonconformity had already reached its peak and was experiencing a declining rate of growth before the outbreak of the First World War. Roman Catholic baptisms throughout the ancient parish and Easter mass attendances in Halifax and Brighouse show a pronounced downward trend after 1901. Moreover the available evidence from the parish of Halifax appears to offer some support for the view advanced most recently by Sheridan Gilley that the Roman Catholic Church was less successful than has sometimes been supposed in maintaining the loyalty of its working-class members in the period up to 1914. Baptist and Congregational membership in Halifax peaked in 1905 and 1907 respectively. Moreover, the underlying trend in Wesleyan membership recruitment was downward after 1890 and United Methodist recruitment after 1907 (27).

The reasons for this pattern of decline experienced by all the major religious denominations of the parish before 1914 are complex, but declining membership appears to have followed declining local population trends and signs of contraction within the local economy. Other reasons included the recovery of the Church of England in the second half of the nineteenth century; the growth of religious pluralism and the emergence of new denominations such as the Salvation Army in the late-nineteenth century; declining levels of Sunday School recruitment; the suburbanisation of large sections of the middle and expanding lower middle classes; cultural change and what Dr David Bebbington has described as 'the shift in the fulcrum of educated opinion away from Christian belief' in the late-Victorian period; the advance of the Labour Movement; the rise of municipal and state educational and welfare provision; the growth in company size and the decline of the family firm; improved living standards and the growth of organised leisure (28).

Since the decline of the major religious institutions in the the parish of Halifax followed declining population trends and

signs of contraction within the local economy, it is reasonable to conclude, as did Dr Callum Brown in his study of religion in Glasgow that it is highly unsatisfactory to attribute religious decline to advancing industrialisation and urbanisation, secularisation or modernity. Indeed, the churches in Halifax like the churches in Glasgow survived the experience of industrialisation and urbanisation and began to contract in all but per capita terms when the local economy began to contract and urban expansion ceased. However, the churches proved considerably less effective in adapting to social change during this period of transition in the Edwardian era than in the period of transition to industrial society during the Georgian and early Victorian eras when popular evangelicalism registered its most spectacular advances.

This is not however to deny that the religious institutions of the parish of Halifax lacked vitality in the period up to the outbreak of the First World War. Indeed, measured by the support enjoyed by other voluntary associations or by that enjoyed by later twentieth century religious institutions, they exhibited a remarkable degree of vibrancy and achieved a remarkable degree of public support. Moreover, this vitality was not only manifest in the strength of the religious associations. There is evidence from Halifax to support the view of Dr J.A. Jowitt that there existed 'a powerful inter-relationship' between religious impulses and the emergence of the ILP in West Yorkshire and that of Dr Patrick Joyce that religion 'was a powerful force shaping the Socialism of the West Riding'. Moreover, the illusion of an undiminished religious vitality survived the experience of the First World War. Writing to the Halifax Courier in 1919, the toffee manufacturer, John Mackintosh, maintained:

> It is not true to say that the churches are empty in England, and whoever says so is wrong ... My own church (Queen's Road United Methodist Church) has 250 members and more adherents. We have 400 scholars and about fifty teachers. There is something taking place nearly every night in connection with one department or another (29).

However, whilst Primitive Methodism and Wesleyanism in Halifax experienced further growth in the 1920s, the United Methodist Church, despite Mackintosh's conviction of its vitality, displayed a declining rate of membership recruitment in Halifax virtually throughout the whole of the period from 1908 to Methodist re-union in 1932 (30).

Indeed, the Reverend D.B. Proudlove, a local United Methodist Church minister in an article published in the Methodist Times before the opening of the twenty-second annual conference of the United Methodist Church at Salem in 1929 noted that Halifax was noted for its 'chimney stacks and church steeples' but acknowledged that Halifax with its four Wesleyan Circuits, two Primitive Methodist Circuits and four United Methodist Circuits served by eighteen fully accredited ministers was 'somewhat over-churched' and questioned the need for so many spacious Methodist churches standing within close proximity of each other, citing the examples of Rhodes Street Wesleyan, Brunswick United Methodist, Hanover United Methodist and St John's Wesleyan, where 'two church buildings would be ample' (31).

