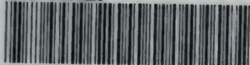
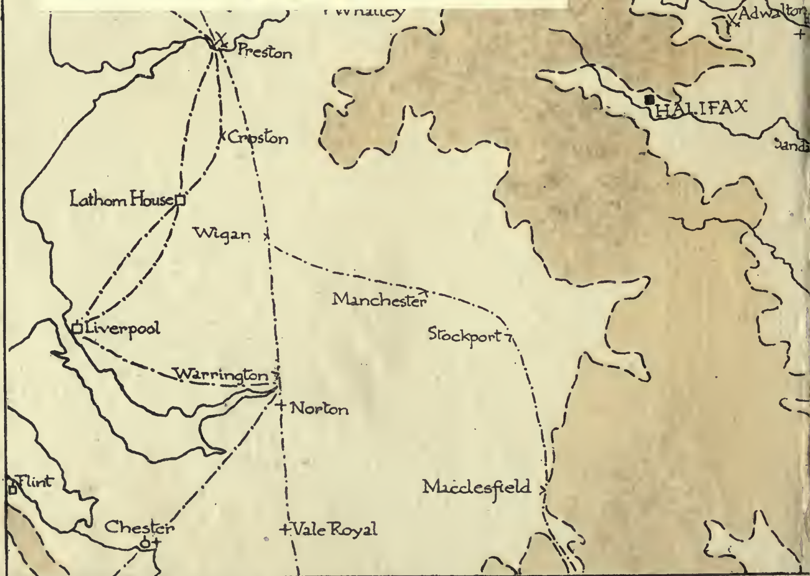


THE STORY OF OLD HALIFAX

T. W. HANSON.



See Pages 11-12.

THE POSITION OF HALIFAX I

NGLISH HISTORY.

· The Colouring shows Land above 600 feet high. ·

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/storyofoldhalifa00hansrich

To C. S. Fletcher
With Kind Regards.
T. W. Hanson

THE STORY OF OLD HALIFAX

BY

T. W. HANSON.

ILLUSTRATED.

HALIFAX:
F. KING & SONS LTD., COMMERCIAL STREET.
1920.

To

L. W. H.,

T. K. H.,

AND THE

BOYS AND GIRLS

OF

HALIFAX.

DA690
H17H3

PREFACE.

This book has been written for the boys and girls of Halifax and district, with the hope also, that older people may find it full of interest. I have tried to keep it a purely local history. It is not a new text-book of English history, furnished with local notes.

Halifax has been particularly fortunate in inspiring a line of men who have delighted in revealing her past. In this twentieth century we have had a band of enthusiastic antiquaries, which few towns can rival. The Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society have provided the bulk of the material for this work. Mr. John Lister, the President, has always been very kind to me. Mr. H. P. Kendall, who has taken so many of the photographs, has also helped in other ways to make the history more complete. Even more than their skill, do I value the comradeship and friendship of the members of our Antiquarian Society. The story of the book itself is as follows. From January, 1913, to January, 1917, I contributed a serial history of Halifax to "The Satchel," (the Halifax Schools' newspaper). Towards the end of that period, a sub-committee of the Head Teachers' Association invited me to re-publish the articles in book form. I re-wrote the matter, Messrs. Harris, Harwood, and Hawkins read the manuscript, and together we discussed the chapters in some interesting meetings. Mr. W. H. Ostler, the Education Secretary, proved to be one of my most helpful critics, and also helped very considerably to secure the publication of the book. Many years ago, Mr. Ostler said that what was

wanted was a history that would tell "how a half-timer lived in the reign of Edward III.," and I have not altogether forgotten his dictum.

Mr. E. Green, the Borough Librarian, has kindly compiled the Index. I would also thank his staff for their unfailing courtesy. I am indebted to several friends for the illustrations. Mr. Arthur Comfort has taken infinite pains to please me with his sketches. Mr. F. H. Marsden, M.A., prepared the beautiful map at the front of the book, and sketched the drinking trough. Mr. T. Broadbent drew the end map. Mr. T. F. Ford, A.R.I.B.A. has provided two architectural plates. Mr. W. B. Trigg allowed me to use his sketches of the windows of the Parish Church. Mr. R. Bretton is responsible for the heraldic illustrations. For other blocks, I am grateful to Mrs. H. R. Oddy, Messrs. R. E. Nicholson, E. Hardcastle, S. C. Moore, S. H. Hamer, E. Marchetti, Legh Tolson, and the "Halifax Guardian."

The Halifax Antiquarian Society has very kindly allowed me to use their extensive collection of blocks, and the majority of the illustrations have been provided in that way. Acknowledgment is made to the various photographers in the book. I am grateful to many others whom I have not named. I have always found Halifax to be a "neighbourly" town, and its people ready to help one another.

Lastly, I would thank the staff of Messrs. King's printing works for the interest they have shown in the work.

T. W. H.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Parish of Halifax—On the Pennine Slope—Woods, Farms, and Moor—Townships—Open Fields—Royds.

Pages 9–19.

CHAPTER II.

Warrens and Lacys—The Manor of Wakefield—Courts held at Halifax—Halifax Gibbet Law.

Pages 20–30.

CHAPTER III.

The Parish Church—Norman Carving—Lewes Priory and Cluny Abbey—Tithes—The Early Rectors—The 14th Century Church—Elland and Heptonstall Chapels.

Pages 30–38.

CHAPTER IV.

The Elland Feud.

Pages 38–42.

CHAPTER V.

Early Records of the Cloth Trade—The Flemings—The Black Death—The Poll Tax of 1379—Surnames—Sheep Rearing—Spinning—Weaving—Fulling—Dyeing.

Pages 42–53.

CHAPTER VI.

The Magna Via—Timbered Houses—Shibden Hall—The House at the Maypole—Sunny Bank, Greetland—Rebuilding of the Parish Church—Vicar Wilkinson—The Tower—Halifax in 1439.

Pages 53–78.

CHAPTER VII.

The Growth of Halifax Trade—Gilds—Fairs—Ulnagers Accounts—1473, Halifax leads the West Riding for Cloth—Early Halifax Wills—Gifts to the Church—The Chapels of the Parish—Roads and Bridges—Clothes and Furniture—Extending the Cultivated Land.

Pages 78–88.

CHAPTER VIII.

Archbishop Rokeby—Wolsey receives the Cardinal's Hat—Baptism of Princess Mary—Death of Rokeby—Rokeby Chapels at Kirk Sandal and Halifax—Dr. Robt. Holdsworth—Feud between Tempest and Savile—The Pilgrimage of Grace—The Monasteries Closed—Dispute about Halifax Tithes—Bishop Ferrar's Martyrdom.

Pages 89–102.

CHAPTER IX.

Beacon Hill—The Puritans—Dr. Favour—Heath Grammar School—Sir Henry Savile—Henry Briggs—Camden's visit to Halifax—Woollen Trade in 16th Century.

Pages 102–113.

CHAPTER X.

17th Century Houses—James Murgatroyd—Nathaniel Waterhouse—Sir Thomas Browne.

Pages 113–137.

CHAPTER XI.

Halifax men refuse Knighthood—Ship Money—Beginnings of the Civil War—Siege of Bradford—Leeds taken—Battle of Adwalton—Retreat to Halifax—Joseph Lister's Adventures—Mackworth garrisons Halifax—Halifax Refugees—Fighting between Heptonstall and Halifax—Mixenden Skirmish—Scots Army in the District—Plague—Capt. Hodgson's Adventures—Local Royalists.

Pages 137–163.

CHAPTER XII.

John Brearcliffe—1651 Commission—Halifax's First Member of Parliament—The Parish Church During the Commonwealth—The last years of the Gibbet—The Restoration and Act of Uniformity—Oliver Heywood's Diaries—Archbishop Tillotson.

Pages 164–176.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Cloth Halls of London and Halifax—Defoe's Visit to Halifax—Local Manufacturers turn from Woollen to Worsted—Sam Hill of Making Place—Coal Mining—Jacobite Rebellion of 1745.

Pages 177–188.

CHAPTER XIV.

Cragg Coiners—John Wesley's Visits.

Pages 189–199.

CHAPTER XV.

The Piece Hall—Wool Combing—Spinning—Weaving—Farming—Lime—Holmes—18th Century Houses—"Edwards of Halifax."

Pages 199–215.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Industrial Revolution—The Valleys exalted and the old Towns Decay—Canals—The Naming of the Hebble—Turnpike Roads—Twining's Picture of Calder Vale—Inn Yards—Stage Coaches—Luke Priestley's Journey from London to Brandy Hole—Enclosures—Foster the Essayist—Scarcity of Milk—The Great Inventions—Steam Engines—Bradford outstrips Halifax.

Pages 215–240.

CHAPTER XVII.

Child Slavery—Luddites—Peterloo—The Reform Act—The Chartists—Wm. Milner—Plug Drawing—Free Trade.

Pages 241–257.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Akroyd and Crossleys—Railways—The Growth of the Town—Sewers and Water—Incorporation of the Borough—Savile Park—Wainhouse Tower—F. J. Shields—P. G. Hamerton—The People's Park.

Pages 258–272.

PRINTED BY

F. KING & SONS LTD., COMMERCIAL STREET,

HALIFAX.

The Story of Old Halifax.

CHAPTER I.

PARISH OF HALIFAX—ON THE PENNINE SLOPE—WOODS, FARMS, AND MOOR—TOWNSHIPS—OPEN FIELDS—ROYDS.

This Story of Old Halifax is not confined to the town of Halifax, but is also concerned with the tract of surrounding country that was formerly known as the Parish of Halifax. The ancient parish covered that portion of Calder Dale lying between Todmorden and Brighouse, with the tributary vales and cloughs, and the moors and hills flanking them. The whole of England was divided into parishes, and the centre of each parish was a church. Halifax Parish was one of the largest in the country, and the rector or vicar of the parish church held the religious and spiritual oversight of all the people who lived within that wide area of more than 124 square miles.

The outline of Halifax Parish is similar in shape to that of Yorkshire. As the map of the county is more familiar, it will be helpful to compare the two outlines in order to fix in the memory the bounds of our ancient parish. Starting at Halifax, we go south-east to Brighouse, the point where the river Calder leaves the parish. A similar journey from York would take us to Hull and the mouth of the Humber. From Spurn Point, going north, the landmarks of the Yorkshire Coast are Flamborough Head, Whitby, and Middlesbrough in the north-east corner. On the corresponding boundary of

Halifax Parish is the beck that flows through Bailiff Bridge. Norwood Green clock tower must stand for Flamborough Lighthouse, Queensbury Church for Whitby Abbey, and Soil Hill stands at our north-eastern corner. The county boundary on the north is the river Tees, from its mouth to its source on Mickle Fell. The northern line of Halifax Parish is the range of hills, dividing the waters of Aire and Calder, that stretch from Soil Hill to

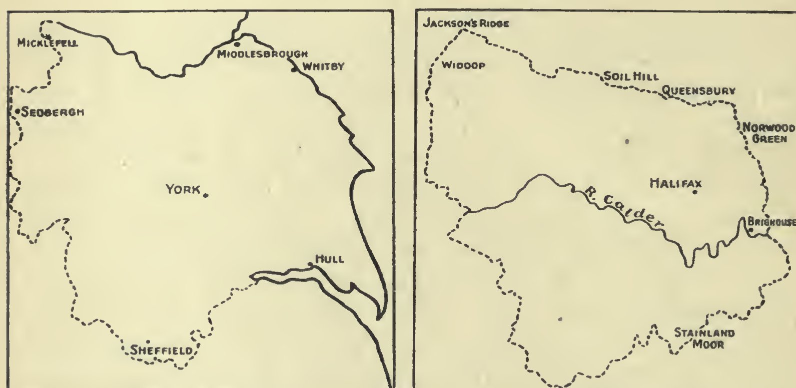


Fig. 1.—YORKSHIRE. HALIFAX PARISH.

Boulsworth. Jackson's Ridge in the north-west is the highest land in the parish, and Mickle Fell is the corresponding angle of Yorkshire. Widdop is in just such another out-of-the-way corner as Sedbergh. Both the parish and the county march with Lancashire on the west. Completing our beating of the bounds, we may compare the positions of Stainland Moor and Fixby, to the districts of Sheffield and Doncaster.

The Parish of Halifax is situated on the high slopes of the Pennine Range. Its people are living, as it were,

on the slope of a roof. The ridge of the roof is the boundary between the counties of York and Lancaster. The Lancashire slope of the roof dips towards the west and our slope to the east. If we drop off the eaves of the roof, we are on the great level York Plain, which extends from the foot of the Pennines to the coast. On the Lancashire side is a narrower stretch of level country between the hills and the sea. The history of Halifax is the story of a people living on the roof of a great house, while the kings and armies making the history of England were marching along the level streets on either side of the Pennine house. Halifax is quite as near to London as York is, and both are in the direct line to Scotland, according to the map. York has been the scene of many of the events mentioned in English history. Two of the Roman Emperors died in York; Edward III. was married there; Edward IV. was crowned in the city after he had won the battle of Towton; and Charles I. and many other kings visited York. How is it that the old kings never passed through Halifax with their armies? The answer to this question is that the easiest and most natural route between north and south is along the plain and not over the hills.

The Pennine Hills stand up like an island in the ocean, and from the earliest times down to our own day, voyagers from London to Scotland have gone round one side or the other of our hills. The Scotch express trains either go through York or Crewe, and cyclists who appreciate a level road follow the same routes. Halifax is off the main line. In the middle ages, the position meant that Halifax escaped much of the frightfulness of the civil wars. The hills to the north were also a barrier against the incursions of the Scots, who often reached

as far south as Craven. The break in the Pennines, named the Aire Gap, guided some of the raids as near as Otley and Morley, but there is no record of the Scots penetrating into Calder Dale. The citizens of York were continually exposed to perils of the sword, therefore they maintained a wall around the city to keep invaders at bay. Halifax never had any need of such a defence. The homesteads and small hamlets of Halifax Parish were scattered along the hill sides, as there was no occasion for the folks to crowd together as the men of Chester and York had to do. For the same geographical reasons there are no castles in our district. Pontefract Castle and Sandal Castle hold positions that guard the narrowest gap between the Pennines and the marshes that line the estuary of the Humber. Skipton Castle is the strategic key to the Aire Gap, and Lancaster Castle commands the western route. The district around Halifax cannot boast even a ruined abbey, though the small priory at Kirklees (which had only eight nuns when it was closed) is just outside the boundary of the parish. Many of the abbeys, such as Fountains, were built in places "fitter, to all appearances, to be a lair of wild beasts than a home for men," but it almost seems that Halifax was too inhospitable a country even for monks.

The tourist, finding neither walled city, castle, ruined abbey nor ancient battlefield within our parish, may judge it to be an uninteresting territory from the historical standpoint. Our story has little to tell about kings, prelates, nobles, and other bearers of famous names that crowd the pages of English histories. Our story is principally a peaceful account of turning woods and moorlands into fields, and of the development of the cloth industry in this highland corner of Yorkshire. We

also hope to trace the steps by which Halifax became the capital of this district, how it grew into a large town, and how other places in Upper Calder Dale have risen and how others have declined.

Whereabouts in Calder Dale were the earliest settlements planted? When this district was first occupied and men could have their choice of hill and vale, which situations did they select for their farms and homes?

If we go into Luddenden Dean and take our stand at Jerusalem Farm, or better still, on the hillside above it, we get a good view-point from which to study the opposite hillside. In the bottom is the brook. From the water the bank rises steeply some three hundred feet and is wooded and overgrown with bracken, and marshy in places. We call that portion of the hill-side Wade Wood. Above the wood are fields and if we were walking up that bank of the dean, we should cross five or six fields and climb about another three hundred feet. These farms, known as Saltonstall, are very old, and here, over six centuries ago Earl Warren had meadows and pastures for his cattle. The top of these fields is 1,000 feet above sea-level. Above the Saltonstall farm-land are the moors stretching away to the summit of the hill.

The high moorland is too wild and bleak for cultivation. The valley bottom is too steep and wooded and difficult to clear for farms. The early settlers lived on the high terrace, with the woods below and the moors above them. The hill sides therefore show three distinct bands.
The lowest section - the steep wooded bank of the stream
The middle section - farm land
The highest section - moorland.

We see these three bands in the Hebden Valley very distinctly. First there are the woods of Hardcastle Crags.

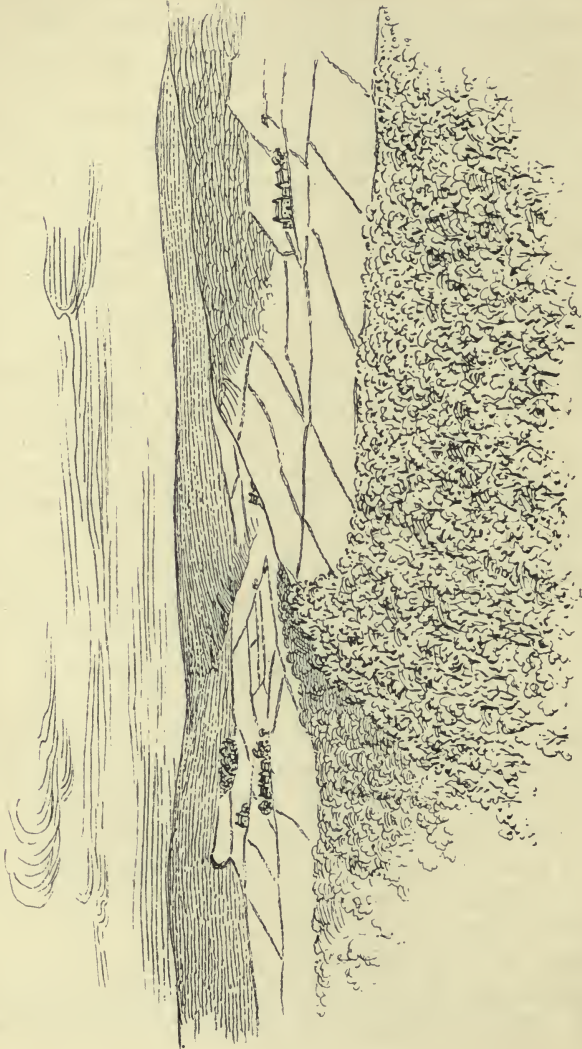


Fig. 2.—The Herden Valley, Showing Moors, Fields and Woods.

Above them are the Wadsworth farms, and higher again, the moors. In the Calder Valley, remnants of these old divisions can be traced. For example, if we ascend the northern bank of the valley at Brearley, we find the old town of Midgley and its farms situated on a terrace between Brearley Wood and Midgley Moor.

There are some few exceptions to this rule. Mytholmroyd and Copley are old settlements on the floor of the Calder Valley. The oldest portion of the town of Halifax is at the bottom of the hill, and Elland is not more than a hundred feet above the water of the Calder. But, generally speaking, the whole of Calder Vale and the branch valleys showed these three distinct bands of wood, farm and moor. That is the reason why most of the older hamlets are high up on the hills. Rastrick, Sowerby, Norland, Heptonstall, Illingworth, Soyland and Northowram were formerly the centres of trade and population. This is a very important point to remember and explains many things that otherwise would appear strange and obscure. These upland situations held pre-eminence until the end of the eighteenth century. We live in the valleys but our forefathers' homes were on the hills.

The vast expanse of Halifax Parish may be measured on a map or calculated in tens of thousands of acres, but a better and more interesting way of learning its size is to take a few long walks across it in various directions Then you will know that the Rastrick man lived so far away from the farmer of Heptonstall that they were strangers rather than neighbours to one another. It was only natural that families grouped themselves into smaller divisions of the district. Indeed, these smaller divisions, called townships, probably existed before the parish was mapped out.

For example, take the old settlements lying around the crown of Beacon Hill. The most important were at Blaithroyd, Stoney Royd, Backhall, Exley, Ashday, and Shibden Hall, and a track connecting them would make a ring that completely encircles the hill. The men living at these places were neighbours and formed a community known as Southowram Township. The valley bottoms that separated their hill from Halifax, Elland, Rastrick, Hipperholme, and Northowram were the boundaries of their township. Southowram is almost an island and is surrounded by the Hebble, Calder, Shibden Beck, and a small clough that has its head in Shibden Park. The short length from the top of this clough to Charlestown is the only land boundary. The ideal township would be a dome-shaped island and Southowram is a good example. (It ought to be said that Elland Park Wood was annexed to Elland township as a hunting ground for Elland Hall).

Halifax township was bounded on one side by the Hebble or Halifax brook, from Shaw Syke as far as Birks Hall. The little stream that drains from Haugh Shaw to Shaw Syke divided Halifax from Skircoat, and the small clough at Birks Hall was the boundary with Ovenden. At High Road Well Moor was the line between Halifax and Warley. Most of the houses in Halifax township were near the brook and not high up the hill-side as in most of the townships. The rivers and brooks formed the boundaries of the townships because the early settlers had no use for the low-lying lands and the valley bottoms were no-man's-lands. The centre of the township was usually a hill.

The word "village" was never used in our district. The English village, as a rule, consists of a compact cluster of farm houses and cottages, with a church and

large manor house. The houses in our townships were scattered along the hill sides, where there was a cluster of houses, it was invariably called a town. Thus we have Warley Town and Sowerby Town, the main streets in Northowram and Midgley are Town Gates, and at Heptonstall you may see the name-plate "Top o' th' Town."

The Townships in the parish are :—

Stansfield, Heptonstall, Wadsworth, Midgley, Warley, Ovenden, Skircoat, Halifax, Northowram, Southowram, Shelf, and Hipperholme-cum-Brighouse on the north side of the Calder.

Langfield, Erringden, Sowerby, Soyland, Rishworth, Barkisland, Norland, Stainland, Elland-cum-Greetland, Fixby, and Rastrick on the south side of the Calder.

In those early days, when Halifax, Sowerby, Norland, Elland and other places contained very few houses, the men worked on large fields that were common to the township or hamlet. Each hamlet was like one farm, and the produce of their fields was shared among the inhabitants. The only relics of this old open-field system are a few place-names that still survive. In Halifax there were four or five of these large common fields. One was called South Field, and the way to it, South Field Gate, has had its name shortened to Southgate. There was also Blackledge-ing, and Blackledge—parallel to Horton Street—though it does not now bear any resemblance to a field, owes its name to the open field. A third named Sydell-ing has given its name to Seedlings Mount, near Akroyd Place School. There were also Nether Field, stretching down to the brook, and the North Field. At Wheatley they had a Dean Field, and the white-washed house, Denfield, marks the site. In

Elland there were the Low most, Middle, and High Town Fields, and Victoria Road was formerly known as Town Field Lane.

The men of the township or hamlet would hold a meeting to decide what crops they would grow. If they had three fields, the first might be for rye or wheat, the second, oats or barley, and the third had to lie fallow. They would also have a large meadow for hay. The word "ing" means field or meadow. Outside the fields were the common pastures for their flocks and herds, and woods where the pigs fed. The open field was divided into strips or lands, and these strips were about seven yards wide and two hundred yards long. The length was a furrow-long, from which we derive the word "furlong." This was long before the days of standard measurements, and a furlong, like other measures, varied in each district. Between each strip a length of unploughed land was left, to mark the "lands." The plough had a team of eight oxen, and the whole field was ploughed at one time. The first strip was claimed by the ploughman; the second by the man who provided the plough; the next two strips went to the owners of the principal pair of oxen; next came the driver's turn; and after him the owners of the other oxen, and so on. The same order would be gone through several times, until the large field was ploughed up. Each man's strips were scattered up and down the field. This kept the field common, for if a man had been allotted the first four strips instead of, say, Nos. 1, 13, 29, and 40, he would probably have fenced his strips and made them into a little field of his own.

The boys of the hamlet had to take their turns in looking after the herd of cattle on the moors, or the pigs

in the woods, or frightening the birds away from the corn. The cattle were thin and long-legged, the pigs never grew so fat as ours, and sheep were kept only for their wool and skins. All the stock was very poor compared with modern cattle and the crops also were far below our standard. The open field method of farming commenced in the earliest times and continued, in a fashion, until the beginning of last century.

As the number of people increased, and as some of the men grew richer, more land was wanted for farming. A new piece of the hilly land was marked out, the trees were cut down, and the shrubs cleared. Rocks were broken up, the loose stones gathered, and a wall built up of these stones to fence the new land. The land was "ridded" or "rid," of the trees and rocks and was therefore called a "riding" or "rode." Just as boys turn the word "coal" into "coil," this word "rode" was pronounced "royd." It is a most interesting local word and royd is our own word for clearing. You will readily recall some place-names with this ending—royd. Jackroyd, Willroyd, and Waltroyd named from the men who first cleared them. Brookroyd, the clearing by the brook, Akroyd or oak clearing, High royd or Eroyd (th'ee royd), high clearing, Stoney royd, stony clearing, Murgatroyd or moor-gate-royd, the clearing on the way to the moor.

The patches of royd-land fenced and enclosed from the moors or woods were called "closes." In the old days the word "field" referred to the large open fields. If we come across an old house named Field House, Field Head, or West Field, we may be sure that one of the common fields once occupied the site.

The books and papers, mentioned at the end of each chapter, are recommended to those readers who wish to have fuller information on any particular subject. I am greatly indebted, myself, to the various writers.

Local Illustrations of Seebohm's "English Village Community."—JOHN LISTER, (Bradford Antiquary, Vol. I).

CHAPTER II.

WARRENS AND LACYS—THE MANOR OF WAKEFIELD—COURTS HELD AT HALIFAX—HALIFAX GIBBET LAW.

The earliest written records about Halifax men and local places, are on the court-rolls of the Earls of Warren. The first earl, William of Warren, was one of the chief men among the Norman invaders, and the chroniclers of

Fig. 3.—France.

the time say he was remarkably valiant. His original home was a castle on the river Varenne at Bellencombre, not far from Dieppe. He was created Earl of Surrey by William I., and given large tracts of English land. His principal castle was at Lewes in Sussex. Warren was one of the very few Norman lords who supported

Rufus when the bulk of the Norman lords revolted in the first year of his reign, 1088. By the aid of the English, the rebels were defeated. It appears likely that the Earl Warren received the manor of Wakefield as a reward for his faithfulness. At the siege of Pevensey Castle, during the revolt, the earl was wounded in the leg by an arrow. He was carried to his castle at Lewes, where he died in 1088. The Domesday Book, 1086, states that the manor was then in the hands of the King, William I. The entry relating to our local townships runs :—" Sowerby, Warley, Feslei, Midgley, Wadsworth, Crottonstall,(?) Langfield and Stansfield." Students agree that the word *Feslei* stands for the township of Halifax. The actual grant of the manor of Wakefield has been debated by many writers, but we are relying on a charter that will be mentioned in the next chapter. The manor of Wakefield was a large territory which embraced the greater part of the parish of Halifax. In Saxon times the manor had belonged to Edward the Confessor.

William, the second Earl Warren, distinguished himself at the battle of Tenchebrai, in 1106, where Henry I., King of England, attacked his brother, Duke Robert, nicknamed Curt hose. Robert Curt hose was defeated and surrendered to Earl Warren. It was about this time, the beginning of the twelfth century, that armour-clad knights began to display coats-of-arms on their shields in order that friend or foe could recognise them. The Warren shield is so simple in design, that it was probably one of the earliest coats-of-arms. The shield is divided into squares, like a draught board, with the squares coloured gold and blue alternately. Halifax people know this shield because the Corporation has used it in their coat-of-arms. The blue and gold checkered shield is

displayed at the Town Hall and in the Council schools, and our public bodies decorate their note paper with it.

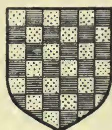


Fig. 4.—WARREN. LACY.
From York Minster.

The townships of Southowram, Elland, and Greetland were included in the Honour (which means a group of small manors) of Pontefract and their lord of the manor was another great earl, Ilbert de Lacy. Previously, a Saxon thane named Gamel had ruled over these townships. These Norman earls did not come to live in our district, nor did they build any castles in our parish. Both of their Yorkshire castles were situated at important strategic points between the Pennines and York on the great road to the north. The Warrens built Sandal Castle, near Wakefield, and the Lacys held Pomfret Castle, two famous strongholds in English military history.

Part of the country about Halifax had been devastated in 1068, when William the Conqueror quelled the insurrection in the north, and laid waste the land. In Domesday Book, Elland and Southowram are named, and these three terrible words added :—" It is waste." The Normans were great hunters, and Upper Calderdale provided a sporting estate for the Warrens, and the earls visited it when on hunting expeditions. They made a park in Erringden (from Cragg Vale to Callis Woods) for breeding deer. The wild boar and wolf roamed the hill sides in Norman times. Roebucks, a Warley farm,

and the rocks known as Buckstones and Wolfstones were probably so named in those far-off hunting days.

The lord of the manor, especially such a great man as the Earl of Surrey, had a large amount of power, more than many a king has to-day. In fact one Earl Warren defied the King, when Edward I. ordered the Treasurer of England to make full enquiries about the manors and liberties that were held of the king. The earl would not allow the officials to enter his domain, nor to visit Wakefield and Halifax. He also took a rusty sword and flung it on the Justice's table. "This, sirs, is my warrant," he said. "By the sword our fathers won their lands when they came over with the Conqueror, and by the sword we will keep them."

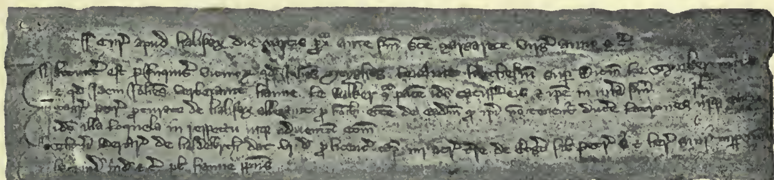
At the court of the lord of the manor, grants of land were made to the men who wanted more soil to cultivate, and for each grant a fee had to be paid to the lord. When a man died, the court decided who was his heir, and again, a fine was due to the lord. In some cases the lord's permission had to be obtained for marriage, or for the education of a peasant's son. The tenants had to plough and reap for the lord, and to provide his table with chickens and eggs. At the courts, fines were imposed for all kinds of wrong-doing, and the Warrens had also the power of taking a man's life for certain crimes. All the corn had to be ground at the manorial mills, and the lords also owned the mills for the fulling of cloth.

Perhaps the best way of finding out how Halifax people fared at the hands of the lord of the manor, will be to take an imaginary peep into a manor court. In Halifax, the court was held at the Moot Hall. Moot is an old English word, meaning an assembly of the people. Near

the north-west corner of the Parish Church there is an old building, now used as a joiner's shop, but which was, once upon a time, the Moot Hall. About the centre of the wall facing the church, notice the ancient wooden post that supported the roof of the old timbered building, and which is a portion of probably the oldest house in the town. We will suppose that the people of Halifax, Sowerby, &c., are assembled in the Moot Hall on a day towards the end of the thirteenth century. They would all have to stand, for there was little or no furniture then. A rough table and a plain bench would serve for the lord's officers, and the remainder of the room would be bare. The steward of the earl of Warren presides over the court. We will take for example the court held at Halifax on Tuesday, July 17th, 1286, described on the roll as the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Margaret the Virgin, for it was then customary to reckon dates from the church festivals instead of the calendar that we use. John of Warren, Earl of Surrey, was lord of the manor at this date. His only son, William, had been killed in a tournament at Croydon seven months previously, and William's only son, John, was quite a baby. In addition to the manor court for the transfer of land, etc., there was also held a criminal court, called a Tourn. The king granted to some of his principal subjects the power to hold these courts, and as Wakefield manor had once belonged to Edward the Confessor, the Warrens appear to have received this power in the original grant of the manor. In a seventeenth century deed, belonging to the Waterhouse Charity, a plot of land adjoining the Moot Hall is called "Sheriff's Tourn Close."

Thomas Shepherd, of Holdsworth, gives sixpence for license to take four acres of land from Roger, son of Peter.

William of Saltonstall gives twelve pence, to take half an acre of land in Sowerby from William, son of Simon. Richard, son of Adam of Wadsworth, gives 12s. 2d. to inherit his father's land. Each man promises to do the services due to the lord. Roger of Haworth is fined twelve pence for the escape of four cattle in Sakeldene in the lord's forest, and William the Geldhird has to answer for hunting a doe. Thomas of Langfield and William of the Booths pay for the court's aid in recovering debts. At the Tourn held the same day, we find the following cases. Peter Swerd had unrightfully stopped up a certain footpath between Stansfield and Mankinholes.



By permission of *Mr. S. Smith, Sheffield City Librarian.*

Fig. 5.—PORTION OF A WAKEFIELD COURT ROLL, HALIFAX, JULY 14TH, 1286.

Thomas, son of John of Greenwood cut the purse of William of Midgley by night and took 16d. Richard of Crossley and Richard the Tinker had drawn blood from from one another but the tinker is pardoned because he did it in self-defence. John Styhog stole two oxen from Roger Foulmouth and is sent to York prison. William, son of Ivo of Warley, took two bows from strangers. Peter Swerd is fined a second shilling because he unjustly ejected Alice of the Croft from her land in Mankinholes and cast down her house. Avicia, wife of Thomas of Westwood, the wives of Nicholas of Warley, Thomas

the Spencer, Ralph of Ovenden, Robert of Lowe; Matilda, wife of the Fuller, and Agnes of Ashwell are each fined sixpence for not sending for the ale tasters when they had brewed. Cecilia of Hallgate is pardoned and the wife of John the Grave is also pardoned because she is favourable to the earl's bailiffs.

The manor courts of the Earl Warren were held at Wakefield, Kirkburton, Brighouse and Halifax. Neither Brighouse nor Halifax are near the geographical centre of Halifax Parish. At this time also, Halifax was one of the least important of the townships. Towards a tax levied in 1284, Hipperholme paid the largest sum, 20/-. Halifax's share, 11/-, was the thirteenth on the list of nineteen townships. In 1315, six of the townships were fined for concealing the absence of men summoned to the tourn. Halifax township was fined 3/4, but forgiven because it was poor.

We may infer that the Steward of Wakefield would not venture any farther into the wilds than Brighouse and Halifax, and because Halifax was nearer to Wakefield by the old roads than the other townships, our town became the capital of the district. The records of the Wakefield Manor Court are kept in the Rolls Office at Wakefield. The earliest court rolls have perished, but there are some that are over six hundred years old. The early rolls are made of skins stitched together, thirty or forty feet long, and rolled up like a piece of wall-paper. Later rolls are in five feet lengths, made from about a dozen skins. These large skins are stitched together like the leaves of a book and the whole rolled up. The entries are written in Latin and can still be read, and parts of the rolls have been copied, translated and printed.

As time went on, the services due to the lord from his tenants were not paid in actual labour, but money was given as rent in place of work. This great change took place earlier in the large Wakefield manor than in smaller manors. It was very inconvenient for the men of Illingworth or Norland to journey to Wakefield to work on the lord's home farm for a day or so. On the other hand, the earls had more labour than they needed. It suited both parties to transform the services into a sum of money. This arrangement gave more freedom to the men of Halifax parish. So long as they paid their rents they were at liberty to employ their time as they thought best, and were not at the beck and call of their lord. The tenants of the Warrens had to follow him to war, but we know very little as to how many from this district went with the earls on the Scottish campaigns. Richard of Exley was at Dunfermline with Edward I. in 1303, when William Wallace was defeated. Richard had killed William of Ashday, and he received a royal pardon for the murder because of his distinguished conduct as a soldier.

The manor of Wakefield was gradually split up into small manors. These smaller manors, in most cases, comprised a township. There was a manor court of Ovenden held at Lee Bridge; at Hipperholme, the men met under a thorn tree. Some local houses and lands were given to the order of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who helped and sheltered pilgrims to the Holy land. Tenants of these lands were not obliged to grind their corn at the lord's mill, nor to do suit at his court. These privileges continued even after the order of St. John had been suppressed. Many of these old houses still display the double cross of the knights, as,

for instance, Field House Shibden, Coley Hall and Holdsworth House.

The Warrens, like some other great Norman lords, had the royalty—as it was named—granted by the king, to execute thieves and other criminals who were caught within the bounds of their manor. From this grant the Halifax gibbet law grew and the custom survived in Halifax long after the royalty of the Warrens had become obsolete. Tradition says that the harsh law was continued in order to protect the cloth trade, for it was so easy to steal the kerseys from the tenter-frames. A jury was formed of sixteen men. If they found that the prisoner was caught with the stolen goods in his possession, or if he confessed to the theft, and if the stolen goods were valued at thirteen pence or more, the culprit was sentenced by this local jury to be beheaded. Under the feudal system, there were no paid officials of the manor courts, to correspond with our modern policemen or sheriffs' officers, but each tenant, in turn, had to serve in the various duties. There was not much difficulty in persuading a jury to sentence a man to death, for human life was of small value in those days. The difficulty arose in finding a hangman. When the population amounted to no more than a few score people, no man cared to be branded as the hangman among his neighbours.

An old story, told by Thomas Deloney in the sixteenth century, relates how Hodgekins, a Halifax clothier, caught Wallis and two more thieves, and brought them to the gallows. Hodgekins chose one of his neighbours, a very poor man, to play the hangman's part, but he would not by any means do it, though he would have been well paid. Then one, whose cloth had been stolen, was commanded to act, but in like manner

he would not, saying : "When I have the skill to make a man, I will hang a man, if it chance my workmanship does not suit me." And thus from one to another the post was offered and refused. At last a rogue came by whom they would have compelled to have done the deed. "Nay, my masters, not so" said he, "You cannot compel me." Then one proposed that Hodgekins himself, who had most loss, should take the office. "No, not I," quoth Hodgekins, "though my loss were ten times greater than it is." At last, liberty was promised to the thief who would hang the others, but as they were loyal to each other, they had to be released, and thus they escaped the death penalty. A gray friar came upon Hodgekins while he was in the dumps over this business, and he said that, with the help of a carpenter, he would make a gin that would cut off their heads without man's help. Hodgekins went up to court and told the king that the privilege of Halifax for hanging thieves was not worth a pudding because they could not get a hangman to truss the thieves. However, a friar had invented a machine that dispensed with the hangman, and his majesty allowed Halifax men to use the new gibbet.

Although the story is not literally true, there is an element of truth embodied in it. In other parts of England all kinds of dodges were tried to get over the difficulty of finding a hangman. At Romney, the bailiff found the gallows and rope, while the prosecutor had to find the hangman. If he could not find one, and if he would not do that same office himself, he was put in prison with the felon and kept there until he was prepared to hang the condemned man. The Halifax gibbet did not need a hangman. All that was necessary was to pull out the pin that held the axe aloft. Then it slid down the grooves

of the tall posts, on to the culprit's neck. If it was a case of stealing a horse or a sheep, the animal was yoked to the pin and set the axe in motion.

Warren and Lacy in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

"The Making of Halifax"—JOHN LISTER in H. Ling Roth's "Yorkshire Coiners and Old Halifax."

Wakefield Court Rolls, I, II, III in Yorkshire Archæological Society Record Series.

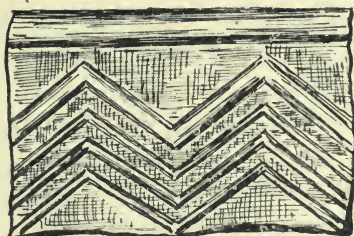
"Halifax Gibbet Law"—JOHN LISTER in Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1910.

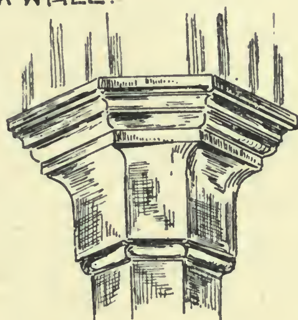
CHAPTER III.

THE PARISH CHURCH—NORMAN CARVING—LEWES PRIORY AND CLUNY ABBEY—TITHES—THE EARLY RECTORS—THE 14TH CENTURY CHURCH—ELLAND AND HEPTONSTALL CHAPELS.

If we enter the Parish Church by the south porch and walk across the church to the opposite door, we notice that the north wall is built of rough stones of all shapes and sizes. Among this rubble there is one small stone that has an interesting story to tell. You will find it at the left hand lower corner of the western window. The stone is carved with zig-zag or herring-bone lines, called a chevron pattern. Soldiers' stripes are chevrons. The style of the carving indicates that it was chiselled in the twelfth century. Therefore, we know that before this wall was built, a smaller Norman church was pulled down and this particular stone, out of the older church, was picked up and used by the masons who built this wall. There are a few more similar chevron stones scattered about the walls of the present church. Fragments of a plain moulding of the same date appear in the upper part of the north wall.

We will dip a little further back into the dim past, before we take up the story of the Norman church.





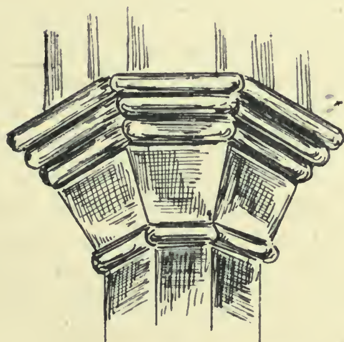


Fig. 6.—CHEVRON STONE AND 15TH CENTURY CAPITALS.

Because a portion of Halifax tithes was paid to the vicar of Dewsbury, we may certainly say that our district was

once part of the ancient Saxon parish of Dewsbury, and presume that the gospel was preached among our hills before any church was erected here.

The first mention of Halifax Church is to be found in documents relating to a gift made by Earl Warren to the Priory of Lewes of several Yorkshire churches, including Halifax church. Mr. Lister has discovered a copy of a charter that recites the original grant. It appears that when the priory church at Lewes was dedicated (about 1095) the second earl confirmed this gift of Yorkshire churches. Hence, we know that Halifax church was granted between 1086 and 1095. Documents at that time were not dated but the names of the witnesses also help to fix these dates. The second earl again confirmed the gift about the year 1116.

The Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes, in Sussex, was the first settlement in England of the black-robed monks of Cluny. The first Earl Warren and his wife had intended to make a pilgrimage to Rome but, owing to the war between the Pope and Emperor, they had to be content with visiting some of the monasteries of France, and they made a long stay at the Abbey of Cluny, near the Swiss border. Some time later the earl was crossing the Channel in one of the small vessels of those days, when a storm arose and the boat was in great peril. Earl Warren vowed that if they were brought safely to land he would found an abbey. In fulfilment of his vow, he invited the monks of Cluny to come to Lewes and, in 1077, a prior and twelve monks made their home there. The earl further enriched the Priory of Lewes by the gift of Yorkshire churches. The monks also received, out of the manor of Wakefield, the manors of Halifax and Heptonstall. The rents and fines connected with the land of Halifax and

Heptonstall were to be paid to the prior instead of to the lord of the manor of Wakefield. The prior now held a little manor court for Halifax and Heptonstall, but the Warrens still held courts for the forest-law cases and what we should call "police-court cases."

In addition to the manorial rents of Halifax and Heptonstall townships, the church had its revenue from tithes or tenths. Every farmer in the wide parish of Halifax had to give to the church one stone of wool out of every ten stones he clipped; one lamb out of ten; one calf out of ten; and a tenth of his corn and hay or any other produce. The account books of the monks tell us of three women carrying the tithe wool from Heptonstall to Halifax. The Elland wool, in 1367, needed seven women, and they received tenpence and four pennyworth of ale to share among the seven for carrying it. For a long time there was only the one church to serve the vast parish, and everyone was baptised or married, or buried at Halifax church. When the special church services or festivals were held, the accommodation of the little town would be taxed. The church is dedicated to St. John the Baptist, whose festival day is on Midsummer day. All the people had to attend church on that day, and because of the throng in the streets, hawkers and vendors of various things came, and in that way Halifax fair came to be on June 24th. There is a legend the word Halifax means Holy Face, and that a portion of the face of the Baptist was preserved as a relic in Halifax church. The borough coat-of-arms was designed from this idea. There is no truth in the story, for had there been so important a relic, pilgrims from all over the world would have found their way to Halifax, and some of the old chroniclers would have mentioned the fact.

To return to the chevron stone—when the monks received Halifax church, over eight hundred years ago, they commenced to build a small Norman church, of which these few stones remain. Some of the early rectors of Halifax were famous men, or it would be more correct to say that the fees from the parish in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries went into the pockets of some great men. For, although the Warrens had given Halifax church to the Prior of Lewes, they continued to put their own friends in the rectory. These rectors drew the rents and fees, but scarcely ever came near Halifax to attend to the work. As the monks themselves said, these men had more care for the fleeces and milk of the flock than for souls. The earls were so powerful that the monks for a long time were unable to resist these appointments.

John Talvace, brother to the wife of the third Earl Warren, "a pleasant man, generous and very learned," seems to have been one of the early rectors. He also held the high position of treasurer of York Minster from 1154 to 1163, and afterwards became Bishop of Poitiers and Archbishop of Lyons. Talvace was an old friend of Thomas á Becket, and in a letter to Becket, he advises "content yourself with a moderate establishment of horses and men, such as your necessities require." He said he had often warned Becket "to consider the badness of the times, which promise you neither a speedy return nor a safe one." The great Hubert Walters also held the rectory of Halifax. He went with Richard Cœur de Lion on the crusade, and when Richard was taken prisoner, Walters brought the English army home and raised the ransom for the king. He became Archbishop of Canterbury and a very famous statesman. It would be about the year 1185 when he became connected with Halifax, and he

wrote a letter thanking the Prior of Lewes for having appointed him to the unknown or obscure church of Halifax. We cannot think that Hubert Walters ever visited this obscure corner of England.

The last of the rectors was William de Champvent, a man who probably could not speak a word of English, but he certainly did visit Halifax a few times. However, the monks obtained a bull from Pope Alexander IV, forbidding the practice of appointing these absentee rectors. Champvent held the living for another seventeen years until, in 1273, he was preferred to the bishopric of Lausanne in Switzerland. The following year, Halifax received her first vicar and there were great rejoicings in the church. High Mass was celebrated by the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of York, assisted by the rectors of Thornhill, Birstall and Heaton, three of the black-robed monks of Lewes, and others, including Ingelard Turbard, the new vicar. He had to promise to reside in Halifax and land was given on which to build a manse for him. The tithes were divided, and in 1292, the monks of Lewes took £93 6s. 8d. and the vicar's share was £16. Ingelard Turbard was vicar of Halifax for over forty years, for the Wakefield Court Rolls inform us that he died in 1316.

Towards the latter end of Turbard's days, there was a re building of the church. In order to see the part that commemorates that epoch, in Halifax church history, when the first vicar resided here, you must go round the outside of the church to look at the north wall. To the east of the north porch is a length of rough walling. If you will look at the wall for a few minutes, you may find out how it was built. The rough stones were heaped on the ground and then were more or less sorted into sizes. The masons used the larger pieces first and the smaller

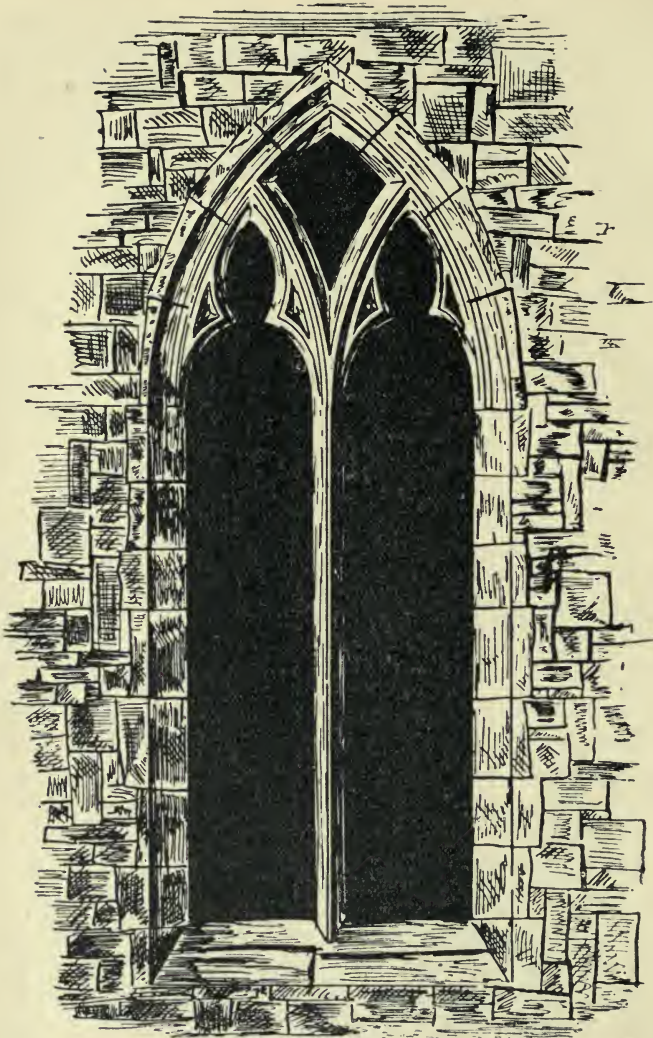


Fig. 7.—WINDOW (ABOUT 1300) IN NORTH WALL OF PARISH CHURCH.

stones were left for the upper part of the wall as they were easier to lift. There are two lancet windows in this wall, that are smaller and simpler in design than the other windows of the church. A third window of the same style is on the west side of the porch. It is set in a later wall and this window probably faced west originally. When the church was extended westward, it would be taken out and re-erected in the extended north wall. It is most interesting to trace the growth of an old church like Halifax, but we are obliged to defer the story of its further growth to a later chapter.

We do not know the exact date of the erection of Elland and Heptonstall chapels. Some Norman "beak" stones have been used in the later chancel arch at Elland. We can easily imagine that the parish was too large to be efficiently served by priests living in Halifax and we can surmise the reason why Heptonstall and Elland were chosen, and chapels erected there for assistant priests. Heptonstall would serve the western end of the parish and the township belonged to the monks of Lewes. Elland, though not a long way from Halifax, was outside the manor of Wakefield, and the lords of Elland would prefer a chapel for their own tenants. The vicar of Halifax appointed and paid these priests, and even to-day the vicar of Halifax still makes the old grant of £4 per year. The two chapels did not possess the privileges of a church like Halifax and for very many centuries, the vicar of Halifax was the spiritual head of the whole parish. The connection between the Priory of Lewes and Halifax lasted until the Reformation, or over four hundred years. In those early days the south of England was much more advanced than the north, and the priests sent by the prior would probably teach the

people many things and help to widen their ideas about the great world outside the parish.

"Halifax Parish Church—An Early Chapter of Its History."—JOHN LISTER, (Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1905.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE ELLAND FEUD.

The great Norman barons often quarrelled among themselves and armed their men to fight one another. The story of the Elland Feud is interesting because it shows how these quarrels affected the men who were tenants of these lords. The tale has been handed down in a ballad, the verses being sung at Christmas time. Its appropriate title is "Revenge upon Revenge." Within recent years, entries on the Wakefield Court Rolls, confirming the truth of the ballad, have been discovered. The tragedies commenced with the enmity between the great lords of Wakefield and Pontefract. The Earl of Warren of this time was a great friend of Edward II. Thomas Lacy, Earl of Lancaster, was the leader of the barons who put to death Gaveston, the king's favourite. Afterwards, the Earl of Lancaster rebelled against the king, and was himself beheaded. On the Monday before Ascension day, 1317, Alice de Lacy, wife of the Earl of Lancaster, was kidnapped by Earl Warren's men, at Canford in Dorset, and taken to one of the castles of the Warrens. The Lacys laid siege to the Yorkshire castles of Earl Warren. In the fighting, Exley of Exley Hall, Siddal, killed a nephew of Sir John Elland. Though Exley gave a piece of land as compensation for the man's death, Sir John would not forgive the deed, so Exley fled

to Crosland Hall, near Huddersfield, where Sir Robert Beaumont, his kinsman, lived.

Sir John's home, Elland Hall, is on the north side of the Calder, overlooking Elland Bridge. The house has been re-built several times during the six hundred years, but some windows of the seventeenth century can still be seen. The Ellands had acquired the manor of Elland from the Lacys, in the thirteenth century and Sir John Elland was High Steward to Earl Warren. A well-armed

Fig. 8.—ELLAND.

BEAUMONT.

QUARMBY,

LACY.
of Cromwell Bottom.

band of Elland men was raised, and Sir John set out one night with the intention of killing Sir Robert Beaumont. On their way to Crosland Hall, the Elland men came to Quarmby Hall and entering the house in the dead of night, they slew Hugh of Quarmby. Sir John next led his men to Lockwood and killed Lockwood of Lockwood. Quarmby and Lockwood were ruthlessly slaughtered because they were friends of Beaumont. When they arrived at Crosland Hall, the Elland men found the moat full of water and the drawbridge up, so they waited, in ambush, for the morn. A maid-servant of the house had an errand early the next morning, and when the bridge was lowered, Elland's men rushed in. Sir Robert Beaumont

was in bed, but unarmed he fought manfully, and his servants strove with might and main until they were overpowered. Sir Robert was dragged downstairs into the hall and there they cut off his head. Many of his faithful men and Exley also, were killed without mercy. Sir John Elland made a feast for his men in Crosland Hall and invited Beaumont's two sons to eat with him, but Adam Beaumont, though but a boy, sturdily refused.

> "The first fray here now have ye heard,
> The second shall ensue,
> And how much mischief afterward,
> Upon these murders grew."

Lady Beaumont took her two sons into Lancashire for safety, where they were joined by young Lockwood and Quarmby and Lacy of Cromwell-bottom. They lived at Brereton Hall and Townley, near Burnley, training themselves in fencing, tilting, riding, and shooting with the long-bow. They were determined to take revenge on Sir John Elland, and as these fatherless lads grew into men, they discussed many plans how to attain their desire. They decided to fall upon Sir John Elland on the day that he attended the Sheriff's Tourn at Brighouse. He never failed to preside over that court, and as the roads would be busy with men on their way to Brighouse, the men from Lancashire would not be so noticeable. The four youths with their followers, hid in Cromwell-bottom Wood and sent spies into Brighouse to give warning of Sir John's return. The old road from Brighouse to Elland Hall went up to Lane Head, then down to Brookfoot. and up again through Cromwell-bottom Wood. Signal was given of the knight's approach and his enemies set out to meet him, and the fight took place at Lane Head. Sir John and his men were armed and fought for their lives.

"They cut him from his company
Belike at the Lane end;
And there they slew him certainly
And there he made his end."

Sir John Elland was killed in the year 1353. Beaumont and his friends fled the same night and sought a safe hiding-place in Furness.

Early in the next spring, they came back to Cromwell-bottom to plan the death of young Sir John Elland and his boy. On the eve of Palm Sunday, Beaumont, Lacy, Lockwood, and Quarmby broke into Elland Mill and lay there in ambush. Early on the Sunday morning, the miller sent his wife to the mill to fetch some corn. They bound her hand and foot, and laid her in a safe place, so that she could not raise an alarm. The miller was angry when his wife did not return, so he took a cudgel to chastise her for her delay. The miller was also caught and laid by his wife's side. Sir John had heard rumours that his enemies were abroad and on that Sunday morning he told his fears to his wife. She took little notice of the reports and said "It is Palm Sunday, and we must certainly go to church and serve God, this holy day." Sir John Elland, for safety, put on a coat of armour under his suit and with his lady, his son and some of his people set out for church. Perhaps there was no bridge at this time, for they crossed the river by the dam-stones of the mill. Adam Beaumont stepped out of the mill, with his long-bow, notched his arrow to the string, and shot at the knight. It struck his breast, glancing off the armour. Lockwood's first arrow did the same but his second shot struck Sir John Elland in the head and he fell dead in the river. One of the other bowmen mortally wounded his son and heir, and the servants carried the boy home to die at Elland Hall.

Beaumont and his friends left the mill and hurriedly marched by Whittle Lane End and Old Earth to Ainley Wood. An alarm was raised in Elland and men found their weapons and armour that Sunday morning and pursued the murderers. There was a fight in Ainley Wood and Quarmby was badly wounded. The chase continued to Huddersfield but the others escaped. As the Elland men returned through the wood, they heard crows and magpies chattering about a tree covered with ivy and there they found Quarmby hidden in the tree, and slew him. Lockwood was betrayed by a sweetheart at Cawthorne, Lacy went into the north, while Beaumont went abroad and died fighting with the Knights of Rhodes.

Thus the Elland family became extinct and the Saviles who had married into the family became lords of Elland. Their home is on the other side—the southern slope of Calder Vale. It was called the New Hall in contrast to the older Elland Hall, and the interesting old house is still called New Hall.

"The Elland Tragedies"—reprinted and edited by J. HORSFALL TURNER.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY RECORDS OF THE CLOTH TRADE—THE FLEMINGS—THE BLACK DEATH—POLL TAX OF 1379—SURNAMES—SHEEP REARING—SPINNING—WEAVING—FULLING—DYEING

In the porch of Halifax Parish Church is an ancient grave-cover, on which the mason has carved a rude representation of a pair of shears beside the cross. Those who have studied such gravestones say that the shears are a trade symbol, and that a cloth-worker was buried under this stone, about the year 1150. We know nothing

more about the man, but it is most interesting to think that our local cloth trade is so ancient. When we turn to examine our oldest written records, we find that the earliest court-roll of the Wakefield manor commences with a list of jurymen who served at Rastrick in October, 1274 and the sixth name on the roll is Roger the Fuller. Roger is so described because his principal occupation was the fulling or finishing of cloth. The earliest named weaver is Thomas the Webster, of Hipperholme, in May, 1275.

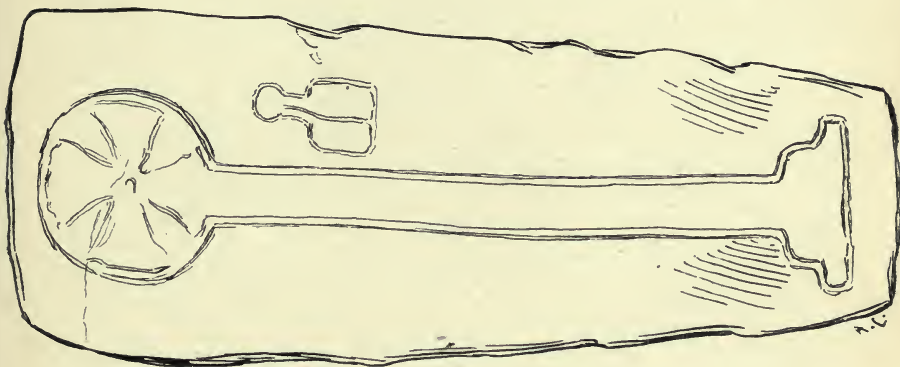


Fig. 9.—GRAVE COVER (C. 1150) IN HALIFAX CHURCH.

So that we may affirm with confidence that as far back as records go, men were engaged in the woollen industry in the parish of Halifax.

These early evidences of the trade are important because they disprove the legend that the Flemings introduced cloth-making into our district about the year 1331, when Edward III invited Flemish weavers to settle in England. We know that they came to York, but a close examination of court-rolls, local deeds, revenue returns, and lists of later cloth-workers that we shall study,

fails to discover these Flemish weavers in our part of the country. Writer after writer has repeated the story, without giving proofs, and though some West Riding historians have collected the correct and contrary evidence, the Flemish myth is still repeated. As we have seen, there were cloth-makers in Halifax long before the Flemings landed, and the early weavers, dyers, and fullers, all bear good old Halifax names. Besides, the Flemings were the most skilful of textile workers and made the better cloths. Halifax weavers were content, for many centuries, to go on producing the coarser qualities.

I think we may find out why the cloth trade took root among our hills. In the earliest days, the making of cloth was a home occupation. Each family made for itself the cloth it needed for its own clothes. But, as time went on, men who were clever at weaving devoted more of their time to it, and exchanged their cloth with those who preferred farming, for corn and meat. Now, this district was never a favourable place for agriculture, and the men naturally turned their hand to trade. The comparative freedom of the men, through not being so closely tied to the soil, as the tenants of small manors were, also encouraged trade.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, a terrible plague visited England. Its effects were so great that the Black Death of 1348 and 1349 is one of the great events of English history. At least one third of the people died. In the West Riding, out of 141 priests, 96 fell victims to the Black Death. Thomas of Gaytington, vicar of Halifax, died on September 10th, 1349, and as the Prior of Lewes had no priests to send into the north, a local man, Richard of Ovenden, was made vicar. In less than four months, he also died, and another priest,

John of Stanford, came to the church. On the Wakefield Court Rolls an unusual number of entries were made of heirs paying fines to inherit the lands of tenants who had died. The poor people, who had no land, suffered the most, and there were not sufficient men left in England to till the land and gather the harvests. Labourers were very scarce and they demanded more money than they had hitherto received for wages, and more than the law allowed. The Government attempted to regulate the prices of everything, and to keep wages at the old level. Their action did not prevent rates becoming higher, but perhaps wages and prices would have gone higher still if it had not been for the penalties. It was impossible to enforce many of the irksome manorial customs, and the Black Death is said to mark the end of the feudal system.

The Statute of Labourers was a law passed by Parliament, according to which, no man was to take higher wages than he had received before the pestilence. Justices were appointed to see that the statute was observed. William of Fincheden, John of Norland, and William of Mirfield were justices for the West Riding. This William of Mirfield was lord of the manor of Shelf and collector of the revenues of Bradford Church. In the year 1355 the fines amounted to £84 4s. 7¼d. Out of this amount £38 0s. 8d. was paid to the justices for their fees and expenses, and the balance ought to have been paid to the townships, which found difficulty in raising the king's taxes. But the collectors absconded with the money and the record of their misdoings supplies us with these few details. The township of Shelf received 6s. 8d. relief for the taxes.

The country had not fully recovered from the ravages of the Black Death, when Richard II. came to the throne.

To provide the boy-king with money, the people were taxed. Each man and woman over sixteen years of age had to pay fourpence, though married couples were charged as one person. Merchants paid one shilling and there were eight in the parish; twenty-three tradesmen paid sixpence each; John Lacy of Cromwell-bottom and Henry Langfield of Elland paid 3s. 4d. each; and John Savile of Elland, described as a chevalier paid 20s. Priests and beggars had no tax to pay. It is known as the Poll Tax of 1379—"poll" means head and the tax was levied on heads. In the Public Records Office in London, are the original lists of the people who paid this tax, and from them we know who were living in Halifax in 1379 and something about them. We have, in fact, a most interesting Directory of Halifax in 1379.

In the township of Halifax, there were 16 married couples and 6 single persons who paid their groats. If we add 48 children, 3 priests and 1 beggar, we get a total population of 90 for Halifax. It is probable that a few escaped taxation, but we can be quite certain that the population of Halifax was not above 100 in 1379, or a less number than live to-day in one of our shorter streets. It makes us wonder how many were left in Halifax when the Black Death passed. The total population of the whole parish was under two thousand in 1379. Elland-cum-Greetland was the most important township, 61 persons being named and the population calculated to be 188. Elland boasted such rich men as John Savile and Henry Langfield; two merchants; and six weavers, carpenters and smiths. Sowerby comes second and Hipperholme third on the list. Halifax is half-way down the list of twenty townships, and not one man in the township was of sufficient social standing to pay more than fourpence.

We all possess something that dates back to the fourteenth century, and that something is our surname. From the Poll Tax Returns we can see how these family names came into use, for at that time they were being fixed. When there were only a few persons living in a place, there was not much need for a second name. We never use the second name at home, or among our friends, but we call our brother, Jack. When we go to school, where there are twenty Jacks, we have to call him Jack Greenwood. In just the same way, as towns grew in size, people began to use a second name and then they found it better to keep the same name for sons, grandsons, great-grandsons and so on. Thus we were each born with a surname.

Out of eighteen Halifax men, eight were named John. There were 133 Johns, or one third of the men in the parish, in 1379. To distinguish these Johns, another name was added, and we have :—

John Oteson, sometimes called John Otes. Ote or Odo was the christian name of his father.

John, son of Gilbert, who was called John Gibson when he was elected constable in 1382.

John Smithson, whose father was the smith.

John, son of John, was named John Jackson in a court roll of 1370.

John Milner had the manorial corn mill.

John Frauncays was a Frenchman living in Halifax at that time.

John of the Wro and John of the Bowes are named from the situation of their homes, which gave rise to the surnames Wroe and Boyes.

The first name on the Halifax list is William, son of Henry, who was afterwards called William Hanson (or

Henryson). His brother Richard was Vicar of Halifax, and is described as son of Henry of Heaton. The vicar's surname was Heaton and his son was a Heaton, but his brother's family went by the name of Hanson. From this case we gather that surnames had not become finally fixed. Robert Lister's name appears in the list—a lister was a dyer. In 1311, we find Bate, the lister of Halifax. In 1338, his son is named Richard Bateson, but in 1359, the same man is called Richard Lister. So we can see that the Listers might have been known as Bateson or Bates. There were Otes of Holdsworth, Thomas of Cliff and Richard of Bottom living in Halifax, and their names are still used as surnames.

It is worth while pointing out that two men could bear the same surname and not have the slightest relationship to one another. The William Hanson of Halifax, son of Henry of Heaton, had no kinship with the William Hanson of Rastrick, living at the same date, for this second William was son of Henry of Rastrick. There was a Milner for every one of the corn mills—Hugh and John at Elland, John at Halifax, Randolph at Heptonstall, Henry at Northowram, and William at Sowerby. They all had the same surname, Milner, because they all plied the same trade, but they were not related to one another. The origin of surnames provides a fascinating study. It is interesting to discover some fourteenth century Robert or John or Henry who gave his name to a family. A remote moorland hamlet like Shackleton or Saltonstall, even a lonely farm house such as Akroyd or Sunderland gave a name to a family, and afterwards some gifted member of the family makes the name world famous. The surnames derived from trades are, as we have already noticed, very important. To

explain some of these, it will be necessary to give an account of how cloth was made, and the many processes required for each piece.

Photo. H. P. Kendall.

Fig. 10.—AKROYD IN WADSWORTH.

First of all, sheep had to be reared. When our district was mostly moorland with a few fields scattered along the hill-sides like oases, there was ample room for large flocks. In 1379 we find John the Shepherd of Midgley, and Alice Shepherd of Warley, who perhaps lived at Shepherd House. Shibden was formerly spelt Schepedene—the sheep vale. In 1367, according to the tithes accounts, 2340 stone of wool was clipped in Halifax Parish. The fleece was sorted into different qualities

and lengths of wool, washed to free it from grease, and the dust and foreign matter beaten or picked from it. The next processes, carding and spinning were done by women. The cards were like two square hair brushes with wire bristles. The end of every wire was bent towards the handle. A handful of wool was laid on one card, and drawn off the card with the other card. The carding straightened the wool out ready for spinning. Spinning took up so much of the women's time, that unmarried women were called—and are still called—spinsters. In spinning, a long rod, named a distaff was used. A bundle of the carded wool was tied on the top end of the distaff. A little of the wool was pulled out and twisted into a thread by the finger and thumb. The thread was tied on to a spindle. At the end of the spindle was a spindle-whorl, a round piece of stone or iron that acted like a little fly-wheel, so that when the spindle was given a twist, the spindle-whorl would keep it spinning for a time. The wool was gradually pulled off the distaff, the thread was twisted by the continued spinning and wound on the spindle. The spun wool is called the yarn.

Weaving is the most important process in the making of cloth. The yarn is carefully wound on to a roller or beam which is fixed in the back of the loom, and the threads are stretched in parallel lines the length of the loom and fastened to the front roller. These threads are the warp of the cloth. As the rollers are slowly turned, the warp on the back beam is gradually unwound, while the front roller becomes full of cloth. To make the cloth, a cross-thread called the weft has to be put in. In darning a stocking-hole, the cross-threads are made by pushing the needle over the first thread, under the

second, and over and under the alternate threads. But the loom has a quicker method. Each horizontal warp thread passes through the loop of a vertical thread, and these vertical threads are tied, top and bottom to a pair of laths or headles. There are two pairs of these laths, hung from pulleys on the top of the loom frame, and fastened at the bottom to a pair of treadles. When the weaver presses down one treadle with his right foot, the right pair of headles drop down and the left pair go up. The loops pull down the first, third, and all the odd-numbered warp threads, and the even-numbered warp threads are raised. The shuttle containing the weft is thrown through the opening, and so the thread goes over and under the alternate threads as the darning needle does. Then the left treadle is pressed down, and the shuttle thrown back again across the opening. The earlier weavers used a short, heavy comb to beat the weft together, but later a long comb or reed was attached to the loom. This was made of fine reeds fixed betweeen two laths. The thread of the warp runs between these reeds, thus the reeds keep the warp straight. The reed is fixed in a heavy frame swinging from the top of the loom. After every throw of the shuttle the reed is swung against the weft to press it tightly into the web of the cloth. In old wills a loom is called a "pair of looms," which means a set of looms, just as sometimes, a chest of drawers is called a "pair of drawers."

Webster has never been a common surname in Halifax. The name is very rare in the early registers, and cannot be found in the published wills. The reason for this is that it was not distinctive enough in a community where there were many weavers. The Poll

Tax of 1379 gives no example of Webster as a surname. However, among the twenty-three tradesmen, rated at sixpence, four are websters—Hugh Stephenson, Alice and Isabella of the Cross in Elland, and John Dean of Midgley. Half-a-dozen men and one woman called Webster, of Halifax Parish are to be found on the court-rolls between 1272 and 1327—that is, before the Flemings came—for weaving would not be so universal then.

The raw cloth from the loom had next to be fulled, that is to say scoured, cleansed, and thickened by beating it in water. In the early days, this was done by men trampling upon the cloth in a trough, and the process was therefore called "walking" and the fuller was known as a "walker." During the thirteenth century, improvements were made and the cloth was beaten by large wooden mallets, which were worked up and down by a water-wheel. Fulling mills were built by the stream banks, and the lord of the manor leased the right to work such mill to some Fuller or Walker. There were nine Walkers in 1379, and there are nine Fullers or Walkers mentioned in the court rolls prior to 1327. These "walk-mylnes" were the only mills used in the manufacture of cloth for five hundred years, hence the "fulling" is nowadays called "milling," though every process is to-day carried on in a mill.

After the fulling, the cloth was stretched on tenters to dry. In 1414, Richard of High Sunderland had a "tentercroft" (a small field with tenter frames) in Halifax. You may to-day see tentercrofts attached to the blanket mills about Mytholmroyd. In the final processes of finishing, the loose fibres of the cloth were raised by teasels, the dried heads of the "fuller's thistle." This

raised portion was cut off by "Walker's Shears" to produce an even nap on the cloth. Last of all the piece was dyed. We shall have to omit any description of the dyeing processes. In the thirteenth century dyers were called "litsters," hence the surname "Lister." In 1274 Bate, or Bartholomew Lister carried on the dyeing trade at North Bridge. There were four listers or dyers in 1379.

In Bankfield Museum, there is a valuable collection of appliances, used in the early manufacture of cloth.

"Poll Tax, 1379,"—HX. ANTQN. SOCY., RECORD SERIES, VOL. I.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MAGNA VIA—TIMBERED HOUSES—SHIBDEN HALL—THE HOUSE AT THE MAYPOLE—SUNNY BANK, GREETLAND—REBUILDING OF THE PARISH CHURCH—VICAR WILKINSON—THE TOWER—HALIFAX IN 1439.

The most interesting method of studying the history of Halifax in the fifteenth century, is to take a ramble along the first two miles of the ancient road to Wakefield. Starting from the Parish Church, cross Clark Bridge and climb Old Bank to Beacon Hill Road, where the Southowram trams run. So far, we see little to remind us of by-gone days, except the steepness of the route. It is obvious that travellers on foot, or horse, and pack-horses made this road and that it was never intented for carts. From Beacon Hill Road, a track traverses the slope up to the shoulder of the hill, just below the Beacon Pan. Shale and stones have been tipped and washed down the bare slope by storms, so that the track is obscured for the most part. But here and there the ancient paving stones are visible, and near the summit

of the pass there is a fine elbow turn where the pack-horse pavement is exposed in perfect condition. After the highest point is reached, the road, known as Barraclough Lane, is for a short distance, a wide sandy road. Down the eastern slope, towards Hipperholme, it

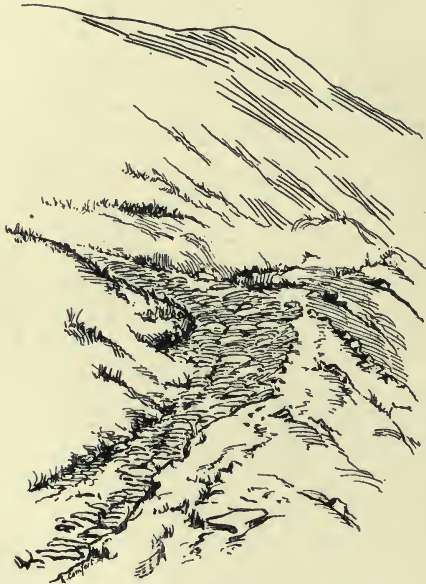


Fig. 11.—WISCOMBE BANK.
The old pack-horse road on Beacon Hill.

retains its primitive state and is called Dark Lane. The road has a narrow, paved track, suitable for pack-horses. High banks on either side, covered with holly bushes, briers, and bracken shelter the road, and in some places the small trees almost meet overhead. Dark Lane ends near an ancient house named Dumb Mill, just below Hipperholme Station.

This narrow lane was the Magna Via—the Great Road to and from Halifax in the old days, for it was the way to Wakefield, London, and the outside world. Few, if any, English towns of the size of Halifax, possess a stretch of ancient road as little spoiled by the changes of time as our Magna Via. It is an historic monument

Photo. M. Hanson.

Fig. 12.—The Magna Via.

that ought to be preserved. Up and down this road came the monks from Lewes and the early priests of the Parish Church. The Earls of Warren rode this way to their hunting in Sowerbyshire, their stewards and men came to officiate at the manor courts, and Halifax men drove destrained cattle to Wakefield by this route. The masons and carpenters of York coming to build the

church got their first glimpse of Halifax from this road. Thousands of pack-horses carrying cloth to London and other markets, and returning with wool from the southern counties, have worn this paved track.

Retracing our steps, and lifting our eyes from the road to the surrounding hills, we can trace the eastern boundaries of the parish, from Fixby to Queensbury, Soil Hill, and Ogden. We have a splendid view of the upper part of Shibden Dale. There are no mills and no roads in the valley, therefore Shibden has not altered much in appearance. The dale is served by two roads, each perched high up on the flanking hills. Brow Lane on the eastern side follows a high contour of the hill. On the other side is the Old Bradford Road from Range Bank to Swales Moor. The road on which we are standing is a similar high-level road, and it is important to remember that the old routes were always near the hill-tops. This part of the hill was called Bairstow from its bareness, and the other side, overlooking Halifax, was known as Clegg Cliff, or Gledcliff—the clay cliff—long before the hill took its name from the Beacon.

From Barrowclough Lane we can see several very old homesteads. Upper Brea on the eastern side, and Horley Green on the western side, occupy two fine situations on either flank of Upper Shibden Dale. Above Horley Green is High Sunderland, looking like a fort on the bare hillside. In the centre of the valley, Shibden Fold peeps over the embankment of the modern road. Its whitewashed gable front is a timber erection of the fifteenth century. Cosily nestled below us lies Shibden Hall, the most interesting of all our old halls. It was from this road that its early owners approached it, and from our standpoint we have a fine view of its front.

Shibden Hall is a timbered house, to which, later stone portions, and a nineteenth century tower have been added. In the fifteenth century all the houses were built of oak. Large oak trees were plentiful in the district, and timber was easier to get and to work than stone. To build a house, several pairs of large oak posts

Photo. H. P. Kendall.

Fig. 13.—SHIBDEN HALL.

or "crooks" were chosen. These were so cut from the tree that they curved inwards at the top. A low stone wall was built for a foundation, with larger stones placed where the posts had to stand. The "crooks" were reared

upright, and joined together with horizontal oak beams. This framework of posts and beams carried the roof, and old carpenters used to say that in building these old houses, the roof was made before the walls. To make

Photo. H. P. Kendall.

Fig. 14.—DEERPLAY.
Timber House at Mill Bank.

the walls, beams were tenoned between the posts below the window level, and also above the windows. The spaces between the main timbers of the wall were framed up with oak battens about seven inches wide, either

vertically or diagonally. All this oak framing—posts, beams, and battens, (or "studding") makes the black lines in these magpie buildings. Between the "studding," thin stone slates were slipped into grooves, and then daubed over with clay. This gives the white effect. The roof was covered with stone slates, and moss packed into the joints. The moss sucked the rain-water up like a sponge. As it expanded it filled up the joints, and made the roof water-tight.

These old houses usually faced south and the principal entrance was called the sun-door. From this door a passage ran through the house to the back door. On the left-hand side of this passage was the main room, called the house-body. The living room is to-day often called the house. This house-body usually was open to the roof and around its walls was a gallery to give access to the chambers or bedrooms. The house-body and passage made up the centre portion of the building. It was flanked on either side by wings whose gable-ends faced south and north. In one wing would be two parlours with chambers above. In the other, kitchen and buttery were placed with two or three more bedrooms above them.

In Shibden Hall Park, near the lake is a timbered house that once stood in Cripplegate, near the Parish Church. Mr. John Lister removed it into his grounds when some alterations were made at the bottom of the town. Overlooking the lake is yet another old house, now called Daisy Bank. Its back is close to the Hipperholme road. We may get a peep at its front from a footpath at the edge of the garden. This building, also saved by Mr. Lister, formerly stood in the centre of the town. It was then known as "The House at the

Maypole," because it was close to the maypole at the corner of Old Market and Corn Market. The entrance to the house is decorated with heraldic carving. A Tudor rose and a portcullis—the badge of Henry VII.—denote that the house was built at some date between 1485 and 1509. A shield bearing the arms of the Merchant Adventurers, and another shield displaying a

Fig. 15.—The House at the Maypole. 15th Cent. Doorway.

merchant's mark, denote that the building was originally tenanted by a merchant. We do not know his name, but his initials, S. O., are over the doorway.

Sunny Bank, Greetland, is probably the oldest in the parish of the timbered house that still remain. A public footpath passes through the farmyard, which makes it possible for the visitor to examine it closely. The house was owned by Thomas Wilkinson, Vicar of Halifax,

Photo. H. P. Kendall

Fig. 16.—SHIBDEN HALL PORCH,
Showing the Stone Front of the Centre Portion.

Fig. 17.—HIGH SUNDERLAND. *Photo. H. P. Kendall.*

Fig. 18.—NORLAND HALL. *Photo. H. P. Kendall.*

1438-1480. Its original name was Over Nabroyd, but the vicar changed its name to the prettier title of Sunny Bank. The shop now occupied by Messrs. Altham at the top of Woolshops is also a timbered structure, but it has been plastered over and the timber hidden.

Photo. H. P. Kendall.

Fig. 19.—WINDOW OF TIMBER BUILDING, NORLAND HALL.

Remains of these timbered houses are to be found in many of the seventeenth century stone halls. Oak does not last for ever, so when the posts began to show signs of decay, it became the custom to build a stone front to replace the black and white erection. At Shibden Hall, the house-body was encased with stone, but the rest of the south front was left in its original condition. High

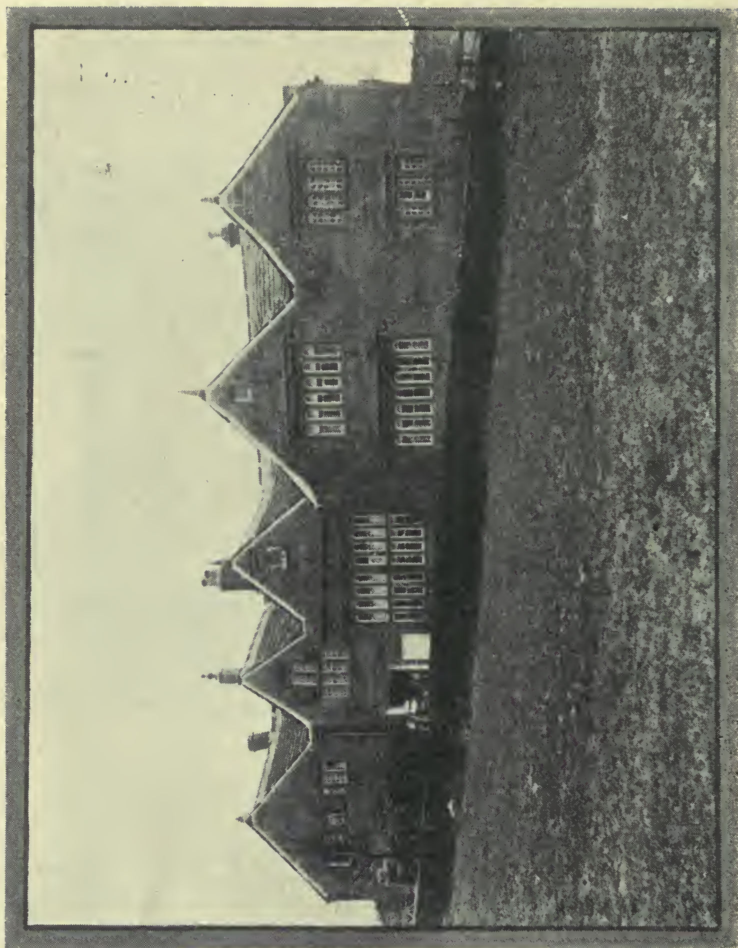


Fig. 20.—BINROYD, NORLAND. *Photo. W. B. Crump.*

Sunderland is a timber house encased with stone. The present front (17th century) has a straight embattled cornice. But from the hill side behind the house, we can

Fig. 21.—TIMBER WORK AT BINROYD. *Photo. H. P. Kendall.*

look on to the roof and see that the older building had a gabled front before the Sunderlands erected a stony

screen that hides the shape of the timbered house. Norland Hall, pulled down a few years ago, was a good example of a timbered house with a later stone exterior. There it was possible to see the original narrow windows with oak mullions. Fortunately a record of the house has been published.

The poorer people were housed in very small cabins, but none of these miserable one-roomed houses remain for our inspection. In 1286, Peter Swerd unjustly ejected Alice of the Croft from her land in Mankinholes and cast down her house. The damage was said to be 10s. 6d. It shows us that Alice's house must have been a poor structure.

In Chapter III., the earliest fragments of the Parish Church showed us that older and smaller churches stood on the site of the present building. We have next to consider the building of the church that we see to-day. Old churches are more interesting than modern buildings, because they have been altered and rebuilt to serve the varying needs of the centuries, and it is a fascinating study to trace their growth. England is rich in ancient parish churches and no two are exactly alike, The greater part of Halifax church was built during the fifteenth century. We may admire the architecture and boast that it is a large and handsome church, but it is impossible for us to be impressed by its majesty as were those men of Halifax who watched it gradually rise, stone upon stone. Remember that at that time, all the houses in the parish were timbered buildings. For at least a century after the church was finished, there was no other stone building. There was no other building to compare with it—a town hall, hospital, schools, etc. were undreamt of.

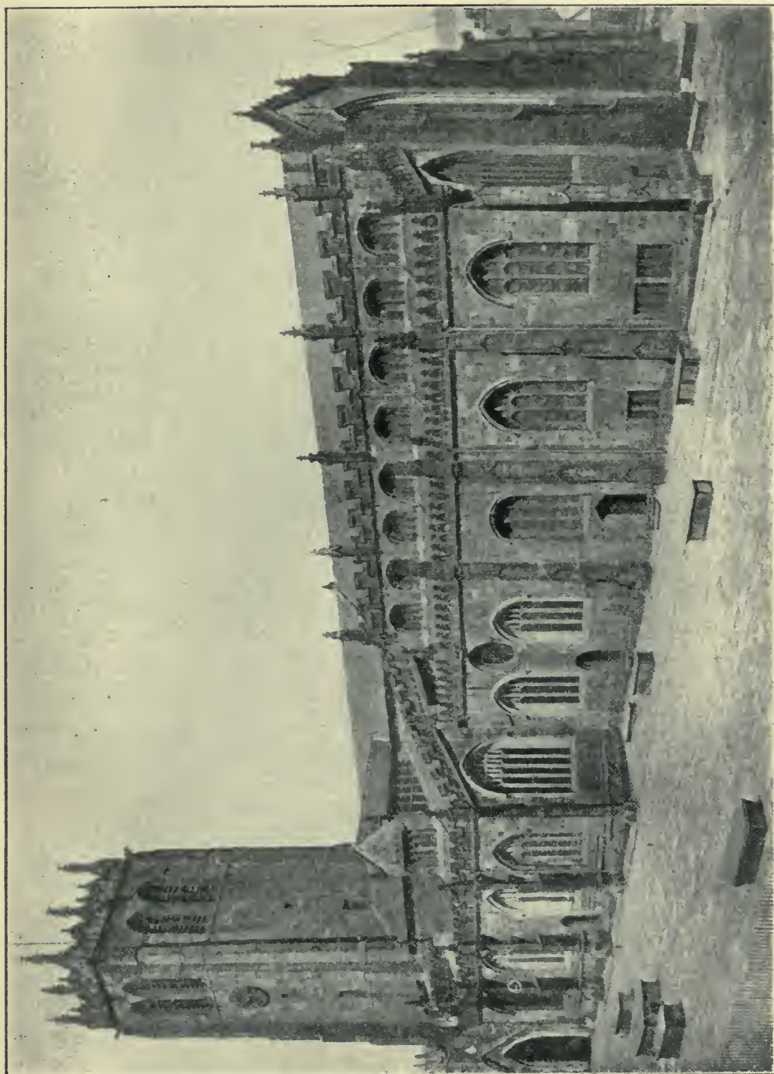


Fig. 22.—HALIFAX PARISH CHURCH.

The church has two main divisions. In the nave or west end of the building, the people assembled; while in the chancel at the east end, the clergy conducted the worship. The building of the nave is usually ascribed to the time of John King, who was vicar from 1389 to 1438. Vicar King left to the fabric of the church 100 shillings, which was a very large amount in those days. The windows of the fifteenth century are much larger than the older lancet windows in the north wall, because great sheets of stained or painted windows gave a beautiful colour effect to the interior, and people were enthusiastic about decorating their churches with them. The roof was steeper than the present one; the lines of the original roof can be seen on the eastern face of the tower. The builder's first idea was to place the tower at the south-west corner of the nave. If you enter the church you will see that the pillar between the door and the font is much stronger than the others because it was built to carry the tower. In the south-west corner is the doorway for the staircase up the tower. Stand with your back to this door and look up. Above the two arches, you will see a course of stones where the floor of the tower would have been. We cannot tell how high this tower was built before it was abandoned for the larger tower.

The chancel is as long as the nave, though usually the chancel of a church is much smaller than the nave. The chancel of Halifax Church was built at two different times, for the pillars east of the present choir-screen vary from those to the west of it. At one time a large rood screen, dividing the chancel and nave, was situated under the great central arch of the church. Half of the doorway that gave access to the rood loft can be seen in the

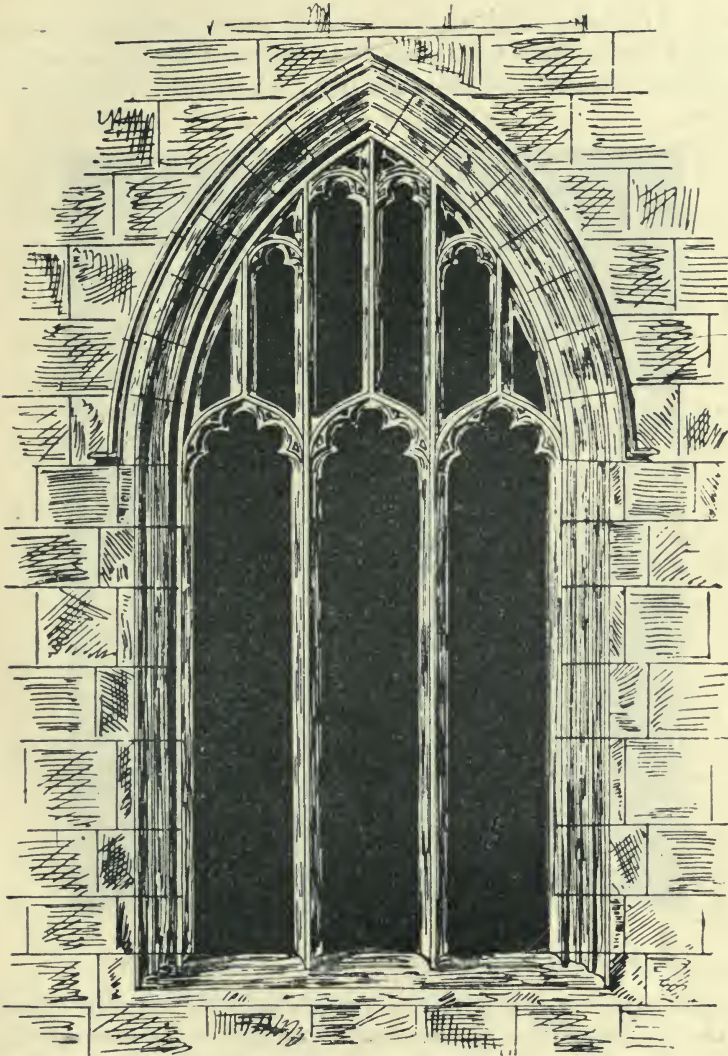


Fig. 23.—PERPENDICULAR WINDOW OF THE 15TH CENTURY.

pier. The other half was cut away when the Holdsworth Chapel was added to the church. The doorways for the stairs to a later rood loft can be seen opposite the present

Fig. 24.—Large Pier, Designed to Support the Earlier Tower.

choir-screen. Another interesting doorway is next to the north jamb of the great east window. At present it opens into space, but at one time it led on to the roof, so

we know that the chancel roof was then lower than it is now. On the exterior of the south wall of the chancel are three buttresses. On the centre one is a moulding at the level of the roof. On the other two are carved an antelope and a lion. These heraldic beasts were the badges of Henry VI., and therefore they help us to date this work. They were probably carved before 1455, for after that date Henry VI. and Richard Duke of York (who was Lord of the Manor of Wakefield) were open rivals. During the War of the Roses, Richard was killed in front of his castle at Sandal, in the Battle of Wakefield. Later again Henry was obliged to hide in the border country of Lancashire and Westmoreland. He was betrayed and captured by the Talbots at Bungelly Hipping-stones near Clitheroe in 1465. A year later, Thomas Wilkinson, vicar, thirty-two Halifax men, and certain other strong fellows from the country-side attacked the Talbots at Burnley. We do not know the exact cause of the quarrel, but it almost looks as if the Halifax expedition into Lancashire was on account of their loyalty to the unfortunate Henry VI.

Thomas Wilkinson was Vicar of Halifax for the long period of from 1438 until 1480. During his time the church was considerably enlarged. The vicar was not satisfied with the chancel as it appeared in 1455, and proceeded to add a clerestory to it. The building of this "clear storey," with its series of windows, giving more light to the chancel, meant that the eastern wall of the church had to be built higher. Vicar Wilkinson "made at his own expense, the great window in the chancel." His will dated 1477 makes no mention of such a gift, so the window was given during his lifetime. Therefore the clerestory was built between 1455 and 1480. There

are a few more details worth noticing. The staircase within the pier to the north of the east window, that led to the lower roof, was continued upward. A circular stair head with a conical top was made at the eastern end of the north side of the clerestory. The parapet of the chancel is different in design to the parapet of the clerestory. But when the eastern wall was made higher, its parapet was carefully taken down and replaced at the level of the clerestory. In 1467, Lawrence Bentley, constable of Halifax, reported that Vicar Wilkinson had cut down trees at the Birks, in violation of the custom of the manor, and to the great detriment of the tenants. Probably the timber was wanted for the church.

Most parish churches that boast a clerestory—Bradford for example—have them to light the nave. In many cases the clerestory is extended over the chancel as well. But Halifax church is practically unique in possessing a clerestory to the chancel without having one at the western end of the church. The priests were responsible for the building and upkeep of the chancel, while the people had the care of the nave. Vicar Wilkinson certainly erected a magnificient chancel, and the people of Halifax, in emulation, set about to improve the western half of the church. They determined to build a nobler tower. Up to this time the ground-plan of the church was a simple oblong. The central arch divided the church half-way into nave and chancel. The tower added to the plan a small square at the west end. The tower was commenced in 1449. The date is known because John Waterhouse, when a boy of six or seven years, stood with many more children on the first stone of the tower. John Waterhouse lived to be 97. It took at least thirty-seven years to build the tower, for in 1482

a bequest of 3s. 4d. was made to the making of the bell tower of Halifax. The masons could not have been continually at work on the tower for all that time. Church building had often to stop for funds, and during the Wars of the Roses interruptions would occur. An authority on church architecture says "Almost the single glory of Halifax is its grand old mother-church, crowned

Fig. 25.—THE MOOT HALL AND CHURCH TOWER.

by a tower that for simple dignity is possibly unrivalled in the Riding. We need not regret its lowly situation in quite the lowest hollow of the town; its own magnitude and stateliness are sufficient to assure its recognition under any disadvantage of site." Mr. Oddy's drawing of the tower will help you to see its beauty.