Alderman J.H. Waddington, surveying the changes which had occurred during his lifetime wrote in 1937:

> The number of churches and places of worship in Halifax today is the same as it was fifty years ago, but what a difference there is in the attendances on the Sabbath Day, whilst week-night preaching has practically gone out. In the 1870s and 1880s, with a Halifax population of 70,000 the attendances in the churches on the Sabbath Day were very good, whilst the Sunday Schools in most instances were crowded. Today with a 25 per cent larger population, the attendance at church is not half what it was when I was young. When Canon Pigou was Vicar of Halifax and when Dr Mellor was minister at Square and when Mr Atkinson and Mr Hartley were the Town Missionaries on behalf of the Nonconformist Churches - the spreading of the gospel news and the message of salvation was far more personal and evangelical than it is today. Then, too, the great Sunday School festivals which were held in the Piece Hall are merely items of history today. Think of the thousands of folk who were thrilled with joy unspeakable, listening to the sweet voices of maidens and men and children, accompanied by the rich music of massed Brass Bands, singing 'Hallelujah Chorus' and 'Gloria' ... In those days what big enjoyable Sunday School Treats were

> held on Whit-Monday and Whit-Tuesday in gardens and fields, sponsored by the officers of the Church of England and Nonconformist Churches and Chapels (32).

Ted Hughes, the Poet Laureate, located similar changes in his native Calder Valley, within the inter-war years:

> Throughout my lifetime, since 1930, I have watched the mills of the region and their attendant chapels die. Within the last fifteen years the end has come. They are now virtually dead and the population of the valleys and the hillsides, so rooted for so long is changing rapidly (33).

Even after the Second World War at least one local historian refused to adopt a totally pessimistic view. J.J. Mulroy, the historian of the Roman Catholic Church in Halifax, writing in the centenary history of Halifax published in 1948 concluded:

> The decline of church-going public worship is a phenomenon now engaging the thoughts of many people. Many 'down-town' churches, however, have suffered by the shifting population, and their future, on that account alone is uncertain. But five chapels, closed in the last quarter of a century, Leadenhall Street (King Cross), Brunswick, Hanover, Providence (Queen's Road) all Methodist and Stannary Congregational, were all in the midst of considerable population. These losses are offset to some extent by the building of new churches, chapels and mission churches in the last thirty years - St Mark's Church, Siddal, an offshoot of All Saints' Church (Salterhebble); St Hilda's Church and Pye Nest Mission, branched from St Paul's; West End Methodist, daughter cause of King Cross Methodist; Highroad Well Congregational, extending a cause dating from 1846; and St Columcille, a Catholic extension at Ling Bob and St Malachi at Ovenden. It was with some trepidation that, half a century ago, St Jude's Church and Heath Congregational Church were begun, but these moves (with others in all parts of the town) have been justified (34).

It is, however, significant that it was not considered appropriate to write the obituary of the religious institutions within the parish of Halifax before the outbreak of the First World War, even though the signs of decline, which accelerated during the inter-war years, were already evident to the keen observer. It is, moreover, abundantly clear, that the religious institutions of the parish survived the experience of industrialisation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, despite the alarmist pronouncements of some contemporary

churchmen, and that other explanations, not least the impact of two major world wars, must be sought for their subsequent decline in the twentieth century.

References

List of Abbreviations:

EHR	English Historical Review
ER	Epworth Review
HC	Halifax Courier
HG	Halifax Guardian
HGA	Halifax Guardian Almanack
HHE	Huddersfield and Halifax Express
HR	Halifax Reformer
HT	History Today
HWJ	History Workshop Journal
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
JRH	Journal of Religious History
LQHR	London Quarterly and Holborn Review
NH	Northern History
NS	Northern Star
PMM	Primitive Methodist Magazine
PP	Past and Present
PWHS	Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society
TH	Textile History
THAS	Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society
TLCAS	Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society
UHY	Urban History Yearbook
VS	Victorian Studies
WMM	Wesleyan Methodist Magazine
WPMMM	Wesleyan Protestant Methodist Magazine

Introduction

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52. Stone, PP, 42, (1969), 103-04, 119; HG, 19.10.1833; 'History of the Upper Calder Valley', chapter 11 (d).

53. Wadsworth, Square Sunday School, pp. 9-10; WYAS, CDA, MISC: 396/20, p. 51; Crabtree, Concise History of Halifax, pp. 348-55; HC, 14.1.1854; 21.1.1854; Green, THAS, (1966), 17; O.A. Beckerlegge, 'Like Father, Like Son: the Story of Joshua and Jonathan Dodgson of Elland' in D.C. Dews, ed., Preachers All, Leeds, 1987, pp. 33-39; 'History of the Upper Calder Valley', chapter 11 (d).

54. Crump, THAS, (1938), 98-99; J. Walvin, English Urban Life, 1776-1851, 1984, p. 151; Porritt, THAS, (1964), 85-89.

55. W.E. Tate and F.B. Singleton, A History of Yorkshire, 1960, pp. 60-62; CCL, Kemp and Sowerby, Map of the Borough of

Halifax, 1833; HG, 2.11.1833; Crabtree, Concise History of Halifax, pp. 534-35; J.A. Jowitt, 'A Crossroads in Halifax Politics: the Election of 1847', THAS, (1973), 2, 17; J.A. Jowitt, 'Parliamentary Politics in Halifax, 1832-47', NH, XII, (1976), 173; Hargreaves, thesis, p. 43.

56. Teale, thesis, pp. 207-08, 312.

57. Cf. WYAS, CDA, Annual Accession Lists, 1978-84. I am grateful to the Guildhall Library, London, for supplying me with a copy of the pollbook for the Halifax Borough Election of 1832.

58. Table 20; Teale, thesis, Table 5, p. 213.

107. Gilbert, Religion and Society, pp. 30-32; Hargreaves, thesis, p. 44; The League, 44, 27.7.1844, p. 720; J.R. Vincent, Pollbooks: How Victorians Voted, Cambridge, 1967, pp. 69-70.

59. HHE, 12.5.1832; Jowitt, NH, XII, (1976), 173-74; Report of the S(elect) C(ommittee) on Bribery at Elections, 1835, IUP, 1968, p. 210; Teale, thesis, p. 208; Hargreaves, thesis, p. 119, n. 20.

60. HHE, 29.10.1835.

61. Ward, ed., Early Victorian Methodism, pp. 89-91; WYAS, CDA, The Journal of Amos Learoyd, 24.3, 26.3, 29.3, 3.4, 22.8.1847, MISC: 509/13; Vincent, Pollbooks, p. 69; J. Prest, Politics in the Age of Cobden, 1977, p. 18.

62. George Buckley junior, A Short Outline of the Life of George Buckley of Halifax, Halifax, 1837, p. 64. The Reverend John James was superintendent of the Halifax Wesleyan Circuit, 1821-22; Vincent, Pollbooks, p. 212; HG, 28.8.1847, 13.5.1848.

63. HG, 25.7.1837.

64. HG, 28.11.1837.

65. Kent, Age of Disunity, pp. 129, 132; B. Gregory, Scriptural Church Principles and Wesleyan Methodist Polity and History, 1888, p. 201; R.F. Wearmouth, Methodism and the Working Class Movements of England, 1800-50, 1937, p. 192.

66. Ibid., p. 191.

67. Kent, Age of Disunity, pp. 129-32; G.I.T. Machin, Politics

and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-68, Oxford, 1977, p. 42; Wearmouth, Methodism and Working Class Movements, p. 212; E.R. Taylor, Methodism and Politics, 1791-1854, 1935, p. 140.

68. Kent, Age of Disunity, pp. 131-32, 138-39; WYAS, CDA, MISC: 396/20, pp. 47-48; Wearmouth, Methodism and Working Class Movements, pp. 187-89; E. Halevy, A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, III, The Triumph of Reform, 1830-41, 1961, p. 154.