The South Porch was the gift of John Lacy of

Cromwell Bottom who died in 1531. His coat of arms and crest are carved in the gable of the porch. The west

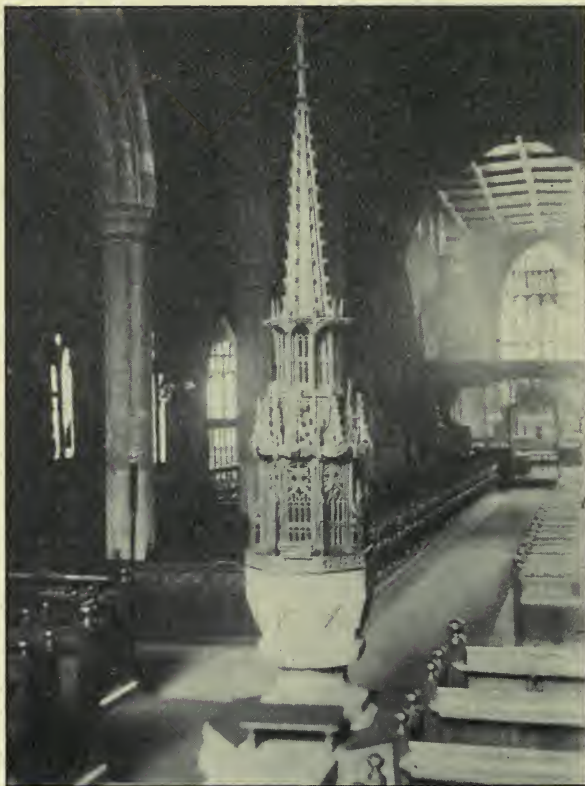


Photo. J. H. Chambers.

Fig. 26.—THE FONT AND COVER.

wall of the Holdsworth Chapel shows at a glance that the porch was built before the chapel, for the wall of the chapel was erected on the porch wall.

In the fifteenth century, the interior of the church was very different in appearance to what we see to-day. There was much more colour. The windows were filled with brilliant stained glass. The walls, now rough and bare, had a smooth coat of plaster, and between the windows were decorated with large paintings representing scenes from the Bible, and from the lives of the saints. The roof was painted blue, dotted with gold stars, and even the stone pillars were painted. There was also some fine woodwork, part of which has happily

Fig. 27.—Wood Carving on a Priest's Seat.

been preserved. The font cover, elaborately carved like a miniature spire is a beautiful example of fifteenth century woodwork. Originally it was painted green red, and blue, and bedecked with gilded knobs. The priests' seats in the choir have mermaids, pelicans, and grotesque animals carved on them. Besides, there would be images of saints around the walls, and a great crucifix over the rood-screen. The air was heavy with incense and many candles were burning. The priests wore gorgeous vestments on festival days, and the whole of the interior was a blaze of colour. There were no

pews, the whole length of the floor was empty except for a very few benches. The worshippers had to stand during the services.

Although such a large church was built at Halifax, the town itself was very small. The rents of the land and houses were paid to the Prior of Lewes. An account of the monies he received on December 17th, 1439, has been preserved. From this rental we can form some idea of the size of the town. Robert Otes had a shop and some land at the west end of the churchyard, and

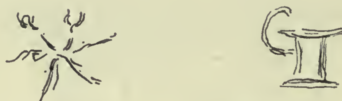
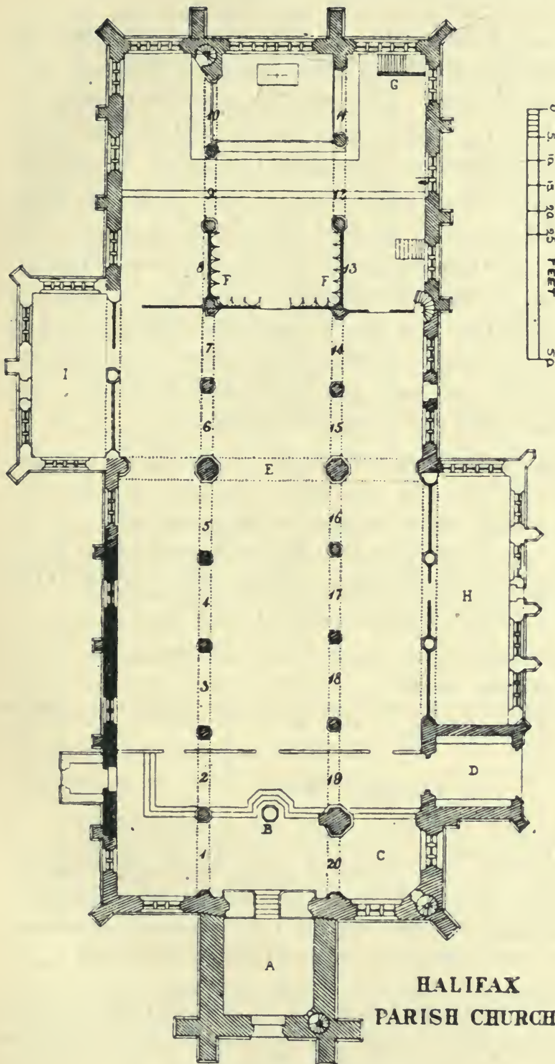


Fig. 28.—Mason's Marks.

this land had been taken lately from the waste. This shows that there was waste land quite close to the church, so the cluster of houses around the church was very small indeed. Strips of the open fields are mentioned, and we learn that hay was grown that year in the Blackledge Field, and that the South Field was ploughed. Next to the church was the Moot Hall, and the large common field around the Moot Hall was called the Hall Ing. There were no streets of houses or shops and even the oldest names of our streets are not mentioned. Some of the place-names of 1439 are now obsolete, and we cannot tell where they were situated. A garden at the boundary of the town was named Dyshbyndesherde, a new close was Skylderyeforth, and there were houses known as New-house, White-house, Machon-house, Rendurer Place, and Myleas Place. The



A—Present Tower
B—Font
C—Unfinished Tower
D--South Porch
F—Choir Stalls
H—Holdsworth Chapel
I — Rokeby Chapel

Fig. 29.—GROUND PLAN.

Well House (Well Head) and the Shay are still known to us. Near the North Brig was Lister's fulling mill, while Robert the Milner ground the people's corn at Stone Dam Mill. In 1367, two new mill-stones were brought from Grindlestone Bank in Ovenden Wood for the mill. Richard Peck was one of the largest landholders in Halifax town in 1439, though he did not live in the township. His home was at Owram Hall in Shibden (near the present Industrial School). Peck was very rich and it is thought that he subscribed liberally to the re-building of the church, for he had the honour, unusual for a layman, of being buried in the choir. By trade, Peck was a goldsmith and silversmith.

"The House at the Maypole"—Chap. II. in H. Ling Roth's "Yorkshire Coiners and Old Halifax."

HALIFAX ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY'S TRANSACTIONS.

1907-"Shibden Hall," by J. LISTER. 1907-"High Sunderland," by J LISTER.
1911—"Norland Hall," by H. P. KENDALL. 1917—"The Evolution of the Parish Church, Halifax, (1455–1530)" by T. W. HANSON.
1908—"Halifax Parish Church Woodwork," by CANON SAVAGE.

HALIFAX ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY RECORD SERIES.

Vol. I.—"Rental of Halifax, 1439."
Vol. III.—"The Architecture of the Church of St. John the Baptist, Halifax," by FAIRLESS BARBER.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GROWTH OF HALIFAX TRADE—GILDS—FAIRS—ULNAGERS ACCOUNTS—1473, HALIFAX LEADS THE WEST RIDING FOR CLOTH—EARLY HALIFAX WILLS—GIFTS TO THE CHURCH—THE CHAPELS OF THE PARISH—ROADS AND BRIDGES—CLOTHES AND FURNITURE—EXTENDING THE CULTIVATED LAND.

The number of timbered houses in the parish and the building of the stately parish church are visible proofs that the people were prosperous, and that the woollen

trade was expanding. The natural advantages offered by the hills were a bountiful supply of good water, and coal for fuel. Coal crops out in places on the hill-sides around Halifax, and was worked in early times. The supply of fuel was a difficulty for the weavers and tradesmen who lived in cities, and the men of York complained that Halifax had a great advantage in cheap fuel. But the real reason of the growth of the local industry was that there were no gilds in Halifax parish. The trade of the middle ages was controlled to a large extent by gilds. The weavers' gild at York or Beverley had strict rules about all details of the trade. The gild decided how long an apprentice had to serve and the number of apprentices a man might have. Their officials inspected the workshops and looms; they also examined the cloth and fixed prices. Strangers were not allowed to work at the trade, and no man might commence in the business unless the gild admitted him as a member of the craft. For these monopolies, the gilds paid large sums of money to the king, while in return, the king protected the gilds. Export trade to the Continent and elsewhere was under the control of the great gilds of Merchant Adventurers. Where there was no gild, there were no restrictions, consequently the weavers of the cities had cause to complain of the unfair competition of Halifax clothiers.

Fortunately for the trade of Halifax, although the organised channels of commerce were closed to weavers outside the gilds, there were other markets. The great fairs were open to everybody without restrictions, and the kerseys of Halifax were taken to these fairs. In the fifteenth century, the Common Council of London were defeated in an attempt to prevent their citizens carrying goods from London to the fairs, and the Merchant

Adventurers of London also failed to stop private traders attending the great foreign fairs. The gilds obtained a law to restrict trading by retail in cities, but a clause was inserted "except it be in open fairs."

John Stead of Norland in his will (1540) bequeathed 20s. to his brother Thomas "to be good to Elizabeth, my wife, and Agnes, my daughter, as to sell their cloth in the fairs in Yorkshire." William Hardy of Heptonstall (1518), Henry Farrar of Halifax (1542), and Thomas Stansfield of Higgin-chamber, Sowerby (1564), make mention in their wills of booths in St. Bartholomew's Fair in London. This was the most important cloth fair and many of the Halifax clothiers owned stands in that fair. The greatest fair in England was Sturbridge Fair near Cambridge. Though we have no actual record of Halifax men journeying there in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is very probable that their cloth was sold in the Duddery there. Duds is an old English word for cloth. Fairs held an important place in trade for many centuries. In 1724, when Daniel Defoe visited Sturbridge Fair, he was told that £100,000 worth of woollen manufactures were sold in a week's time. "Here are clothiers" he wrote, "from Halifax, Leeds, Wakefield, and Huddersfield in Yorkshire."

About the year 1475, Halifax produced more cloth than any other parish in the West Riding, and kept the premier position for more than three centuries. Mr. Lister discovered that fact in the Ulnagers' Accounts preserved in the Public Records Office, London. Cloth was measured by the ell in those days, an ell being 45 inches in length. The Latin name for "ell" is "ulna," and the "ulnage" was the fee paid for measuring the cloth. The ulnagers were the officials who examined the

pieces to see that they were of the standard width and weight. They affixed a copper seal to each cloth that they passed, for which one half-penny was charged. At the same time, the ulnager collected the king's subsidy, or tax on the cloth, which was a few pence per piece. The subsidy had been granted to the king in lieu of an old tax on wool. Edward I. in 1275 levied a duty of 6s. 8d. on every sack of wool sent out of the kingdom. At that time, England sent a large amount of wool to the Continent, which the men of Flanders wove into cloth, just as Australia to-day, sends her wool to England to be manufactured. With the growth of the English cloth trade, the export of wool decreased; the wool tax yielded less money, so the subsidy on cloth was introduced to make up the deficit in the king's treasury. The Ulnagers' Accounts are written on a narrow roll of parchment, and the roll is preserved in its original quaint leathern bag, lettered on the outside.

There is an account for the West Riding dated 1396-7, but Halifax is not mentioned. Wakefield is credited with 173½ cloths, but as some of the names in that account, such as Holdsworth, are local surnames, it is possible that Halifax cloths were included in that total because they were made within the manor of Wakefield. Another ulnage roll deals with the year 1469-70 and Halifax had 853¼ cloths sealed, while Ripon tops the West Riding list with 889. The next account is for 1471 to 1473. Ripon is first with 1897, Halifax second with 1518½, Leeds, third with only 355½, and Bradford is seventh with 125½ pieces. In the very next list 1473-1475 Halifax becomes first with 1488½ cloths and the ulnage and subsidy totalled almost twenty-five pounds. Ripon, 1386½ was second; Leeds,

320, fourth; and Bradford was sixth with 178½. Mr. Lister compared the output of the West Riding with the famous-cloth producing county of Gloucester. That county (leaving out the city of Gloucester) had only 1024 pieces sealed in 1479 against 2586 for the West Riding. In 1475 when the parish of Halifax paid the tax on 1488½ cloth, the city of York had a total of 2346½ pieces. These figures also show how the trade of Halifax fluctuated during those nine years. Although Halifax was doing better than many woollen centres, it had its bad years. If we turn to English history, we find that these were troublous years. The battle of Stamford was fought in 1470, and in the same year, Edward IV. was obliged to flee to Holland for a short time. The battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury in 1471 were victories for Edward. Though the fighting was always far away from Halifax, the war had a bad effect on trade. For many a summer, it would not be safe to send goods to St. Bartholomew's Fair and the clothmakers would lose many of their markets. We may consider the church tower as a monument of that period when Halifax took the first place in the West Riding cloth trade. So long as the tower held "the mastery of the air" Halifax maintained its position. When mill chimneys came to be built to rival the church tower in height, Halifax, as we shall see later, had to surrender its proud position in the West Riding trade.

So little is known of the early traders that the few details, preserved in the stock-list of a York tailor, are most precious, In 1485 John Carter of York had in stock :—

> 9½ ells called Halifax-tawny at 7d.
> 7¼ ells Halifax green, 6s.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ ells in 'remelandes Halifax' 2s.
$7\frac{1}{4}$ ells Halifax russet 3s. 6d.
2 ells black Halifax carsay 20d.
1 dozen pairs of boots of Halifax cloth 15s.

The importance of the cloth trade is the subject of some quaint verses, of the time of Edward IV., entitled Libel of English Policy.

> "For every man must have meat, drink, and cloth;
> There is neither pope, emperor nor king,
> Bishop, cardinal, or any man living,
> Of what condition, or what manner degree,
> During their living, they must have things three,
> Meat, drink, and cloth."

The cloth trade was by far the greatest trade in the country, in fact, it was the only national trade. Other craftsmen—carpenters, smiths, &c., supplied local demands, but the weavers made their goods for distant parts. The weavers' gild was always the leading gild of the city.

The building of the church and the erection of numerous timbered houses testify to the expansion of Halifax trade, but the growth is also expressed in many other interesting ways. We may fill in some of these details from a study of the wills. Every man, who had any property, made his will. There is a huge collection of these local wills, preserved at York and from these, may be gleaned, many things about the men who made them and about the world they lived in. Men left their will-making until they were on their death-bed, the wills usually, being dated within a week of their death. Vicar Wilkinson made his will three years before he died, so we conclude from that, that he was an invalid for the last three or four years of his life. The actual writing of the will was invariably done

by a priest, because very few laymen could write. It was the custom for a man to leave his best horse or cow, to the vicar, as a burial fee, and some few shillings for church repairs. Next, he would mention a sum for candles to be lighted in the church on the day of the funeral, and if he could afford, money would be given for a priest to sing masses on his soul's behalf. If the man was rich, he might bequeath a farm, the rent of which would maintain such a service for ever. Some left sufficient money to build an addition to the parish church, a small side chapel in which their own priest might hold services in memory of the donor. In June 1494, John Willeby endowed such a chantry in Halifax Church. The doorway beneath the middle window on the south side of the chancel was the entrance to the Willeby Chantry Chapel.

About the beginning of the sixteenth century, these religious bequests took a new form. The people of Sowerby, Illingworth, Stansfield, Shelf, and other outlying townships were increasing in numbers and wealth. They considered it would be more convenient if they could attend services nearer their homes instead of journeying to Halifax, Elland, or Heptonstall. So lands and money were given for the building of chapels at Sowerby, Illingworth, Crostone, Coley, and elsewhere, and for the maintenance of priests at these chapels. A few of the free chapels—e.g. Rastrick—were in existence long before the sixteenth century. In other cases, like Coley, there had been a private chapel at Coley Hall and the neighbours would attend occasional services there. The Free Chapels were upheld by the local people, who were also responsible for the priest's stipend. Sowerby and Illingworth Chapels were built

to serve the townships of Sowerby and Ovenden. In other cases, one chapel served several townships. This explains the peculiar situation of Coley Chapel, near to the boundaries of Shelf, Northowram, and Hipperholme, for the chapel served parts of the three townships. Luddenden Chapel is on the borders of Midgley and Warley. Sowerby Bridge Chapel is near the junction of the boundaries of Warley, Skircoat, Norland, and Sowerby townships.

Fig. 30.—Pack Horse Road, Hebden Valley.

Increasing trade meant more traffic along the pack-horse roads, so men made charitable bequests towards the improvement of the highways and the building of new bridges. The old bridges were of wood, liable to be swept away by storms. Lee Bridge, on the way to Wheatley was so rickety that it was called Shakehand Brig. In 1518, Richard Stancliffe left £6 3s. 4d. to build a stone bridge in its place. In 1514, the bridge at Brighouse was still a timber one, for John Hanson gave three trees for its repair. Forty years later, his son left money towards replacing the timber bridge by a stone one. From 1517 to 1533

several men mention the stone bridge of Sowerby Bridge in their wills. In 1533 John Waterhouse bequeathed four shillings "towards the battilying" or making the parapet, which shows that the bridge was near completion. Hebden Bridge and Luddenden Bridge were also rebuilt of stone at this time. Elland Bridge was rebuilt in 1579, the mason, Richard Aske, came from Hope in Derbyshire. The pack-horse causeways were improved and paved by money left by charitable persons. John Holdsworth, who lived at Blackledge in Halifax left 3s. 4d. for mending the highway between his house and the market place.

From these wills, we find that people had not so many new clothes. John Crabtree (1526) gave to his father, a blue jacket, a leather doublet, a pair of stockings, and a shirt. Margaret Broadley (1546) divided her wardrobe as follows—"to Jenet, my better gown and my worse kirtle; to Isabel my worst gown and my better kirtle; and to William's wife my third kirtle and best petticoat. Bedclothes were also named as legacies. John Holdsworth (1518) left to Margaret Boyes, three coverlets, one blanket, two sheets, and a bedstead. A will made at Copley Hall in 1533 gives us an idea how the house was furnished. There were two sideboards and two forms in the hall, and in the best bedroom, one pair of great bedstocks (bedstead) and one great chest. In this Will, six draught oxen are mentioned, for oxen were used for ploughing. Horses, cows, sheep, and hives of bees are common bequests. There are also gifts of looms, shears, tenters, and dyeing vats. Silver pins, girdles, and spoons were left to the girls while the sons received swords, mail jackets, bows and arrows.

The growing population required more cultivated land. From a set of old deeds, we can trace in detail, how some fields were added near Illingworth. The farmers, looking around for more land, turned to that part of the Wheatley valley that lies under Illingworth Edge. If you stand on the Edge, overlooking Jumples and Walt Royd, you have immediately beneath, a steep bank covered with heather and bilberry, and strewn with rocks. Below the rough ground, cultivated fields slope down to the stream. The contrast, between these smooth green fields and the wild moorland, is almost as striking as a view of the ocean from a sea-cliff. Once upon a time, the rough land stretched from the edge down to the stream and these fields have been won from the waste.

In 1524 William Lister was granted two acres and three roods of waste land by Henry Savile, the lord of the manor of Ovenden. This land was described as lying between Illingworth Edge and Ovenden Wood Brook (east and west); and Wheatley Walls and the house of Richard Wood (south and north). Lister commenced to clear this rough land, just as settlers in the colonies, to-day, clear the brush or prairie to make farms. First of all, he picked out the big stones and broke the larger rocks into pieces. Then he carried these stones to the edge of his land and built a wall around it. The stone walls in our district, not only serve as fences, but also solve the difficulty of getting rid of the surface rocks and stones. Towards the eastern end of the parish, where surface stone is not so abundant, hedges were planted. Holly was used for fences, because if there were bad harvests, the cattle could feed on holly. Lister chopped down the trees,

uprooted the bushes and shrubs and then dug up the land, foot by foot, until it was all turned over. It was hard and slow work, but it had to be done, before any crop could be grown on the land. For this new field, William Lister agreed to pay four silver pennies per acre yearly—half at the feast of Pentecost and half at the feast of St. Martin, in winter. He also promised to obey the Ovenden manor court and to use only the lord's mills. The next year, 1525, Lister took another acre. In 1532, he reclaimed one rood from the waste. In 1535, the grant was three acres, and in 1542, one and a quarter acres. So far as we can tell, in 18½ years, William Lister added 8¼ acres to his farm. The small quantities show how difficult was the work of making corn fields and meadows from the moorland.

Standing on Illingworth Edge, you will look down on these fields with more interest. We know their age and the name of the man, one of the ancestors of the Listers of Shibden Hall, who first tilled them. This is a sample of what was being done in other parts of Ovenden. In the three score years, 1521 to 1581, 280 acres were enclosed from the waste. Exactly the same change was being wrought all over the Halifax Parish.

"History of the Woollen Trade in the Halifax and Bradford District."—J. LISTER. (Bradford Antiquary, Vol. II.)

"Halifax Wills." Vols. I and II. (1389-1559). Edited by J. W. CLAY and E. W. CROSSLEY.

"The Jumples."—T. W. HANSON. (Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1912.)

CHAPTER VIII.

ARCHBISHOP ROKEBY—WOLSEY RECEIVES THE CARDINAL'S HAT—BAPTISM OF PRINCESS MARY—DEATH OF ROKEBY—ROKEBY CHAPELS AT KIRK SANDAL AND HALIFAX—DR. ROBT. HOLDSWORTH—FEUD BETWEEN TEMPEST AND SAVILE—THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE—THE MONASTERIES CLOSED—DISPUTE ABOUT HALIFAX TITHES—BISHOP FERRAR'S MARTYRDOM.

The last additions made to the Parish Church were the Rokeby Chapel and the Holdsworth Chapel. They commemorate two vicars who served Halifax Church for the first half of the sixteenth century. William Rokeby was born at Kirk Sandal near Doncaster. He became vicar of the church there, one of the churches included in the Warren's grant to the Priory of Lewes. In the summer of 1502, he left Kirk Sandal and came to Halifax, retaining the Vicarage of Halifax until his death in 1521. He was a man of influence and wealth. In 1507 he was elected Bishop of Neath in Ireland, and in 1511 became Archbishop of Dublin. However, he still retained Halifax Church, and we judge that he liked our town and spent much of his time here, for he beautified much of the vicarage house. We are also told that Rokeby "was a Man of Great Hospitality, and therefore had the whole of the parish at his Beck and Command." Rokeby is an interesting character because he played a prominent part in the gorgeous pageantry of Henry VIII.'s reign. Some of the Halifax men who went with him as servants to London, would have some wonderful tales to tell of the great men at Court.

When Wolsey received the Cardinal's Hat at Westminster Abbey on Sunday, November 18th, 1515, the Cardinal came with a procession of nobles and gentlemen

Photo. H. E. Gledhill.

Fig. 31.—THE ROKEBY CHAPEL.

to the abbey and mass was sung by the Archbishops of Canterbury, Armagh, and Dublin, and sixteen other bishops and abbots. The famous Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, preached the sermon. Afterwards, there

Fig. 32.—ARMS OF WILLIAM ROKEBY, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

was another procession of all the great noblemen of England, led by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, followed by the archbishops, bishops, and abbots. Cardinal Wolsey's hall and chambers were hung with

rich arras, and a great feast was made, at which King Henry and his queen, and the French queen were present.

Archbishop Rokeby was in London again, three months later, for the christening of Princess Mary—the little baby girl who was destined to be Queen Mary. The princess was born in the palace at Greenwich. From the court-gate to the church-door of the Friars, an awning of arras was erected, and the path covered with sand and strewn with rushes. The church was hung with needlework, enriched with precious stones and pearls. The ceremony was on Wednesday, February 21st, 1516. The procession was headed by a goodly sight of gentlemen and lords; then followed the Duke of Devonshire bearing the basin; the Earl of Surrey carrying the taper; the Marquis of Dorset having the salt; and the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Steward. The canopy was carried by four knights, under which walked the Countess of Surrey with the Princess in her arms, and supported by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. The Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and the Bishops of Durham and Chester officiated at the baptism. The procession returned with trumpets sounding and the king's chaplain singing melodious responds.

William Rokeby did not live to see the great changes that the names of Cardinal Wolsey, Henry VIII., and Princess Mary suggest to us. Fearing his end he made farewell gifts to the Prior and Convent of Dublin Cathedral in September, 1521. The dying archbishop crossed the sea to his native Yorkshire. On November 29th, he died in Halifax vicarage, lulled to sleep by the murmur of the moorland beck. In his day, Halifax was as quiet and peaceful as Burnsall in Wharfedale is to-day.

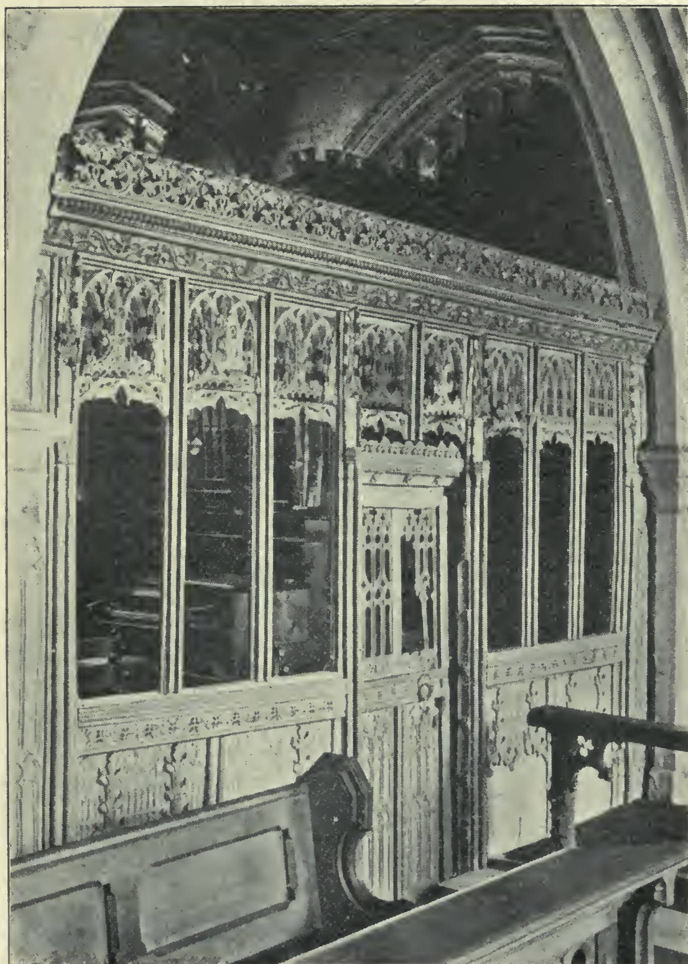


Photo. G. Hepworth.

Fig. 33.—ROKEBY CHAPEL SCREEN.

His heart was buried in the choir at Halifax, and his body taken to Kirk Sandal, where Rokeby had built a beautiful chapel for his tomb. The carving of the oak screens is like delicate filigree work, and the Rokeby Chapel of Kirk Sandal is considered to be one of the finest sepulcharal chapels in the kingdom. Among his many bequests, the archbishop desired that a Rokeby Chapel should be erected at Halifax, and his chapel was added to the north side of the Church.

Soon after Archbishop Rokeby's death, Robert Holdsworth, the son of a rich Halifax man, was presented to the living of Halifax, by the Prior of Lewes, being the last vicar to be nominated by the monks. In accordance with his father's wish, he built a chantry chapel on the south side of the church. The detached buttresses and clumsy gargoyles of the chapel have little architectural merit, but the Holdsworth Chapel, like the Rokeby Chapel, is a monument of an age that has passed.

Robert Holdsworth was educated at Oxford and Rome, where he attracted the notice of the Bishop of Worcester—an Italian who was Henry VIII.'s ambassador at the Popal Court. Holdsworth became chancellor of the diocese of Worcester and also received other valuable appointments. There is one interesting point worth noting about his rebuilding of the vicarage house at Blockley in Worcestershire. It had twelve chambers, and it was considered quite a novelty, that each bedroom had its own entrance from the landing. It was the usual custom then, to go through the bedrooms, one after another, and not to have a passage. Dr. Holdsworth's new plan gave more privacy. In pulling down an old wall at Blockley, a treasure trove

of three hundred pounds was found, which more than paid for the alterations.

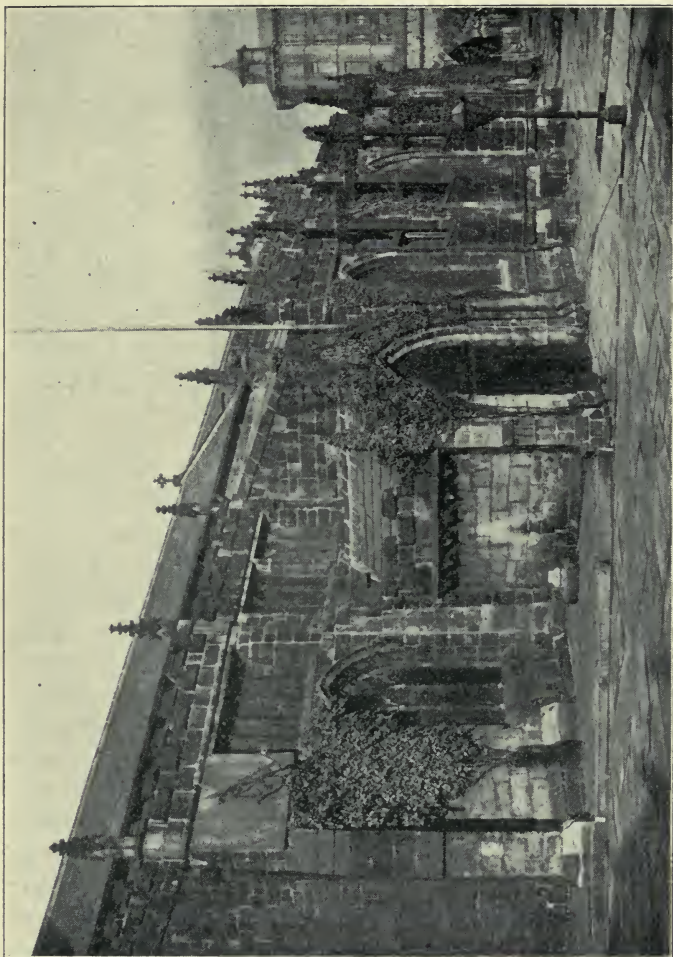


Photo. H. E. Gledhill

Fig. 34.—South Porch and Holdsworth Chapel.

Vicar Holdsworth had few peaceful days after he came to Halifax. It was a time of fierce strife and great disputes, and the vicar was dragged into the troubles. First, there was a feud between the men who lived within the manor of Wakefield, and those who were tenants of the honour of Pontefract. The rival leaders were Sir Richard Tempest of Bolling Hall, near Bradford, and Sir Harry Savile of Thornhill. Sir Richard Tempest had been one of King Henry's bodyguard and had distinguished himself at the battles of Flodden and Tournay. He held the post of steward of the great royal manor of Wakefield. Sir Harry Savile had been brought up in King Henry's court, and was made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn. He was steward of the honour of Pontefract, and also lord of some of the small manors about Halifax.

There were several serious affrays between the followers of the contending knights, in which men were killed on both sides. Roger Tempest slew Thomas Longley with his sword on April 21st, 1518, at Brighouse, when Sir Richard Tempest was holding his court there. Roger fled to Durham and sought sanctuary at the cathedral. The priests could keep him in safety for forty days, after which time he had either to appear before a judge or else quit the kingdom. Gilbert Brooksbank, a Heptonstall priest, was killed by one of Sir Richard's officers because he had displeased, in some manner, the great man. There was a fight at Halifax Fair on Midsummer Day, 1533, when Gilbert Hanson, deputy bailiff of Halifax, and William Riding of Elland (one of Savile's men) struck one another, both dying from their wounds. There were other cases, but

these are sufficient to show the bitter enmity between the two parties. Dr. Holdsworth took Savile's side, in consequence of which his vicarage was pillaged three or four times, and he was badly treated.

Fig. 35.—SAVILE BADGE. TEMPEST BADGE.

The feud between the men who wore the Savile crest—an owl, and the men who bore the Tempest badge—a griffin, became a much more serious quarrel after October 1536, when the two parties took opposite sides in a great national dispute. King Henry closed all the smaller monasteries—those whose income did not exceed £200 a year—and seized their possessions. In the north of England "these proceedings were regarded with a spirit of indignation which did not venture to express itself elsewhere." The rebellion commenced in Lincolnshire and on Sunday, October 8th, there was a meeting of the commons in the Chapter House of Lincoln Cathedral. The word "commons" means people, just as we call part of our Parliament the House of Commons. Into the meeting came two Halifax men, who said their country was also up, and ready to aid Lincolnshire, and the news roused the commons to great excitement. Robert Aske, a Yorkshireman, was the captain of the insurgents, and the rising is known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. Those who joined the movement bore a badge representing the Five Wounds of Christ. In the centre of the badge was a bleeding heart, and at the four corners, pierced hands and feet.

The following scene was witnessed in the streets of Halifax. A group of men were standing talking together, when up came John Lacy, son-in-law and bailiff of Sir Richard Tempest, and spoke to Henry Farrer of Ewood Hall, who was one of the group. Lacy "commanded Farrer and the rest that they should prepare themselves in harness, and go to the church and take the cross, march with it into Lancashire and raise the commons there." Farrer asked "Who shall go with us into Lancashire with the cross?" Lacy replied "Marry! your ownself shall go and your company." Farrar again asked "Why will not Sir Richard Tempest go with us?" Lacy said "No marry! but yourself."

We have no particulars about this journey into Lancashire, but afterwards it was stated that Sir Richard Tempest's brother and servants were the first captains to come into Lancashire.

Sir Henry Savile, gathering his tenants and retainers together for the other side, marched from Thornhill to join the King's forces at Nottingham. The rebels were too strong for the royal army, and therefore the Duke of Norfolk came to terms with them, published the King's pardon, made a truce, and so ended the Pilgrimage of Grace. The day before the truce was made, on October 26th, John Lacy and a band of his adherents made a raid on Halifax vicarage, looting it and sending part of the spoil to Captain Robert Aske. Vicar Holdsworth took the side of Sir Henry Savile, not because he approved of the spoiling of the monasteries, but because of the local feud. On December 14th, 1536, Clarencieux King-at-Arms, the royal herald, stood at the Cross in Old Market and proclaimed the King's pardon to all who

had rebelled against their sovereign. The herald noted that John Lacy was in the crowd at the time.

The King's Secretary, Thomas Cromwell, had such a system of spies that we find that private talks in such an out-of-the-way corner as Halifax came to the ear of the King. Vicar Holdsworth was walking to and fro in his parlour, discussing the times with his servant, William Rodeman, when he said "By my troth! William, if the King reign any space he will take all from us of the Church; all that we have; and therefore I pray God send him short reign." The vicar had to appear in London, and was heavily fined for uttering such treacherous words.

John Lacy of Cromwell Bottom made a rhyme about the King, and sent it to Robert Waterhouse of Halifax.

> "As for the King, an apple and a fair wench
> to dally withal, would please him very well."

To us, there does not appear much rhyme nor much harm in the words, but they reached Thomas Cromwell, and Lacy was in danger of losing his head. It was an age of sneaks and tell-tales, and Savile's men were ready to tell Cromwell's spies tales about the other side, and Tempest's men were equally willing to damage their opponents in the same way.

Henry VIII. did not keep his promises to redress the grievances of the men who had joined the Pilgrimage of Grace. Instead of doing so, he put to death the leaders of the rebellion. Sir Richard Tempest was thrown into the Tower to await his trial, but he died in that plague-stricken prison. The King proceeded with the spoliation of the monasteries, and he gave to Thomas Cromwell, the Priory of Lewes and all its possessions, excepting its Norfolk lands. The beautiful abbey was ruthlessly destroyed, the stone sold for building, the

lead roofs melted down and carted away. Giovanni Portinari, an Italian, superintended the work, and he tells how they hewed great holes in the walls, then propped the pillars and walls with props a yard long, finally setting fire to the props whereupon the building came crashing down.

Lord Cromwell thus came into possession of all the rights that the Prior of Lewes had in Halifax Parish. Thus the connection between Halifax and Lewes that had continued for centuries came to its final end. A few years before this, the Prior had leased his rights to Robert Waterhouse of Shibden Hall for a fixed sum of money to be paid yearly and Cromwell continued the arrangement.

Robert Waterhouse stirred up a great dispute in the parish by his methods of collecting the Great Tithes. According to the original definition of tithes, the Church was entitled to one-tenth of the crops of corn and hay. But as time went on, this had been altered to a fixed sum of money that was paid whether the crops were good or bad. The farmer knew exactly what he would have to pay, and the monks had a certain income. Waterhouse sued some Halifax men for a tenth of their actual crops, and a great lawsuit was commenced. Gilbert Waterhouse picked a quarrel with George Crowther, one of the men who opposed the demands, and on a dark February night in 1535, Gilbert struck Crowther with a dagger and killed him. At length the Great Tithes dispute was settled, and the agreement for paying in money instead of in "kind" was read at a public meeting held in Halifax Church.

Edward VI. was only nine years old when he succeeded to the throne on the death of his father,

Henry VIII. The boy-king's counsellors made further great changes in the church now that the Pope's supremacy had been abolished. The chantry chapels were closed and their lands confiscated. This was a great hardship for our parish, for Rastrick, Coley, Sowerby, Lightcliffe, and the other chapels were shut up, and Heptonstall Chapel was only spared through the influence of the Saviles. The Parish Church at Halifax had once again to serve our wide and hilly parish and a population calculated at 10,000.

Dr. Robert Holdsworth lived to see Queen Mary on the throne. Though he had taken the King's side during the tremendous upheaval in the Church, he certainly was not one of the reforming clergymen. His enemies said at one time that he "hath not preached nor caused to be preached to his parishoners at Halifax, ten thousand people or more, the word of God, but only two times at the most these six years past." In November, 1538, Robert Ferrar, Prior of St. Oswald's at Nostell, writing to Lord Cromwell, says "that there be almost none in these parts that sincerely, plainly, and diligently preach the Gospel, the people so hungrily desire to hear and to learn. Truly these towns (Halifax and seven more are named) with many others have not, all, one faithful preacher that I can hear of."

About eleven o'clock on a Saturday night, the 8th of May, 1556, the vicarage was pillaged for the fifth time and the aged priest brutally murdered. Dr. Holdsworth was buried in the south chapel, of the Parish Church, which he had built.

Robert Ferrar, the last Prior of Nostell, is said to have been born at Ewood near Mytholmroyd. He was one of the Reformers, and became Bishop of St. David's

in Wales in 1548. Bishop Ferrar was one of the martyrs in Queen Mary's reign, and was burnt at Caermarthen Cross on March 30th, 1555. On being chained to the stake, he said "If I stir through the pains of my burning, believe not the doctrine I have preached." In Halifax Parish Church, there is a 19th century monument to Bishop Ferrar, carved by Leyland, a Halifax sculptor, and in the vestry is a deed relating to some property near Bradford, which has the Bishop's signatnre.

"Archbishop Rokeby," by T. W. HANSON. (Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1918).

"Life of Dr. Holdsworth," by J. LISTER (Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions—1902 to 1908).

CHAPTER IX.

BEACON HILL—THE PURITANS—DR. FAVOUR—HEATH GRAMMAR SCHOOL—SIR HENRY SAVILE—HENRY BRIGGS—CAMDEN'S VISIT TO HALIFAX—WOOLLEN TRADE IN 16TH CENTURY.

Beacon Hill, crowned with the reproduction of an ancient beacon-pan, continually reminds Halifax of Elizabethan days and the Armada. Southowram's Beacon was not in the principal chain of fires that passed on the news from the south,

> "Till Skiddaw saw the fire that burned on Gaunt's embattled pile,
> And the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle."

But it helped to spread the alarm east and west. Revey Beacon at Horton Bank Top, near Bradford; Castle Hill, Almondbury, near Huddersfield; and Blackstone Edge were the neighbouring links in the great chain, and watchers on Beacon Hill would keep their eyes on those points.

Eight years after the great victory over the Spanish Armada, we find that Halifax men were objecting to paying towards the navy. In those days it was considered to be the duty of the sea-ports to provide the defences of our shores and shipping, while the inland towns maintained the army. In 1596, the port of Hull was required to furnish a ship for the Queen's Navy. The Mayor and Aldermen of Hull wrote to Lord Cecil, asking that Halifax, Wakefield, and Leeds should pay four hundred pounds towards their ship-of-war. They said that these places were three great and rich clothing towns, sending their cloth to Hull to be shipped across the seas. The navy protected the shipping and the cloth that was in the ships. But Halifax men thought they were paying their share in the maintenance of the land forces.

At the same time, our forefathers were ready to fight for the Queen in their own way, and when they thought it was their duty. In 1569 there was a rebellion in favour of the old religion and Mary, Queen of Scots, which was called the Rising in the North.

Archbishop Grindal, writing to Queen Elizabeth in 1576, said "And in the time of that rebellion were not all men . . . most ready to offer their lives for your defence? In-so-much that one poor parish in Yorkshire, which by continual preaching had been better instructed than the rest, (Halifax I mean) was ready to bring three or four thousand able men into the field to serve you against the said rebels."

This "continual preaching" was carried on by a long succession of Halifax vicars who were Puritans—men who desired to remove all traces of the old religion from their church. Bishop Pilkington preached at Halifax on

August 31st, 1559, and "the congregation listened with joy."

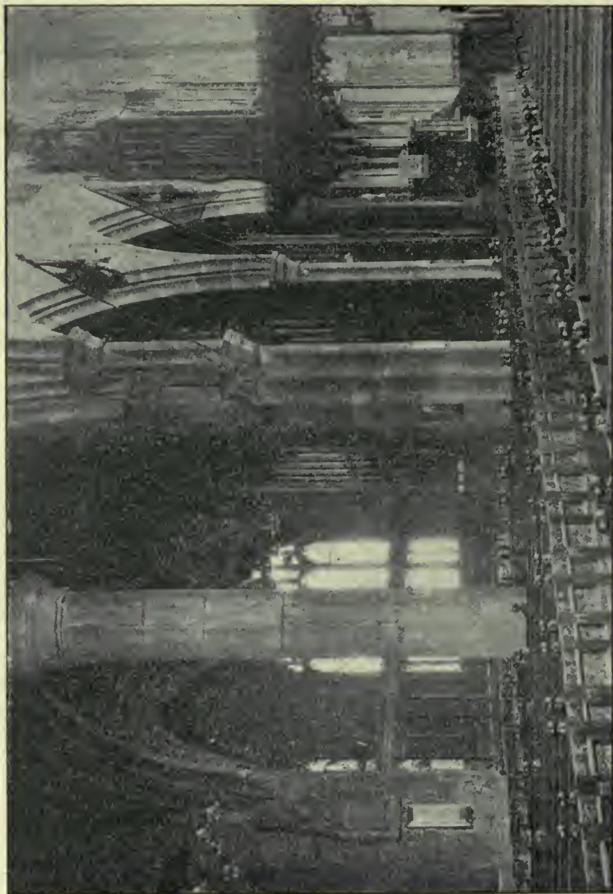


Fig. 36.—THE NAVE.

Photo. G. R. Ryley.

The most famous of the vicars of this period was John Favour, who was at Halifax for over thirty years (1593-1624). He came here from Southampton five years after the defeat of the Armada, and he was able to tell Halifax men about the sea and ships, and stories of the great victory. In his book he speaks of striking top-sails, of top and top-gallant sails, of boarding, and other nautical terms. Dr. Favour was chaplain to the Earl of Huntingdon, President of the Council of the North. The Earl was present in Halifax when Favour was admitted to the vicariate. Within a few days they were both back at York on important business. On December 6th, 1593, Henry Walpole and two friends landed at Flamborough Head with the intention of converting the Queen and the English people to the Roman Catholic religion. The trio were caught within twenty-four hours of landing and taken to York. Walpole was a Jesuit priest and his fate was certain to be a horrible death. He was forced to debate in public, the claims of his religion, and Dr. Favour was one of the champions put up to answer him. Favour also debated with other priests who were caught from time to time. There was no idea of toleration in Elizabeth's reign, and Dr. Favour in his book "Antiquity triumphing over Novelty," glories in the part he took in sending these poor men to their death. He actually considers it his best work. The reports of these debates are preserved in the Records Office, and the handwriting shows the effect of the torture on the priests' wrists. From them we learn that Favour wrote witty verse, and that in the kitchen of the York prison, he prided himself that his face resembled the portraits of Jesus. There is a bust of the vicar on his monument in Halifax Church.

Vicar Favour exercised a great influence over the people of Halifax as a faithful minister. In the Registers he often adds a short note about the character of the

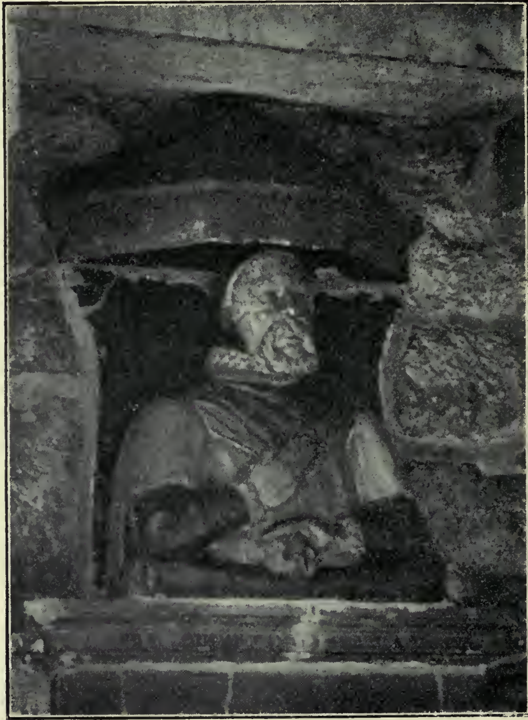


Fig. 37.—DR. FAVOUR'S MONUMENT.

men and women he buried, sometimes good, sometimes bad, for example :—

> 1597, Jan. 24—William King of Skircoat "was a swearer, drinker . . . his last words were oaths and curses."
> 1600, April 15—Richard Learoyd, 88 years, honest.
> 1600, May 30—Richard Whitaker of Skircoat, "truly pious and religious."

In 1609, the vicar buried two men who had been to church and were so vexed at what the preacher said, that they vowed they would never come to church again. Favour notes that "both fell presently sick and never came to the church but to be buried."

Dr. Favour was the prime mover in the establishment of Heath Grammar School. The Queen's Charter had been obtained in 1585—over eight years before Vicar Favour came to Halifax—but the school was not opened until 1600, and the vicar had to work hard to accomplish his desire. Its title—"The Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth"—tells us something of the history of the school. There had been schools in Halifax before this time, though we know little about them. But in Elizabethan times there was a desire to have new and good schools, and a Royal Charter had to be obtained before such a grammar school could be erected. This name is perpetuated in the lane known as Free School Lane, and it is worth noting that the old road to the school was up Shaw Hill and Free School Lane.

Over the door of the headmaster's house, facing Skircoat Green Road, is a stone which was removed from the old building. It bears a Latin inscription which says the land was bad and barren, but through the grace of Queen Elizabeth this school was erected, and it was hoped it would be a blessing to the people. The only other relic of the old school is the circular "apple and pear" window which has been rebuilt into the shed next to the school. The Grammar School was to serve the ancient Parish of Halifax, and was built in Skircoat because the plot of land was given by one of the first benefactors. Dr. Favour persevered until he got sufficient money to build the school, and an endowment fund to pay the schoolmaster.

Three hundred years ago, schools were very different from what they are nowadays. School commenced at six o'clock in the morning, and at nine there was a quarter of an hour's playtime. Then work went on until eleven when there was a two hours interval for dinner. Lessons were resumed at one, and continued until half past three, when another quarter of an hour playtime was given, after which it was school again until half past five. What long days!

In the Brearcliffe Manuscript, there is a copy of the rules of Heath Grammar School, in those early days.

The boys were required to go early to the school without noise, lingering, or playing by the way, taking off their caps to those they met.

Boys who would not be corrected, or complained of their correction, or who told out of school of punishment given, were to be expelled unless they humbled themselves and obeyed the master.

Scholars who let their hair grow long or came with face and hands unwashed were to be severely punished.

Two monitors were appointed weekly to set down the faults of boys in the school or church, or in the town and highways. Their duty was to hand a report to the master, and if they failed to do so, the monitors were punished for the faults of others.

Boys were not to use railing, wrangling, nor fighting, nor were they to give nicknames to their companions or to any strangers.

They must ever have books, pens, paper, and ink in readiness, and must not rend or lose their books, but handsomely carry and re-carry them.

The scholars were to speak in Latin and not English while in school.

There was one half-day holiday per week, and that was on Thursday afternoon, but there was homework for that day.

In these Orders, "correcting with a rod" is often mentioned, for the boys of long ago received plenty of floggings at school.

Henry Savile, who was born at Bradley Hall, Stainland, on November 30th, 1549, is one of the most famous men our parish has produced. In due time he went to Merton College at Oxford, and was afterwards appointed Greek tutor to Queen Elizabeth, and was said to be the most learned man of her reign. He published an edition of the works of St. Chrysostom—one of the early Christian Fathers. In addition to a great amount of work and study, these books cost him £8,000. Sir Henry Savile was one of the foremost translators of the Authorised Version of the Bible published in 1611, and being a Greek scholar, he was principally engaged on the New Testament.

John Bois, a great Hebrew scholar who translated a large portion of the Old Testament, was the grandson of Mr. Bois, a Halifax clothier.

Sir Henry Savile was also a student of geometry and astronomy, and to-day there is a professor of these subjects in Oxford who is paid by the money that Savile left for this purpose.

Another friend of this learned and rich Halifax man was Henry Briggs, who became one of the Savilian Professors at Oxford. Briggs was born at Daisy Bank, Warley Wood in 1561. (Daisy Bank Farm is just below the modern Burnley Road, a few hundred yards before you come to the first houses of Luddenden Foot).

Henry Briggs' fame is due to his association with the invention of logarithms. Lord Napier was the actual inventor in 1614, but Briggs discovered a better and easier way which is used to-day and known as "Briggian Logarithms." In 1617, Briggs published the first table of logs of numbers up to 1,000. These

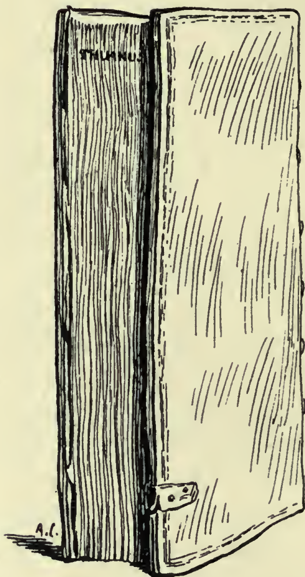


Fig. 38.—Chained Book. Henry Briggs' Gift.

were calculated to 14 places of decimals, and in 1624 he had made the calculations for 30,000 numbers. Astronomers, navigators, and all men who have occasion to multiply or divide large numbers, in their calculations always refer to a book of logs, for it is as easy to use as a ready reckoner.

In 1627, Henry Briggs presented three volumes of De Thou's History to the "public library" in Halifax Parish Church. The books are still there with this interesting inscription. One of them has a brass plate to which was attached the chains, for, as in most old libraries, the books were chained to the shelves. Robert Clay, who was vicar from 1623 to 1628, took a great interest in the library, and many volumes were added at this time.

About the year 1580, William Camden, the antiquary, visited the Saviles at Bradley Hall when he was collecting information for his great book "Britannia," a description of England. Some of his Halifax friends told him the following story or tradition to account for the name of Halifax. A certain clergyman, being in love with a young woman and not being able to persuade her, cut off her head. It was afterwards hung up in a yew tree, and was esteemed and visited by the people as holy. So many pilgrims resorted to the place that it became a large town, and was called Hali-fax or Holy Hair. There is not one iota of proof for the story, or the derivation, nor the slightest hint of such a tradition in any early accounts of our town. It has been repeated many times since Camden wrote it, but we can be certain that Camden was wrong.

There is one interesting statement in the "Britannia," which is meant to impress the reader with the importance of the cloth manufacture in the district. Camden asserted, that in Halifax Parish, the number of men was greater than the total of cows, horses, sheep, and other animals; while in the rest of England there were more animals than people. This was because Halifax lived by cloth making and not by farming.

There are two valuable references to the local trade in the sixteenth century, which may conveniently be introduced here. About 1533, King Henry VIII. sent a commission to the clothing towns of the West Riding to enquire into the practice of mixing flocks with the wool of their cloths. In the list of men charged with this offence are the names of 282 clothiers in the parish of Halifax, who had from half-a-piece to three pieces each, condemned. This document is extremely valuable, for it shows the magnitude of the trade, and gives such a long list of the names of men who were making cloth in our parish at that time.

In the last years of Henry VIII.'s reign, parliament abolished the trade of "wool driving" or wool stapling. The act forbade men to buy wool and to hold it until the price was forced up. The abolition of the wool dealer proved to be very inconvenient for Halifax trade, and consequently a special act of parliament was passed in the reign of Philip and Mary to remedy this local grievance. The introduction to the act states that in the parish of Halifax, are great wastes and moors, where the ground, save in rare places, is not apt to produce any corn or good grass, except by the great industry of the people. Consequently the inhabitants live by cloth making, and the great part of them neither grow corn nor are able to keep a horse to carry their wool. Their custom had been to go to the town of Halifax, and to buy from the wool driver, some a stone, some two, and some three or four according to their means. They carried this wool upon their heads and backs to their homes, three, four, five, or six miles away. The wool was converted into yarn or cloth and sold, and then more wool was bought. By means of this industry, the barren

grounds were populated. An increase of five hundred households within the previous forty years, was recorded. The trade was threatened with ruin if these clothiers could not obtain the wool in small quantities. The new act made it lawful for wool drivers to sell wool in the town of Halifax, provided it was sold to the small makers. They were not to sell wool to the wealthy clothiers, nor to any other to sell again. Offenders against this act were to forfeit double the value of the wool so sold.

"Chapters on the early registers of Halifax Parish Church," by E. J. Walker.

"Heath Grammar School," by T. Cox.

"Dr. Favour," by T. W. Hanson. (Hx. Antiquarian Socy. Transactions, 1910).

Dr. Favour's "Antiquite triumphing over Noveltie," by T. W. Hanson. (Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1911).

"Bradley Hall," by J. Lister. Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1919).

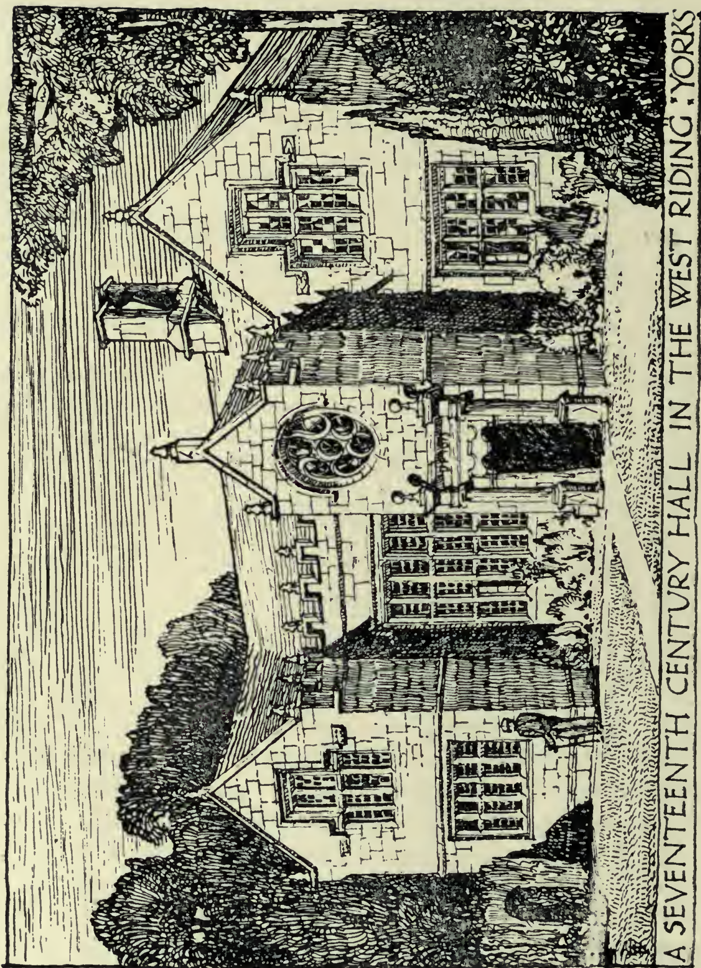
Henry Briggs in "Dictionary of National Biography."

CHAPTER X.

17TH CENTURY HOUSES—JAMES MURGATROYD—NATHANIEL WATERHOUSE—SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

The Parish of Halifax is particularly rich in a large number of handsome seventeenth-century houses that are scattered on all the hill-sides. A description of some of these houses will serve as a useful preface to our account of the stirring events of the seventeenth century; and an actual visit to some of these old homesteads will help to make the history more real.

The houses were usually built of large blocks of millstone grit, which is very durable and turns to a pleasing grey colour. Modern builders use a softer



A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY HALL IN THE WEST RIDING: YORKS

Fig. 39

sandstone, which is obtained from deep quarries at Southowram, Ringby, and elsewhere. In olden days,

Photo. H. P. Kendall.

Fig. 40—LEE HOUSE OR SPRING GARDENS, OVENDEN WOOD.
H.M. 1625. (Henry Murgatroyd). Showing Seam Pointing.

the rocks that lay close to the surface had to be used, and the gritstone caps the hills to the west of Halifax.

In Hipperholme and towards the eastern end of the parish smaller blocks of sandstone were used. These houses have a number of gables, and a many-gabled house is always more picturesque than a plain-fronted one. The builders erected handsome projecting porches to the main entrance. Seventeenth century chimneys are built of large stones, and are bold, square erections which give a good finish to the house. One local peculiarity is seam-pointing. The joints of the chimneys and the roof-ridge are pointed with lime, and then painted white. The white lines are in striking contrast to the dark stone. There were no troughings or fall-pipes to catch the rain water. The rain ran down into the gutters of the roof, and large stone water-spouts threw the streams of water clear of the walls. At the apex of each gable was a carved finial of varied designs. Sometimes a square finial served as a sundial, as at Wood Lane Hall (Sowerby), Ovenden Hall, and Halifax and Elland Churches.

The windows may be considered the main features of these houses, and they are the best guide in judging whether a house belongs to this period or not. They are long—filling almost the width of the room—low in proportion, and divided into half-a-dozen or more lights by stone mullions. These upright blocks of gritstone are bevelled on each side so that they do not block out too much light. Where the window has two or more tiers of lights, the horizontal stone divisions, called transoms, are also bevelled, as also are the window sills and the top stones. The whole window is deeply recessed into the thick walls. Above each window is a stone moulding, which prevents the rain that runs down the house-front from dripping into the

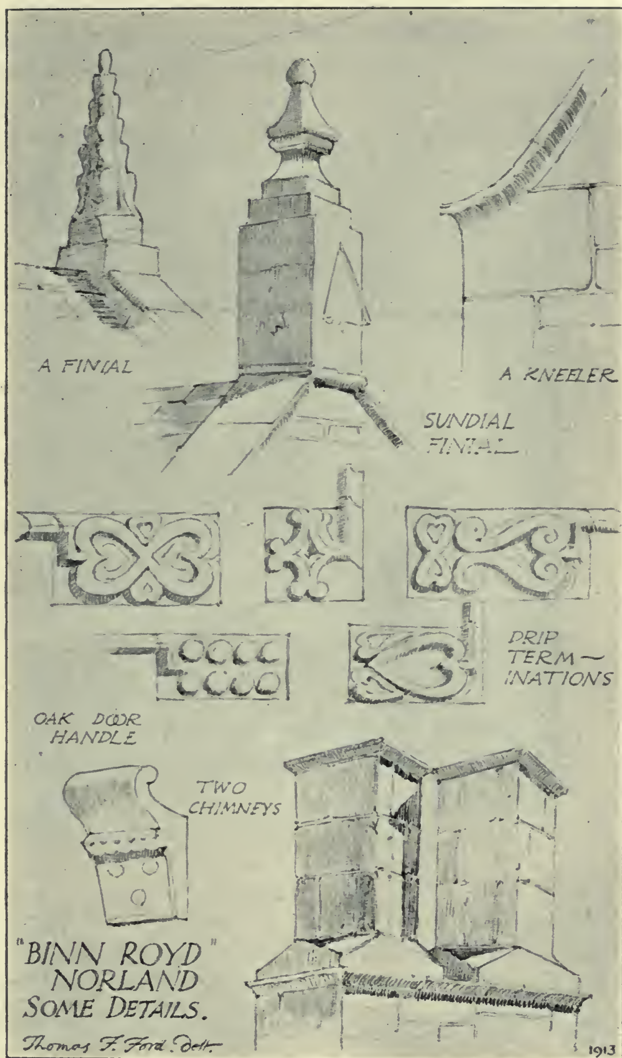


Fig. 41.

window, just as the eye-brow protects the eye. The ends of these drip-stones are carved, and these carved terminals are of many patterns. The chamber, or bedroom window, often has two lights above four, or three over five lights, thus following the line of the

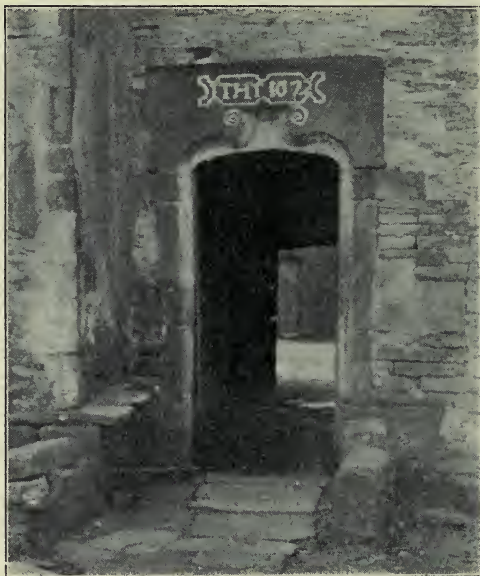


Photo. H. P. Kendall.

Fig. 42.—Norland Hall Doorway. I.T. H.T. 1672.
(Joseph Taylor and his wife.)

gable. Such windows are only to be found in our district. Then there are the circular wheel or rose windows which light the porch chamber at such houses as Kershaw House, Luddenden; New Hall, Elland; and Barkisland Hall.

It was the custom for the owner of the house to carve over his doorway the date of the building, and the initials of himself and his wife. For instance:—

Photo. H. P. Kendall.
Fig. 43.—HIGH SUNDERLAND, SOUTH PORCH.

LONG CAN, Ovenden Wood, I.M.M. 1637—John and Mary Murgatroyd.
SHAW HILL doorway at the corner of Simmonds Lane, I.E.L. 1697—Joshua Laycock and his wife.
BACK HALL, Siddal, T.H.E. 1668—Thomas and Esther Hanson.
KERSHAW HOUSE, Luddenden Lane, 1650, T.M., A.M.—Thomas and Anna Murgatroyd.

Instead of initials and dates, some houses bear the coat-of-arms of the owner. On the front of High Sunderland are the arms of Sunderland and Rishworth

Photo H. P. Kendall

Fig. 44.—High Sunderland Gateway.

families. Over the south door of Back Hall, Siddal, are the Hanson arms surrounded by shields of other families into which Hansons had married.

High Sunderland has also some interesting mottoes

carved on the stones. On the south front are four lines of Latin which translated read:—

> "May the Almighty grant that the race of Sunderland may quietly inhabit this seat, and maintain the rights of their ancestors, free from strife, until an ant drink up the waters of the sea, and a tortoise walk round the whole world."

Over the south door, in Latin:—

> "This place hates, loves, punishes, observes, honours—
> Negligence, peace, crimes, laws, virtuous persons."

At Back Hall is this text, in Greek:—

> "He that loveth houses or lands more than Me is not worthy of Me."

Photo. H. P. Kendall.

Fig. 45.—BARKISLAND HALL (1638).

Over the doorway of Barkisland Hall, John Gledhill, the builder in 1638, had a Latin motto cut which means:—

> "Once his, now mine, but I know not whose afterwards."

Oliver Heywood's house has the single word "Ebenezer," while at Scout Hall there is a carving of a fox-hunt.

These inscriptions give us a clue to the characters of the men who erected the houses. A Greek text indicates a scholar, the hunting scene denotes a sportsman, Biblical quotations come from the religious,

while the heraldic door-head proves the builder to have been proud of his ancestry.

Photo. H. P. Kendall.

Fig. 46.—OAK FRIEZE, NORLAND HALL.

Fig. 47.—PLASTER CEILING.

The interiors of these old halls were also handsome, but most of them have been altered at various times during the three hundred years since they were built, and opportunities of viewing these interiors are comparatively rare, whilst it is always easy to see the exteriors of the houses. The carved oak furniture—

Photo. H. P. Kendall

Fig. 48.—Plaster Work, from Bin Royd, Norland, Now in Bankfield Museum.

chairs, chests, and bedsteads—have been bought by collectors, and the oak panelling of the rooms is coveted and removed. Panelled rooms and halls, oak galleries and staircases, and elaborately carved oak mantel-pieces still survive in such houses as Howroyd, Barkisland; Clay House, Greetland; New Hall, Elland; and the Old Cock Hotel, Halifax.

The men of the seventeenth century decorated their homes with ornamental plaster-work. In Bankfield Museum is a deep heraldic plaster-work frieze that was removed from Binn Royd, Norland, when the old farm-house was demolished. There is a similar frieze in the

Photo. H. P. Kendall.

Fig. 49.—UPPER ROOKES (1589).

bedrooms at Marsh Hall, Northowram, and in the same house is a beautiful plaster ceiling. The Mulcture Hall in Halifax boasts a good ceiling. In many cases the chimney-breast was adorned with the Royal Arms in plaster-work, as at New Hall, Elland; and Norland Lower Hall.

At Upper Saltonstall, and at the Fold, Mixenden, are to be seen specimens of the old stone ovens. They

are shaped like a beehive, and about three feet high. A charcoal fire was made inside the oven, and the oven closed, until the stones became very hot. Then the fire was raked out, the bread put in, and the oven closed again until the baking was completed. At Broadbottom, near Mytholmroyd, are the remains of a stone oven, in front of the house.

Photo. H. P. Kendall.
Fig. 50.—PEEL HOUSE, WARLEY (1598).

Photo. H. P. Kendall.
Fig. 51.—WOOD LANE HALL, SOWERBY (1649).

Mr. Ambler's book on "The Manor Houses of Yorkshire" contains many beautiful photographs and detailed drawings of Halifax houses, and comparison can be made between our local examples and other Yorkshire houses. We can gain one important idea from the book. There are larger and more beautiful halls in the agricultural parts of the county, but they are situated far apart from one another. The rich men who built the more imposing halls owned miles of country, and considered themselves to be of a higher class altogether than the ordinary people who lived within their domain. In the Parish of Halifax, instead of a few such lordly palaces, we have a very large number of good medium-sized houses.

They are evidence that Halifax men were making money out of trade, and that the prosperity was shared among a

Photo. H. P. Kendall

Fig. 52.—Stained Glass, Shibden Hall.

large number of substantial yeomen, whereas in other parts of the county, the riches were in the hands of a few of the gentry.

In Bankfield Museum, there is a large collection of photographs and sketches of these seventeenth century halls. Study them by all means and compare the details

Photo. G. E. Snoxell

Fig. 53.—GRINDLESTONE BANK, OVENDEN WOOD.

of one house with others, but don't be content with illustrations. Take walks along any of our hill-sides—Norland, Sowerby, Luddenden Dean, Shibden Dale, Warley—and you will easily find some of the old halls, and take notice—and sketches—of the details of the

buildings, the dates and initials over the doorheads, and perchance, get a peep inside some of them.

Photo. H. P. Kendall.

Fig. 54.--Ball Green, Sowerby (1634).

Street improvements have practically cleared away the seventeenth century houses from the town of Halifax, but there are several close at hand, such as

Haugh Shaw House, Allan Fold, Warley Road, Willow Hall at Cote Hill, and quite a cluster of them near the Boothtown tram stage.

Fig. 55.—UPPER WILLOW HALL. *Photo. H. P. Kendall.*

James Murgatroyd of Murgatroyd (or the Hollins) in Warley was the greatest builder of these fine seventeenth century houses in the Parish of Halifax. Most men were quite content to rebuild their own homesteads, but as Murgatroyd grew richer and added farm to farm in Warley, Ovenden, and other townships, he took a pride in erecting handsome houses. To him, we owe Haigh House, Warley (1631), Long Can (1637), Yew

Tree (1643) in Ovenden Wood, and Kershaw House (1650) in Luddenden Lane, which is one of the finest of our local halls. James Murgatroyd received by his father's will, all the looms, presses, shears, etc., which were standing in his shop, so it is evident that part of

Fig. 56.—UPPER WILLOW HALL. *Photo. H. P. Kendall.*

his immense fortune was made in the woollen trade. About 1640, Mr. Murgatroyd removed his home to East Riddlesden Hall, near Keighley, and there built the house in such style as to make it one of the largest and most imposing halls in Airedale.

In connection with his Airedale estates, Murgatroyd

had to provide yearly a hen for Lady Anne Clifford of Skipton Castle as part of the rent. It was a relic of the ancient manorial times when rents were paid in kind, of

Photo. H. P. Kendall

Fig. 57.—GATEWAY, LOWER WILLOW HALL (now used as a cottage).

Fig. 58.—LONG CAN, OVENDEN WOOD (1637). *Photo. H. P. Kendall.*

Fig 59.—YEW TREE OVENDEN WOOD (1643). *Photo. H. P Kendall*

which we spoke in an early chapter. Murgatroyd said the custom was obsolete and refused to find the hen. He was sued at York, and Lady Anne won. When the dispute was settled, she invited Mr. Murgatroyd to dinner at Skipton Castle, and the hen was under one of the covers. We can imagine what they would talk

Fig. 60.—EAST RIDDLESDEN HALL. *Photo, G. Whitaker.*

about after dinner for "her passion for bricks and mortar was immense." She re-built six castles, restored seven churches, built almshouses, and erected several monuments.

The Murgatroyds suffered much in the courts. James Murgatroyd paid £850 in fines—£500 of which

went to the repairing of Old St. Paul's, London—for some offence he and his sons committed at Luddenden Chapel. His sons were also most unjustly imprisoned and fined, many years later, through being bond for a nephew. Tradition says that the River Aire changed its course at Riddlesden, and refused to flow past the Hall because the Murgatroyds had to sell it.

Nathaniel Waterhouse, the great Halifax benefactor, was making his fortune in the first half of the seventeenth century, by dealing in oil and the salts used by dyers. We do not know exactly where his home was, but he owned Bank House, Salterhebble, the white-washed house which stands near the railway and overlooks the sewage works. Bank House is still held by the Waterhouse Trustees, and its rent helps to pay for some of his schemes.

A Workhouse was built by Nathaniel Waterhouse, somewhere near the Parish Church, for which he obtained a charter from Charles I. in 1635 in order to relieve the poor. This charter empowered the Master and Governors of the Workhouse to take idle vagabonds, ruffians, and sturdy beggars, place them in the Workhouse, and set them to work spinning wool or making bone-lace. A whipping-stock was erected in the workhouse, and those who were idle, or who spoilt or stole their work were flogged. In the first three years, seventy men and women were whipped, and some of them repeatedly.

Nathaniel Waterhouse also founded some almshouses for twelve poor persons to live in. By his will, he left money for their maintenance, and also a sum to buy black clothes for them. Mr. Waterhouse died in the first week of June, 1645, and as he had no children, he left his lands and money for the benefit of the town.

"The Church and Poor I left my Heirs;
My Friends to order my Affairs."

One of his houses was to be altered to make a home for ten orphan girls and ten orphan boys, who were to be taught a trade. They were to be dressed in blue coats. In 1853, the Trustees obtained power to sell these old buildings down by the Parish Church, and to build new Almshouses and Bluecoat School, on Harrison Road.

Fig. 61.—BANK HOUSE, SALTERHEBBLE. *Photo, H. P. Kendall.*

A few pounds per year were to be given to the ministers of the twelve Chapels in the Parish--Coley, Illingworth, Sowerby Bridge, Rastrick, etc. On the first Wednesday in each month, these ministers in turn had to preach a sermon in the Parish Church, and these Waterhouse Sermons have been given regularly ever since.

Money was also bequeathed for repairing the roads leading from Halifax to Bradford, Wakefield, and Southowram. On the top of the hill opposite the Tannery at Hipperholme, is a stone (like a mile-stone) which records one of these gifts. The will also mentions the highway between Spright Smithy and Southowram Bank. Spright Smithy would probably be at Smithy Stake, where a stake had been driven into the ground, to which horses were tethered when they needed shoeing.

The Waterhouse Charity has become richer with time, because the land has increased in value. In 1645, the income was £131; in 1745, £248; in 1845, £1,350; and in 1895, £2,353.

About the year 1634, a young doctor, Thomas Browne, came to live at Upper Shibden Hall, near the head of Shibden Dale. The old house has been demolished, so we cannot visit the exact place. To us it seems an out-of-the-way place for a doctor's surgery, but we must remember it was not far away from the old Halifax to Bradford Road. While Dr. Browne was living in Shibden, he wrote one of the most famous of English books "Religio Medici," or "A Doctor's Religion."

"This, I confess," he says in the preface, "for my private exercise and satisfaction, I had at leisurable hours composed. It was penned in such a place, and with such disadvantage, that, I protest, from the first setting of pen unto paper, I had not the assistance of any good book whereby to promote my invention, or relieve my memory."

Thomas Browne was in his thirtieth year when he wrote his masterpiece, though it was not published until some years afterwards. He did not stay long in Halifax,

and subsequently removed to Norwich, became a famous citizen, and was knighted by King Charles. There is a statue of Sir Thomas Browne in Norwich.

"The Old Halls and Manor-houses of Yorkshire," by LOUIS AMBLER.

"Halifax Antiquarian Society's Transactions."—The papers read at the summer excursions contain a mine of information about local 17th century houses.

CHAPTER XI.

HALIFAX MEN REFUSE KNIGHTHOOD—SHIP-MONEY—BEGINNINGS OF THE CIVIL WAR—SIEGE OF BRADFORD—LEEDS TAKEN—BATTLE OF ADWALTON—RETREAT TO HALIFAX—JOSEPH LISTER'S ADVENTURES—MACKWORTH GARRISONS HALIFAX—HALIFAX REFUGEES—FIGHTING BETWEEN HEPTONSTALL AND HALIFAX—MIXENDEN SKIRMISH—SCOTS ARMY IN THE DISTRICT—PLAGUE—CAPT. HODGSON'S ADVENTURES—LOCAL ROYALISTS.

The reign of Charles I. is one of the most important periods in English history, and our story will show how the great national events affected Halifax. One of King Charles's troubles was his want of money. He dared not call his Parliament together and ask them for a grant, because Parliament would have asked how he intended to spend the money, and how he intended to govern. The King therefore resorted to other methods, and for eleven years he reigned without a Parliament.

At his Coronation, King Charles offered a knighthood to every man who had an income of forty pounds and upwards from the rents of land. His idea was to enrich himself by the fees, that had to be paid by every new knight. Those men who refused "the honour of knighthood" were fined, and if they did not pay their fine, were thrown into prison. Seventy of the gentry of Halifax Parish paid these fines, and by this means, the

king drew £1,034 6s. 8d. from our parish. One of the Listers paid the fine, and the receipt for his fine is still preserved at Shibden Hall, signed "Strafford," the earl who was Charles's principal adviser, and who ended his days on the scaffold. Seven of the seventy men lived in the township of Halifax, among them being Thomas Blackwood, who built Blackwood House in 1617, somewhere near the site of Blackwood Grove, and the great benefactor, Nathaniel Waterhouse. James Murgatroyd of Warley, paid the largest fine of £40. Among the others, we may mention John Clay, of Clay House, the beautiful hall near Greetland Station; Gregory Patchett, whose initials are on the doorway of the whitewashed house in Luddenden, known as the Lord Nelson Inn; John Drake of Horley Green; Abraham Brigg, who lived at Grindlestone Bank, and also built Holdsworth House; and Anthony Bentley of Mixenden Green.

Two years later, 1627, the King of France laid siege to the great Protestant seaport of Rochelle. The King's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, prepared a stately fleet of a hundred sail to go to the relief of Rochelle. Parliament was called, but the members would discuss the conduct of Buckingham, and it was dissolved before a single sixpence was voted for the war. Money had to be found, so the king appealed for free gifts, and when little or nothing was given, he forced men to lend him money.

An order was sent to the cloth-makers of Halifax and Leeds, calling upon them to contribute in union with the port of Hull "towards the charge of setting out three ships, of the burthen of two hundred tons apiece for His Majesty's service, to be at rendezvous at

Portsmouth, the 20th day of May next, furnished as men-of-war, and victualled for full four months." These were to be three of the fleet intended for Rochelle. In reply to this order, the men of Halifax, with those of Leeds, sent a petition to the Privy Council giving several reasons for being excused. They protested first of all that they had paid taxes imposed by the Privy Council, without the assent of Parliament; they had contributed to the forced loans; paid five subsidies unlawfully taken without Parliament's consent; and they had found and trained soldiers. They also reasoned that the ports provided ships and sailors, while the inland towns paid for soldiers; that their cloth went to other ports besides Hull; that other trades had an interest in Hull; and that some other trades were more able to pay. One hundred and twenty-five Halifax men signed the Petition, and of this number thirty could not write their own names, but they made a X or some other mark. The first to sign was Robert Clay, Vicar of Halifax, and then came many well-known names like Waterhouse, Bairstow, Binns, Oldfield, Greenwood, Barraclough, etc.

A few years later, John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire, made a name for himself in English history by refusing to pay the ship-money.

In addition to these disputes about taxation and the power of the king, the question of church government was also dividing the nation. Archbishop Laud and the bishops claimed absolute control of the religious life of the people and from James Murgatroyd's case, we see that they wielded a great power. On the other side, the Puritans developed the preaching part of the services and wished to abolish everything that reminded them of

the Roman Catholic Church. Dr. Favour and other Puritan vicars had made Halifax almost unanimously of their thought, and the Halifax Exercises (conferences where famous preachers drew immense crowds to listen to their sermons) were kept up for many years.

Some of the local Puritans, fearing persecution, followed the example of the Pilgrim Fathers, and emigrated to New England. Matthew Mitchell, "a pious and wealthy person" of Halifax, sailed in 1635, taking with him his son Jonathan, who became a celebrated preacher in America. Richard Denton, minister of Coley, also emigrated and became famous. These were among the pioneers who colonised the land now known as the United States.

In 1637, King Charles and Archbishop Laud ordered that a new Prayer Book should be read in the Scottish Churches, but the Scotch people, who were mostly Presbyterians, would not have the new service, and revolted, so in 1639, Charles declared war on Scotland. This is known as the First Bishop's War, and men from our district were obliged to join the king's forces. We gather some details of this war from the Account Book of the Sowerby Constable. After training at Halifax, Elland, Wakefield, and other places, sixteen Sowerby men set off from Wakefield for active service in Scotland. A similar contingent would go from Halifax and the other townships. Pikes and guns were repaired, gunpowder, bullets, knapsacks, and bandoliers provided, so that the little company cost Sowerby people sixty-five pounds. The expedition was a failure from the king's point of view, for the Scotch raised a much better army, and Charles made terms with them rather than fight. Southowram kept their beacon ready, in case the Scots invaded the north of England.

A couple of years later there was trouble in another part of the realm. In November, 1641, news came that the Irish had massacred thirty thousand of the English and Scots colonists, and it was said that the Irish might cross to England. These reports, of course, spread alarm throughout this part of England. Joseph Lister of Bradford, then a lad of fifteen, says that on one Sunday he had gone to Pudsey to hear Mr. Wales preach. A man named Sugden came hastily to the chapel door, and called out "Friends, we are all as good as dead men, for the Irish rebels are gotten to Rochdale, and will be at Bradford and Halifax shortly." The people were all confused, women wept, children screamed and clung to their parents. Joseph Lister went home to Bradford, and found the people in the streets considering how best to defend their homes, for they had heard that the rebels had reached Halifax. At length they sent a few men on horseback to Halifax to ascertain the truth, and they found that the supposed rebels were a few poor folk who had fled from Ireland for safety.

Englishmen were very angry at the news of the massacre, and felt that an army should be sent to take vengeance on the Irish. But they so mistrusted the King that they would not raise a force for him to command, fearing he would use it to overpower the Parliament. The King and Parliament were now definitely opposed, and on August 22nd, 1642, the King's Standard was set up at Nottingham, and the Civil War begun.

Professor Gardiner says that the north-west of England, then the poorest, rudest, and least thickly populated part of the country took the King's side, whilst the south-east of England, with its fertile lands,

its commercial and manufacturing activity and its wealth, was on the side of the Parliament, but no exact line can be drawn between the portions of England which supported the two causes. The clothing towns of the West Riding—Halifax, Bradford, and Leeds—and the eastern towns of Lancashire—Manchester, Rochdale, and Bolton—took the side of the Parliament, for they depended upon trade, and their people were mostly Puritans. At first, the fighting was in what we may call "county matches." That is, the Royalists of Yorkshire attacked the Yorkshire Parliamentarians, while the Roundheads of Lancashire were busy with the Cavaliers of the same county. Only in rare instances could men be persuaded to march from one county to fight in another. Lord Fairfax was the General of the Parliament's Yorkshire Army, and he was opposed by the Earl of Newcastle on behalf of the King.

On Sunday morning, December 18th, 1642, while service was being held in Coley Chapel, a good man, one Isaac Baume, came in haste to the chapel and told the minister, Mr. Latham, what the position was in Bradford. The minister spoke to his congregation about it, and many in the chapel went for their weapons, and set off to help Bradford. Among these volunteers was John Hodgson, who afterwards became a captain in Cromwell's army. Bradford was in a sore plight, for all the trained soldiers were with Lord Fairfax, and he had retreated to Selby because of a defeat he had suffered at Tadcaster eleven days previously. The Royalist Army had taken Wakefield and Leeds, and were hoping to capture both Bradford and Halifax. A Halifax captain (we do not know his name) took command of the defences of

Bradford, and the [illegible] and arms he had brought helped considerably. Bradford Church was made into a fort, because it was the largest and strongest building in the town. Musketeers were placed in the tower to fire on the enemy, and sheets of wool were hung around the tower to protect it from cannon balls. Sir William Savile, with a thousand Royalists and some cannon, attacked the town on that Sunday morning, and they met with more resistance than they expected. At mid-day, Hodgson with more Halifax men arrived, and were welcomed by the defenders, who then decided on a counter attack, in which the Royalists were put to flight.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, who was with his father, on hearing of the heroic exploit, passed through the enemy's lines, and came to Bradford to help them. He considered, however, that Bradford was a bad place to defend, for it lies in a hollow, with heights around it from which an enemy could command the town. Sir Thomas made Bradford his headquarters, fortified it as well as he could, and sent an appeal to the surrounding places for recruits, and he obtained many Halifax men. Samuel Priestley of Good-greave, Soyland, joined, though his parents tried to persuade him to stay at home. "If I stay at home," he replied, "I can follow no employment, but be forced to hide in one hole or another, which I cannot endure. I had rather venture my life in the field, and if I die, it is in a good cause."

Every day there were skirmishes between Fairfax's men, and the Royalists who garrisoned Leeds and Wakefield. Sir Thomas was always a bold commander, and "being too many to lie idle, and too few to be upon constant duty, we resolved through the assistance of God, to attempt them in their garrisons." Therefore on

January 23rd, 1643, he marched against Leeds, and after a desperate fight, re-captured the town. The war-cry of Fairfax's army was "Emmanuel."

Major Forbes was the first man to enter, by climbing over the wall, by standing on the shoulders of Lieutenant Horsfall of Halifax. When they had entered the town, Mr. Jonathan Scholefield, minister of Cross-Stone Chapel, (near Todmorden) started the singing of a psalm:—

"Let God arise, and scattered
Let all His enemies be;
And let all those that do Him hate,
Before His presence flee."

According to the account of the fight, several Halifax men had marvellous escapes. Fairfax praised his soldiers. He called them unexperienced fresh-water men, yet although they had only received a week's training, they attacked most resolutely and valiantly. The Earl of Newcastle retreated to York, but before long he was vigorously pressing the Fairfaxes with a larger army.

Lord Fairfax wrote to the Speaker of the House of Commons to inform him that the people of Leeds, Bradford, and Halifax, were in want. They depended for corn and meat on the more fruitful parts of the country, and the enemy was stopping all supplies. The woollen trade was altogether suspended, consequently there were many poor and no money to relieve them. The army could defend them from the enemy, but not from want. Fairfax also asked that Colonel Oliver Cromwell might be sent out of Lincolnshire with an army, to help to crush the Earl of Newcastle's forces. This, however, was found to be impracticable.

Newcastle besieged and stormed Howley Hall, near Batley. Howley belonged to Sir John Savile, who was with the King at Oxford, but his cousin, another Sir

John Savile, was holding the place for the Parliament. Lord Fairfax marched out of Bradford to meet the enemy Royalists, who, after leaving their quarters about Howley, chose Adwalton or Atherton Moor as the field of battle. Here on June 30th, 1643, was fought the decisive battle of this Yorkshire campaign, and Fairfax's army was routed. Adwalton Moor is very near the junction of the Halifax-Leeds Road with the Bradford-Wakefield Road.

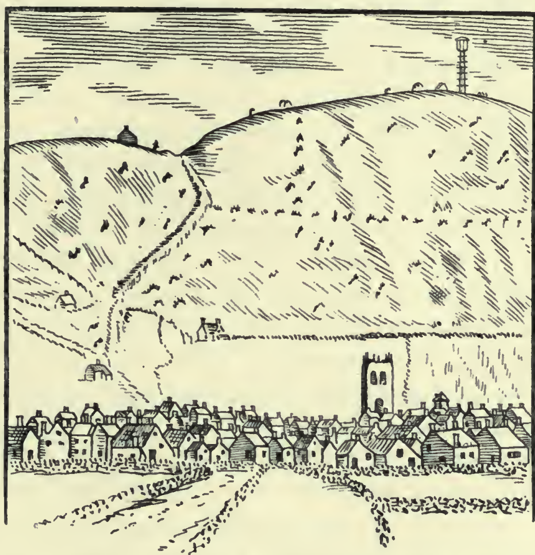


Fig. 62.—View of Halifax about the Middle of the 17th Century.

It is of supreme interest to us to find that the official despatch, sent to William Lenthall, the Speaker of the House of Commons, describing the battle, was written at Halifax by Thomas Stockdale, whose home was at Bilton Park, near Harrogate. He appears to have acted

as military secretary to Fairfax, as he wrote other despatches during the war. We will hear the story of the fight as far as possible in Stockdale's own words.

"I wrote to you on Thursday last, since which time the state of our affairs is much altered, being changed from ill into worse. Yesterday morning we drew our forces together, consisting of :—

1,200 commanded men of the garrison of Leeds,
7 companies of Bradford,
500 men of Halifax, and the country thereabouts,
12 companies of Foot from Lancashire,
10 troops of our own Horse,
3 troops from Lancashire,

[A company or a troop should have 100 men].

but the troops for the most part weak. We had four pieces of brass ordnance with us, and a great part of our powder and match. Many club-men [*i.e.*, irregular companies of men armed with scythes, clubs, or any other weapons they could obtain] followed us, who are fit to do execution upon a flying enemy, but unfit for other service, for I am sure they did us none. With the strength being not full four thousand men, horse and foot, armed, we marched from Bradford against the enemy, who lay about three miles off us in a village called Adwalton or Atherton, and the places thereabouts.

They, hearing of our preparations, had left their quarters about Howley, and chosen that place of advantage, being both a great hill and an open moor or common, where our foot could not be able to stand their horse. Their army consisted of 8,000 of their old foot, and about 7,000 new men, and, as most men say, 4,000 horse, but indeed there are many companies both of their horse and foot very slenderly armed. Upon

Atherton Moor they planted their ordnance and ordered their battle, but they manned divers houses standing in the enclosed grounds [fields] betwixt Bradford and Atherton Moor with musketeers, and sent out great parties of horse and foot by the lanes, and enclosed grounds to give us fight. Our forlorn hope [or advance party] was led by Captain Mildmay. He had other captains with him, including Captain Farrar [who was probably a Halifax man]. The van, wherein were placed the 1,200 men from Leeds, was led by Major-General Gifford. The main battle, wherein were the forces of Lancashire, and 500 from the parts about Halifax and the moors, had the Lord General himself; and the rear, with the garrison forces of Bradford, were led by Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes. The horse were commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who should have led the main battle, if the Lord General could have been persuaded to absent himself.

Our forlorn hope beat back the enemies out of the lanes and enclosed grounds, killing many and taking some prisoners, and then the van coming up, fell upon the enemies on the left hand, and the main battle upon those on the right hand, and after some dispute, beat the enemy both out of the houses they had manned, and from the skirts of the moor to the height, killing very many, and among them two colonels. Our horse very bravely recovered part of the moor from the enemy and maintained it, and the rear fell on in the middle and did good service.

Thus far we had a fair day, but the success of our men at the first, drew them unawares to engage themselves too far upon the enemies, who, having the advantage of the ground, and infinitely exceeded us in

numbers, at least five for one, they sent some regiments of horse and foot by a lane on the left hand, to encompass our army and fall on the rear, which forced us to retreat. Our men, being unacquainted with field service, would not be drawn off in any order, but instead of marching, fell into running. The commanders did their best to stay them, but in vain, for away they went in disorder, yet they brought off two pieces of the ordnance, and lost the other two and many prisoners, but the estimate of the number I cannot give you.

Sir Thomas Fairfax with five or six troops of horse, brought off the most part of the main battle, wherein the Lancashire men were, and made his retreat to Halifax very well, for the enemy was gotten so far before him towards Bradford as he could not reach that place. With much importunity, I persuaded the Lord General to retire, who stayed so long upon the field until the enemies were got betwixt him and Bradford, yet he took by-ways and recovered the town.

Our loss was not great in commanders, for I do not yet hear of any save Major Talbot killed, and Lieut. Col. Forbes taken prisoner. Our loss of prisoners taken by the enemy was great."

Sir Thomas Fairfax and his broken army retreated through Gomersal, Bailiff Bridge, and Hipperholme, to Halifax. In a long, straggling line, they climbed up the old pack-horse road to the shoulder of Beacon Hill, and the tired, worn-out soldiers would be pleased to see Halifax lying below. Down Wiscombe Bank and Old Bank they hurried, to the town which promised rest and refreshment. The little town would be very busy that night, with so many soldiers to feed and to billet. The people were dispirited by the bad news, and to add to

their fear and distraction, the Lancashire forces went straight home across Blackstone Edge. Some twenty horse, and two hundred foot were persuaded to stay in Yorkshire.

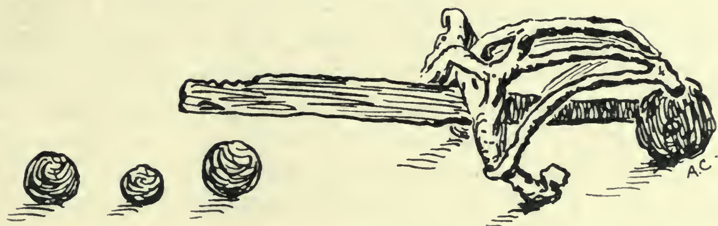


Fig. 63.—RELICS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN BANKFIELD MUSEUM.

Mr. Stockdale, in reporting to Parliament, the black outlook for this corner of the West Riding, wrote "The country is wasted and exhausted, and tired out with the weight of the troubles continually falling upon this part of Yorkshire; the soldiers want pay, and which is worse, arms and powder, and other ammunition." Sir Thomas Fairfax did not stay long in Halifax, but hastened to Bradford with some of the horse and foot that had fought at Adwalton. With the chivalrous devotion which endeared him to all that knew him, he went to share his father's fate.