69. Ibid., p. 155; Machin, Politics and the Churches, p. 196; Kent in Davies, George and Rupp, ed., History of the Methodist Church, 2, pp. 252-53; HHE, 17.9.1831, 14.1.1832, 21.1.1832, 18.9.1834, 5.3.1835, 30.4.1835, 24.8.1839; HG, 20.9.1834, 25.10.1834, 16.4.1836, 1.4.1837, 24.4.1838, 24.8.1839; WYAS, CDA, Halifax Wesleyan Local Preachers' Meeting Minute Book, 1805-24, MISC. 481; 1828-55, MISC. 481, 3, 1; WYAS, CDA, Minute Book of the Halifax Prayer Leaders' Committee and General Meetings, 1818-41, MISC. 529.3; WYAS, CDA, Halifax Circuit Directory, 1806-45, MISC. 546; Walker, Wesleyan Methodism in Halifax, p. 275. In Parson and White, Directory, G.B. Browne is listed as holding the following offices: Treasurer Auxiliary Religious Tract Society; Treasurer Wesleyan Religious Tract Society; Treasurer Auxiliary Bible Society; Treasurer Anti-Slavery Society; Treasurer Bethel Union Fund.

70. HHE, 26.5.1832.

71. HHE, 12.2.1831, 1.10.1831, 19.5.1832.

72. HHE, 9.6.1832, 15.12.1832; Jowitt, NH, XII, (1976), 5; Ling Roth, Genesis of Banking, p. 35.

73. HHE, 27.11.1834.

74. HG, 4.4.1835, 11.4.1835, 16.4.1846; Jowitt, NH, XII, (1976), 181; THAS, (1973), 6; HHE, 9.4.1835, 16.4. 1835, 30.4.1835.

75. Ibid., 27.5.1837, 24.8.1839; HG, 18.2.1837; 27.7.1837, 24.8.1839

76. HG, 11.7.1835, 29.1.1842; Cf. Machin, Politics and the Churches, p. 41.

77. HG, 2.1.1836, 8.2.1840, 29.1.1842.

78. Ibid., 29.1.1842; 8.4.1843.

79. HG, 22.4.1843; Cf. Machin, Politics and the Churches, p. 155.

80. Ibid., pp, 159, 165, 169-77; HG, 2.11.1836, 16.9. 1843, 30.12.1843, 1.6.1844, 12.2.1845, 24.5.1845, 10.1.1846.

81. Machin, Politics and the Churches, pp. 183-84; HG, 13.3.1847, 17.4.1847, 26.6.1847; Jowitt, THAS, (1973); NH, XII, (1976); D. Fraser, 'Voluntaryism and West Riding Politics in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', NH, XIII, (1977), 206-16. In fact, E.M. Wavell had taken an active part in the campaign against the educational clauses of the 1843 Factory Bill (Cf. HG, 22.4.1843, 20.5.1843). However, he ultimately decided to abstain in the 1847 election.

82. Jowitt, THAS, (1973); Fraser, NH, XIII, (1977), 216; HR, 1, 1, p. 2.

83. Table 25.

84. HG, , 22.4.1843, 3.5.1845, 26.6.1847, 31.7.1847; Fraser, NH, XIII, (1977), 212; CCL, Halifax Borough Election Pollbook, 1847.

85. Tables 21-25; Jowitt, NH, XII, (1976); THAS, (1973), 15; Vincent, Pollbooks, p. 205; Report from S.C. on Bribery at Elections, 1835, p. 207.

86. HG, 1.8.1837; CCL, Halifax Borough Election Pollbook, 1837; Cf. intimidation of James Keighley, HG, 25.7.1837.

87. Tables 21-25.

88. Tables 26-29. The Hebden Bridge Polling District was separated from the Halifax Polling District by the Boundaries Act of 1838 (Cf. HG, 16.1.1838); F.M.L. Thompson, 'Whigs and Liberals in the West Riding, 1830-60', EHR, (1959), 215-17; Report from S.C. on Bribery at Elections, 1835, p. 209; Thornes, West Yorkshire, p. 7; C.R. Dod, Electoral Facts, 1832-53, 1853, p. 359.

89. WYAS, CDA, Parish of Halifax, Court of the Revising Barrister: in the matter of sundry persons claiming to be

inserted in the list of voters as Trustees of Dissenting Chapels, NOR, 14.3, 14.4, 14.5, 14.6; Prest, Politics in Age of Cobden, pp. 35-38; HG, 29.8.1837.