Mr. Stockdale concludes his despatch:—

"If speedy supply be not sent with some considerable succour of men, the Lord General will be constrained to accept of some dishonourable conditions from the enemy. I am now at Halifax, to which place I came last night, and take opportunity to send this bearer with Sir Thomas Fairfax's warrant, to get you speedy notice, lest we be so shut up in Bradford and Leeds as we cannot

send. Hasten some relief to preserve the most constant part of the kingdom."

Finally comes the postscript:—

"As I was closing this letter, I received a letter, and after that a messenger from the Lord General to tell me that the enemy have made eight great shot at the town this day, and have even now recovered certain houses without the works, which if he cannot get fired, will much endanger the loss of the town. Sir Thomas is gone with some succours from hence, and what can be had more, I will get up, but the people stir with fear seeing no succours appear."

On the Sunday night, (July 2nd) the Bradford garrison was in such a desperate plight, that Fairfax gave orders to the soldiers to escape from the town as best they could, with the idea of reaching Hull. Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas, with a remnant of the army, reached Hull after many adventures, and Hull was the only corner of Yorkshire that was held for the Parliament. Dykes were opened, and the surrounding country flooded to aid the defence; and the Fairfax's in Hull, were in much the same position as Antwerp was in September, 1914.

John Hodgson, who had been shot in two places, and cut in several in the Tadcaster fight, was taken prisoner as he was escaping from Bradford, stript to his shirt, and sent to Leeds. John Brearcliffe, a young Halifax apothecary, wrote in his diary "3rd July, 1643, being Monday, 1 clok morn, bradford taken, and I into Lancashire."

The local lads—and girls—must have had some stirring adventures during that first week of July.

Joseph Lister was sixteen years old at the time, and apprenticed to a Mr. Sharpe, who had fought in the defence of Bradford, and then escaped to Colne in Lancashire. Joseph stayed in Bradford, and saw the Royalist soldiers carrying away everything that was worth selling. In their search for treasure, these soldiers emptied all the beddings and meal bags, and the streets of Bradford were full of chaff, feathers, and meal. As Lister knew all the by-ways, he offered to guide one of the Parliamentary soldiers safely out of the town. After leaving Bradford, they fell in with two more of Fairfax's men. Presently one of the enemy's horse soldiers discovered them, and the four ran across a field. Joseph Lister crept into a thick holly bush, and by pulling down the boughs, hid himself. The other three were taken prisoners, one being wounded. Lister heard the horseman asking where was the fourth, but he could not be found. "I have often thought since," he wrote, "how easily we might have knocked him down if we had had but any courage; but, alas! we had none." Joseph remained in the hedge until dark, and then set off to Colne, where he found his master. Mr. Sharpe asked him if he durst venture back to Bradford, to see how Mrs. Sharpe was faring. Back he went, and found a cellar in the town, where he slept, and in the morning, on enquiring for the dame, he found she had gone to Halifax. After her, to Halifax, went Lister with his master's message and some money. Mrs. Sharpe sent him back to Colne for further instructions. His master said "Go thou and tell thy dame to go home, and go thou with her. Go to the camp and buy a cow, and get the land mowed. Get help to get the hay, and perhaps the enemy will be called away shortly." They bought a

cow and drove it home, and the same day the soldiers came and took it. They bought another, and that also was taken. So Lister set off to Colne for further advice, which Mr. Sharpe gave by saying they must do as they thought best, for he had made up his mind to go to Manchester, and re-join the army. In the week following the Battle of Adwalton, the Royalists entered Halifax, and Sir Francis Mackworth made the town his headquarters.

When the foundations were being dug for St. Joseph's School, a few cannon balls, horseshoes, and a sword were unearthed, and these relics are now in Bankfield Museum. The place is known as Bloody Field, and evidently a skirmish was fought here during the Civil War, but we have no written record of any fight. Mackworth's entry to the town may have been disputed at this point, or the rearguard of Sir Thomas Fairfax's force may have been attacked after Adwalton Battle.

Most of the Halifax people fled over the Lancashire border before the Cavalier soldiers came to the town. They buried their valuables, or hid them, and some of the old deeds at Shibden Hall show signs of mildew because they were buried at this time. The soldiers searched the Workhouse Offices, but found nothing but a bottle on the window-bottom. Mr. Priestley's house in Soyland was pillaged several times, and Ewood, near Mytholmroyd, was plundered, and Mr. Farrar's deeds and papers taken. On August 14th, Sir Francis Mackworth issued a special order forbidding pillage upon pain of death.

The Halifax Refugees went to various places in Lancashire. John Brearcliffe went to Bury, where he met Dorothy Meadowcroft, and afterwards married her.

John Hodgson was released by the Royalists, and made his way to Rochdale, where he had fever. The Rev. Henry Roote, minister at Halifax Church, went to Manchester. Mr. Alte, who had been at Halifax Church, was at the time minister of Bury, and he took some of the refugees into his parsonage, while others were lodged among the people of Bury. John Wilkinson, of Brackenbed, died at Rochdale during the exile. Mrs. Lister of Shibden, was buried at Manchester, and in Bury Church registers is recorded the burial of Robert Broadley, "a very godly man, exiled from Halifax, sojourning at Heywood." Future historians will find in our registers, the names of poor Belgians, who have died in our district as refugees. The eastern towns of Lancashire were crowded with refugees from the West Riding, for the Parliament's force in Lancashire had beaten the Lancashire Royalists, and Manchester was the head-quarters of the victorious army. In Yorkshire, as we have seen, the victory was for the other side, and the Royalists had won the Yorkshire "county match" in a most decisive manner.

The position now was that Sir Francis Mackworth held Halifax; Lieutenant Colonel Wentworth with his regiment of cavalry, was stationed at King Cross and Sowerby Bridge, to watch the road from Lancashire; and other outposts were planted at Roils Head, and Sentry Edge in Warley, to guard the road leading to Burnley and Colne. Mackworth knew that danger only threatened from the west, and he appears to have been reluctant to attempt an invasion of Lancashire. The Roundheads at Manchester were on the alert, and Rosworm, a clever engineer, constructed earthworks at Blackstone Edge, and a force was sent to occupy the

pass. The borderland of hill and moor was a sufficient obstacle to keep either side from attempting an attack on the other, and the western portion of our parish was a "no-man's land" between the two armies. Joseph Priestley of Goodgreave, had fled into Lancashire with his brothers, but having made up his mind to go to London, he thought he would pay a visit to his wife. He was leading his horse down the steep side from Blackstone Edge in a thick mist, when he walked into a Royalist troop, and was taken prisoner. He was imprisoned with some others in the corner house in Southgate, where he caught a fever, due to the dirty state of the streets, and died.

There was also the other reason why these opposing armies never came to battle—because it was so difficult to persuade men to fight outside their own county. However, there were plenty of West Riding men in Lancashire who were tired of being inactive, and they decided to organize a small force to attack the Royalists. On October 14th, Colonel Bradshaw agreed to command them. Notices were sent to sixteen churches asking all Yorkshiremen to meet at Rochdale on October 17th, 1643. It may seem to us a strange announcement to be given from a pulpit. But this was to a large extent a religious war, and those sixteen ministers would be on the Puritan side, and besides, the church was the great public meeting-place in those days, and many public announcements were made in church. The Yorkshiremen chose Heptonstall as their base of operations, and thus commenced a small local campaign around Halifax. Heptonstall was an ideal place for a military camp. On three sides are high steep slopes, with the Hebden, Calder, and Colden streams at their feet. Behind the

town, moorland roads lead over the hills into Lancashire. It is a remarkably strong position, with a fine route for retreat if the worst came to pass. The Yorkshiremen had the advantage of knowing every inch of the difficult country between Heptonstall and Halifax. They knew all the paths across Cragg Vale to Sowerby, and all the short cuts across Midgley Moor and Luddenden Dean, while Mackworth's men were strangers to these parts.

On the 19th and 20th of October, 1643, the West Riding men came to Heptonstall. There were 270 or 280 musketeers; between 50 and 60 horse soldiers; and 400 or 500 club-men. On the next day, Saturday the 21st, they marched from Heptonstall over Hathershelf to occupy Sowerby Town, and every day there were skirmishes between them and the Royalist garrison of Halifax.

The sketch will help us to follow this Halifax campaign, but better still by taking a short walk into Warley, we may be able to see practically the whole of the ground. It is important to remember that there was no road along the Calder Valley. The main road from Halifax to Heptonstall, was via Highroad Well and Newlands to Luddenden. Then it climbed straight up the opposite hill-side, through Midgley Town to Mount Skip, then past Wadsworth Lanes it dropped to the Hebden at Hebden Bridge. From the bridge, the road went up the steep Buttress to Heptonstall. Beyond Heptonstall, the route was along the Long Causeway (the ancient crosses on the Causeway denote how very old this road is); or the traveller could take the Widdop track into Lancashire. It is the old pack horse road from Halifax to Lancashire, and as historically interesting as the Magna Via to Wakefield. From the

hill-side about Westfield in Warley, we obtain a splendid view of this section of the Calder Valley with Heptonstall in the distance, perched on a spur of the flanking hills, and in imagination we may see the Heptonstall forces sallying out to annoy Mackworth's men.

On Monday, October 23rd, Colonel Bradshaw, Captain Taylor, and two Lancashire companies marched along this Height Road, until they came to the Hollins in Warley (James Murgatroyd's old home). The Cavaliers were inside the house, but their resistance was soon overcome. The defenders threw the stone slates off the roof on to the attackers. The oak door could not be battered in, and the mullioned windows were too narrow for a man to get his shoulders through. At length one of the stone mullions was hacked away, and the house was entered. Forty-three soldiers, and two officers were taken back to Heptonstall as prisoners. Only one of the attackers was hurt—by a slate—and he soon recovered.

The guards who were on duty on the next Sunday night, reported "sore streaming in the night, being all the night as light as moonlight." There was probably a fine display of shooting stars, and in those days people thought that the stars foretold important events. Sir Francis Mackworth made up his mind to clear this enemy out of his territory, and gave orders for Heptonstall to be taken on November 1st. Between three and four o'clock on that dark morning, an army marched out of Halifax composed of about four hundred musketeers, and four hundred cavalry. They had chosen a bad day, and "there was great wind and rain in their faces." They attempted to scale the heights at Heptonstall, but the defenders drove them back, and rolled great rocks down the hillside on to the Royalists. Some of Mackworth's

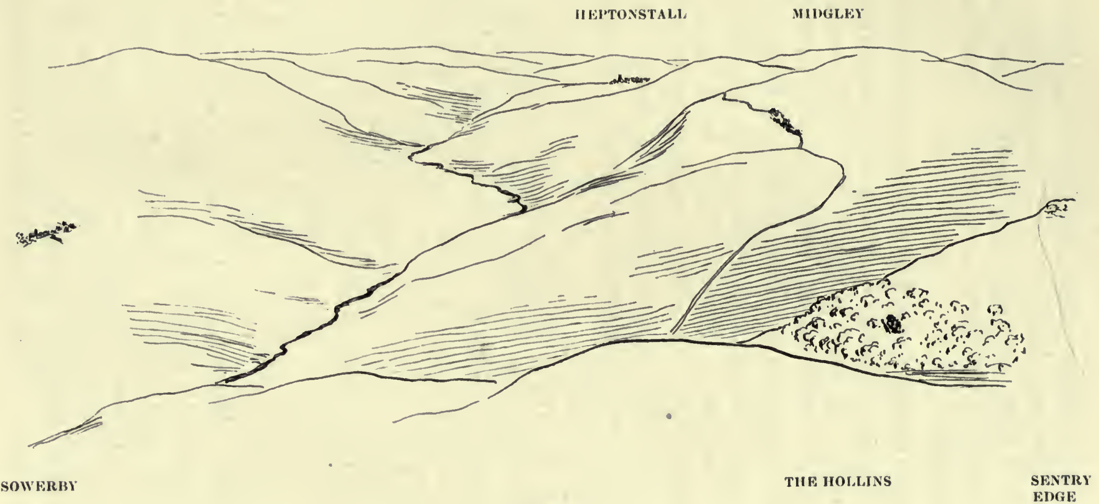


Fig. 63.

WAR MAP OF THE CALDER VALLEY.

men fell down a scar and were killed, and others were drowned in the flooded Hebden. A hundred foot, and fifty horse pursued the retreating Royalists to Luddenden. Forty prisoners including three commanders were taken, and sent to Rochdale.

One of the Priestley's of Goodgreave, Soyland, who was with the Heptonstall force, saw a wounded Royalist in danger of drowning, and jumped into the stream and rescued him. The same night, Priestley went on guard in his wet clothes, caught a chill and died in three weeks. The Parliamentary commander, Colonel Bradshaw, died on December 8th, and Major Eden took over the command. Many of the men who spent that Christmas around the camp fire at Heptonstall, had been in Bradford the previous Christmas, defending that town against Sir William Savile.

On January 4th, 1644, Major Eden marched his little army through Sowerby, leaving Captain Helliwell's company to guard his camp. At Sowerby Bridge he encountered the Royalists, killed three, and captured Captain Clapham and forty men. Captain Farrar and his cavalry, chasing the retreating Royalists towards Halifax, ventured too far, and could not regain their main force at Sowerby Bridge. Mackworth's outposts at King Cross and Sentry Edge, blocked the direct route back to Heptonstall, so Farrar appears to have led his men across Halifax Moor and Ovenden Wood, with the intention of crossing the head of Luddenden Dean and the moors, to Heptonstall. They were checked in Mixenden, and obliged to fight on the slope between Hunter Hill and Mixenden Brook. Portions of gun barrels, locks, and flints have been found on Hunter Hill. The traditional name of the place is Bloody Field, and a

part of Binns Hole Clough is called Slaughter Gap. Captain Farrar and nine of his men were obliged to surrender, and one of his men was slain. Three of the prisoners were hanged forthwith, near the Gibbet, for deserting from Sir Francis Mackworth's force. The remainder of the troop reached Heptonstall, bringing a Mr. Thompson with them, having made him a prisoner at Moor end. Sir Francis Mackworth sent to Keighley for fifteen hundred more men, and on January 9th, the Keighley and Halifax soldiers set out once again to attack Heptonstall. Major Eden had news of their approach, and he left the town, taking all his prisoners and munitions of war. He retreated along the Long Causeway, through Stiperden to Burnley, and on the next day his forces reached Colne. The Royalists entered an empty town, and gained a barren victory. They pillaged Heptonstall, and set fire to fourteen houses and barns. On January 14th, Major Eden's men joined Sir Thomas Fairfax's Army at Manchester. They saw some fighting in Cheshire, and afterwards re-joined Lord Fairfax in East Yorkshire. Sir Francis Mackworth had driven his enemies out of this district, but he only enjoyed three weeks undisputed sway, for on January 28th, 1644, the King's Army left Halifax, after possessing it for six months.

The evacuation of Halifax was due to the fact that a Scottish Army crossed the border on January 19th, pledged to fight for the Parliament. On July 2nd, the great battle of Marston Moor was fought, where Cromwell and his fellow generals won a decisive victory, and the north of England was gained for the Parliament. Cromwell's military genius evolved the New Model Army—an army that was efficient and ready to fight

anywhere against the King. Thus a stop was put to the wasteful and unsatisfactory county fighting. The Battle of Naseby was won by this army on June 14th, 1645, and the King was utterly defeated.

In 1645, the Scottish Army was quartered in the West Riding, and a large number of the soldiers were billeted in Halifax. Their leaders were anxious to return home, for in their absence Montrose had raised a Highland Army for the King's side. The coming of the Scots to our town, was probably one of the causes of the Plague which afflicted Halifax. The town was overcrowded, and the badly-drained, narrow streets became filthy. In August, 1645, there were 84 deaths; in September, 153; October, 216; and in November, 76. These figures are terrible for the small population. Tradition says that everyone living in the Mulcture Hall was carried off by the disease. Another story, states that the soldiers and other travellers, in order to avoid the town, went round by "Trooper" Lane, instead of down by the Church, and up the Old Bank. In order to escape the infection, the Sowerby Constables had a chain across the road near Sowerby Bridge, and kept watch that no suspected person entered their town. There had been plagues in the district before this outbreak. In 1631, fifty-five Ovenden people died, and were buried near their own houses. Thirty-one of the fifty-five died in the month of August, and the centre of the pestilence appears to have been at Cock Hill, near Bradshaw. In the same year Heptonstall was visited, and 107 carried off by the Plague.

The Scottish leaders and the English Parliament disagreed on religious questions. The former allies became enemies, and the Scots made a secret agreement

with King Charles, promising to raise an army to support the King. This army, under the command of the Marquis of Hamilton, crossed the border into England in April, 1648. Cromwell hurried northward to meet the Scots, but he was not quite certain as to the route Hamilton intended to take, for the Scots had the choice of the Lancashire side of the Pennines, or the York Plain. Cromwell marched through Doncaster and Knaresborough, to Skipton, and then, discovering that his opponents had decided on the western route, Cromwell hurried through the great Aire Gap, and the forces met at Preston. Our district had to provide food for Cromwell's men, and we know that Sowerby provided on one occasion "20 hundredth of bread," costing over £20, 2 cows, beans, and other provisions. Six pack horses laden with supplies were sent to Addingham on August 13th, and on the 18th, ten horse loads were sent to Skipton, but as Cromwell had left that town, the pack-horses had to follow the army further up Airedale. John Hodgson, the Halifax man who had left Coley Chapel to fight at Bradford, stayed in the army for the duration of the wars, and he wrote an interesting account of his adventures. Hodgson was with Major General Harrison's army at Penrith when the Scots crossed the border, and they were obliged to retreat until they met Cromwell at Ripon. Major Poundall and Hodgson were in command of the advance guard of Cromwell's army, and the General ordered them to attack before half of their men had come up. The enemy's bullets went high over their heads, so Hodgson's men charged, and appear to have fought bravely. Hodgson was in the thick of the fighting, and came out unscathed. The result of the Preston Battle was an overwhelming victory for Cromwell. Hodgson's greatest

day was at the Battle of Dunbar. Cromwell invaded Scotland in 1650, and at the beginning of September, found himself in a perilous position at Dunbar, hemmed in by the Scottish Army, which was astride the south road to England. Oliver Cromwell actually sent a letter to the Governor of Newcastle, telling him what to do if the English Army was cut up. But the Scots were impatient, and instead of waiting, they came down from their hill-top to attack Cromwell. The General seized his chance, and ordered his men to advance. Very early in the morning, Hodgson's company, along with others, met the enemy, and with "push of pike, and butt-end of the musket" drove them back. Cromwell himself rode in the rear of Hodgson's regiment and gave them orders, and presently the whole of the armies were in battle, and the Scots were driven off in confusion. "And over St. Abb's Head and the German Ocean, just then, burst the first gleam of the level sun upon us," and John Hodgson tells "I heard Nol say, 'Now let God arise, and His enemies be scattered,' and, following us as we slowly marched, I heard him say 'I profess they run!'" The Scots were defeated, and the General made a halt, and sang the Hundred-and-seventeenth Psalm until the horse could reform for the pursuit.

Dunbar was probably Cromwell's greatest victory, and Carlyle has written a fine description of the battle, based on Hodgson's account. After Dunbar, John Hodgson was made a Captain in Cromwell's own regiment. Captain Hodgson was a soldier for eighteen years, and served part of the time at sea under the famous Admiral Blake, against the Dutch.

We have followed the Civil Wars from the Parliamentary side, because the local accounts of the

fighting were written by men of that side, and because the large majority of Halifax men were so-minded. It is only fair to mention some of the Royalists. Langdale Sunderland, of High Sunderland, was brother-in-law to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, one of the King's Generals, and so he commanded a troop of horse in Sir Marmaduke's army. Langdale Sunderland had to pay a heavy fine for taking up arms against the Parliament, and he was obliged to sell the family estates at High Sunderland and Coley Hall. In that way the Sunderlands lost High Sunderland, after living there for four hundred years. Nathan Drake of Godley, was one of the garrison that held Pontefract Castle so long for the King, and he wrote a diary of the siege. Richard Gledhill, of Barkisland Hall, was killed at Marston Moor on the Royalist side. He had been knighted by the Earl of Newcastle. Matthew Broadley, of Lane Ends, Hipperholme, was Purveyor and Paymaster-General to the King's Forces. He was a very rich man, and lent money to King Charles.

"Local Incidents in the Civil War," by H. P. KENDALL.
(Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1909, 1910, 1911).

"Three Civil War Notes":—
1. Official Despatch on Adwalton Battle.
2. Halifax Refugees in Lancashire.
3. Mixenden's Bloody Field.
By T. W. HANSON. (Hx. Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1916).

"Refusal of Knighthood by Halifax Landowners in 1630-32."
(Halifax Guardian Almanack, 1903).

"Autobiography of Captain John Hodgson."
Reprinted, with notes by J. HORSFALL TURNER.

CHAPTER XII.

JOHN BREARCLIFFE—1651 COMMISSION—HALIFAX'S FIRST MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT—THE PARISH CHURCH DURING THE COMMONWEALTH —THE LAST YEARS OF THE GIBBET—THE RESTORATION AND ACT OF UNIFORMITY—OLIVER HEYWOOD'S DIARIES—ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON.

"We came to Halifax 9 Febr. 1644, being Thursday," says John Brearcliffe, and as he took pains to record the local events of this period, it is fitting that we should have a few particulars of the man himself. John Brearcliffe was the son of Edmund Brearcliffe, who was Parish Clerk for Dr. John Favour. The Vicar was godfather to the little boy when John was baptised on August 29th, 1618. Dr. Favour died five years later, and left £5 for his godson. Brearcliffe is thus a connecting link between the Puritans of Dr. Favour's age, and the later Puritans who fought against King Charles. Brearcliffe was one of the Heptonstall garrison, and we owe our knowledge of the local skirmishes almost entirely to the account that he wrote of the fighting.

In 1651, a Commission was appointed to enquire into all the local charitable bequests. Brearcliffe was one of the jurymen, and he wrote out a full account of the findings of the Pious Uses Commission. Witnesses were called to prove how much money had been left to Heath Grammar School, and how it had been spent, and the Governors of the Workhouse had to render an account of their trust. Executors of wills, where money had been left for the poor, or the church, or repairing of highways and bridges, or for other pious uses, brought their papers to show that their affairs were quite in order. There is no doubt that by this enquiry, Halifax people saved many a valuable legacy that might have lapsed or been forgotten.

On July 12th, 1654, Halifax elected its first Member of Parliament. Manchester, Leeds, and Halifax were the only new towns that received this privilege, and it shows that Halifax was becoming a place of some importance. Our first member represented the whole parish, or the area that is now covered by the Sowerby, Elland, and Halifax Parliamentary Divisions. In the Brearcliffe Manuscript is a full list of the 59 men who voted for Jeremy Bentley of Elland, first M.P. for Halifax. Among the voters were Mr. William Farrar, of Ewood; Mr. Joshua Horton, of Sowerby; Robert Ramsden, Stoneyroyd; John Lister, of Upper Brear; Samuel Bentley, Well Head; Arthur Hanson, Brighouse; Joseph Fourness, Boothtown; and John Brearcliffe. Jeremy Bentley and his Halifax friends tried to get another privilege, and a meeting of all the townships was called for August 14th, 1654, to secure a Corporation for Halifax. They were not successful in their attempt to make the parish into a borough. We do not know why the grant of incorporation was refused, but we may surmise that the vast area was considered too large for one borough.

Cromwell and his soldiers are blamed for damaging a great many churches. An earlier Cromwell was the responsible minister, under Henry VIII., for the destruction of the monasteries, and the spoliation of the churches; and people have charged Oliver with deeds that Thomas Cromwell really committed. But whatever happened at other places, Halifax Parish Church was well cared for during the Commonwealth period. We have to thank John Brearcliffe for the attention paid to the fabric of the church, for he was a man of influence in public affairs, and an antiquary full

of reverence for the historic building. Brearcliffe compiled a list of the priests and parsons who had been vicars, and he collected their coats of arms. He painted these arms in their correct colours on panels, which were placed in the church vestry. These panels, dimmed with age, are still there, and later vicars have added their arms to the collection. After Brearcliffe died, the large panels of the roof of the church were decorated with the arms of the vicars and local families, and Halifax Church is the only one that is so decorated.

Brearcliffe bound the early Registers, and so helped to preserve them. He made a catalogue of the Church Library, and hunted up some books that had been borrowed years before. He had the rusty book-chains oiled, new chains fitted to the volumes, also giving a sixpence to two men to take all the books out to air them. While Brearcliffe was Overseer, he mended the screens, and attended to other minor repairs. The Royal Arms were taken down, and the State's Arms put up in their place. The Scotch soldiers, while they were encamped about Halifax, removed the old font from the church, because they considered it a relic of superstition. The beautiful font cover was left swinging in the church for five years, and then in 1650 it was taken to a Mr. Hartley's parlour, and remained there for ten years.

During the Commonwealth period, several beautiful windows were inserted on the north and south sides of the choir, and at the west end, some of which were the gift of Mistress Dorothy Waterhouse, the widow of the great benefactor. These windows are plain glass—not stained—and the leads are arranged in a beautiful pattern. Their design is excellent, and they are quite

unique, for no other church has such Commonwealth glass.

Fig. 64.—Commonwealth Window in Halifax Church.

The Civil War was a religious war, and when the Puritans came into power, they made many sweeping alterations in the English Church. Dr. Marsh had been vicar of Halifax, also holding several other good livings in the Church. He was one of the King's chaplains, and attended Charles I. during his imprisonment. Dr. Marsh was also himself imprisoned, being caught on his way to join the forces under the Earl of Derby. The funds belonging to Halifax Church, were voted to Lord Fairfax to pay his soldiers. The chapels of Illingworth, Luddenden, Sowerby, etc., were provided by the people living near those chapels. Halifax men agreed to pay the stipends of the ministers needed for Halifax Church

in the same way. So that for some years Halifax Parish was disendowed, and ours appears to be the only Parish Church that was treated in that manner.

Under the Commonwealth, there was a variety of ministers in the chapels of Halifax Parish. John Lake, one of the preachers at Halifax Church, was born in Petticoat Lane, now called Russell Street. He afterwards became Dean of York, and Bishop of Chichester, and is famous in English history for being one of the Seven Bishops, who were imprisoned in the Tower by King James II. Oliver Heywood of Coley, Isaac Allen of Ripponden, and Henry Roote of Sowerby ministered at this time, when religious freedom and liberty of conscience were questions that deeply stirred the country.

The Puritans were very strict about the morals of the people, and they so hated crime that they revived the Gibbet Law. The remarkable thing about the Halifax Gibbet, is that men should be beheaded for stealing goods of so paltry a value as thirteenpence half-penny, and the custom retained so long after it had fallen into disuse in other places. Most people considered it to be a barbarous practice, and wondered that it should survive at Halifax. In 1645, the stone platform was built, which stands behind the Waterworks Office in Gibbet Street. In five years, 1645-1650, five men were "headed" by the gibbet axe, and after that the local law was abolished. John Brearcliffe, who was Constable of Halifax in 1650, wrote an account of the last trial, and he defended what he called the "Prudent, Christian, and Neighbourly Proceedings."

About the latter end of April, 1650, Abraham Wilkinson, John Wilkinson, and Anthony Mitchell, all of Sowerby, were arrested near Halifax, and taken into

the custody of the Bailiff of Halifax. The Bailiff sent word to the Constables of Halifax, Sowerby, Warley, and Skircoat, charging them to appear at his house on

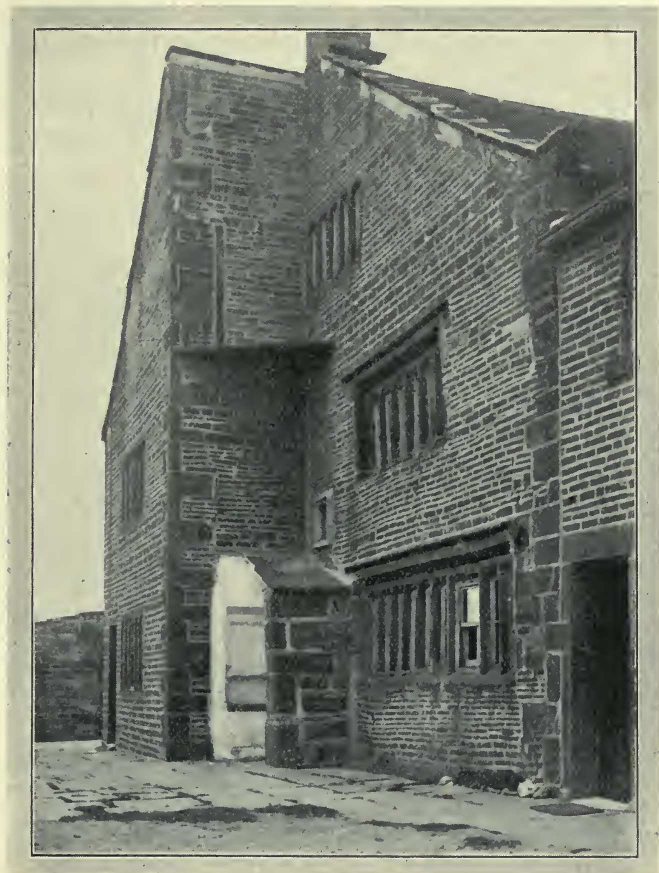


Fig. 65.—SHAW BOOTH. *Photo. H. P. Kendall.*

April 27th, each bringing four good men to form the jury. The sixteen jurymen assembled at the Bailiff's House, where the prisoners, the stolen goods, and the men from whom the things had been stolen, were all brought before the jury. Samuel Colbeck, of Shaw Booth in Luddenden Dean, said that the three prisoners had stolen sixteen yards of russet coloured kersey from his tenters on April 19th, and part of the cloth was there in the room. John Cusforth of Sandal Parish, near Wakefield, said that Abraham Wilkinson and Anthony Mitchell, in the night of April 17th, had stolen a black colt and a grey colt off Durker Green, and the two colts were produced for the jury to see and value. John Fielden said that Abraham Wilkinson had taken a whole kersey piece from the tenters at Brearley Hall about Christmas last, and when he found part of the piece in Wakefield, Isaac Gibson's wife said that Wilkinson had delivered the piece to her. Abraham Wilkinson disputed this last evidence, and the jury adjourned the trial for three days. On April 30th the jury brought in their verdict. They gave Abraham Wilkinson the benefit of the doubt in the Brearley Hall case. They valued the russet-coloured kersey at nine shillings, and the two colts at forty-eight shillings, and three pounds. Abraham Wilkinson and Anthony Mitchell confessed to the thefts, and both charged John Wilkinson with assisting them. The verdict ends:—

> "By the ancient Custom and Liberty of Halifax, whereof the Memory of Man is not to the contrary, the said John Wilkinson and Anthony Mitchell are to suffer Death, by having their heads sever'd and cut off from their Bodies at Halifax Gibbet; unto which Verdict we subscribe our Names, the 30th Day of April, 1650."

Then follow the sixteen names. The two Sowerby men were executed the same day. Another writer says

that it is certain that the minister attended the culprits on the scaffold, and prayed with them, while the 4th Psalm was played around the platform, on the bagpipes. The last verse of this psalm is "I will lay me down in peace, and sleep; for Thou, Lord, only makest me dwell in safety."

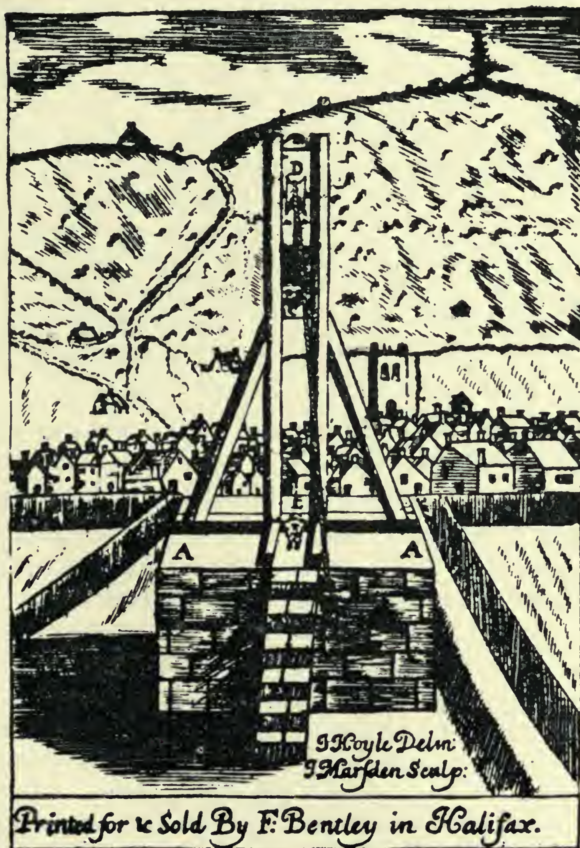


Fig. 66.—HALIFAX GIBBET, FROM CAMDEN'S "BRITANNIA" (1695).

This was the last trial, and the Gibbet Book says "that the Gibbet and the Customary Law got its suspension because some Persons in that Age judged it to be too severe." The Chief Person of the Commonwealth, Oliver Cromwell, used these words when he opened the second Protectorate Parliament. "But the truth of it is, there are wicked, abominable laws that will be in your power to alter. To hang a man for sixpence, thirteenpence, I know not what; to hang for a trifle and pardon a murder, is in the ministration of the law, through the ill framing of it. I have known in my experience, abominable murders quitted; and to come and see men lose their lives for petty matters! This is a thing that God will reckon for, and I wish it may not lie upon this nation a day longer than you have an opportunity to give a remedy; and I hope I shall cheerfully join with you in it. This hath been a great grief to many honest hearts, and conscientious people, and I hope it is in all your hearts to rectify it."

We are sorry that the men of Halifax did not share the more clement ideas of Cromwell, for their retention of the cruel local custom gave Halifax a bad name.

The Stuart family was restored to the throne of England on May 29th, 1660, when King Charles II. entered London. Soon afterwards, Parliament passed the Act of Uniformity, whereby all clergymen and ministers who refused to accept the usages of the Church of England were expelled from their livings. Oliver Heywood of Coley; Henry Roote of Sowerby; Timothy Roote, his son, of Sowerby Bridge; and Eli Bentley of Halifax were amongst those who were ejected. Heywood was fined for not attending church, and also told that he would be put out if he tried to

attend. In 1665, the Five Mile Act was passed, which forbade the ejected ministers to live within five miles of their old church. For a little while, Heywood went back into Lancashire to live, but he continued to preach, despite the fact that constables and soldiers broke up his meetings, and notwithstanding the fines, imprisonment, and other persecutions he had to suffer. Oliver Heywood kept a diary, and his note-books are of exceptional interest to us, because he jotted down all manner of details about the people and occurrences of his time. Thus he has given us a full portrait of himself and his surroundings. We have only space to quote a few specimens from his rich store.

Oliver Heywood was a very big man. He was weighed at Mr. John Priestley's in York, August 20th, 1681, and drew seventeen and a half stones. It needed a good horse to carry him over the hilly roads of our district, and he tells many times of his bay horse, his black horse, his white mare, and the miraculous escapes he had from heavy falls on frosty roads and difficult fords. In some years, he rode 1,400 miles on his preaching tours. Mr. Heywood had many offers from larger churches, but he stayed with his Coley people, though his stipend did not exceed £20 a year, and often he had no idea where to obtain his next meal. Yet he tells us that every Lord's day he had six to ten to dinner, besides many others who had bread and broth, and on sacrament days his maid would serve fifty people.

From the diaries we learn that the richer people like Justice Farrar of Ewood, took their families to York for the winter, so that they might enjoy the social life of the county town, instead of being confined to their lonely halls during the inhospitable weather. At the

winter fair in Halifax, a hundred beasts were killed in one day, besides a great number in the townships around. The meat was salted and hung up, for the scattered houses had to provide as if for a siege, for they might be snowed up for weeks. Halifax Market was such an important one that bread was brought from places as far off as Gomersal, whence Bridget Brook came regularly with her bread for over forty years. We are told of the dancing and games on May Day and Midsummer Day, and of the cock-fights that took place at the Cross Inn. The merriment often ended in fighting. The diaries are also full of the doings of his neighbours, some good and some bad. John Gillet was churchwarden in 1665, when the great south door of the Parish Church was made, and his initials are on one of panels. John would not help his father when he was put in Pomfret jail for debt. Sometime after, Gillet's business as a draper went wrong, and he himself was cast into Halifax Prison.

Oliver Heywood's house is still to be seen in Northowram, and the old doorhead has:—

"O. H. A. EBENEZER 1677."

The initials stand for Oliver Heywood and his wife Abigail.

In 1630, John Tillotson was born at Haugh End, Sowerby. His father, Robert Tillotson, was in the cloth trade and lived to be ninety-one. Colne Grammar School and Heath Grammar School claim to have had a share in John's education. He entered Clare Hall College, Cambridge, before he was seventeen. Three years later he was Bachelor of Arts, and attained his M.A. in 1654. On September 17th of that year, he preached at Halifax Church, while enjoying "a sojourn

in the bracing air of Sowerby." Tillotson became one of the most famous of English preachers. In 1691, he was

Photo. H. P. Kendall.

Fig. 67.--HAUGH END, SOWERBY.

appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, but he only held the high office for three years, as he died on November 22nd, 1694. Dr. Gordon in the "Dictionary of National

Biography," says "Testimony is unanimous as to Tillotson's sweetness of disposition, good humour, absolute frankness, tender-heartedness, and generosity." In Sowerby Church there is a fine statue of Archbishop Tillotson, carved by Joseph Wilton, R.A. in 1746.

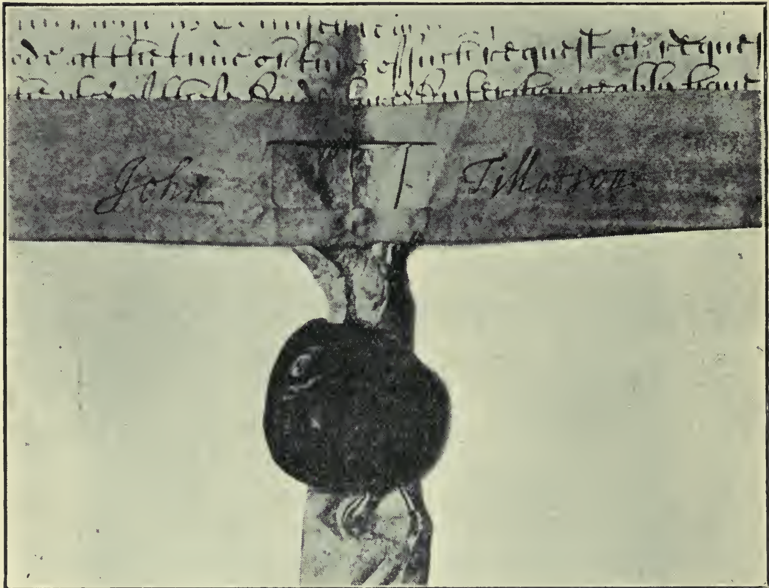


Photo. H. P. Kendall.

Fig. 68.—ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON'S SIGNATURE.

"Our Local Portfolio," edited by E. J. WALKER.
(Halifax Guardian, commencing June, 1856).

"Halifax Parish Church under the Commonwealth." (1909).

"Halifax Church, 1640-1660" (1915-16-17). "The Gibbet Law Book" (1908).
By T. W. HANSON. (Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions).

"Halifax Gibbet Law," with appendix, reprinted by J. HORSFALL TURNER.
WRIGHT'S "Antiquities of Halifax," do. do.

"John Tillotson," by A. GORDON. (Dictionary of National Biography).

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CLOTH HALLS OF LONDON AND HALIFAX—DEFOE'S VISIT TO HALIFAX—LOCAL MANUFACTURERS TURN FROM WOOLLEN TO WORSTED—SAM HILL OF MAKING PLACE—COAL MINING—JACOBITE REBELLION OF 1745.

The Civil War was bad for the cloth trade, though some of the Halifax makers carried on "business as usual" during war time. Tom Priestley of Good-greave, travelled to and from London with a string of eight or nine pack-horses. Sometimes he engaged a convoy to guard his horses; at other times he ran the risks of the road without convoy, and during all that dangerous time he lost neither goods nor horses. He took £20 worth of cloth on each journey, and made £20 clear profit. The horses came back to Halifax laden with wool from Kent or Suffolk.

The Exchange, where cloth was bought and sold in London, was at Blackwell Hall. Both James I. and Charles I. had issued proclamations forbidding the sale of cloth in London inns and warehouses. All the cloth had to be taken to Blackwell Hall, and the dues went towards the support of Christ's Hospital for the maintenance of the poor children. Many of the Halifax manufacturers had agents living in London, to sell their cloth at Blackwell Hall. Joseph Fourness held such a position as a young man; afterwards he became a partner in his firm and built Ovenden Hall for his residence. Halifax had a Cloth Hall (sometimes called Halifax Blackwell Hall) as early as Elizabeth's reign, and long before Leeds, Bradford, or Huddersfield. We also had a Linen Hall, but there are no records of the linen trade. The old Cloth Hall stood somewhere near

the top of Crown Street—hence the place is still called Hall End.

The lads who went as apprentices to the cloth trade in the seventeenth century had to work very hard. Joseph Priestley, who was not a very strong youth, said that he regularly drove his master's pack-horses from Leeds or Wakefield, and when he reached his master's house, he would be given but a mess of broth, or cold milk and bread.

Fig. 69.—A TRADESMAN'S TOKEN, 1667.
ROBERT WHATMOUGH, CARRIER FOR HALIFAX.

Daniel Defoe visited Halifax several times in the early part of the eighteenth century, and he wrote a valuable account of the local trade, for he was always keenly interested in the making of things. His "Adventures of Robinson Crusoe" are not primarily concerned with exploring and fighting, but with the making of his home and the supplying of his daily needs. The Rev. John Watson, in his "History of Halifax," says that Defoe wrote part of "Robinson Crusoe" while staying at the Rose and Crown in Halifax.

On one of his earliest visits (1705), Defoe was surprised, that being such a busy trading centre, Halifax had no magistrates, no member of Parliament, nor any officer but a constable. In his "Tour through Great Britain" (which he undertook about 1714) Defoe approached

Halifax from Blackstone Edge. He observed that the nearer he came to Halifax, the closer together were the houses. The hill-sides, which were very steep, were spread with houses, and hardly a house standing out of speaking distance from another. Each house had three or four small fields attached to it, a cow or two were kept for the family, but little or no corn was grown. Each clothier kept a horse to bring his wool and provisions from the market, and to carry his cloth to the fulling mill, or to his customer. At every house was a tenter on which hung a piece of cloth. A rill of running water was guided past each house, and the water used for scouring or dyeing.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Halifax men began to try weaving finer cloths. Their staple trade had been the coarse woollen kerseys. Now they turned their attention to shalloons or worsteds, and endeavoured to capture the trade that engaged Norwich and the West of England. There is a vast difference between these two branches of the textile trade, though the important difference between woollen and worsted may be explained very simply. In the woollen industry, the wool is carded, and the fibres placed side by side by rollers covered with teeth, and the ribbon of wool is spun into a thick yarn. In the worsted industry, the wool is combed into long slivers, and the yarn spun from these slivers is much finer and brighter than the woollen yarn. The short wool fibres are combed out of the slivers, and sold to the woollen manufacturers.

Samuel Hill of Making Place in Soyland, was one of the principal local makers who determined to capture the worsted trade. At the beginning of the eighteenth century he was doing a large trade in woollen kerseys.

He had a quaint way of marking his pieces, naming the various qualities after members of his family. His price-list of 1738 reads as follows:—

Samuel Hill of Soyland	at 60.
Sam Hill of Soyland	at 56.
Sam and Eliz. Hill	at 50.
Elizabeth Hill	at 41.
Richard Hill	at 39.
Sam Hill	at 37.
James Hill	at 33½.
Sx Hx Soyland	at 30.

Fig. 70.—MAKING PLACE
(about 1870, when it was Mr Dove's Academy).

A few of Sam Hill's business letters, written in 1738, have been preserved and printed. These letters show him to have been a keen, hard-working man, blunt and

frank, used to saying exactly what he thought. He wrote to Hendrick and Peter Kops (merchants on the Continent):—"I very well know what all the makers can do, and when I cannot serve my friends as well or better, I will leave off business." Many of these letters

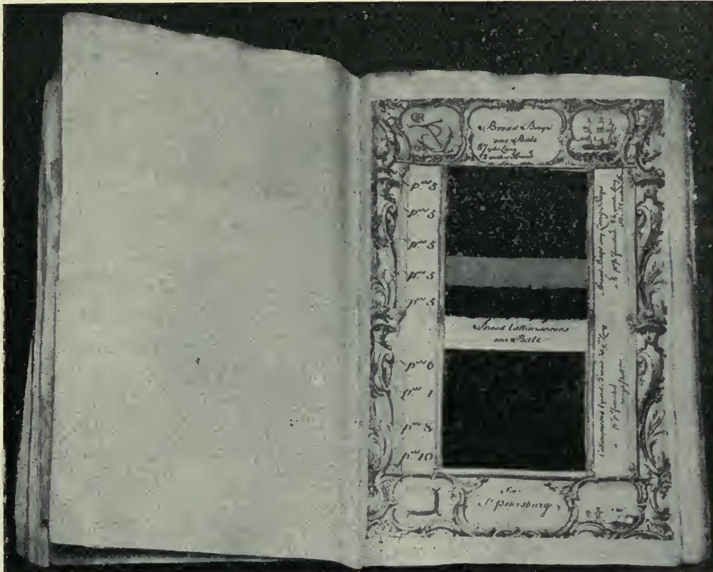


Photo. H. P. Kendall.

Fig. 71.—Sam Hill's Pattern Book.

refer to his experiments in weaving worsteds, and his anxiety to attain success in that branch of trade. In a letter to an English merchant he says "Methinks I like to make them, and fancy I shall in time do it well." In another letter, addressed to Mr. Abraham Van Broyes, a merchant in the Low Countries, Sam Hill

writes "The narrow Shaloons of the Mark Sam Hill . . . are, I think, such goods as I may say are not to be out-done in England by any Man, let Him be who He will." He also states that he commenced the worsted manufacture to keep some of his workmen from going to East Anglia, or the West of England, "but, however, I think it's now very evident these Manufactories will come, in spite of fate, into these northern Countys."

Samuel Hill was in a very large way of business. In 1747, his turnover was £35,527 6s. 8d., and for several years about that date he never sold below £23,000 worth of cloth per annum. On February 21st, 1744, one consignment of 22 bales to Cornelius and Jan Van der Vliet of Amsterdam, totalled £2,242 12s. The Soyland cloth was sent to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, Antwerp, Bremen, and Petrograd, and one pattern sheet is endorsed "Provided for St. Petersburg, to be sent from there to Persia by way of Astracan."

The introduction of the worsted trade was one of the great landmarks in the history of local trade. It was destined to make the West Riding into the greatest cloth centre of the world. It is easy to realise the vast difference it made to local manufacturers. In 1644, Tom Priestley of Soyland thought he was doing well when he sold £20 worth of woollen cloth in London, but a hundred years later, Sam Hill of Soyland was selling £2,000 worth of worsteds at a time, or a hundred-fold advance in trade. We shall see a little later, the difference this made in local architecture. At present we must note, for it is very important, that this gigantic business was being conducted from Soyland, a hill-top hamlet which no firm of to-day would select as a site for their business premises.

Samuel Hill worked in a different manner from the older clothiers. It was manifestly impossible for him and his family to weave so much cloth, and also impossible to have sufficient looms under his roof to produce the quantity. He gave out the work to the houses round about in Soyland and Sowerby, and he probably went further afield in his busy years. He would superintend the different branches of the undertaking, but he must have employed hundreds of men to make up his vast stock.

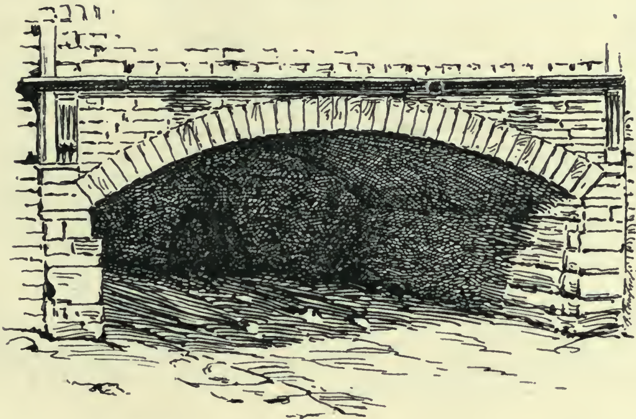


Fig. 72.—ENTRANCE TO COAL MINE (17TH CENTURY) AT UPPER SIDDAL HALL.

The names of these cloths—calamancoe, camlet, grogram, russel, shalloon, and amens—are as old-fashioned and pretty as the names of wild flowers, and there is quite a romance in some of these titles. The last three are patterns that were first made in Flanders, and commemorate their birth-places — Rejssel (the Flemish name of Lille), Chalons-sur-Marne, and Amiens.

On the top of Soil Hill, near Ogden, is a large mound in the shape of a ring, and in the centre of this ring is a deep hollow. It is the shaft of an old coal mine that has been filled in. Similar holes—some filled with water—are to be found about Soil Hill and other places. The most interesting relic is in the yard at the back of Siddal

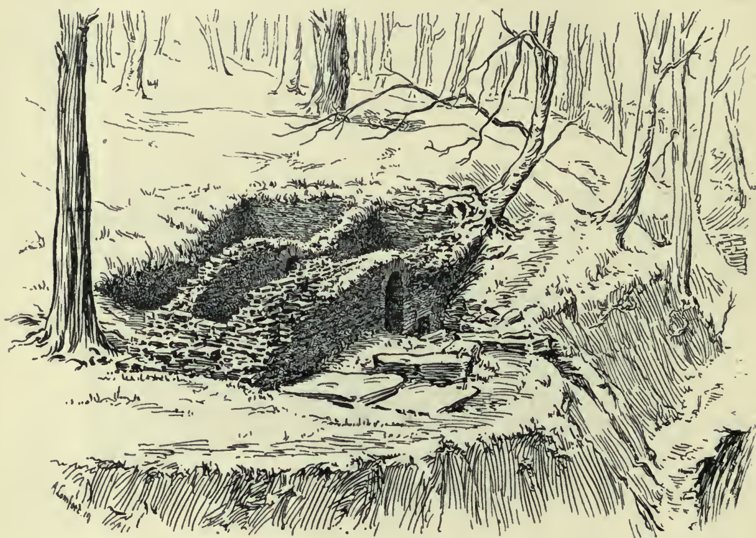


Fig. 73.—Ruins of Old Water-Wheel, Sim Carr Clough, Shibden.

Hall, where, in what looks like the arch of an immense fireplace, we have the entrance to a seventeenth century coal pit. Then again, in the deep clough just above Sim Carr, Shibden, are the ruins where a water wheel once pumped the water from a neighbouring mine. In the rocks about Halifax are thin bands of coal, and in many places, especially Northowram and Southowram, this coal is near the surface, and was worked in very

early days. In 1308, Richard the Nailer received permission from the Lord of the Manor of Wakefield to dig for coals in the graveship of Hipperholme, and there are numerous later entries on the Court Rolls referring to local coal-mining. About the middle of the sixteenth century, the cloth-makers of York, complaining of the competition of the West Riding clothiers, said that the men about Halifax had "fire, good and cheap." It certainly was a great advantage, and made the long winters more endurable, to have such good fuel, instead of gathering firewood. Defoe commented on the wise providence that had placed the coal on the hill-tops, so that horses could go empty up-hill, and come down laden with coal. He preferred the hills of Halifax to the beautiful mountains of the Lake Country, because our hills were more useful.

In the eighteenth century, shafts were sunk to a depth of fifty yards, though many of the pits were not more than a dozen yards below the surface. [The word "pit" means an open quarry or hole]. In order to drain the water away from the workings, soughs or drifts were bored into the hill-side, and the mine could not be sunk below the level of the valley bottom because of the drainage. The first pump for the Shibden Hall mines was bought in 1755, and it only cost 8s. 6d. Twenty years later, water-wheels were erected at Mytholm at a cost of £1,000, to work the pumps in Mr. Jeremy Lister's colliery. In 1726, the first Gin-horse was used at Shibden. The horse walked round and round a ring, and the gin wound up the colliery rope on the same principle as a capstan. At the pit-head, the coal was loaded on to pack-horses, and carried down to the farm-houses. There were small coal-pits to the west of

Halifax, but coal-mining on an extensive scale was confined to the east of the ridge that runs from Soil Hill to Elland Park Wood.

In 1745, Bonnie Prince Charlie landed in Scotland, and taking advantage of the English defeat at Fontenoy, marched into England with his Highland host. On November 28th, a sergeant, a woman, and a drummer, (who was a Halifax man 'tis said) entered Manchester in advance of the Pretender's army, and gained 180 recruits. Two days later, St. Andrew's Day, Charles Stuart came to Manchester. Yorkshire people were naturally alarmed at this Scotch invasion, and the deputy lieutenants proposed that the local forces should mobilise at Leeds, "as the valleys are narrow westward of that place, and the rivers now overflow their banks." This means that in the westerly parts about Halifax, there were such bad roads, and so few bridges that it was an impossible country for military operations in winter. The Jacobites marched as far south as Derby, and then the Pretender turned tail and retreated northward to Scotland. General Wade marched from Newcastle to catch the rebels, and was at Ferry-bridge when he heard of the retreat. His first order was to cross the Pennines and march through Halifax into Lancashire, but the Pretender's retreat was so rapid that General Wade had to aim at meeting the enemy farther north, and therefore Halifax missed seeing the King's army.

General Guest, who gallantly held Edinburgh Castle during the '45 Rebellion, was born at Spout House, Hove Edge. William Fawcett, who was born at Shibden Hall on Sunday, April 30th, 1727, (his mother was a Lister) became Commander-in-Chief of the British

Army. As an ensign he fought at Fontenoy, and with General Wade's army. During a time of peace he

Fig. 74.—MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM FAWCETT, K.C.B.

translated French and Prussian army books into English. In the Seven Years War, Captain Fawcett

carried the despatches to the King announcing the victory of Warburg (July 31st, 1760). George II., who spoke German better than English, was pleased because Fawcett gave him a full account of the battle in German. Promotion followed, and ultimately Sir William Fawcett rose to be head of the British Army.

Many Halifax men joined the Army in those days, when England was fighting France, and some were forced to join the Militia. After 1757, each township had to prepare lists of their men between 18 and 45 years of age, and the number of men required for the Militia was selected by ballot. In 1776 for instance, Warley found five Militia men. Militia Clubs were formed, and the members paid a guinea and a half. The money was used to pay for substitutes for those members who were chosen by the ballot. The vast amount of money spent on the wars was a burden on the people. Food was very dear, and trade was hampered.

"The Priestley Memoirs,"—(Surtees Society, 1888).

"A Tour through Great Britain," by DANIEL DEFOE.

"The Letter Books of Joseph Holroyd and Sam Hill," edited by H. HEATON. (Bankfield Museum Notes, 1914).

"Making Place in Soyland, and the Hill Family," by H. P. KENDALL. (Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1916).

"Life and Letters of Gen. Sir William Fawcett," by J. LISTER. (Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1910-11-13-14).

"Coal Mining in Yorkshire," by J. LISTER—
in "Old Yorkshire, (second series) 1885."

CHAPTER XIV.

CRAGG COINERS—JOHN WESLEY'S VISITS.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the King's Ministers were so busy with foreign wars, that they had neither money nor thought to spare for home affairs. They neglected the Mint, and money became very scarce. Coins remained in circulation until their faces were rubbed bare, and no inscription could be seen. They also became smaller with long usage, and the newspapers published tables showing how much these short-weight guineas were worth. Careful tradesmen carried little scales, weighing the coins as well as counting them, as they were passed over the counter. In Bankfield Museum there is a collection of these neat pocket balances. Foreign money—Portuguese and Spanish—was legal tender, and moidores, double pistoles, and pieces of eight were used in England. Some merchants made their own money. Robert Wilson of Sowerby Bridge, boot-maker and general dealer, had engraved brass plates which represented half-a-guinea. Gamwel Sutcliffe of Stoneshey Gate, Heptonstall, gave cards for change, which he promised to redeem for 3s. 6d. You can see specimens of these in Bankfield.

We can quite understand that when money was so rare, most people did not know the difference between a good coin and a bad one, or betwixt a light guinea and a full-weight one. The gang of Cragg Vale Coiners took advantage of this state of affairs, and their method of working was as follows:—

They would give 22s. for a full-sized guinea. A piece of white paper was spread on the window-sill, and

with a pair of shears, they cut shavings of gold from the edge of the guinea. Then a new edge was filed on the coin, and it was ready to return into circulation for 21s. The gold clippings were carefully collected, melted, and struck into imitation Portuguese moidores. At Bankfield are some of the actual coining dies that were used in Cragg Vale. It is calculated that forty pennyworth of gold was clipped from each guinea. The moidore passed for 27s., but these Cragg Coiners only put 22s. weight of gold into their counterfeits. So they made a profit of about a pound from seven whole guineas. David Hartley's father said they often treated one hundred guineas at a time.

The geographical position of the Cragg farms was also an important factor for the "yellow trade." They were not far away from Halifax, a busy market town, where guineas could be obtained and returned, yet at the same time the coiner's houses were in lonely positions, where it was almost impossible to catch them by a surprise visit. The leader of the gang, David Hartley or "King David" lived at Bell House, a small farmhouse perched at the edge of beautiful Bell Hole. His brother Isaac was nicknamed the "Duke of York," and some of the others also had royal titles. A contemporary list names about seventy men of the district, who were suspected of clipping and coining.

About 1767, some Halifax manufacturers reported the unlawful practices to the Government, for outsiders were shy of accepting Halifax money, but the official reply was that they could not spend money in prosecuting the coiners. Soon after, William Dighton, an Excise-man stationed at Halifax, wrote to the Solicitor of the Mint, and received a promise of

Government support in any action he might take to suppress the gang. Mr. Dighton sought for some Cragg Vale man who would turn informer, and secured the services of James Broadbent, who lodged in Hall Gate, Mytholmroyd, and like most traitors, he turned out to be a most untrustworthy man. About the first week of October, 1769, Dighton met Broadbent at Hebden Bridge, with the idea of catching Thomas Clayton, one of the ringleaders. Clayton lived at Stannery End, a lone farmhouse at the corner of the Cragg and Calder valleys, on the edge of the moor above Mytholmroyd. He was a worsted manufacturer, and had two or three looms in his house. On the front of Stannery End, dates such as 1769 are roughly carved, reminders of the exciting years that the house then witnessed. However, when Dighton and his party reached Stannery End, Clayton had gone.

The coiners were alarmed, and they conspired to murder Dighton. David Hartley and some others subscribed £100, to be given to the man who killed him. The next move was that "King David" was arrested at the Old Cock Inn, and a coiner called Jagger, at the Cross Pipes, Halifax, on Saturday, October 14th. The two men were taken to York Castle, and Broadbent gave evidence that he had seen them doctoring four guineas. James Broadbent went from York to Mytholmroyd, and told Isaac Hartley and the others what had happened. They persuaded Broadbent to return to York to say that he had made a mistake, and that his evidence was wrong. Broadbent went to York and elsewhere several times to recant his evidence, but the coiners were safe in York Castle, and there they had to stay.

Sept 16 1769

COINERS
COMMITTED TO
YORK CASTLE,
ON SUSPICION
Of Chipping, Filing, Edging, and Diminiſhing the Gold Coin of this Kingdom.

ON Wedneſday evening, the 6th inſtant, was committed to York Caſtle, John Pickles, of Wadſworth Banks, near Halifax, on ſuſpicion of diminiſhing three guineas, and one twenty ſeven ſhilling piece of Portugal gold: After he was ſeized there were found in his pockets, a pair of ſciſſars, and an inſtrument for milling the edges of gold pieces. At the time the above delinquent was apprehended, he was manufacturing white pieces, and ſeemed to leave his Looms very reluctantly: He is an elderly man, near ſixty, has a wife and large family, and it is ſuppoſed he is an old offender.

Alſo on Friday laſt was committed to York Caſtle, John Sutclyffe, of Erringden, in the Weſt Riding, charged with chipping, filing, edging, and diminiſhing ſeveral guineas, and a half a guinea.

Alſo on Saturday laſt, in the evening, —— Oldfield, of Midgley, was committed to York Caſtle, for clipping, coining,, &c. &c.

Laſt night in the evening, the wife of John Pickles, commonly called Jack of Matts, alias Jack of Packet Well, was conducted thro' this town, (Halifax) on her way to York Caſtle, on horſeback, with her hands ty'd, and coining tools in a bag by her ſide. As ſhe paſſed thro' the bottom of the town, the man who led the horſe danced, and the mob hooted her over the bridge. This woman has been the moſt noted vender and procurer in theſe parts.

At the time ſhe was taken, her huſband made his eſcape; ſhe likewiſe declared, ſhou'd her huſband be taken and ſuffer the law, ſhe wou'd, (thro' her information,) hang forty coiners.

This day ſeveral perſons of this town and parts adjacent, have abſconded, as is ſuppoſed for fear of being apprehended.

It is alſo confidently aſſerted that there have been above ONE HUNDRED perſons informed of, and that there are now Warrants out againſt the moſt conſiderable of them.

We have now the pleaſing ſatisfaction of ſeeing the Bands of theſe formidable ſet of villains broken: Terror and diſmay have taken holden of them, and they no longer dare face the injured public.

Behold Great Turvin, ſee the Time draw near,
When every Golden Son ſhall Quake with Fear;
See Tyburn gorged with protracted Food,
And honourd with the Weight of * Royal Blood.

* Alluding to ſome of the COINERS being called KINGS.

Fig. 75.—A Broadside (from Halifax Public Library).
At this date there was no local newspaper, and news was circulated by broadsides.

Isaac Hartley was more than ever determined to be rid of Dighton, and he deputed Thomas Spencer, who lived at New House, Mytholmroyd, to find the assassins. Robert Thomas, who lived at Wadsworth Bank, and Matthew Normanton of Stannery End, promised to shoot the exciseman, and after several fruitless journeys, they laid in wait near Dighton's home at Bull Close (now Savile Close) on November 9th, 1769. Mrs. Dighton was sitting up for her husband, and soon after midnight she heard shots. Fearing the worst, the servant girl was sent to see what had happened, and she found her master murdered. Thomas and Normanton had hidden behind a wall near the bottom of the lane, now called Swires Road. Thomas's piece missed fire, but Normanton's shot killed the exciseman, and they rifled the dead man's pockets. They set off to Mytholmroyd by the usual route of Highroad Well, Newlands Gate, and Midgley.

An inquest was held, which the coroner adjourned from day to day, because there was no magistrate within several miles of Halifax, and therefore nobody but the coroner could examine witnesses. In those days, gentlemen tried to keep out of public positions, and did not appreciate the honour of serving their town and country. James Broadbent, the informer, was one of the men who were suspected of the crime, and he gave the coroner an account of his journey from York on the eve of the murder, in order to clear himself.

The government felt obliged to take up the question of coining, seeing that one of their officials had been done to death, and £100 reward was offered for the discovery of the murderer. The Gentlemen and Merchants of the Town and Parish of Halifax added a second £100 to the

reward. Broadbent was so anxious to secure the £200 that he made another confession, and blamed Thomas, Normanton, and Folds (a cousin of Normanton) for the crime, and the three were committed to York Assizes.

The Marquis of Rockingham, of Wentworth Woodhouse, came to Halifax on behalf of the Government, and met the local gentlemen at the Talbot Inn in Woolshops. The meeting decided that the gentry had done their utmost, but they would exert themselves still further to discover the murderer, and to stop the clipping and coining. The gentlemen also recommended that Dighton's family should receive a State pension.

Lord Rockingham stayed with Mr. John Royds at his new house in George Street, (now named Somerset House) which was then the finest mansion in Halifax, and contains some fine plaster-work. The Marquis had been Prime Minister of England, and is famed for his patronage of, and friendship for Edmund Burke, the famous writer and politician.

At the Spring Assizes at York in 1770, about two dozen of the coiners were on trial. David Hartley and James Oldfield were sentenced to death, and executed for coining. "King David" tried to save his life by giving evidence against his friends, and he stated that Normanton and Thomas were the murderers, and his brother Isaac would confirm him.

The trials of the other prisoners were postponed to the next Assizes, and the coiners released on bail. The prisons of England were so crowded at this time, that there was not room to keep even those charged with murder, in gaol. The murder trial was taken at the August Assizes, when James Broadbent gave most

minute details of what had happened on the night of the murder, although we may be quite sure that he was nowhere near the scene on that night. His evidence was so untrustworthy that the jury acquitted Normanton and Thomas.

Fig. 76.—The Inn at Mytholmroyd, a Resort of the Coiners.

Two years afterwards, Thomas Clayton and Thomas Spencer gave fresh evidence against the two assassins. They could not be tried for murder again, but they were found guilty of highway robbery because they had emptied Mr. Dighton's pockets. The penalty was the same. Thomas and Normanton were hanged at York, and their bodies suspended in chains on the top of our Beacon Hill, with their arms pointing to the scene of the murder. Halifax people did not like this, because the ugly sight was always before them for a long time.

Some of the coiners were imprisoned, others transported, and a few hanged, but although the judges were

very severe, it was many years before the evil practice was stamped out. For instance, John Cockroft of Sand Hall, Highroad Well, was wanted in 1769 for clipping guineas. In 1778, he was tried at Lancaster for making half-pennies, but he got off. Finally in 1782, he was transported for making counterfeit shillings.

The Cragg Vale Coiners, besides being bad and desperate men, were mostly cowards. As soon as they got into the clutches of the law, they incriminated their neighbours, friends, and even relations. Some writers have tried to throw an element of romance around the story, but it was really a most miserable business, and it is a relief to turn from the coiners to the study of men of a different type.

Near the bottom of Cragg Vale, there stands on a little knoll, a house named Hoo Hole, with a fine chestnut tree before it. From the front windows can be seen the ridge on which stand Stannery End and other coiners' houses, while on the other side of the valley, behind Hoo Hole, are such notorious houses as Bell House, Keelham, and Hill Top. Hoo Hole is in the very centre of the coiners' country, and here on June 28th, 1770, his sixty-seventh birthday, came John Wesley, "one of the makers of modern England," to preach. Two months before—to the day—David Hartley had been hanged, and many of the men of this district were then on bail to appear at York in about another month. It required some courage to preach in such a place. Wesley wrote of his visit in these words:—"It was a lovely valley encompassed by high mountains. I stood on the smooth grass before the house, which stands on a gently rising ground, and all the people on the slope before me. It was a glorious opportunity."

On one of his early journeys into our district, (May, 1747) Wesley came from Lancashire over the mountain road, passing Widdop, to Heptonstall. At Stoneshey Gate, he had a congregation that filled both the yard and the road. Many were seated on a long, dry wall, and in the middle of the sermon the wall fell down with the persons sitting on it. "Not one was hurt at all," says Mr. Wesley, "nor was there any interruption of my speaking, or of the attention of the hearers." During the next summer, Wesley visited Halifax and attempted to preach at the Cross in the middle of Old Market, which caused a great commotion in the town. Mr. Wesley said "There was an immense number of people roaring like the waves of the sea, but the far greater part of them were still, and as soon as I began to speak, they seemed more and more attentive." To break up the meeting, a gentleman "scutched" half-pennies among the crowd; then there was confusion, in which stones and mud were flung at the preacher. A few days later Mr. Wesley was mobbed at Colne, and he retired to Widdop, from which safe refuge he wrote a remonstrance to the church minister of Colne, who had encouraged the rioters.

Wesley was again at Widdop in 1766, and the rock from which he preached is still known as Wesley's Pulpit. At such places as Widdop, Heptonstall, and Midgley, the people became eager to listen to his preaching, and Wesley grew fond of this district. In his Journal, he says that nothing since the Garden of Eden could be more pleasant than Calder Vale, between Todmorden and Heptonstall. He could not conceive anything more delightful than the steep mountains, clothed with wood to the top, and washed at the bottom

by a clear, winding stream. This is indeed high praise, for John Wesley had seen more of England than any other man of his time. About Hebden Bridge and Eastwood the scenery is still beautiful, though the main valley has been altered much in one hundred and fifty years; however, the glens of the Hebden and Crimsworth still remain unspoiled. Ewood, near Mytholmroyd, was a favourite house of the great preacher—"Ewood, which I still love, for good Mr. Grimshaw's sake." Mr. Grimshaw, rector of Haworth and Wesley's right-hand man, had a great influence on the people about Haworth, Halifax, and Todmorden. Mrs. Grimshaw's home had been at Ewood, and there the two preachers went for rest after heavy days of travelling and speaking.

At Lightcliffe lived a good and interesting lady in a fine old home—Mrs. Holmes of Smith House—who was one of the first to welcome John Wesley to our district. To Smith House also came the Moravians—missionaries from Germany—and they established a settlement in Lightcliffe. They built a large, square house (Lightcliffe House) near to Smith House, and they also occupied a house in Wakefield Road, called German House. Later, they made their headquarters at Fulneck.

This great Revival of the eighteenth century had a wonderful effect for good on our country, and our own neighbourhood received its full share of the benefit. In the streets and markets, in the fields and country places, preachers worked hard to make better men and women. Ordinary farmers, colliers, and cobblers, took to preaching as well as the regular ministers, and small chapels—often in cottages—were started in each hamlet. Baptists and Independents as well as Wesleyans were alive to the new spirit. Some of the chapels of this epoch, like

Wainsgate near Hebden Bridge, and Mount Zion near Ogden, appear to us to be situated in out-of-the-way places, and it has been suggested that their sites were chosen for their first members to be secure from persecution. The real fact is, that at the time of their establishment, these hilly places were centres of population.

Titus Knight, a collier in the Shibden Hall mines, came under the notice of Mr. Wesley, and as he was of a studious and thoughtful turn of mind, the collier was asked to preach and to become a schoolmaster. Mr. Knight developed into a famous preacher, but later he left the Wesleyans, and ultimately the large brick Square Chapel was built for him, where he had large congregations.

"The Yorkshire Coiners," by H. LING ROTH.
"Cragg Coiners," by T. W. HANSON. (Hx. Antiquarian Socy. Trans., 1909).
"The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley."
"Methodist Heroes in the Great Haworth Round, 1734 to 1784."
Compiled by J. W. LAYCOCK.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PIECE HALL—WOOL-COMBING—SPINNING—WEAVING—FARMING—LIME—HOLMES—18TH CENTURY HOUSES—"EDWARDS OF HALIFAX."

The Piece Hall is one of the finest historic monuments of our town. The building may be likened to a gigantic square amphitheatre, and each side of the square is a hundred yards long. The land, ten thousand square yards, was given by John Caygill, a wealthy merchant who lived at the Shay, who also made a donation of eight hundred guineas to the building fund. It cost about ten thousand pounds to build, and the Piece Hall

is considered to be a good example of architecture, reflecting credit on the designer, Thomas Bradley, a local man. The top storey was named the Colonnade; the lower gallery, the Rustic, and the bottom storey along the east side was the Arcade. The Piece Hall was opened on January 1st, 1779, with a great procession, with fireworks in the evening, and much rejoicing. It was a manufacturers' hall, and each manufacturer who subscribed £28 4s., became the owner of one of the 315 rooms. These figures and particulars are not as impressive as an actual visit to the Piece Hall, and the circuit of one of the galleries. Imagine each room full of pieces, and a manufacturer in each doorway waiting for buyers to come and look at his stock. When the market opens, the galleries are busy with merchants walking from room to room, and looking for their particular cloth. Down below, in the "area," are the smaller makers who have carried their two or three pieces to Halifax Market for sale. Every Saturday, a large amount of cloth was sold here, to be sent to Leeds, London, and other parts of the kingdom, while other buyers were acting for the merchants of Holland and the Continent. A Directory of the Manufacturers' Hall published in 1787, informs us that the manufacturers who had rooms came from Ovenden, Sowerby, Soyland, Warley, Heptonstall, Stansfield, and the other townships of the parish; from Burnley, Colne, Pendle, Skipton, Kildwick, Sutton-in-Craven, Bradford, Bingley, Keighley, and Cullingworth. Robert Heaton, of Ponden, beyond Stanbury, had Room No. 120 in the Rustic.

The Piece Hall is a striking tribute to the pre-eminent place that Halifax held in the cloth trade at

the middle of the eighteenth century. The Cloth Halls of Leeds, Huddersfield, and Bradford, were but small in comparison. We must next consider how the Piece Hall was used for business. On Saturday morning at eight o'clock the doors were opened, and from that time until a quarter to ten, the manufacturers were allowed to take in their goods, but no cart was admitted that was drawn by more than one horse. The manufacturers opened their rooms, and arranged their stocks for the market. The small makers, who had no rooms, were charged a penny for each piece they brought into the Hall. At ten o'clock the Market Bell rang, and the sales began. If a merchant or buyer was found in the Hall before the bell rang, he was fined, so that every buyer had an equal chance. At twelve o'clock the bell proclaimed the market closed, and the buyers had to leave the Piece Hall. From half-past twelve until four o'clock, pack-horses and carts were admitted again to remove the cloth that had been sold. There was also a market for worsted yarn held in a large room on the south side of the Hall from 1-30 to 2-30. At four o'clock the gates were closed again, and the Piece Hall would be deserted until the following Saturday. We may get a glimpse inside one of the rooms with the aid of an old account book belonging to James Akroyd of Brookhouse, and Jonathan Akroyd of Lanehead, near Ogden, who were in partnership as worsted manufacturers. At first they rented a room from Mr. Pollard, paying two pounds a year; but in 1785 they bought by auction for £30 2s., the room No. 80 Rustic. The number of pieces in the room varied from 50 to 330, and at the end of 1794 when they took stock, they had 269 pieces, valued at £647 6s. Jonathan Akroyd,

Fig. 77.—The Piece Hall. (From Jacob's "History of Halifax."

though a good business man, was a poor speller, for boys had little schooling then. He wrote "pees Haull" for Piece Hall. In October, 1801, there is this puzzling entry—"a Pease sined this Day by Boney Part." It refers to the preliminaries of peace with Napoleon, that were signed on October 1st, 1801. The prospect of peace made trade brisk, and 223 pieces were reduced to 102 in a fortnight.

The manufacturers, like the Akroyds, who sold their cloth in the Piece Hall, did not make this cloth in mills as is the modern method, but they superintended the various processes, though the work itself—combing, spinning, or weaving—was done at home. After the wool had been sorted, a wool-comber would receive a small quantity along with some soft soap and oil. The wool was thoroughly washed, and the comber took it home. At home he had a small drum-shaped iron stove (16ins. high and 16ins. diameter) to heat his combs. The stove was called a "Pot," and often four men worked with one stove, and they called it "a pot o' four." An unsociable, or independent man was nicknamed "a pot o' one." One comb was fixed on to a pad, which in turn was fixed to a post in the middle of the room. The wool was thrown on to the hot comb, and afterwards drawn off with the second hot comb. The wool was worked again on to the fixed comb, and drawn off by hand into long slivers. The slivers were placed on the wool-comber's form, rolled into balls, washed again, and wrung through rollers. The slivers were brought back to the bench, broken into small pieces, sprinkled with oil, and re-combed. After the second combing, the wool was drawn through a hole in a horn disc, and twisted into a neat-looking "top." The short

wool that was combed out was called "noils," and that was used for the coarser woollen cloths, blankets, etc. In Bankfield Museum is a case containing the utensils of a hand-comber, and an illustrated pamphlet may be obtained giving full particulars of the processes.

Four spinners were required to produce sufficient yarn to keep one weaver going; therefore the manufacturer was obliged to send his tops far afield to spin. From the Akroyd account books we discover that their wool was spun at Tossit and Wigglesworth, near Long Preston; at Austwick near Clapham; and a large quantity went as far as Dunsop Bridge, which is in the Trough of Bowland, a pass that leads to Lancaster. The wool travelled on pack horses, and the carriers charged half-a-crown to take a pack of wool to Dunsop Bridge. The spinners' wages were sent hidden in the wool-packs, exactly in the same way as the Egyptians hid their valuables in corn sacks in Joseph's time. At each place mentioned, Jonathan Akroyd had a small shop-keeper or agent, who was paid a half-penny a pound for putting out the wool. William Thomas of Dunsop Bridge, one of these agents, would distribute the wool among the farmhouses for the women to spin, and afterwards collect the yarn. The other Halifax manufacturers sent their wool into Craven and North Yorkshire to be spun, and Halifax was such an important centre that the old milestones beyond Settle give the distance from Halifax.

In the valley above Wheatley is Waltroyd, a white-washed farmhouse sheltered by a huge chestnut tree, which in summer time is like a big umbrella over the house. Just over a hundred years ago, Waltroyd was the home of Cornelius Ashworth, farmer and hand-loom

weaver. He kept a diary, and from his entries we can see exactly how a weaver worked. On October 14th, 1782, Cornelius Ashworth "carried a piece," which means that he had finished weaving a piece, and had taken it to some manufacturer like Akroyd of Lanehead, though he never states where he delivered his work. The same day he wove 4¼ yds., and the next day 9 yds. of a new piece. Then for a week the loom stood idle, for Ashworth was busy with his harvest. On the 23rd, he wove two yards before sunset, and "clouted my coat in the evening," which means mended or patched it. The next day, he churned until 10 o'clock, and wove 6½ yds. during the rest of the day. The 25th turned out to be a very wet day, and as no outside work could be done, Ashworth spent the day at his loom, and wove 8½ yards. The day following was Saturday, when he took his corn to the miller, and in the afternoon helped in a neighbour's harvest field. On October 29th, Cornelius Ashworth wove 2¼ yards; on the following day 4 yards, which finished the piece, and he carried it to the manufacturer.

This piece was 38 yards long; he had taken sixteen days to weave it; and he would probably be paid five or six shillings for his work. But of course he had been harvesting and farming, and he was at liberty to change from one work to the other as he liked. This is one great difference between the old days when a man worked at home, and the present time when a weaver has to stay in the mill from six in the morning until six at night. The older life was not so monotonous. Here is the record of one day:—"Saturday, August 16th, 1783—A fine, warm, droughty day. I churned and sized a warp in the morning. Went to Halifax and saw

two men hanged on Beacon Hill, their names Thomas Spencer and Mark Saltonstall, having been tried at York Assizes and found guilty of being active in a riot in and about Halifax in June last. They were sentenced to be executed on the above hill. We housed 38 hattocks

Fig. 78.—WALTROYD. *Photo. H. P. Kendall.*

in the afternoon." The droughty weather helped the warp to dry after the sizing. Thomas Spencer was the man who arranged the murder of Mr. Dighton, and he came to his end for leading a mob to break into the warehouses on Corn Market, when bread was very dear.

In order to complete the portrait of Mr. Ashworth, we must note that he went most regularly every Sunday

to Square Chapel, and later to Pellon Lane Chapel. If he did not attend service he wrote an apology in his diary, after this style:—"Sunday, August 7th, 1785—I stayed at home till noon as I discovered a wound in a young heifer. I thought it a work of necessity to get it dressed immediately." Between the morning and afternoon services, he would go to an inn for dinner and hear all the local news of the week. Cornelius Ashworth comments several times on the number of open graves, he saw in the Parish Churchyard, for children during severe epidemics. The ministers of Square and Pellon Lane Chapels came once a month to Waltroyd to hold services in the large house, and the people about came to hear them preach.

The highlands of our parish have never been favourable to agriculture, but in the eighteenth century, there was more farming than is carried on nowadays. There were no large farms, but most of the clothiers, like Cornelius Ashworth, grew their own corn and kept a few cows. Corn was high in price, and if it had to be imported from a distance by pack-horses it was very dear. Some of the higher farms like Stannery End near Mytholmroyd, harvested crops from land where to-day it would be thought impossible to make such farming pay. The farmers had a few interesting methods of improving the soil that are now practically obsolete. Lime was an excellent dressing for the land, but Halifax is a long way from the limestone area. On the other side of Boulsworth Hill, about Thursden and Wycollar, is a glacial drift where, in remote ages, a glacier left boulders of various rocks. The limestone boulders were picked out of the drift, and burnt in lime-kilns. The other useless boulders were heaped into huge mounds.

These hillocks are now grass-grown, covered with small trees, and form a picturesque and puzzling feature of the landscape. The lime was carried on pack-horses to the farms about Halifax, and some of the old pack-horse tracks beyond Wadsworth are called Limers' Gates. In a Shibden Hall account book is this entry:—"1721, 5 loads Lancashire lime 6s. 8d." A load was two panniers of 1 cwt. each. Emily Bronte tells of Joseph leading lime from Wycollar district to Wuthering Heights. P. G. Hamerton saw the pack-horses carrying lime about Widdop as late as 1856.

Cornelius Ashworth records that at Waltroyd the land was irrigated by water-furrowing. In the fields by the stream side, long ditches were dug from which channels and drains carried the water over the field. In the spring-time the beck was dammed, and the water turned into the ditches to overflow the land. In the higher fields, ditches were made, and water turned on to the land from the springs. In the fields at Waltroyd and elsewhere, traces of the ditches and gutters can still be seen. These stream-side fields were named "holmes." The original Scandinavian word meant "island," (for example, Stockholm). Then it was used for land in the bend of a river that was liable to be flooded. Locally we have old place-names, such as Tilley-holme, Mytholm, Bird-holme, and Dodge-holme. Lastly, a "holme" was a field that might be irrigated by a stream.

When considering the seventeenth century houses, we decided that the windows afforded the surest guide for the date of the houses. In the eighteenth century houses, the window jambs and mullions are flush with the wall, because the walls were not built so thick. For the same reason the mullions are square in section,

because there was not the need to bevel them. The number of lights was also gradually reduced. For such windows see the north side of Hopwood Hall; Oaksroyd near Copley Station; Knowl Top, Lightcliffe; or Hazlehurst in Upper Shibden (1724). Another very common form of window is to be seen at the Pineapple Hotel, North Bridge; the confectioner's shop in Gibbet Street, below Hoyland's Passage; houses off South Parade and at Wards End; and the Malt Shovel Inn, Mytholmroyd (a haunt of the Cragg Coiners). It is a three-light window; the centre light is higher than the sides, and has a semi-circular top with a keystone. It was called a Venetian window. Between King Cross Lane and Spice Cake Lane, are Middle Street and South Street. There you will find about a dozen houses with these windows. It is a most interesting block of houses, for it is the first row that was built in Halifax. Nowadays the vast majority of people live in rows of houses, but once upon a time the people lived in separate and detached houses.

In the eighteenth century, brick came into fashion for Halifax houses, but it did not spread to the outlying townships. For examples, we have Square Chapel (1772); Stoney Royd (1764); the houses in the Square and at Wards End; the first Halifax Baths at Lilly Bridge; Waterside; and an old brick warehouse between Union Street and Thomas Street. The new brick must have looked like sealing-wax, which was used on all letters in those days, for Halifax boys and girls used to sing:—

> "Halifax is made of wax,
> Heptonstall of stone;
> There's pretty girls in Halifax,
> In Heptonstall there's none."

Watson, writing in 1775, thought that the cheaper

brick would supplant the native stone, and that the future Halifax would be a brick-built town.

Fig. 79.—SOUTH STREET, KING CROSS LANE,
The first row of houses erected in the town.

The wealthy gentlemen of our neighbourhood built many fine houses during the eighteenth century. In fact, all over England, great mansions like Wentworth House and Chatsworth were being erected. One of the most famous of provincial architects was Carr of York, who designed Farnley Hall, Denton Hall, and Harewood House. In our district he erected Pye Nest, White Windows (1768), and Mr. Royd's house in George Street. John Carr was the son of a Horbury mason. One story of his early days tells that his mother made

him a large, circular meat-pie every week. Each Monday morning, John divided his pie with his mason's compasses into six equal parts. The mansions of this period were large, square buildings, and the decorations and ornaments were copied from ancient Roman architecture. The style is known as "Classical." Besides the houses already named, there are Clare Hall; Hope Hall; Hopwood Hall; Field House, Sowerby (1749); and Making Place, Soyland. John Horner's sketches (to be seen at Bankfield) give us an idea of the beautiful and extensive grounds that surrounded these houses. Comparing these classical houses with the seventeenth century halls, they are much larger and more imposing than the comfortable farm-houses of the previous century. The merchants for whom they were usually built, were richer and fewer than the small manufacturers of the previous century. The offices and warehouses of the merchant were often at the back of his house. At Hope Hall, two wings jut out from the house, one of which was the stables, and the other served as the merchant's warehouse.

The large houses, that were erected all over England in the eighteenth century, usually had fine libraries. One of the most famous bookshops in the kingdom was that of "Edwards of Halifax." William Edwards, the father, "was for many years very eminent in his profession, and of no common estimation for the energies of his mind; and his skill in collecting rare books, not less than his exquisite taste in rich and expensive bindings, will long be recollected." He died in 1808. James Edwards, his most famous son, who opened a London book shop in 1784, was the first London book-seller to display valuable books in splendid bindings.

Fig. 80.—Stoney Royd, from the Garden at Hope Hall. Drawn by John Horner a century ago. The view shows the beauty of the Halifax Valley before the age of steam.

He speedily made a name as a great book collector, by out-bidding the king for an illuminated manuscript known as the Bedford Missal. James followed Napoleon's army into Italy, buying rare books and manuscripts from the soldiers after they had looted palaces and monasteries. James Edwards also purchased several notable Italian and French libraries, and was the means by which the great collections of England were enriched with the treasures of the Continent. His brother and partner, John, went to France during the Revolution, hoping to secure more rare books, but he was guillotined while on this quest. James Edwards had such a passion for books, that he left instructions in his will that his coffin was to be made from his library shelves. The youngest brother, Richard, also went to London, and is best remembered because he commissioned the great artist, William Blake, to draw over five hundred illustrations for an expensive edition of Young's "Night Thoughts," at a time when Blake was little understood or appreciated. Thomas Edwards, who stayed at home to keep the book shop in Old Market, sent out a catalogue in 1816, which mentions over 11,000 books. Halifax certainly had a wonderful book shop a century ago. Thomas was also a good art critic, for he encouraged J. M. W. Turner, long before he achieved fame.

This gifted family is remembered, most of all by book lovers, as famous book-binders. William and his sons, James and Thomas, introduced new fashions in the art. As they are always referred to as "Edwards of Halifax," they have made our town known to collectors. One of their styles was to decorate books with classic designs that appealed strongly to their age, the calf skin being stained to the shades of terra cotta of ancient

Fig. 81.—BINDING IN TRANSPARENT VELLUM BY EDWARDS OF HALIFAX.
(From the Library of E. Marchetti, Esq.) *Photo. G. E. Gledhill*

Grecian vases. Other books were covered with transparent vellum, and the underside of the vellum was decorated with appropriate paintings or drawings. Edwards also painted landscapes on the fore-edges of books. These beautiful paintings are hidden by the gold when the book is closed, but when the volume is opened and the leaves fanned out, the beautiful painting is discovered. A prayer book bound for Queen Charlotte is always on view in the show-cases of the British Museum. Bindings by Edwards of Halifax are highly prized by book collectors. There are a few fine specimens of their work in Halifax Public Library.

"Hand Wool-combing," by H. L. ROTH.
(Bankfield Museum Notes No. 6, 1909).
"The Diary of a Grandfather," by T. W. HANSON.
(Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1916).
"Edwards of Halifax," by T. W. HANSON.
(Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions, 1912).

CHAPTER XVI.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION—THE VALLEYS EXALTED AND THE OLD TOWNS DECAY—CANALS—THE NAMING OF THE HEBBLE—TURNPIKE ROADS—TWINING'S PICTURE OF CALDER VALE—INN YARDS—STAGE COACHES—LUKE PRIESTLEY'S JOURNEY FROM LONDON TO BRANDY HOLE—ENCLOSURES—FOSTER THE ESSAYIST—SCARCITY OF MILK—THE GREAT INVENTIONS—STEAM ENGINES—BRADFORD OUTSTRIPS HALIFAX.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, and in the early part of the nineteenth century, Halifax passed through the greatest changes in its history. First of all, new methods of transit for merchandise, and new modes of travelling were introduced—canals and good roads being made in place of the old pack-horse causeways. Secondly, it was an age of great inventions

Fig. 82.—NORLAND SOWERBY BRIDGE SOWERBY

in the textile trades—machines were invented to take the place of the spinning wheels, hand combs, shearing boards, and hand looms. The new machinery produced much more yarn and cloth than the old way of hand-labour. Lastly, steam-power completed the great change. Large mills driven by steam engines, put out of action the early mills that had depended upon water-wheels for their power, and railways took the bulk of the traffic from the canals and roads. The hundred years from 1750 to 1850 has been named the age of the Industrial Revolution. These two long words are used by historians to denote the great change and upheaval caused by the vast increase of industry and trade. At the beginning of that time England was principally a farming country. By the end of this time, it had become the workshop of the world.

Before we trace in detail the local history of the Industrial Revolution, it is worth while making another survey of the country-side, comparing our observations with those recorded in our first chapter on the geography of Halifax Parish in olden times. Suppose we take Norland as our starting point for a ramble. Norland's hill-side is dotted over with good seventeenth century houses, but very few modern ones. Descending into Sowerby Bridge, we find a modern town of mills, and rows of nineteenth century houses. Climbing up the opposite hill, we reach Sowerby, another old-world place. At the western boundary of Sowerby Township, we descend to Mytholmroyd—a modern manufacturing village. A little further west is Hebden Bridge, a valley town of no great age, and ascending yet another steep hill we arrive at Heptonstall—an ancient town. We can read the story of the shifting of the population in

the place-names of the Calder Valley. The principal town at the western end of the parish was Heptonstall, but Hepton (Hebden) Bridge took its place when trade descended from the hills to the valley. Ancient Luddenden was outstripped by Luddenden Foot. Sowerby, once the richest township in the parish, saw its trade and people descend to Sowerby Bridge. Rastrick, set on a hill at the eastern end of the parish, had looked down on the insignificant house by the bridge over the Calder, which afterwards gave its name to the busy new town of Brighouse. As we have seen, many of the industrial centres of Calder Vale bear names that show that they stand at a lower altitude than the older towns.

One of the prophets, in looking forward to a great change in Hebrew times, said that "Every valley would be exalted, and each mountain and hill brought low." This poetic phrase would almost literally apply to this period of our local history. Or there is much truth in the striking statement that "the world was turned upside down" in this district. Sowerby Township was dome-shaped and bounded by Cragg Brook, Calder, Ryburn, and Lumb Beck, with Crow Hill as its apex. The new urban district of Sowerby Bridge is bowl-shaped, with the houses crowded in the bottom along the river-side, and the rim of the bowl formed by the heights of Norland, Sowerby, Warley, and Skircoat. The low-lying lands that had been considered useless in the middle ages, provided the best sites for mills and works.

The Parish of Halifax is one of the most interesting places in which to study the effect of the Industrial Revolution. In other parts of industrial England, all

relics of an earlier period have disappeared as completely as if an ocean had rolled over the land, but about Halifax the tide of industrialism never rose high enough to submerge the old landmarks. It is easy to follow the course of the great changes. A Heptonstall clothier could not erect a spinning mill on the hill-top, because

Fig. 83.—Old Mill in a Clough near Blackshaw Head.

there was no stream there to turn a water-wheel. Therefore the earliest mills were built in the cloughs, such as the mill at New Bridge, near the lodge to Hardcastle Crags. The water-wheel has been removed, but the goit remains. A cluster of houses was built about the mill for some of the workers. On the banks of the Hebden stream, from Gibson Mill (close to Hard-

castle Crag) down to Hebden Bridge, several mills and groups of houses were built. From this time the ancient town of Heptonstall ceased to grow, while below it, the valleys were becoming more populated. After a time the mills in the Hebden valley installed steam engines, and the higher mills were handicapped, because it was so costly to cart coals to them. The two mills at Hardcastle Crags have stopped running, and in Jumble Hole Clough, near Eastwood Station, are ruined mills (and cottages) that make us wonder why they were ever built in such positions. Dr. Whittaker, who published a history of this district at the beginning of the nineteenth century, said that a mountainous country was the best for manufacturing. He was thinking of water-power when the early mills were driven by moorland streams. The canals and new high-roads were made along the valleys, and the mills that were able to use the new methods of transport had a great advantage. The age of steam and railways made the lower levels still more valuable, and doomed the ancient hill towns to stagnation.