90. HHE, 21.5.1835; HG, 8.8.1837, 10.7. 1841; HR, 3, 25.8.1847, p. 11; Tables 26-28; D. Fraser, Urban Politics in Victorian England, 1979, p. 271; NH, XIII, (1977), 200, 202-07, 217-20.

91. Fraser, Urban Politics, p. 271; NH, XIII, (1977), 200, 206-07, 216-27; HG, 9.12.1848, 23.12.1848; Table 28; Teale, thesis, p. 223 has an even higher proportion of voters with Methodist connections supporting Eardley in his sample.

92. Fraser, Urban Politics, p. 271; NH, XIII, (1977), 224-25; HG, 9.12.1848; Table 29.

93. Fraser, Urban Politics, pp. 9-22; Taylor, Methodism and Politics, p. 51; A. Briggs, Victorian Cities, p. 66; Teale, thesis, pp. 200-01.

94. Oastler, Tithes, pp. 60, 88, 168, 172-73; Spencer, THAS, (1986), 13-20; Ling Roth, Genesis of Banking, , p. 25; Vincent, ed., Testaments, pp. 203-04.

95. M. Pearson, Northowram: its History and Antiquities, Halifax, 1898, p. 214; Vincent, Testaments, pp. 203-04.

96. HHE, 23.3.1833; Pearson, Northowram, pp. 214, 296.

97. HG, 13.7. 1833.

98. HG, 28.12.1833, 5.4.1834, 3.5.1834, 12.7.1834, 18.7.1835; HHE, 3.4.1834.

99. HG, 7.11.1837, 14.11.1837, 21.11.1837; Machin, Politics and the Churches, p. 63.

100. HG, 29.6.1839, 14.8,1841, 29.1.1842, 9.7.1842.

101. HG, 21.3.1835, 27.2.1841, 29.1.1842; Betteridge, THAS, 1, (1978), 25; HHE, 23.3.1834.

102. HG, 27.2.1841.

103. HG, 26.3.1831, 6.9.1834, 13.9.1834, 21.3.1835, 9.4.1836, 8.4.1837; HHE, 23.3.1833, 30.10.1834; HGA, 1837.

104. HG, 23.6.1832, 1.11.1834, 7.2.1835, 1.11.1836, 13.5.1837, 8.5.1838; HHE, 29.10.1835.

105. F.G. Emmison, Archives and Local History, 1966, p. 57;

Report from the S.C. on Bribery at Elections, 1835, p. 206; HHE, 13.10.1832; 20.10.1832; HG, 24.10.1837.

106. HG, 7.2.1835, 21.2.1835, 7.3.1835, 31.10.1835, 16.1.1836, 6.6.1837, 30.10.1841; HHE, 29.10.1835.

107. HG, 4.2.1837; 18.2.1837; HHE, 22.2.1837.

108. HG, 18.2.1837, 1.4.1837, 15.5.1838, 30.3.1839, 24.7.1841; Walker, Directory, p. 55; A. Digby, The Poor Law in Nineteenth Century England and Wales, 1982, pp. 19-20; J.A. Hargreaves, Factory Kings and Slaves: South Pennine Social Movements, 1780-1840, Hebden Bridge, 1982, chapter 4; HHE, 22.2.1837; NS, 30.3.1839, quoted in E. Yeo, 'Christianity in Chartist Struggle, 1838-42', PP, 91, (1981), p. 112 n. 9.

109. HG, 28.3.1840, 20.2.1841, 27.4.1841, 26.2.1842, 17.4.1842, 15.4.1843, 4.5.1844.

110. Dalby, THAS, (1957), 96, 97, 100.

111. Walker, Directory, pp. 183-84; Teale, thesis, p. 201; G.R. Dalby, 'The Work of the Halifax Town Trustees', unpublished M.A. thesis, Appendix B, CCL.

112. Dalby, THAS, (1957), 100; Table 30.

113. HR, 33, 23.3.1848, p. 131; Dalby, THAS, (1957), 97-99; HG, 15.1.1848, 21.10.1848. The affairs of the Halifax Town Trustees were formally wound up at the final meeting on 1.1.1849.

114. Teale, thesis, pp. 201, 322.

115. Table 31; HG, 24.6.1848; HR, 52, 2.8.1848, p. 205; White's Clothing Districts of Yorkshire, p. 548.

116. Vincent, ed., Testaments, p. 208; HR, 42, 24.5.1848, p. 168.

117. Table 31; HG, 18.5.1847; Chapman, John Wesley and Co., pp. 42-43.

118. Mayhall, Annals, p. 152; Hargreaves, Factory Kings, p. 6.

119. Crabtree, Concise History of Halifax, pp. 149-50; C.D. Webster, 'Robert Parker, Attorney', THAS, (1966), 79-82; WYAS, CDA, Duke of Portland to Robert Parker, 20.11.1795, RP: 3/372.

120. Hargreaves, Factory Kings, pp. 3-5; R.A.E. Wells, Dearth

and Distress in Yorkshire, 1793-1802, York, 1977, p. 25; J. Stevenson, Artisans and Democrats: Sheffield and the French Revolution, 1789-97, Sheffield, 1989, pp. v-vi, 1-6; F.D. Cartwright, ed., The Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright, II, 1826, reprinted New York, 1969, p. 51; Crabtree, Concise History of Halifax, pp. 150-56; P.A. Dawson, 'The Early Labour Movement in Halifax, 1891-1906', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Huddersfield Polytechnic, 1984), p. 6; Vincent, ed., Testaments, p. 195.

121. PRO, Address of the Gentry, Clergy, Merchants and Manufacturers and other inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Halifax, 3.11.1775, HO 55/12/3; T.W. Hanson, 'Corn Market', THAS, (1945), 31-32.

122. WYAS, CDA, Resolutions of a meeting at the Talbot Inn, 22.12.1792, MISC: 8/116/19; SCL, WWM, Fitzwilliam Papers, Reverend H. Zouch to Earl Fitzwilliam, 2.2.1792, F44/3-2; Webster, THAS, (1966), 81.

123. CCL, A Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, 25.10.1796, by H.W. Coulthurst, D.D., Vicar of Halifax and late fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 1796; B(radford) P(ublic) L(ibrary), F(ederer) C(ollection), A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Halifax before the Volunteer Corps of Infantry of the Town and Parish of Halifax, 29.1.1804, by H.W. Coulthurst, D.D., Vicar of Halifax and Chaplain to the Corps.

124. SCL, WWM, Fitzwilliam Papers, Dr Coulthurst to Earl Fitzwilliam, 22.6.1812, F46/127.

125. H. Whitbread, ed., I Know My Own Heart, 1988, p. 214.

126. Fawcett, Life of John Fawcett, p. 379.

127. Cockin, Joseph Cockin, pp. 193-94.

128. SCL, WWM, Fitzwilliam Papers, Sir Francis Wood to Earl Fitzwilliam, 11.8.1812, F46/40.

129. Walker, Wesleyan Methodism in Halifax, pp. 217-18.

130. Fuller treatment of the relationship between Methodism and Luddism is provided in J.A. Hargreaves, 'Halifax and the Yorkshire Luddite Disturbances of 1812', THAS, (1986) and J.A.

Hargreaves, 'Methodism and Luddism in Yorkshire, 1812-13', NH, XXVI, (1990), 160-85; F. Peel, The Risings of the Luddites, Chartists and Plug-Drawers, 1880, Brighouse, 3rd edition, 1895, p. 102; LM, 18.4.1812; WYAS, CDA, Halifax Circuit Directory, MISC. 546; Burial and Grave Register, South Parade Wesleyan Chapel, Halifax, MISC. 486/14.

131. D. Hempton, Methodism and Politics in British Society 1750-1850, 1984, pp. 99-104; JRULM, MCA, J. Bunting to T. Lessey, 31.5.1811, PLP 18.6.3; WYAS, CDA, MISC. 546; Tombstone Inscriptions in South Parade Wesleyan Chapel Graveyard, 1970, SP 2, entry 398; T.P. Bunting, The Life of the Reverend Dr Jabez Bunting, 1887, p. 370; Walker, Wesleyan Methodism in Halifax, p. 255.