We noticed that in the old townships, a group of houses was called a "town," and we had Sowerby Town and Warley Town. This word was also given to the clusters of new houses that were erected. There is a Charlestown near Hebden Bridge, and a Charlestown near North Bridge, Halifax. A row or two of houses, midway between Haley Hill and Boothtown, was called Newtown; the houses around Pellon Lane Chapel became Chapeltown; and the district now called Claremount was formerly Beaumont Town. Our forefathers, with a touch of humour, dubbed the more extensive building scheme — Orange Street and in Wheatley—"The City."

The manufacturers and merchants of Halifax in the eighteenth century (such as Sam Hill of Making Place) did a large export trade, and one of their difficulties was to transport their cloth to the ports. Leeds was better served than Halifax, for the River Aire had been made navigable, and boats for Hull could be loaded at Leeds docks. Halifax cloth was conveyed by waggons and pack-horses over Swales Moor, and through Bradford to the wharves at Leeds. To save the heavy cost of transport over this hilly route, it was determined to make a canal from Halifax to Wakefield, where a junction could be made with the Aire and Calder Navigation to Hull. In 1756, a committee was formed to make the preliminary arrangements, and as there were few canals at that date, it was deemed advisable to engage a good engineer. Smeaton, who was then building the Eddystone Lighthouse, was selected for the work. In the summer of 1757, many letters on the subject were written to Smeaton, for he could not leave Plymouth as it was essential to have the foundations of the lighthouse finished before the wintry gales commenced. Smeaton was a busy man; we can imagine him studying the Halifax letters and plans as he sailed to and from the Eddystone Rock. He would see the full-rigged wooden men-of-war, and possibly the flagships of Admiral Hawke or Rodney, sailing down the Channel to meet the French fleet. Sailors were very much interested in the new lighthouse, and Smeaton would enjoy many a chat with the sea-captains.

On Friday, October 21st, 1757, the great engineer arrived at Halifax, and met the Committee at the Talbot Inn. On the Monday following he commenced his survey, and was taken down the river in a small

boat in order that he might take measurements and particulars of the route. At that time the Calder was as clear and beautiful a river as the Wharfe is to-day. To cut a long story short, plans were drawn and permission obtained from Parliament to make the Calder navigable. Some of the landowners and mill-owners, whose property adjoined the river, opposed the scheme, and a large amount of money had to be spent in law-suits and for compensation. Serious floods occurred while the canal was being made, and some of the work had to be done two or three times. However, the promoters persevered, but the work cost much more money than had been estimated. The canal ended at Salterhebble, for at that time it was not considered practicable to continue it up the narrow, steep valley to Halifax. The old Salterhebble Docks, south of the bridge, became a very important and busy place, where Halifax cloth was shipped to Hull and the Continent.

The Lancashire manufacturers were planning a canal from the Irish Sea to Rochdale, and onward into Yorkshire. They forced the Calder and Hebble Navigation promoters to make a branch canal from Salterhebble to Sowerby Bridge, aud this link made a through canal from the North Sea to the Irish Sea. The Rochdale Canal was not completed until 1802. The principal street in Sowerby Bridge was named Wharf Street, because it was the road to the canal wharves. The extension of the canal to Halifax was opened in 1828. Those who live near the canal, and who use the old word "cut" for it, may be interested to know that the Act of Parliament (1825) says "a navigable cut or canal from Salterhebble Bridge to Bailey Hall." It is difficult for us to understand why there was so much enthusiasm

about the canal. Contemporary engravings depict a large stretch of water bearing a full-rigged ship, with our hills in the background. An allegorical figure bringing the horn of plenty, descends from the skies, and on the laden wharf in the foreground, gentlemen in quaint Georgian costume wave their three-cornered hats with joy. "An Essay on Halifax," published in 1761, broke into poetry, with:—

> "Methinks I see upon the beauteous vale,
> Upon the glossy surface of the stream,
> The teeming vessel gliding smoothly on;
> Its swelling canvas holds the gentle gale,
> While on the deck the hardy sea-boy plays,
> Fearless of storms."

Fig. 84.—Boat-Horse versus Pack-Horses.

Halifax men felt that they had a visible connection with the ocean and more interest in the Navy, whose great victories were making overseas commerce more secure. Foreign trade depended to a large extent on Britain's mastery of the sea. The great benefit to local trade wrought by the canals, can be expressed in a simple sum. One horse will pull as much weight on the Calder and Hebble Canal as a string of six hundred pack-horses can carry. By means of the canal, the corn grown on the rich York Plain became available for

Halifax, and Wakefield became a great corn mart for this district. By 1834, Halifax was receiving corn from Ireland. In 1775, William Walker wanted a large amount of timber for the rebuilding of Crow Nest, Cliffe Hill, and Lightcliffe Church. He chartered a vessel in Hull, went to the Baltic shore of Russia, brought the timber back to Hull, and then conveyed it by canal to Brighouse. Soon after the canal was finished, a large printing press was brought to Halifax. It was impossible to carry such heavy goods over the old, steep roads. Perhaps the greatest boon brought by the canal was coal. Miss Lister's Diary states that in 1828, the local coal was selling at 7s., and it cost another 7s. for leading from Swales Moor into Halifax. The coal from Kirklees could be delivered to Bailey Hall wharf for 9s., and the leading into the town was only 2s. The local coal was getting worked out, and Dr. Whittaker made a woeful prophecy. He foresaw that when the coal was exhausted, the fences and houses, and even the Parish Church, would fall into ruins, the land would go out of cultivation, and our hills and vales become a sheep-run. He was sure that within a measurable time, the extent of the ancient parish would support but a few shepherds, and the population decline until it became less than before the Norman Conquest. If it had not been for the canal, Halifax would have been in a desperate plight indeed, when coal for steam-power became a prime necessity for manufacturing.

The canal gave the present name of Hebble to our stream. When the valley bottoms were neglected and of no account, the brook had no single name of its own. Each section had a separate title, such as Ogden Brook, Mixenden Beck, The Dodge, Jumples Beck, Ovenden

Wood Brook, Halifax Brook, and Salterhebble Brook. In the same way, one of our streets is called Princess Street, Corn Market, Southgate, and Wards End, though these are but lengths of the same street. The end of the first canal was alongside the Salterhebble Brook, and this name became shortened to Hebble Brook. From a commercial standpoint it was the most important section of the stream. And so it came to pass that this name Hebble was bestowed on the whole length of the rivulet from Ogden to the Calder. A "hebble" originally meant a plank bridge, and Salter Hebble was at first a wooden bridge built by a man who dealt in salts and dye-wares.

At Stump Cross, at Ambler Thorn, near Greetland Station, and at other places on our main roads are Toll-bar houses. They are one-storeyed roadside houses, usually having a bay-window jutting out, from which the turn-pike man could observe all travellers. Fixed to the house-front was a large board on which the scale of tolls was painted. From the bar-house, a gate stretched across the road, and every driver passing along the highway had to pay a toll to have the gate opened. The tolls for the road from Halifax to Bradford were sixpence for every waggon or carriage drawn by four houses, fourpence for two or three horses, three-pence for each one-horsed vehicle, sixpence a score for cattle, twopence halfpenny for each score of pigs or sheep, and a halfpenny for every horse or ass. It appears very strange to us that people had to pay to go along the roads, but the tolls paid for the making and repairing of these new roads.

The large increase of trade made more traffic between the various parts of the kingdom, and the canals only

touched a few places. Roads were needed on which waggons and carts could travel easily, for in our part of the country the steep pack-horse causeways were impossible for wheeled traffic. There were very few bridges, and most of those were like the narrow arch that spans Lumb Falls. If there was a similar problem

Fig. 85.—Toll Bar on Wakefield Road, Sowerby Bridge (1824-1870).

to tackle to-day, the government or the public would undertake it, but in the eighteenth century it was left to private enterprise. A number of merchants and landowners formed themselves into a company, or Turnpike Trust, with the object of improving the road between two towns, and they applied to Parliament for

power to make their road. The revenue of the Trust was obtained from the tolls collected at the bar houses. The Turnpike Roads were better planned than the old roads. The present road to Queensbury—the tram route—was a Turnpike Road, made under an Act of Parliament dated 1753, and its toll-bars were abolished in 1861. The old road went up Range Bank and across Swales Moor, and it was also the only way to Leeds until the Whitehall Road was opened. The Act concerning the Halifax and Rochdale Road over Blackstone Edge came into force on June 1st, 1735, and is one of the earliest in the country. The road to Todmorden and Burnley was made by a Trust created in 1760, and followed a route through Luddenden Foot, Mytholmroyd, and Hebden Bridge. The old pack-horse road into Lancashire went by Highroad Well. In the 18th century, this was known as Harewood Well, or in the dialect pronunciation—Harrod Well. After the low turnpike road was made, the name was corrupted to Highroad Well. This high road is about Midgley called the Heights Road, and beyond Blackshaw Head it is known as the Long Causeway. The local troops used this road in the Civil Wars. In many places it resembles a mountain pass. Its route is indicated in the following jingle:—

> "Burnley for ready money,
> Mearclough noa trust;
> Yo're peeping in at Stiperden,
> And call at Kebs yo' must;
> Blackshaw Head for travellers,
> And Heptonstall for trust;
> Hepton Brig for landladies,
> And Midgley near the moor;
> Luddenden's a warm spot,
> Royle's Head's cold;
> An' when yo' get to Halifax,
> Yo' mun be varry bold."

A journey over a section of this old route, returning home by the newer and lower road, will give you the best idea of the improvement made. There is a point worth noting about this Calder Vale road. If there had been a national system of roads, as there is in France, there would be a great trunk road from Todmorden down the length of the Calder Valley to Wakefield. Because the roads were made by local committees, there is a link missing between Luddenden Foot and Sowerby Bridge, and carts have to take the hilly way by Tuel Lane.

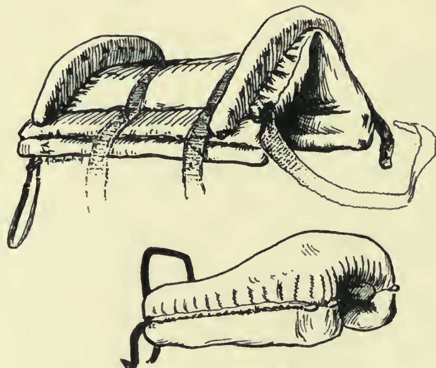


Fig. 86.—Pack Saddle and Pillion.

The most famous English road engineers were Telford and Macadam. Telford's road from London to Holyhead was so planned that a horse might trot every inch of the way, even over the part that threaded the Welsh mountains. Macadam invented a new surface for roads, and we still speak of macadamised roads. Yorkshire had a gifted road-maker, even before their time, named John Metcalfe of Knaresborough. He lost his sight when quite a child through small-pox, but "Blind Jack"

grew up fearless and strong, fond of following the hounds, and excelling in many sports. Metcalfe contracted to make a road through a bog near Harrogate, and he built a bridge at Boroughbridge. He was so successful that he was engaged to make many roads throughout Yorkshire and Lancashire. "Blind Jack" made the road passing Shibden Industrial School, called Lister Road, which was the main road before Godley Road was cut. He also was responsible for the road between Halifax and Huddersfield. It is wonderful, that without sight, he was able to survey a road. Stick in hand, he walked up and down the hillsides to gain a knowledge of the country to be traversed, and in that manner decided on the best line for his road. The canals and roads made a great difference to our district, and were partly the cause of the gravitation of the people to the valleys. New houses and mills were built on the road-side at Triangle and Ripponden. Soyland then decreased in population. In Ovenden township, the bulk of the people had lived in Wheatley, Ovenden Wood, and Mixenden. The Keighley Road, completed about 1785, went up the other valley, and a new Ovenden sprang up which has since become the centre of the township. The cleverest engineer could not make level roads in Halifax Parish because of our hills. Leeds and other towns were better placed, and Halifax was finding that Nature had handicapped it for the new development of road travel. The system of turnpike-roads throughout the country made it possible for Englishmen to explore their own country, and travelling became fashionable. This in turn created a demand for books on the sights and history of every district. Among these publications is "The History and Anti-

quities of the Parish of Halifax in Yorkshire," written by the Rev. John Watson, 1775. It is a thick quarto volume, and contains the result of much industry and research.

In the summer of 1781, a Colchester clergyman, while on a driving tour, described the scenery on the main road between Hebden Bridge and Todmorden:—"The valley contracts itself; the hills crowd about you, rising almost perpendicularly on each side, wooded from top to bottom with black, craggy rocks peeping out here and there; picturesque little mills with their rush of water, close under the woods; bridges, some of stone of a single arch, others of wood, but all exactly such as a painter would have them; cottages perched about, some in the road, others close to the stream, others over your head, in most romantic and improbable situations, more like stone nests than houses; here and there little cross vales opening into this, paths winding up the woods, craggy roads losing themselves round the corner of a wood, etc., etc. I sicken with vague description! In short, the effect it had on me was that of painted landscapes of the most invented and poetic kind realised; and every object, animate or inanimate, that we saw was of a piece with the surrounding scene, and they seem to have been placed where they were on purpose, as much as mile-stones and guide-posts are in vulgar roads; a man with a pack on his shoulder and a staff in his hand, trudging over a rustic bridge, or climbing up a winding path through a wood; men driving pack-horses, or lounging along side-ways on the empty pack-saddle—a favourite figure with painters." Writing of the view of Calder Vale at Elland, he said "I never felt anything so fine. I shall remember it and thank God for it as long

as I live. I am sorry I did not think to say grace after it. Are we to be grateful for nothing but beef and pudding; to thank God for life and not for happiness?"

The great inn-yards are interesting relics of this epoch of olden Halifax. We have the Union Cross Yard, Old Cock Yard, Northgate Hotel Yard, Upper George and Lower George Yards. Many of these yards were larger at one time, but their space has been encroached upon by building. The large stones placed at the entrances and corners, and the horse-blocks speak of a time when the yards were crowded with farmers' gigs, manufacturers' carts, carriers' waggons, and stage coaches. Every morning at nine o'clock, a waggon belonging to Deacon, Hanson & Co. set out for London, and other firms also had a service. Three times a week a waggon left for Skipton, Settle, Lancaster, and Kendal, and other carriers catered for Sheffield, Manchester, Leeds, and all other centres. In 1845, there were about fifty carriers who made regular journeys from Halifax to various places. Pack-horses were still working about 1850, and P. G. Hamerton the art critic, mentions in his book, pack-horses at Widdop.

In 1830, the following coaches left the White Swan Inn:—

4 0 a.m.	Royal Hope -	- to London in 27 hours.
5 30 ,,	Shuttle - -	- to Blackpool.
7 0 ,,	Perseverance -	- to Manchester.
7 0 ,,	Hark Forward	- to Wakefield.
7 0 ,,	Alexander -	- to Bradford and Leeds.
8 0 ,,	Duke of Leeds	- to Liverpool.
11 15 ,,	High Flier -	- to Wetherby.
12 15 p.m.	Royal Mail -	- to Manchester.
12 45 ,,	Royal Mail -	- to York.
1 30 ,,	Commerce -	- to Liverpool.
3 15 ,,	Duke of Leeds	- to Leeds.
3 45 ,,	High Flier -	- to Manchester.
6 0 ,,	Commerce -	- to Leeds.

Coaches ran from the other inns, either as rivals to those from the Swan, or to different places. The Post Office used the mail coaches for sending letters, but postage was dear. In 1820, the postage on a letter from Halifax to Bradford or Huddersfield was 4d., to Manchester 6d., and to London 11d. Halifax had not so good a coach service as Leeds, Wakefield, and Manchester, and Halifax merchants at the beginning of the nineteenth century found that their competitors in other towns had fuller and later information about the various markets. Travelling by stage-coach was too dear for poor people, and we have an interesting account as to how one man came by road from London. Luke Priestley of Brandy Hole, Greetland, was discharged from the army in April, 1817, in the Isle of Wight. Wearing his red coat and knapsack, with about a guinea in his pocket, he set out for home. By the time he reached London he had little money left. Enquiring for the north road, he walked to Highgate, whence a man carried his knapsack three miles for sixpence, and a coachman gave him a lift to Hatfield, where he stayed the night. At that time, waggons loaded with wool journeyed from London to Halifax, the drivers riding on ponies beside their waggons. Priestley looked out for these drivers, and would get a ride on the pony whilst the driver had a sleep in the waggon tail. By this means he reached Wakefield, where he sought out a flock dealer who traded with Greetland. He stayed the night at his house, and reached home the next day on the flock dealer's cart.

John Foster, who was born at the Manor House, Wadsworth Lanes, near Hebden Bridge in 1770, became a great English writer by reason of his famous essays.

In his boyhood he rambled among the "narrrow, deep, long-extended glens, with thick, dark woods and rapid torrents from the mountains, all together forming scenes of the most solemn and romantic character." In 1801, he paid his last visit to Yorkshire, for he was so disappointed that he never came north again. Some years afterwards he wrote these remarkable words:— "The solemnity and silence of these valleys, with almost all their romantic and ghostly influences, have since vanished at the invasion of agriculture and manufacturing establishments." We all know that the country has been spoiled since John Wesley, Thomas Twining, and John Foster praised its beauties, and we blame the factories for the change. What did John Foster mean by the invasion of agriculture?

In the eighteenth century, very little of the land, comparatively speaking, on our hill-sides was parcelled out in fields. The hills were more like the fells of the Lake District, where we can roam about just where we wish, and Foster as a boy would be able to walk for miles without encountering a stone wall. About Wadsworth to-day, we are obliged to keep to field-paths, and to thread through innumerable wall-stiles. At the end of the eighteenth century, and at the beginning of the nineteenth, Enclosure Acts were passed by Parliament, which affected our parish along with the rest of the kingdom. The lord of the manor and the principal landowners decided to improve the waste lands, the commons, and the great open fields of the township or parish. They proceeded to obtain an Enclosure Act, and after such Act received the royal assent, commissioners came and divided the land among the landowners. In many places—Elland and Stainland are local examples—

the old open fields which, as mentioned in one of our earliest chapters, had been in existence from time immemorial, were divided up along with the commons. The poor man lost his right to pasture his cow, donkey, or pig, and the right to gather fuel in the woods or on the moors. Some men, who had a small piece of land allotted to them, could not afford to pay the cost of fencing and enclosing it, nor the legal charges for the Parliamentary work, and therefore they had to sell their share to some richer neighbour. The English peasant lost his hold on the land, and is therefore to-day in a very different position from the French peasant, who, however poor, has some right to the land. In the great agricultural districts of the Midlands and the South, the smaller farms were destroyed, and very large farms substituted. The peasants were thrown out of work and home, and they and their children flocked into Lancashire and Yorkshire to find employment in the new mills, and thus competed with the local people for work. The landowners became very rich by these enclosures. Parliament represented only the landed classes, and the poor people had few champions, and these had not the power to oppose the Acts to any purpose. In the farming districts, large farms were made, and as new methods of agriculture were being tried, and as corn was at a high price, farming was very profitable.

In the township of Ovenden, twelve hundred acres were enclosed in 1814. Skircoat Moor is about fifty-six acres, and from that we can form some idea of the large quantity of land involved. Some of it would be very poor land, and some was the most valuable land in Ovenden. The total area of the township is little more than five thousand acres, therefore about one quarter of

the township was enclosed at that time. The fields of this period may be identified by their straight walls and mathematical planning. They are easily traced in the fields along Cousin Lane, Illingworth, and the fields on Illingworth Moor—between Wrigley Hill and Soil Hill. The same process of enclosure took place in the other townships, until the whole parish was criss-crossed with stone walls. The enclosure of the commons obliged many families to give up keeping a cow and there was a

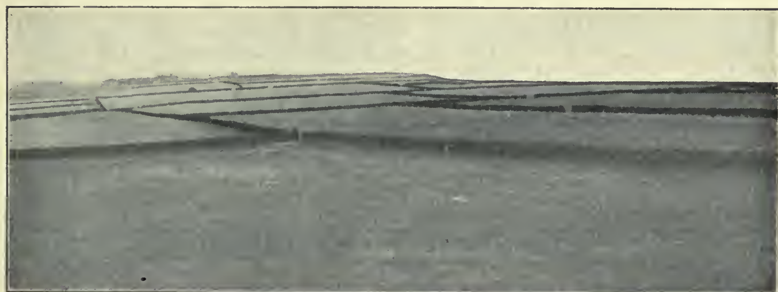


Photo. E. Roberts.

Fig. 87.--ENCLOSURES, COUSIN LANE, OVENDEN.

serious milk famine, for the farmers would not trouble to sell milk retail. Watson mentions the shortage as one of the drawbacks of the district, and the Luddites threatened to shoot George Haigh of Copley Gate if he would not sell milk to his neighbours. Oatmeal and oatcake had been the staple food, and for porridge you must have milk. The milk famine made the people into tea-drinkers, and white, wheaten bread took the place of havercake. The cottagers also lost their privilege of gathering sticks in the woods and peat from the moors, for everywhere there were planted notice-boards—

"Trespassers will be Prosecuted." John Foster was one of the few men who voiced the injustice of the Enclosures, and we can easily understand how the sight of all these new raw walls moved him with indignation.

The great inventions, by means of which cloth was made by machinery—water-power and steam-power taking the place of hand labour—made more alterations in the life of the people than had ever taken place before. Most of these inventions were first introduced in the cotton trade, a comparatively new trade, and the more conservative woollen and worsted manufacturers were later in adopting the improvements. In 1764, Hargreaves, a Blackburn weaver, patented a spinning jenny, by which eight threads could be spun instead of the single thread of the old-fashioned spinning wheel. Five years later, Arkwright, a Preston barber, invented a spinning machine in which the cotton was drawn out fine by means of rollers. The new spinning machines were at first turned by hand, and later by a horse gin. Afterwards, water wheels were used to provide power for the spinning machinery. There was much prejudice against the new machines, and many of them were destroyed by crowds who thought that the machinery would take away their livelihood. Some of the inventors were in danger of their lives. There were a number of cotton mills in the parish, especially towards its western end. Calico Hall, the old name for Clare Hall, shows that the cotton trade was carried on in Halifax, and in the eighteenth century there was a cotton factory in Spring Hall Lane. It has been transformed into a row of houses, and is near the Barracks.

Our interest however, is more in the worsted trade. We have already noted the great difficulty there was in

supplying the weavers with yarn, and how the spinning had to be done in the farmhouses of Craven and other parts of Yorkshire. The worsted manufacturers were anxious to obtain a better supply. The early spinning mills were not always successful, and many experiments had to be made before satisfactory yarn could be produced. Mr. Walker, of Walterclough in Southowram, engaged a man called Swendall to fit up a mill at Shaw Syke about 1784, and later a spinning mill was built at Walterclough, but the venture was a failure. The earliest worsted spinning factory is said to have been in 1784, at Dolphin Holme near Lancaster. This mill supplied large quantities of yarn to Halifax and Bradford. In 1792, Thomas Edmondson, one of the partners in the Dolphin Holme Mill, built a large mill at Mytholmroyd, and for many years it was the largest spinning factory in our district. It stood on the opposite side of the road to Mytholmroyd Church, where now is the Empress Foundry, and the water-wheel was driven by the water from a goit connected with Hawksclough. A few corn mills, a few fulling mills, and a few shears-grinders' works dotted here and there on the banks of the streams, made up the total of the old mills. The public-house sign "The Shears," marks the position of a shear-grinder at Lee Bridge, Whitegate Bottom, West Vale, and a few other places. The finishing of a piece of cloth is still called "milling," though every process is now done in mills, but at one time, only the fulling was done in a mill. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost every clough had its string of new spinning mills, and the moorland becks were kept busy turning their water-wheels. At first the machine-spun yarns were not so good as hand-spun, but they gradually improved until the weavers preferred

the new yarns. We hear of a weaver setting a row of nineteen candles under the loom beam to singe the loose hairs of the rough, machine-spun yarn. About 1800, Michael Greenwood, of Limed House in Shibden, invented a false reed or sley to guide the yarn into its proper place, and that was a great help in weaving the

Fig. 88.—"MILL NEAR OVENDEN TAKEN DOWN IN 1817."
Sketched by John Horner.

new yarn. The weavers had not been able to take full advantage of Kay's Fly Shuttle, which had been invented as early as 1738, until the stronger mill-spun yarn was procurable. Kay's device was to have a shuttle box on each side of the loom, each box attached by a cord to a short stick, which he held in one hand. By means of the stick and the two cords, he could jerk the shuttle from one box to the other along a race board

beneath the warps, while his other hand was free to push the weft home. There is a specimen in Bankfield Museum. The fly-shuttle moved much faster than the old one, and so each weaver could make more cloth and wanted more yarn. The Rev. Edmund Cartwright invented a power-loom between 1784 and 1787, but it was a long time after that before weaving machinery was successfully used. Miss Lister's Diary informs us that in 1826, three Halifax firms had power looms—Akroyd's, Peter Bold's, and Kershaw's—but for many years after that date, fancy fabrics were woven by hand-looms.

Then came the Steam Engine. The earliest engines were of rudimentary construction, and only slowly did they supplant the water-wheel. One of the earliest steam engines to be erected locally was at Jumples Mill, and its duty was to pump the water that had run over the water-wheel, up again into the mill-race to drive the water-wheel once more. In 1825, the owners of the mills driven by the Mixenden and Wheatley stream were so content with water-power, that they decided to make a reservoir at Ogden to ensure a more constant flow of water. But in 1826 there was a long drought, and the mill-owners abandoned their reservoir scheme, and equipped their mills with steam engines. Bradford manufacturers adopted factories and steam power more readily than the Halifax men, and from this time we may date Bradford's pre-eminence in the worsted trade. On Saturday, June 25th, 1831, Miss Lister made a journey from Halifax to York. She wrote "In passing along, I could not help observing on the comparatively fine, clear air of Halifax. Never in my life did I see a more smoky place than Bradford. The great, long

chimneys are doubled I think, in number within these two or three years. The same may be said of Leeds. I begin to consider Halifax one of the cleanest and most comely of manufacturing towns." Five years later, Miss Lister made this note:—"Robert Mann said that three 40-horse power, and one 60-horse-power steam engines ordered at Low Moor, and four 40-horse power engines ordered at Bowling for mills to be built in Halifax." Returning from a week-end at Bolton Woods in 1837, Miss Lister found that "Halifax is now brightening into the polish of a large smoke-canopied commercial town."

One of the largest mills built at this time was Old Lane Mill, situated between Old Lane and Lee Bank, which was erected by James Akroyd in 1828, and had an engine of 60-horse power. The Akroyd's, as we have seen, had originally carried on a large business from their homes at Brookhouse and Lanehead near Ogden. Then they built Brookhouse Mill, run by a water-wheel which was fed by an ingenious system of goits and aqueducts. With the era of steam, the Akroyd's moved lower down the valley, and erected large mills at Old Lane and Bowling Dyke. Steam engines require a large and regular supply of coal, therefore it was an advantage to be near the canal. Gradually, the mills in the moorland cloughs had to close, and newer and larger mills were built in the Calder Valley, and this induced the population to move from the heights into the valley bottom.

"The Naming of the Hebble," by T. W. HANSON.
(Halifax Antiquarian Society's Transactions, 1914).
"Halifax in the Eighteenth Century," by F. A. LEYLAND.
("Halifax Courier," commencing March 6th, 1886).
"A Country Clergyman of the Eighteenth Century"—TWINING.
"The Village Labourer, 1760-1832," by J. L. & B. HAMMOND.
"Social Life in Halifax, early in the Nineteenth Century."
[Diary of Miss Lister]. ("Hx. Guardian," commencing June 11th, 1887).

CHAPTER XVII.

CHILD SLAVERY—LUDDITES—PETERLOO—THE REFORM ACT—THE CHARTISTS—WM. MILNER—PLUG DRAWING—FREE TRADE.

From "The Cry of the Children," by Mrs. Browning.

Do ye hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
Ere the sorrow comes with years?
They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,
And *that* cannot stop their tears.
The young lambs are bleating in the meadows,
The young birds are chirping in the nest,
The young fawns are playing with the shadows,
The young flowers are blowing toward the west—
But the young, young children, O my brothers,
They are weeping bitterly!
They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
In the country of the free.

'For oh,' say the children, 'we are weary,
And we cannot run or leap;
If we cared for any meadows, it were merely
To drop down in them and sleep.
Our knees tremble sorely in the stooping,
We fall upon our faces, trying to go;
And, underneath our heavy eyelids drooping,
The reddest flower would look as pale as snow.
For, all day, we drag our burden tiring
Through the coal-dark, underground;
Or, all day, we drive the wheels of iron
In the factories, round and round.

'For, all day, the wheels are droning, turning;
Their wind comes in our faces,
Till our hearts turn, our heads with pulses burning,
And the walls turn in their places:
Turns the sky in the high window blank and reeling,
Turns the long light that drops adown the wall,
Turns the black flies that crawl along the ceiling,
All are turning, all the day, and we with all.
And all day, the iron wheels are droning,
And sometimes we could pray,
"O ye wheels," (breaking out in a mad moaning)
"Stop! be silent for to-day!"'

Besides turning our local world upside down, the mills wrought tremendous changes in the habits and lives of the people. The women and children, who had plied the spinning wheels, were engaged to attend to the new spinning machines, and were the first to suffer in the mills. Children had been badly treated before this time. Defoe noted with approval that about Halifax "scarce anything above four years old, but its hands were sufficient for its own support." The statement shocks us. The little biographies of workers in the Wesleyan Revival, give us glimpses of the hard times imposed on children. Fiddler Thompson and Jonathan Savile were made cripples by the cruelties of hard masters. Titus Knight, afterwards minister of Square Chapel, worked in the Shibden coal-pits when he was seven. Dan Taylor, who was born at Sour Milk Hall and became a Baptist preacher, commenced work in a colliery under Beacon Hill at five years old. The sledges were all dragged from the coal-face to the pit-shaft by boys and girls. It was said that unless their backbones were bent when they were little, boys would never make colliers.

The mills created a greater demand for child labour, and the hardships and cruelty were intensified. Boys and girls were sent into the mills when they were five or six years old; some were even younger. In those days, instead of the children being taught that the rooks said "Caw! Caw!" they were told that they called "Wark! Wark!" We know that fathers took their children out of bed before five o'clock on a dark winter's morning, and carried them on their shoulders to the mill. Clocks were a luxury, and many children, afraid of being late, were at the mill gates long before the

opening hour, and the tired little mites would fall asleep until wakened by the rattle of the machinery. They stayed at the mill until eight o'clock at night, and the engine did not stop for meal times. There was no half-time, no Saturday half-holiday, the machinery was not fenced, nor were there any factory inspectors. The overlookers beat the children unmercifully, hitting them to keep them awake, and the sleepy infants sometimes fell against the machinery and were maimed or killed. A spinner, in his evidence before the Commissioners in 1833, said "I find it difficult to keep my piecers awake the last hour of a winter's evening; have seen them fall asleep, and go on performing their work with their hands while they were asleep, after the billey had stopped, when their work was over; I have stopped and looked at them for two minutes, going through the motions of piecening when they were fast asleep, when there was no work to do, and they were doing nothing." A tradition clings to Brookhouse Mill about a dark winter's morning when several factory children met their death. It was so dark and slippery that they must have fallen from the bridge into the stream, but all that was known was that their little bodies were found between the bridge and the stepping-stones.

Large numbers of children were wanted for the new mills, and the mill-masters imported many of them from a distance. The Overseers of the Poor in the Midlands and the South of England were glad to get rid of their pauper children, who were often sent in batches to the mills of Yorkshire and Lancashire. Many of these boys and girls had lived in beautiful places similar to Goldsmith's "Sweet Auburn, loveliest village of the plain," but the Enclosure Acts had made their homes into a

"Deserted Village," and sunk their families into poverty. These poor mites, housed and fed by the mill-owners, were worked under horrible and cruel conditions that may be described as slavery. The worst period was from 1804 until 1819, when the Government was moved to make enquiries about the pauper mill children, because they were, in a sense, wards of the state.

About the year 1830, Richard Oastler was moved by the condition of the children, and determined to get an Act of Parliament passed, fixing ten hours as the longest time for children to work. Oastler was steward for the Thornhill's of Fixby Hall, and there is a statue of him in Bradford. He was tall, of commanding appearance, a gifted orator, and he became the leader of a great movement in the West Riding in favour of shorter hours of labour. On April 24th, 1832, there was held a great meeting at York. Men, women, and children walked from all parts of the West Riding on a "Pilgrimage of Mercy." York Racecourse was crowded with the multitude of people, many of whom suffered greatly by their long march to York and home again in bad weather. On January 1st, 1834, an Act came into force by which no child under nine could work in a mill, and children under eleven were not to work more than forty-eight hours a week. Christmas Day and Good Friday were to be holidays, and there were to be eight half-day holidays in the year, to be fixed by the mill-master. It was not until June, 1847, that the Ten Hours Bill became law, largely through the unselfish advocacy of John Fielden, M.P., of Todmorden, who though a large manufacturer, had worked for years to better the conditions of factory workers.

The introduction of machinery threw a great many

men out of work at the time, for each machine did the work of several men. Among the first men to suffer were the croppers who finished the cloths by cutting the nap with the large cropping shears. As the machinery increased, the small workshops where the croppers worked found it harder to keep going, and one after another was forced to close. The croppers could not find work elsewhere, for at the time trade was very bad. England was fighting Napoleon, food was dear, and a large number of the people were starving. At length, some of the men growing desperate, formed a secret society to try to alter their condition by fair means or foul. These men became the followers of "General Ludd," and each took an oath that he would obey all commands, and keep absolute secrecy about the men who were in the movement and their plans. There never was a real man called "General Ludd," but all the orders were issued in the name of this fictitious leader. Hence the men were always known as Luddites.

Near to Halifax Parish Church was the St. Crispin Inn. The old building was pulled down in 1844, and a new inn erected on the site which is now called "The Old Crispin." Some time in the spring of 1812, there was an important meeting of the Halifax Luddites at the St. Crispin. The men came in, one or two at a time, at irregular intervals, so as to avoid the appearance of going to a meeting. At the foot of the stairs, and at the door of the club-room upstairs, sentinels were posted to see that no stranger entered. John Baines, a hatter, the oldest man in the room, presided over the meeting. A delegate from Nottingham addressed the Halifax Luddites, and he said that in his part of the country they had collected thousands

of guns, pistols, and other weapons, and were preparing for a general uprising in May. He concluded by saying that some Nottingham men even advocated shooting the masters who owned the new mills. George Mellor, a Huddersfield cropper, who became the ringleader in this district, welcomed the suggestion, and declared that the Luddites ought to attack Cartwright of Rawfold, and Horsfall of Marsden, two masters who were always threatening what they would do to the Luddites if they came to their mills. After some discussion, a coin was tossed up to decide which should be attacked first, and the choice fell on Cartwright. The Luddites talked about various plans, and finally decided to meet near the Dumb Steeple at Cooper Bridge at eleven o'clock on Saturday night, April 11th, 1812. Guns and pistols were collected by small groups of armed and disguised men who went visiting lonely houses in the night time, compelling the inmates to deliver up their fire-arms.

At the appointed time, the Luddites from Halifax, Huddersfield, the Spen Valley and other places, assembled in a field near the Dumb Steeple. Some of the men did not care for the desperate work, but having taken the oath, they feared to be killed as traitors if they neglected to turn up at the meeting place. It was about midnight when the expedition marched to the attack. Many of the Luddites wore masks, others had blackened their faces so that they could not be identified, and they all answered to numbers when the roll was called. Some had guns and pistols, while others carried large hammers, mauls, hatchets, or stout sticks.

Rawfold Mill was not far away, and Samuel Hartley, a Halifax cropper who had at one time worked for Cartwright, acted as guide. Cartwright was expecting

an attack, and he had about half-a-dozen soldiers and five or six trusted workmen, well armed, inside the mill, and he had barricaded the doors and staircases. The Luddites were expecting a contingent from Leeds, but not daring to wait any longer, they commenced the attack by shattering the mill windows with a shower of stones. They were met by a volley from the defenders, and the alarm bell was set clanging to call the cavalry billeted at Liversedge. Repeated attempts were made to gain an entrance to the mill, but the strong doors resisted all efforts. The Luddites persisted until their ammunition was finished, but they knew they could not withstand the cavalry, whose arrival was expected at any moment. Mellor was obliged to call his men off, and the defeated Luddites fled. It was impossible to remove the wounded. Every man was anxious to escape and to hide himself, because of the search that was certain to be made. Hartley, the Halifax cropper, died the next day from the wound he had received. His funeral was attended by a multitude who looked upon him as a martyr for the cause. Booth, a Huddersfield man, had one leg shattered, and he also succumbed to his wounds.

Before the end of the same month, on April 28th, Mr. Horsfall of Marsden was shot by George Mellor and a few accomplices, as he was returning home from Huddersfield. The authorities were aroused, and proceeded to end the Luddites' terrorism, and to punish those who had taken part in these attacks. Two police spies, M'Donald and Gossling came from Manchester on July 8th, 1812, to try to trap some of the Halifax Luddites. They were dressed as workmen, and pretended to be seeking employment in Halifax. They

went to the St. Crispin Inn and found there a man named Charles Milnes, a Luddite, who was very talkative, and they soon drew from him many facts about the local Luddites. M'Donald and Gossling professed to be sympathetic towards the movement and anxious to enrol themselves as Luddites, and treated Milnes to so much drink that he told all they wanted to know. After it was dark, the three went to the house of John Baines, where they found the old man with two of his sons and other two men seated round the fire. Milnes introduced his new friends, and they took the Luddites' oath. M'Donald called several times after this at Baines's workshop to talk to the old man, and to notice who came to visit him. A few days after the spies left Halifax, soldiers surrounded Baines's shop, and the six men who had been present at the swearing-in ceremony were sent to prison to await their trial.

The collecting of fire-arms still continued, for the Luddite leaders were planning a general rising throughout the North of England. The following episode, which took place locally, is typical of many such midnight raids. On the last Saturday night in August, 1812, George Haigh, who lived at Copley Gate, heard a loud rapping at his door. He got up and went on to the landing, and heard some men calling out "Your arms! Your arms!" Haigh said "What do you want?" and one of the party answered "General Ludd, my master, has sent me for the arms you have." "I have nothing of the kind," rejoined Haigh, "for God's sake go home." The men began to fire and to make a terrible noise by banging the door. Haigh tried to pacify them again, but they insisted that he had two guns and four pistols. John Tillotson, the apprentice, said "Master, you had

better give them up or they will shoot us." So he consented to give them a gun, and Tillotson took it to the door. When the apprentice opened the door, the Luddites ran round the corner of the house, but presently returned and came into the house. They asked for the ramrod and a pistol, and threatened to shoot Tillotson if he did not find them. When the pistol was delivered up, the Luddites told him to inform his master they would visit Haigh again, and shoot him if he did not sell his milk among his neighbours.

A few of the Luddites turned traitor, and London detectives came into Yorkshire to discover the ring-leaders. By the end of the year, about a hundred suspected men were lodged in York Castle. The Assizes commenced early in the new year of 1813, and a terrible time it proved for this district, for most of the towns had some man among the prisoners. George Mellor and two others were hanged for the murder of Horsfall; five Luddites were hanged for attacking Rawfold Mill; three more who demanded arms at Copley Gate, and six other men for taking guns elsewhere, met the same fate. Old John Baines and the men who were present when the two police spies were sworn in, were all transported for seven years. Fourteen of the Luddites were hanged at York on one day, and a huge crowd gathered to witness the executions. It was a terrible climax. The full story of the outrages is most painful reading, but it gives us some little idea of the hard times of a hundred years ago. For everyone of those men who in despair followed "General Ludd," there must have been hundreds who suffered and died in silence.

The failure of the Luddite Riots and the severe punishments did nothing to ease the hardships of the

people, and the Government and those in authority were afraid there would be further risings. Working men began to think there would be no improvement in their conditions until Parliament was elected by the whole people, instead of by a favoured few. To support these views, a huge meeting of sixty to eighty thousand persons was held on August 16th, 1819, in St. Peter's Field, Manchester. Through some mis-management, cavalry were ordered to clear the ground, and half-a-dozen men were killed, and very many people maimed. This melee was called the Manchester Massacre, or the Battle of Peterloo—a name compounded from St. Peter's and Waterloo. Some men from Halifax district were present, and a Triangle man came home with a severe sword-cut on his shoulder. There was much excitement in Halifax that Monday night when the news came, and Miss Lister wrote "Great many people about to-night in the streets, men talking together in groups." Benjamin Wilson states that at Skircoat Green, the men went into mourning, and wore grey hats with weeds round them. On the Wednesday, August 18th, a meeting was held on Skircoat Moor, but the constable and a magistrate put in an appearance, and threatened to read the Riot Act. The principal speaker, a man dressed in black, mounted on a black horse, who had come to give particulars of the Manchester meeting, was afraid of proceeding with his speech. Another great meeting of the Reformers was held on Skircoat Moor on Monday, October 4th. The procession, with flags flying and bands of music, was formed in Horton Street, and three thousand people listened to the speeches from one o'clock until after four, on a very wet day. There was a panic once or twice because it was reported that the Yeomanry were going to charge the crowd.

Miss Lister tells us that a warehouse at Wards End was made into a barracks, and that four companies of the 6th Foot were stationed there in anticipation of a rising. The outlook was serious for all classes, for while the poorer folks were short of work and food, the richer people were afraid that violence would be done to them or to their property. A meeting was held in the Sessions room near the Theatre Royal, to consider the formation of a Volunteer Cavalry Troop to defend the property owners. Many Volunteer Corps were raised at this time, not as a defence against a foreign foe, but to fight the people if there should be a rising. In 1826, there were riots in Lancashire and at Bradford, when crowds of hand-loom weavers, who were out of work, attempted to destroy the power looms. Dragoons came to Halifax in May, 1826, to protect the power-looms in the mills of Kershaw, Akroyd, and Peter Bold.

The Reform Bill, which became law in 1832, gave Halifax two members of Parliament. Except for the few years under the Commonwealth, Halifax had never had a member. Before the Reform Act, the whole of the county of Yorkshire was one undivided constituency and returned four members. When the news came to Halifax, one of the largest bonfires ever seen was lighted, and the town was crammed with people. The earlier drafts of the bill proposed that the whole of the Parish should be the constituency, but the Act created a Parliamentary Borough of Halifax which included the township of Halifax, and the north-eastern side of the valley, from Southowram Bank Top to New Town in Haley Hill. The first election was held on December 12th and 13th, 1832, and 492 voted out of a possible 536 entitled to a vote. The two candidates in favour of

the Reform Act were elected—Rawdon Briggs, a Halifax banker (242); and Charles Wood of Doncaster (235), who was son-in-law to the Premier, Earl Grey, and who afterwards became Lord Halifax. The unsuccessful men were Michael Stocks, a local man, a more advanced reformer (186); and the Hon. James Stuart Wortley (174), son of Lord Wharncliffe, who was opposed to the Reform Movement.

Miss Lister was on the losing side, although she made a condition that all her tenants must vote as she directed, and as the Shibden Hall estates were large, Miss Lister reckoned on influencing fifty votes. She was very candid about the matter, and summed up the situation:—"The populace, not the property of our borough is represented, but this cannot last for ever." The voting was in public, and it was known how each man had voted. To possess a vote, a man had to occupy a house or some other property worth £10 a year, which meant a much bigger house than the same rental represents to-day. The population of Halifax township was over fifteen thousand, and besides there were the portions of Southowram and Northowram, yet there were only 536 voters.

The Reform Act of 1832 did not satisfy the aspirations of the great body of men. It was but one step in the right direction, and it was thought that if the House of Commons could be further reformed, the grievances of the people might be remedied. The People's Charter therefore became the great hope of many working men. The Chartists demanded a vote for every man, whether he had property or not, and voting by ballot. They wanted a Parliamentary election every year, payment of members of Parliament, and each voting district to be

equal in size. On Whit Monday, 1839, there was a great Chartist demonstration at Peep Green, near Hartshead, which is said to have been the largest political meeting ever held in England. A procession, headed by a band of music, started from Halifax, meeting a Queensbury section at Hipperholme, and the Bradford Chartists on the hill-top above Bailiff Bridge. William Thornton of Skircoat Green opened the meeting with prayer, and Fergus O'Connor, the leader of the Chartists, putting his hand on Thornton's shoulder, said "Well done, Thornton, when we get the People's Charter, I will see you are made the Archbishop of York." Soon afterwards, Thornton went to America, or he would have been imprisoned for taking part in these meetings. Some of the Chartists advised a general rising, and counselled the men to procure guns, pikes, or other weapons, for they held it to be one of the rights of an Englishman to possess his own weapon.

General Charles Napier held the northern command, and it was his duty to prevent or to put down any rebellion. He was a very humane man, full of sympathy for the Chartists, for he felt it to be a hard thing that a good workman in full wages must starve. He was very anxious about the soldiers who had been sent to Halifax before he had taken the commmand. Napier reported that there were thirty-six dragoons among the ill-disposed populace of Halifax, with a man in a billet here and his horse there. He said that fifty resolute men would disarm them in ten minutes. He had information that such a plan had been discussed in the public-houses at Halifax, and that cheap copies of Maceroni's book on the use of the pike were in circulation. Napier worked hard to prevent a rising, and fortunately averted a civil war.

William Milner, a Halifax grocer and general dealer, had Chartist sympathies. He set to work to provide working men with cheap editions of good books. The first work he printed was the pamphlet by John Fielden, M.P., entitled "The Curse of the Factory System," 1836. In 1837, Milner commenced the publication of his "Cottage Library," and for many years these books could claim to be the cheapest books in the world. Milner found that the ordinary booksellers would not take his cheap books, as they were used to dealing only in expensive volumes. So, like the Halifax cloth-makers of the sixteenth century, he tried the fairs and markets. In some of the markets, he sold pots along with his little books. He fitted caravans up, and sent his men all over the kingdom. Robertson Nicholl in the far north of Scotland, Frankfort Moore in Belfast, and many other men who have become famous have testified to the good they received in their youth from Milner's cheap editions of the English poets. At one time, the Chartist newspaper "Northern Star," edited by Fergus O'Connor, was forbidden by the Government, and copies were destroyed if they were found. Milner arranged for a hearse containing a grim black coffin to be driven from London to Halifax. The coffin did not hold the remains of some devoted Yorkshireman, but was full of copies of the proscribed newspaper. On its return journey to London, the hearse carried a few hundred volumes of Milner's cheap reprints as ballast. William Milner died in 1850, aged 47.