132. West, Jonathan Saville, pp. 31-32; Bunting, Jabez Bunting, p. 371; Walker, Wesleyan Methodism in Halifax, p. 255; JRULM, MCA, J. Ashworth to J. Bunting, 22.3.1811, PLP 18.6.1; Halifax Circuit Plan, 5.1. to 14.6.1812.

133. SCL, WWM, Fitzwilliam Papers, Information of Thomas Broughton of Barnsley, 26.8.1812, F46/122B; Thompson, English Working Class, pp. 632-33; M.I. Thomis, The Luddites: Machine Breaking in Regency England, 1970, pp. 87-88; Report of the Proceedings under Commissions of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for the County of York, 1813, preface, p. xi.

134. Peel, Rising of Luddites, p. 263; Robertshaw, Elland Wesley, p. 9; WYAS, LDA, Radcliffe MSS, Colonel Norton to J. Radcliffe, January 1813, 126/114.

135. Bunting, Jabez Bunting, p. 371; JRULM, MCA, J. Bunting to G. Marsden, 28.1.1813, PLP 18.6.9; WYAS, CDA, MISC. 546; T. Shillitoe, Journal, 1839, I, 192; J. Wood, Diaries, 1813. I am grateful to Mr J. Knight of Holmfirth for allowing me to consult this unpublished manuscript.

136. T. Jackson, Recollections of My Own Life and Times, 1873, p. 137.

137. WYAS, LDA, Radcliffe MSS, Address to Joseph Radcliffe from the town of Halifax, June 1813, metal canister; Bunting, Jabez

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21. R. Brook, The Story of Huddersfield, 1968, passim, Appendix IV; Wright and Jowitt, ed., Victorian Bradford, passim; see above, chapter 2.1, 4.1.

22. See above, chapter 4.1; Green, NH, XXVII, (1991), 214. There are a number of other factual errors in Green's article. Francis Pigou is inaccurately described as the 'Rector' of St John the Baptist Church (p. 203); St Peter's, King Cross, should read St Paul's (p. 203, n. 7, p. 213, n. 42); South Parade Wesleyan Chapel ceased to exist in 1881 and the source cited presumably relates to St John's Wesleyan Church, Prescott Street (pp. 218-219); John Mackintosh, who was born in Cheshire and initially attended Salem Methodist New Connexion Chapel following his family's move to Halifax , could have only

attended the Queen's Road Methodist New Connexion Chapel from the age of nine (p. 224).

23. See above, chapter 4.1.

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Table 1: Population of the Parish of Halifax, 1801-71

Source: Census Returns.

	Population	% Change
1801	63434	
1811	73415	(+15.73%)
1821	93050	(+26.75%)
1831	109899	(+18.11%)
1841	130743	(+18.97%)
1851	149257	(+14.16%)
1861	147988	(-0.85%)
1871	173313	(+17.11%)

Table 2: Population of the Townships of the Parish of Halifax, 1801-51

Source: Census Returns.

Township	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851
Barkisland	1799	2076	2224	2292	2391	2129
Elland/Greetland	3385	3963	5088	5500	6479	7210
Erringden	1313	1586	1471	1933	2221	2100
Fixby	346	336	345	348	399	399
Halifax	8886	9159	12628	15382	19881	25159
Heptonstall	2983	3647	4543	4661	4791	4500
Hipperholme/Brighouse	2879	3357	3936	4977	5421	6091
Langfield	1170	1513	2069	2514	3284	3000
Midgley	1209	2107	2207	2409	2667	2393
Norland	1181	1316	1663	1618	1669	1707
Ovenden	4513	4752	6360	8871	11799	12738
Northowram	4887	5306	6841	10184	13352	15284
Southowram	3148	3615	4256	5751	6478	7380
Rastrick	2053	2442	2796	3021	3482	3916
Rishworth	960	1211	1588	1536	1710	1540
Shelf	1306	1553	1998	2614	3050	3419
Skircoat	2338	2823	3323	4060	5237	6941
Sowerby	4275	5177	6890	6457	8163	7905
Soyland	1888	2519	3242	3589	3603	3422
Stainland	1800	2077	2814	3037	3759	4173
Stansfield	4768	5447	7275	8262	8466	8000
Wadsworth	2801	3473	4509	5198	5583	5300
Warley	3546	3958	4982	5685	6857	6407