Within three years of the Chartist disturbance, there was another rising which was called the Plug Riots. The workers left their spinning or weaving, stopped the mills, and marched from one town to

another in Lancashire and Yorkshire, stopping all work. At steam mills, the boiler plugs were drawn to empty the boilers, and all the mill dams were emptied where the machinery was run by water-power. Councillor Joseph Greenwood of Hebden Bridge, in his boyhood, saw these plug drawers in August, 1842. The following is his account of the scenes:—

"I well remember seeing the crowd coming along the turnpike after it had left Hebden Bridge; it was a remarkably fine day; the sun shone in its full splendour. The broad white road with its green hedges, and flanked one side with high trees, was filled with a long, black, straggling line of people, who cheerfully went along, evidently possessed of an idea that they were doing something towards a betterment. A number of us boys had been sent down into the woods to gather blackberries, and the woods were then clad in deep green; blackberries were plentiful, now they do not grow to maturity because of the smoke. The people went along over Fallingroyd Bridge towards Hawksclough. On reaching there, a local leader of the Chartist movement, Ben Rushton, stepped aside into a field, and led off with a speech. A number of those who were among the mass of the strikers, in going on their way, left the procession, went into the dwellings and helped themselves to whatever they could find in the way of food. Ben Rushton, I believe, was not one of these, nor were those that were with him. However, they were weary and thirsty, and before the speaking, a big milk can was obtained and filled with treacle beer, only the liquor had not been charged with yeast, nor had it had time to get fresh and tart. After the speaking the procession re-started and went on as before, and on to Halifax, where other

contingents from Yorkshire had gathered. Attempts were made to join these, but for a time were prevented by the police. The streets became blocked, and it was said there were 25,000 women and men there. They were poorly clad, and many were without shoes and stockings, barefooted. The disorder became so violent that the Riot Act was read, special constables sworn in, and the military called out. The women took up positions facing the police and the soldiers, and dared them to kill them. Many people were trampled under the horses' feet, and many people were injured."

Another eye-witness's account says that on August 15th, news came that thousands were marching from Bradford to stop the Halifax mills. Coming down New Bank, they were stopped just above Berry's Foundry by the special constables and soldiers, with bayonets fixed and swords drawn. The Riot Act was read, and the crowd told that they must not enter the town. The rioters got over the walls into the fields, and went through the fields on the top side of Northgate. The day ended with a large meeting on Skircoat Moor, where some of the men were arrested, and committed to Wakefield Prison. The prisoners were taken in a bus to Elland, the nearest railway station, guarded by an escort of horse soldiers. When this became known, thousands of people armed with stones, gathered at Salterhebble and Elland Wood Bottom, waiting for the soldiers' return. They came back over Exley, but rode into the crowd at Salterhebble. The cavalry started at full speed up Salterhebble Hill amid a shower of stones. One or two were knocked from their horses, and one soldier received such injuries that he died. The infantry came to meet the horse soldiers at Shaw Hill, and they all returned to Halifax. They next marched up Haley

Hill to Akroyd's Shed, and firing into the mob, they wounded several and killed one man. Another man in King Street, opening his door to see what was the matter, was shot dead.

John Bright and Richard Cobden, two Lancashire manufacturers, set to work to abate the prevalent distress, from another side. England was not growing sufficient corn to feed her own people, but foreign corn was not allowed to come into our ports unless a heavy duty was paid on it. Consequently corn was always at a high price. Bread and flour were dear, and the poorer people could not get sufficient to eat. In September, 1841, Mrs. Bright died, and Cobden visited Bright to condole with him. After a time, Cobden looked up and said "There are thousands of houses in England at this moment, where wives, mothers, and children are dying of hunger." The two men, then and there, vowed they would work until the Corn Laws were repealed. The movement was taken up enthusiastically by the manufacturing towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire; the corn laws were repealed, Free Trade was instituted, and the mills became very busy. The whole agitation had relied on argument and reason, and no hint of violence was ever mentioned. This in itself was a great forward step. Another noteworthy point was that the policy of England was, for the first time, framed by the industrial population of the North.

"Turnpikes and Toll-bars," by C. CLEGG. (Hx. Antqn. Soc. Trans., 1915).
"The Curse of the Factory System," by J. FIELDEN, M.P. (1836).
"The Town Labourer, 1760-1832."
"The Skilled Labourer, 1760-1832."
By J. L. & B. HAMMOND.
"The Risings of the Luddites, Chartists, and Plug-drawers," by FRANK PEEL.
"The Chartist Movement," by MARK HOVELL.
"Life and Opinions of General Sir C. J. Napier, Vol. II.," by Sir W. NAPIER.
"William Milner of Halifax—A Pioneer in Cheap Literature," by H. E. WROOT. ("Bookman, 1897."—Also see "Hx. Guardian" Almanack, 1898).
"Struggles of an Old Chartist," (1887) by BENJ. WILSON of Salterhebble.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AKROYD AND CROSSLEYS—RAILWAYS—THE GROWTH OF THE TOWN—SEWERS AND WATER—INCORPORATION OF THE BOROUGH—SAVILE PARK—WAINHOUSE TOWER—F. J. SHIELDS—P. G. HAMERTON—THE PEOPLE'S PARK.

In the early part of the nineteenth century Bradford took the place of Halifax as the centre of the West Riding worsted trade. This was partly due to the fact that Halifax manufacturers did not take readily to the factory system; partly because of our nearness to Lancashire, there were more cotton than worsted mills in the parish; and partly because the hills hindered communication with the outside world. However, from about 1840, Halifax received a new impetus to growth from the two great firms of Akroyds and Crossleys. We have already seen how the Akroyds conducted their business before the days of the factories. They built a mill at Brookhouse, (now in ruins) run at first by a water-wheel, and later by steam. As their business grew, they found that Brookhouse was an out-of-the-way place for a big mill, so they came farther down the valley, and built gigantic places at Old Lane, Bowling Dyke, and in Haley Hill, with a huge warehouse and offices between Akroyd Place and Northgate. Akroyds developed into one of the largest worsted manufacturing firms in the kingdom, and specialised in damasks and other fancy fabrics.

Crossleys built up their Dean Clough Mills from very small beginnings. John Crossley was a carpet weaver for Currie at Luddenden Foot, and he became manager of Job Lee's carpet works in the Lower George Yard about 1800. Four years later, Lee died very

suddenly, and John Crossley went into partnership with two others to carry on the business. Not long afterwards, John Crossley, with another two partners, took a small mill at Dean Clough, and after twenty years trading there was £4,200 to divide among the three. The mill then became his sole property, and as his sons, John, Joseph, and Francis grew up, he took them into partnership. John Crossley, senior, died in 1837, before the works had become famous. About this time, machine looms were being introduced for weaving, and the younger Crossleys turned their attention to the invention of a power-loom that would weave carpets, and at length they succeeded in making a practical loom. After this, Dean Clough Mills increased at a rapid rate.

One of the problems that confronted these manufacturers was to get the new railways to Halifax. The first line to come near the town was the Manchester and Leeds Railway. Its route was down the Calder Valley, and Leeds was reached through Normanton. So that in 1842, passengers from Manchester had to alight at Sowerby Bridge, and take an omnibus to Halifax; Brighouse was the nearest station to Bradford, and Cooper Bridge was the station for Huddersfield. In July, 1844, the branch line from North Dean to Halifax was opened, and the first locomotive steamed into the town. The station was at Shaw Syke and it was a terminus, for a few more years elapsed before the line was made to Bradford. It was not until August 1st, 1854, that the line to Leeds, via Bowling, was completed. The Ovenden Railway to Queensbury and Keighley, was only finished in 1879. The early railways were made in a piece-meal fashion, as the turnpike roads

had been, and not with a broad outlook. The Great Northern and Midland Companies were jealous rivals, and spent much of their energies in opposing each other's schemes. Both Crossleys and Akroyds were keenly interested in railway development, for Halifax was handicapped because of its indifferent railway facilities.

The town grew tremendously during the first half of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century, the houses and shops on Northgate extended no farther than Northgate End Chapel. Northgate Hotel, when it was converted from a residence into an inn, was said to be too far out of the town to succeed. The Baptist Chapel at the bottom of Pellon Lane was called "Top o' t' Town Chapel." King Cross Lane, Hopwood Lane, Gibbet Lane, and the other main roads of the upper part of Halifax were really lanes with fields on either hand, though they do not look in the least like lanes to-day. James Bolton, a famous botanist, who lived at Stannary, *near* Halifax at the end of the eighteenth century, collected ferns and fungi about Lee Bridge, in the woods between Birks Hall and Pellon Lane, and in Cross Fields. This gives some idea how different a place Halifax was from the town we know, for there were gardens and fields behind the Crown Street shops, and between the Parish Church and the brook. Some new groups of houses were built in the higher part of the township, and named after famous victories of the time—Trafalgar, Dunkirk, and Gibraltar. As Akroyds and Crossleys gradually filled the valley above North Bridge with big mills, and as Shaw Lodge Mills and others were erected, more houses were required for the workpeople. Many dwellings were built on the

other side of the stream, at Lee Bank, Haley Hill, Southowram Bank, and Caddy Field. Edward Akroyd said in 1847, that Halifax had become like 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. The land near North Bridge was a very convenient site for dwellings for the work-people. Such a plot of land, divided into gardens, and known as "The Park" was sold by auction in 1808. On it were erected rows of houses which still bear the names of Park Street and Grove Street. Mount Pleasant, adjacent to Dean Clough, was opened out and at first called Go Ahead. Its streets are named after the Corn Law Repeal heroes—Bright, Cobden, Fitzwilliam, Wilson, etc. West Hill Park, formerly famed for foot-races, was developed as a model estate. Its terraces were named Cromwell, Milton, Hampden, because these seventeenth century heroes were favourites of the men who built these houses. Edward Akroyd devoted much thought and money to the laying out of a "garden city" near Boothtown, which was afterwards known as Akroydon. The names of the streets reveal his interest in the great cathedrals—Chester, York, Ripon, Beverley, Salisbury. The houses are more ornamental than ordinary ones; gardens were provided and a little park. At the bottom end of the town, the ground was overcrowded with small, miserable houses, a large proportion of which were cleared away before the end of the century.

There is a little feature about the houses of fifty or more years ago that is worth noticing. Near to the house door, close to the ground, is a small recess where there was once a scraper. In most cases, the iron bar

has rusted away, and a little useless hollow remains. They can be seen for example in Lister Lane, Crossley Terrace, or Westgate. When the houses were built, everyone had to scrape the thick mud off his boots before he entered, because the streets were very filthy, as they were un-paved and seldom swept. Even so late as 1872, the newspapers recording the funeral of Sir Francis Crossley, mention the fact that many of the

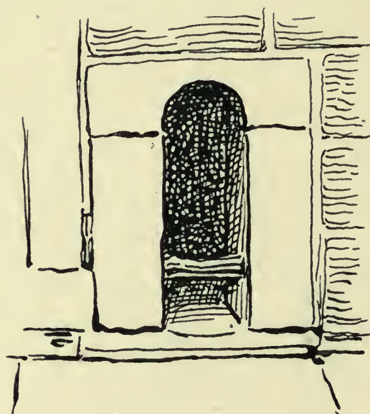


Fig. 89.—Door Scraper.

elderly gentlemen could not walk in the procession, because of the dirty condition of the roads between the town and the General Cemetery. We can scarcely imagine the unhealthy and insanitary condition of the town in the forties. To remedy the bad state of affairs, the borough was incorporated in 1848, and the Town Council elected by the ratepayers sought powers to better the sanitation and the water supply, and to clean the streets. It was a heavy task. There was very much disease, and a terribly high death-rate. Fevers

often raged in the houses at the bottom end of the town, and many lives were lost that ought to have been saved. The new Municipal Borough of Halifax included the old township of Halifax, and those small portions of Northowram and Southowram that were in the Parliamentary Borough.

Water was so scarce that one alderman said that people told him they had to steal it. About eight hundred people depended on a dropping-well near Berry Lane. This water came from a spring in the cellar of the Cat in the Window Inn, about seven yards from the Parish Church graveyard, and thence flowed, close to a main sewer, to the dropping place by the bridge. Sewage and the washings of barrels often soaked into the well. Many people had to go half-a-mile for water, and some declared they were not able to get their breakfast until after mid-day for want of water. Others were up at two o'clock in the morning to be first at the well, and women often wasted three and four hours a day fetching water. In 1848, the Victoria Reservoir in Gibbet Lane was made to find work for a large number of men who were thrown out of employment by the new textile machinery. They were paid a shilling a day for six hours work. As the town grew, the Corporation had to look farther afield for the water supply. Fortunately the hills to the north and west of Halifax are covered with peat moors, which act like enormous sponges in retaining a considerable portion of the rainfall that the westerly wind brings over. The reservoirs at Ogden, Widdop, Walshaw Dean, Fly Flatts, etc., provide us with a bountiful supply of good water. When the Corporation was formed, the sewers of the town were disgraceful. Behind Cheapside, for instance,

there was an open drain. In rainy weather, a stream flowed down and the houses emptied all their filth and rubbish into the stream. The drains that were made were either cut through the solid rock, or else made square and lined with stones. In either case, the sewage leaked through the cracks and oozed up in all kinds of places. A heavy thunderstorm choked the

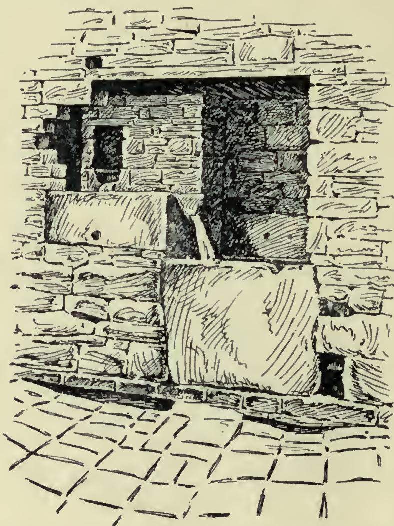


Fig. 90.—Drinking Trough for Man or Beast.
(The old method of water supply.)

drains and filled cellars and houses with a flood of sewage. The Corporation made a new system of drains and sewers, and though it was an expensive undertaking, it made the town a much healthier place to live in. Gradually the streets were paved, foot-paths were made, the roads drained, swept, and kept sweet and clean. The health of the people is the first consideration of the

Corporation, but many other duties have been added to its programme. Our Aldermen and Councillors have charge of the markets and slaughter-houses, and keep watch over the purity of our food. They organise the police force, keep the parks in order, and provide new open spaces when required. They are responsible for the education of our boys and girls, and for the upkeep of libraries and museums. They run the electric cars, and do many more useful things. The Town Council is simply a committee elected to do work for the whole of the people, and as there are so many activities that can be better managed if we all work together, the work of the Council is likely to grow vaster in the future.

We have considered how the Crossleys and Akroyds laid the foundations of their businesses and their fortunes, and how much they contributed to the growth of modern Halifax. They were the leaders in local public life while Halifax was setting its house in order, and as Members of Parliament, they voiced the aspirations of the North in the reformed House of Commons. Beyond all this, their princely gifts to their native town have made the names, Akroyd and Crossley, the brightest in the story of the nineteenth century, nay! of many centuries. Edward Akroyd, John, Joseph, and Francis Crossley, were four men who have inscribed their names in beautiful characters across the map of Halifax, and we cannot walk far without coming across some monument of their planning and generosity. The Orphanage on Savile Park, the Almshouses on Arden Road and on Margaret Street, were erected and endowed by the Crossley brothers. Sir Francis Crossley gave the People's Park and Halifax was one of the earliest, among the large towns, to have such a public park.

The Crossleys were the principal contributors to the building of the handsome Square Congregational Church. Edward Akroyd spent a fortune on All Souls' Church, which is one of the finest modern gothic churches, and is considered the masterpiece of the famous architect, Sir Gilbert Scott. Akroyd planned Akroydon as a model suburb, and built Copley as a model village. Akroydon and Copley had their flower shows, and gardening (which was not a common art in Halifax) was encouraged. Edward Akroyd was keenly interested in education and the Working Men's College at Haley Hill, and the various classes in connection with it provided an education that was a blessing to many Halifax men. Edward Akroyd was an enthusiastic supporter of the Volunteers, and he became colonel of the local battalion, hence he is usually referred to as Colonel Akroyd. He was also a pioneer in savings banks, and the Yorkshire Penny Bank was founded years before the government instituted the Post Office Savings Bank. His inspiration for that piece of work came from a sermon he heard by Charles Kingsley (the author of "Westward Ho!" "Alton Locke," etc.) There is a statue of Sir Francis Crossley in the People's Park, and one of Colonel Akroyd close to All Souls' Church. Our libraries and museums are housed in mansions that were once the homes of these men, and their gardens are now our parks.

The Borough of Halifax gradually extended its area, and in 1864 the Town Council contemplated pushing the boundary line beyond the little valley that runs from Haugh Shaw to Shaw Syke. The township of Skircoat was interested about the future of Skircoat Moor, and the Freeholders elected a committee to watch their interests.

These landowners had the right to use the common for pasturing their cattle, sheep, or donkeys, and it was contended that the lord of the manor could not dispose of the moor without their consent. Skircoat Moor has survived as an unenclosed common, and somehow escaped the various methods of enclosure that we have noted in this story. Some members of the Corporation wished to plant trees, to make walks and other alterations, while some went so far as to suggest building a wall around the moor. However, the Freeholders of Skircoat stood out against these alterations, and even went to law before the Corporation would submit that Skircoat Moor should remain unenclosed for the benefit of the public for ever.

The Freeholders received the nominal sum of £201 for their rights. After they had paid their solicitor's costs the balance was put into the bank, and in 1889 this balance, which with interest had become £264 10s. 2d., was given to the building fund of the new Infirmary. Capt. Henry Savile, of Rufford Abbey, accepted the nominal sum of £100 for his rights, and as a memorial of his great generosity, Skircoat Moor was named Savile Park. It was estimated that the Moor was then worth £40,000. But its monetary value is not everything; as a recreation ground and an open space, Savile Park is a priceless possession of the town. Captain Savile made one condition, or expressed the wish, that the Council would do all in its power to abate the smoke nuisance. We still have a smoke-polluted atmosphere, though older people tell us it was worse forty or fifty years ago.

The mention of smoke introduces us to J. E. Wainhouse, an enthusiastic member of the Skircoat

Freeholders committee, who wrote many letters explaining their ancient right to the commons. His monument is the Octagon Tower, and as it overlooks the Moor, it is only fitting that we should notice the Tower and its builder. Wainhouse owned the Washer Lane Dyeworks, and in order to abate the smoke nuisance he determined to erect a tall chimney on the hill-side above Washer Lane. He had a passion for good architecture, and he commissioned his architect to build him a beautiful mill chimney, for the existing tall chimney stacks were considered to be the ugliest things ever built. The result was a chimney and tower combined. In the centre is the chimney flue, and around the flue a spiral staircase within the octagon tower leads up to a handsome balcony, while the whole is crowned by an elaborate dome. Some authorities have deemed it to be the finest piece of architecture in Halifax. It is certainly a striking landmark. The Tower was also nicknamed "Wainhouse's Folly" by people who could not appreciate a thing of beauty, but who thought it a waste of money. Wainhouse sold the dyeworks before his tower was completed, and so the Octagon Tower was never used as a chimney. He also built some handsome houses about Washer Lane, and embellished rows of ordinary cottages with fine porches, chimneys, and railings. Wainhouse Terrace, tucked out of sight between the Burnley and Rochdale Roads, is a remarkable row. They are only "gallery" houses, but the gallery is of such architectural character that it would grace any university building.

Though smoke has spoiled much of our country-side, and modern industry made ugly blots upon it, we are never very far from wild and unspoiled hills. Halifax

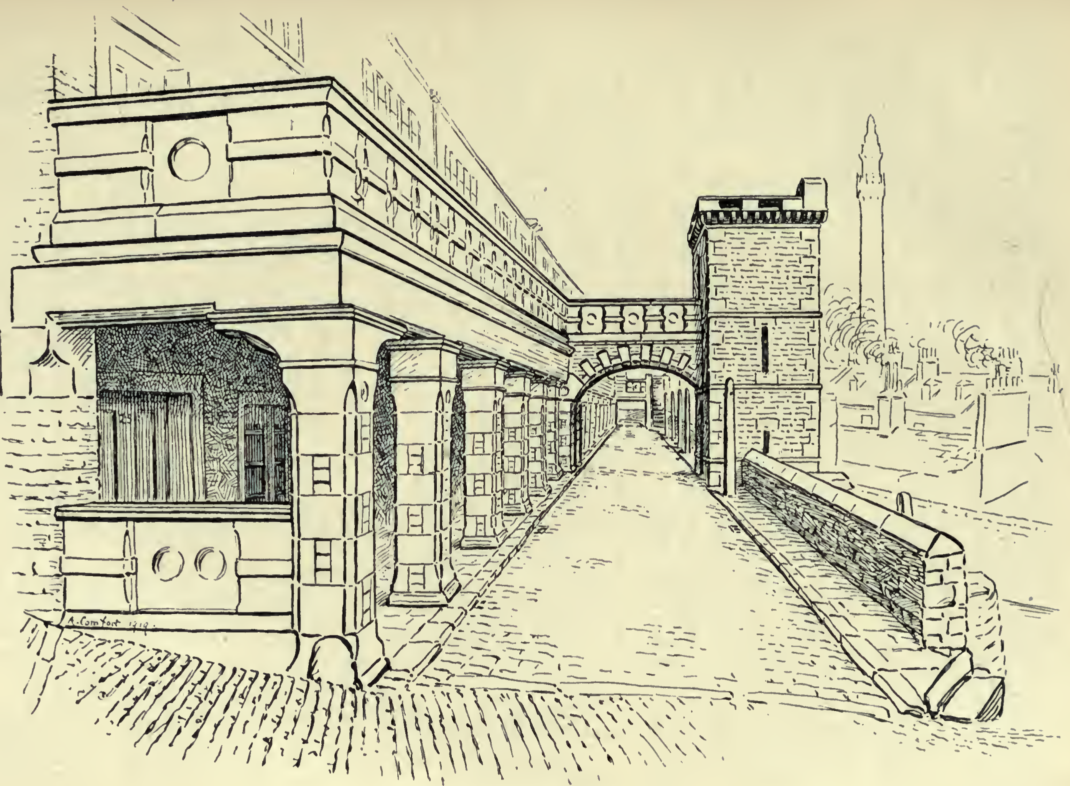


Fig. 91.—Wainhouse Terrace.

is the most westerly of the great West Riding towns, and further to the west are the fine moors and beautiful cloughs of the Pennines. Let me tell you of two men—two artists—who have acknowledged the debt they owed to the moorlands of Halifax Parish. Frederic Shields, who was born very poor, had a hard struggle to become a painter. His earliest encouragement came when Stott, an engraver in Swine Market, offered him a post at fifty shillings a week. Shields only stayed in Halifax about a year (1856), lodging at No. 9, Brunswick Street. Shields was a very early riser, and took long walks to make sketches, before he went to his day's work. His own tribute to our hills is:—

"It made me free of the invigorating air of the Yorkshire moors, which greatly recruited my enfeebled health during a year's sojourn. Shut up hereunto in the narrowness of big cities, I recall the dancing delight excited in my heart by the first sight of wide-spread hill and dale from the crest of a moorland rise!"

In the same year, Philip Gilbert Hamerton, who became a famous art critic, was living within our parish. Hamerton was then twenty-two years old, a year younger than Shields, but he was better off than Shields and had a comfortable home near Burnley. In order to study rocks and heather, he camped near Widdop in 1856, and has written about his experiences in a book entitled "The Painter's Camp," and also in his Autobiography. Here again we are fortunate in having Hamerton's own words about Widdop moors:—

"That month of solitude on the wild hills was a singularly happy time, so happy that it is not easy, without some reflection, to account for such a degree of felicity. I was young, and the brisk mountain air

exhilarated me. I walked out every day on the heather, which I loved as if my father and mother had been a brace of grouse . . . . how is it possible to feel otherwise than cheerful when you have leagues of fragrant heather all around you, and blue Yorkshire hills on the high and far horizon? . . . A noteworthy effect of the months on the moors, was that on returning to Hollins, which was situated amongst trim green pastures and plantations, everything seemed so astonishingly artificial. It came with the force of a discovery. From that day to this, the natural and the artificial in landscape have been for me as clearly distinguished as a wild boar from a domestic pig. My strong preference was, and still is, for wild nature."

In that same year, 1856, the People's Park was laid out. The idea of such a park had come to Sir Francis Crossley while on an American tour. Being entranced with a magnificent sunset view near Mount Washington, his thoughts of gratitude took this form:—"It is true thou canst not bring the many thousands thou has left in thy native country to see this beautiful scenery, but thou canst take this to them. It is possible so to arrange art and nature that they shall be within the walk of every working man in Halifax; that he shall go to take his stroll there after he has done his hard day's toil, and be able to get home again without being tired." There is no hint here, of the genuine mountain scenery that lies within a few miles of Halifax, nor any feeling of the difference between artificial and natural landscape, that Shields and Hamerton knew. Seventy years ago, the working-man had to toil so hard, and had such little leisure, not even half-holiday on Saturday, that he had not the opportunity to roam over the moors. Trains

and trams enable us to reach easily the uttermost recesses of our hills. We can sing with Emily Brontë, the words she wrote at Law Hill, Southowram:—

> "Awaken, o'er all my dear moorland,
> West-wind, in thy glory and pride;
> Oh! call me from valley and lowland,
> To walk by the hill-torrent's side."

I do hope that this little book will help you to love your own country more, remembering these words of a good man:—"For the England that I love is not merely the England of noble towns and the fair country-side, but the England of the spirit, the foremost of all countries in which a man may enjoy the uses of his soul."

"Fortunes made in Business," Vol. III.—"The Crossleys of Halifax."

"Report on the Sanitary Condition of Halifax," by W. RANGER. (April 16th, 1851).

"History of Skircoat Moor and Savile Park," (1908) by C. T. RHODES.

"Toilers in Art, Chap. VII.—Frederic Shields, an Autobiography."

"The Life and Letters of Frederic Shields," (1912). Edited by ERNESTINE MILLS.

"The Painter's Camp," by P. G. HAMERTON.

"Philip Gilbert Hamerton." An Autobiography and a Memoir by his wife, (1897).

INDEX.

Agriculture, 18, 87, 207–8, 233.
Ainley Wood, 42.
Aire Gap, 161.
Aire, River, 221.
Akroyd, 19, 48, 49, 239, 251, 257, 258, 265.
Akroyd, Edward, 261.
Akroyd, James, 201, 240.
Akroyd, Jonathan, 201, 204–5.
Akroydon, 261.
Akroyd Place, 258.
Alice of the Croft, 25, 66.
All Souls' Church, 266.
Allan Fold, Warley Road, 129.
Allen, Isaac, 168.
Almondbury, 102.
Almshouses, 134, 135, 265.
Alte, Mr., 153.
Ambler : "Manor Houses of Yorkshire," 125.
Ambler Thorn : Toll Bar, 225.
Architecture : All Souls' Church, 266.
Architecture : 17th Century Houses, 113–136.
Architecture : Eighteenth Century, 208.
Architecture : Timber Houses, 57.
Architecture : Wainhouse's Tower, 268.
Architecture, See also under Parish Church.
Arkwright of Preston, 236.
Armada, 102–3, 105.
Ashday, Southowram, 16.
Ashday, William of, 27.
Ashwell, Agnes, 26.
Ashworth, Cornelius, 204–8.
Aske, Richard, 86.
Aske, Robert, 97–8.
Austwick, 204.

Back Hall, Siddal, 16, 119–120, 121.
Bailey Hall, 222, 224.
Bailiff Bridge, 148, 253.
Baines, John, 245, 248, 249.
Bairstow, 56, 139.
Ball Green, Sowerby, 128.
Bank, Post Office Savings, 266.
Bank, Yorkshire Penny, 266.
Bankfield Museum, 53, 124, 127, 152, 189, 204, 211, 239, 266.
Bank House, Salterhebble, 134, 135.
Barkisland, 17, 123.
Barkisland Hall, 118, 121, 163.
Barraclough, 139.
Barrowclough Lane, 54, 56.
Bateson, Richard, 48.
Baths at Lilly Bridge, 209.
Batley, 144.
Baume, Isaac, 142.
Beacon, 53, 56, 140.
Beacon Hill, 16, 102, 148, 195, 206, 242.
Beacon Hill Road, 53.
Beaumont, Sir Robert, 39, 40, 41, 42.
Beaumont Town, 220.
Becket, Thomas á, 34.
Bell House, 190, 196.
Belle Vue, 266.
Bentley, Anthony, 138.
Bentley, Eli, 172.
Bentley, Jeremy, 165.
Bentley, Lawrence, Constable, 72.
Bentley, Samuel, Well Head, 165.
Bingley, 200.
Binns, 139.
Binns Hole Clough, 159.
Bin Royd, Norland, 117, 123, 124.
Bird-holme, 208.
Birks Hall, 16, 260.
Birks : Tree Cutting, 72.
Black Death, 44-46.
Blackledge, 17, 76, 86.
Blackpool, 231.
Blackshaw Head, 219, 227.
Blackstone Edge, 102, 149, 153–4, 179, 227.
Blackwell Hall, Halifax, 177.

Blackwell Hall, London, 177.
Blackwood, Thomas of Blackwood House, 138.
Blaithroyd, 16.
Blake, Admiral, 162.
"Blind Jack," roadmaker, 228-9.
Bloody Field, 152, 158.
Bluecoat School, 135.
Boat Horse versus Pack Horses, 223.
Bois, John, 109.
Bold, Peter, 239, 251.
Bolling Hall, 96.
Bolton, James, 260.
Bolton, Lancashire, 142.
Books, Cheap, 254.
Books, Demand for, 229.
Books, Rare and Beautiful, 213.
Booth, Huddersfield Luddite, 247.
Booths, William of the, 25.
Boothtown, 129, 165, 220.
Borough: Grant of incorporation refused, 165.
Borough Incorporation, 262.
Borough, Extension of, 1864, 266.
Boroughbridge, 229.
Bottom, Richard of, 48.
Boulsworth Hill, 207.
Boundaries of Parliamentary Borough of 1832, 251.
Bowling, 259.
Bowling Dyke, 240, 258.
Boyes, John, 47.
Boyes, Margaret, 86.
Brackenbed, 153.
Bradford, 72, 81, 82, 102, 136, 148–151, 161, 200, 201, 221, 225, 231–2, 237, 239, 244, 253, 258.
Bradford Church, 45.
Bradford Road, Old, 56.
Bradley, Thomas, 200.
Bradshaw, 160.
Bradshaw, Colonel, 154–6.
Brandy Hole, Greetland, 232.
Brearcliffe, Edmund, 164.
Brearcliffe, John, 150, 152, 164–168.
Brearcliffe Manuscript, 108.
Brearley, 15.
Brearley Hall, 170.
Brereton Hall, 40.
Brick Buildings in Eighteenth Century, 209.
Bridges and Roads, 11, 85, 86, 186, 226–32, 257.
Brigg, Abraham, 138.
Briggs, Henry, 109–111, 113.
Briggs, Rawdon, 252.
Brighouse, 26, 96, 218, 224, 259.
Brighouse Bridge, 85.
Brighouse, Tourn at, 40.
Bright, John, 257.
"Britannia," Camden's, 111.
Broadbent, James, 191, 193–4.
Broadbottom, Mytholmroyd, 125.
Broadley, Margaret, 86.
Broadley, Matthew, 163.
Brontë, Emily, 208, 272.
Brook, Bridget, 174.
Brookfoot, 40.
Brookhouse, 201, 240, 243, 258.
Brookroyd, 19.
Brooksbank, Gilbert, 96.
Brow Lane, 56.
Brown, Sir Thomas, 136, 137.
Browning, Mrs., "The Cry of the Children", 241.
Brunswick Street: home of Shields, 270.
Buckstones, 23.
Bull Close Lane, 193.
Burke, Edmund, 194.
Burnley, 40, 71, 153, 159, 200, 227.
Bury, 153.

Caddy Field, 261.
Calder, 16, 39, 154, 222–3, 225.
Calder Valley, 42, 155–6, 197, 218, 240, 259.
Calder Valley, War Map of, 157.
Calico Hall: Clare Hall, 236.
Cambridge, 80, 174.
Camden, William, 111.
Canals, 215–225.
Canterbury: Tillotson Archbishop of, 175.
Carlyle, Thomas, 162.
Carr, John, of York, Architect, 210.
Carriers, 231.
Carter, John, Stock List, 82, 83.

Cartwright of Rawfold, 246.
Cartwright, Rev. Edmund, 239.
Castle Hill, Almondbury, 102.
Cat in the Window Inn : Spring in, 263.
Cawthorne, 42.
Caygill, John, 199.
Chained Book, 110.
Champvent, William de, 35.
Chapels of the Parish, 84, 85.
Chapeltown, 220.
Charities, 134–6, 164, 265–6.
Charles I, 137–163.
Charlestown, Halifax, 16, 220.
Charlestown, Hebden Bridge, 220
Chartists, 252–7.
Chatsworth, 210.
Cheapside, Open drain in, 263–4.
Child Labour in Factories, 242–3.
Christ's Hospital, 177.
Church, Gifts to, 84.
" City, The " : Orange Street and Wheatley, 220.
Civil War, Halifax and, 137–163.
Civil Wars, Halifax escapes frightfulness of, 11.
Clapham, Captain, 158.
Clare Hall, 211, 236.
Claremount, 220.
Clark Bridge, 53.
Clay, John of Clay House, 138.
Clay House, Greetland, 123.
Clay, Robert, Vicar of Halifax, 139.
Clayton, Thomas, 191.
Clegg Cliff, 56.
Cliffe Hill, Lightcliffe, 224.
Cliff, Thomas, 48.
Clifford, Lady Anne 131, 133.
Clitheroe, 71.
Closes, Origin of Term, 19.
Clothes, 86.
Cloth Hall at Hall End, 177.
Cloth Trade, 42–44, 79, 80, 112–113, 177–183.
Clothiers, West Riding, 185.
Coaches, Stage, 231–2.
Coal Mining, 79, 183, 184, 185, 224.
Coal Pits, Children in, 242.
Coat-of-Arms, Halifax, 21, 33.
Cobden, Richard, 257.
Cock Fights, 174.
Cock Hill, Plague at, 160.
Cockroft, John, 196.
Coiners, Cragg Vale, 189–197.
Colbeck, Samuel, 170.
Colden, 154.
Colet, Dr. John, 91.
Coley, 84, 101, 135, 140, 168, 172.
Coley Chapel, 84, 85, 142, 161.
Coley Hall, 28, 163.
Colne, 151, 153, 159, 197, 200.
Colne Grammar School, 174.
Combing, Hand, 203–5.
Commons, 233, 267.
Commonwealth Window in Parish Church, 167.
Cooper Bridge, 259.
Copley Gate, 235, 248, 249.
Copley Hall, 86.
Corn Laws, 257.
Corn Market, 60, 206, 225.
Corn Marts, 223–4.
Corn Mills, 23, 78.
" Cottage Library ", 254.
Cotton Trade, 236.
Court Rolls, 26, 185.
Cousin Lane, Illingworth, 235.
Crabtree, John, 86.
Cragg Vale, 155, 218.
Craven, 204.
Craven, Spinning in, 237.
Crimsworth, 198.
Cripplegate, 59.
Crottonstall (?), 21.
Cromwell, Oliver, 100–1, 144, 161–2, 172.
Cromwell, Thomas, 99.
Cromwell Bottom, 40, 41, 74.
Croppers, 246.
Crosland Hall, Huddersfield, 39, 40.
Cross Fields, 260.
Cross Inn, 174.
Cross Pipes, Inn, 191.
Cross-Stone, Chapel, 84, 144.
Cross, the, Old Market, 197.
Crossley, Richard of, 25.
Crossleys, Dean Clough, 258, 259, 265.
Crossley Terrace, 262.
Crow Hill, Sowerby, 218.

Crow Nest, Lightcliffe, 224.
Crowther, George, 100.
Cullingworth, 200.
" Curse of Factory System," 254.
Cusworth, John, 170.
" Cut " : Canal, 222.

Daisy Bank, Shibden, 59.
Dark Lane, 54.
Dean, John, 52.
Dean Clough Mills, 258–9, 261.
Deerplay, Mill Bank, 58.
Defoe, Daniel, 80, 178, 185, 188.
Denfield : Dean Field, Wheatley, 17.
Deloney, Thomas, 28.
Denton Hall, 210.
Denton, Richard, 140.
Dewsbury, Saxon Parish of, 32.
Dighton, William, 190–5, 206.
Disendowment of Parish Church, 168.
Dodge, Dodge-holme, 208, 224.
Dolphin Holme, Lancaster, 237.
Domesday Book, local entries in, 21, 22.
Doncaster, 161.
Door Scraper, 262.
Drake, John of Horley Green, 138.
Drake, Nathan, of Godley, 163.
Drinking Trough, 264.
Dropping Well, 263.
Dublin, Archbishop of, 91.
Duds : Cloth, 80.
" Duke of York " : Isaac Hartley, Coiner, 190–4.
Dumb Mill, Hipperholme, 54.
Dumb Steeple, Cooper Bridge, 246.
Dunbar, Battle of, 162.
Dunkirk, 260.
Dunsop Bridge, 204.
Durham, 96.
Durker Green, 170.
Dyshbyndesherde, 76.

East Riddlesden Hall, Keighley, 130, 133.
Eddystone Lighthouse, 221.
Eden, Major, 158, 159.
Edmondson, Thomas, 237.
Education, 266.
" Edwards of Halifax," 211–15.
Election, Parliamentary, 1832, 251.
Elizabeth, Queen, 109.
Elland, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22, 46, 48, 52, 84, 118, 140, 165, 233, 256.
Elland Bridge, 86.
Elland Chapel, 37, 116.
Elland Feud, 38–42.
Elland Hall, 16, 41.
Elland Mill, 41.
Elland : New Hall, 42, 123, 124.
Elland Park Wood, 16, 186.
Elland, Sir John, 38–42.
Elland Wood Bottom, 256.
Enclosure Acts, 233–5, 267.
Erringden, 17, 22.
Ewood, 101, 152, 198.
Exley, 16, 256.
Exley of Exley Hall, 27, 38, 40.

Factory System, 241–3.
Fair, Halifax, origin of, 33.
Fairs, 79, 80, 254.
Fairfax, 142–159, 167.
Fallingroyd Bridge, 255.
Farming, 18, 87, 207–8, 233.
Farnley Hall, 210.
Farrar, Captain, 147, 158-9.
Farrar, Henry, 80.
Farrar of Ewood, 152, 165, 173.
Favour, Dr. John, 105-7, 113, 140, 164.
Fawcett, General, 186–188.
Fielding, John, M.P., 170, 244, 254.
Field House, Shibden, 28.
Field House, Sowerby, 211.
Finchenden, William of, 45.
Fines and Punishments, 45, 261.
First Bishop's War, Halifax and, 140.
Five Mile Act, 173.
Fixby, 17, 56.
Ferrar, Bishop Robert, 101–2.
Feslei (Halifax), 21.
Flamborough Head, 105.
Flanders, 81.
Flemings, 42–4, 52.
Flodden, 96.
Fly Flatts Reservoir, 263.

Fly Shuttle, Kay's, 238.
Folds, 194.
Fold, the, Mixenden, 124.
Footpath, Unlawful stoppage of, 25.
Forbes, Major, 144, 147–8.
Foster, John, 232, 233, 236.
Foulmouth, Roger, 25.
Fourness, Joseph, Boothtown, 165, 177.
Franchise of 1832, 251.
Frauncays, John, 47.
Free School Lane, 107.
Free Trade, 257.
Fuller, Matilda, 26.
Fuller, Roger the, 43.
Fulling, 23, 52, 78.
Fulneck, 198.
Furness, 41.
Furniture, 86.

"Garden City": Akroydon, 261.
Gardiner, Professor, 141.
Gaylington, Thomas, 44.
Geldhird, William the, 25.
German House, Lightcliffe, 198.
Gibbet Lane, 260.
Gibbet, Last Trial, 168–172.
Gibbet Law, 28, 29, 30, 159, 168–172.
Gibson, Isaac, 170.
Gibson, John, 47.
Gibson Mill, 219.
Gibraltar, 260.
Gifford, Major-General, 147.
Gilds, 79–80.
Gillet, John, 174.
Gin Horse at Shibden, 185.
Gledcliff, 56.
Gledhill, John, 121.
Gledhill, Richard, 163.
Gloucester, 82.
"Go Ahead", 261.
Godley, 163.
Godley Road, 229.
Goldsmith, Oliver "Deserted Village", 243–4.
Gomersal, 148, 174.
Good-greave, 177.
Gordon, Dr. A., 175.
Gossling, Police Spy, 247.
Grave, John the, 76.
Greenwood, 25, 139.
Greenwood, Joseph, 255.
Greenwood, Michael, 238.
Greetland, 22, 60, 63, 123, 232.
Greetland: Toll Bar, 225.
Grey, Earl, 252.
Grimshaw of Haworth, 199.
Grindall, Archbishop, 103.
Grindlestone Bank, Ovenden Wood, 78, 127, 138.
Grove Street, 261.
Guest, General, 186.

Haigh, George of Copley Gate, 235, 248.
Haigh House, Warley, 129.
Haley Hill, 220, 256–7, 259, 261, 266.
Halifax Brook, 16, 225.
Halifax, Capital of Cloth Industry, 13.
Halifax: Cleanest of Manufacturing Towns, 240.
Halifax, Lord, 252.
Halifax Moor, 158.
Halifax, Name of, 111.
Halifax Parish and Yorkshire, Comparison of Shape, 9.
Hall End, 178.
Hall Ing, 76.
Hallgate, Cecilia, 26.
Hamerton, Philip Gilbert, 208, 231, 270.
Hamilton, Marquis of, 161.
Hampden, John, 139
Hardy, William, 80.
Hanging in Chains, 195.
Hanson Arms: Back Hall, 120.
Hanson, Arthur, Brighouse, 165.
Hanson, Gilbert, 96.
Hanson, John, 85.
Hanson, William, 47.
Hardcastle Crags, 13, 219–20.
Harewood House, 210.
Hargreaves of Blackburn, 236.
Harrison, Major General, 161.
Harrod Well: Highroad Well, 227.
Harrogate, 145, 229.
Hartley, 166.

Hartley, David, Coiner, 190–4.
Hartley, Isaac, Coiner, 190–4.
Hartley, Samuel, Luddite, 246.
Hathershelf, 155.
Haugh End, Sowerby, 174–5.
Haugh Shaw, 16, 266.
Haugh Shaw House, 129.
Hawksclough, 237.
Haworth, 198.
Haworth, Roger of, 25.
Hazlehurst, Shibden, 209.
Heath Grammar School, 107–9, 113, 164, 174.
Heaton, Henry of, 48.
Heaton, Robert, 201.
Hebble Brook, 16, 224, 225.
Hebden Stream, 86, 154–5, 158, 191, 198, 199, 217–8, 219, 220, 227, 230, 232, 255.
Heights Road, 227.
Hebden Valley, 13, 14.
Henry VI., 71.
Henry VIII., 89–101.
Henryson, William, 48.
Heptonstall, 15, 17, 48, 80, 84, 96, 154-159, 189, 197, 200, 217–18.
Heptonstall Chapel, 37, 101.
Heptonstall Garrison, 164.
Heptonstall, Manor of, 32, 33.
Heywood, Lancashire, 153.
Heywood, Oliver, 121, 168, 172, 173–4.
Highroad Well, 155, 193, 227.
High Road Well Moor, 16.
High royd (Eroyd), 19.
High Sunderland, 56, 62, 64, 65, 78, 119, 120, 163.
Hill, Samuel, 179,–183, 188, 221.
Hill Population, 15.
Hill Top: Cragg, 196.
Hills, and Road Construction, 229.
Hipperholme, 16, 17, 26, 27, 43, 46, 54, 59, 85, 116, 136, 148, 163, 185, 253.
Hodgekins, Halifax Clothier, 28, 29.
Hodgson, Captain John, 142–163.
Holdsworth Chapel, 70, 74, 89, 95.
Holdsworth House, 28.
Holdsworth: Surname, 81.
Holdsworth, John, 86.
Holdsworth, Vicar Robert, 94–102.
Holland, 200.
Hollins, The, Warley, 129, 156.
"Holme," 208.
Holmes, Mrs., 198.
Holroyd, Joseph, 188.
Holy Face, legend, 33.
Holy Hair, 111.
Holyhead, 228.
Hoo Hole, 196.
Hope Hall, 211.
Hopwood Hall, 209, 211.
Hopwood Lane, 260.
Horley Green, 56, 138.
Horner, John, 211, 238.
Horsfall of Marsden. 246–7.
Horsfall, Lieutenant, 144.
Horton, Joshua of Sowerby, 165.
Horton Street, 250.
"House at the Maypole," 59–60.
Housing: Timber Houses, 56–66.
Hove Edge: Spout House, 186.
Howroyd, Barkisland, 123.
Huddersfield, 39, 80, 177, 201, 246, 247.
Hull, 103, 138–9, 150, 221, 222, 224.
Hunter Hill, 158.
Huntingdon, Earl of, 105.

Illingworth, 15, 27, 84, 87, 135.
Illingworth Chapel, 167.
Illingworth Edge, 87, 88.
Illingworth, Moor, 235.
Industrial Revolution, 215–220.
Inn Yards: Coaching, 231.
Inventions, Great, 236–40.
Ireland, 89, 224.
Irish Massacre of 1641. 141.
Isle of Wight, 232.

Jackroyd, 19.
Jackson, John, 47.
Jacobites, 186.
Jagger, 191.
Jumble Hole Clough, 220.
Jumples Beck, 224.
Jumples Mill, 88, 239.

Kay's Fly Shuttle, 238.

Keelham, 196.
Keighley, 130, 133, 159, 200, 259.
Keighley Road, 229.
Kent, 177.
Kershaw House, Luddenden, 118, 119, 130.
Kershaw's Power Looms, 239, 251.
Kildwick, 200.
King Cross, 153, 158.
King Cross Lane, 209, 260.
"King David": David Hartley, Coiner, 190–4.
King, John, vicar, 68.
King, William, of Skircoat, 106.
Kingsley, Charles, 266.
Kirkburton, 26.
Kirklees, 224.
Kirk Sandal, Doncaster, 64, 89.
Knaresborough, 161.
Knight, Titus, 199, 242.
Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, 27, 42.
Knowl Top, Lightcliffe, 209.

Labourers, Statute of, 45.
Lacy, John, 22, 30, 46, 73, 98-99.
Lacy, Thomas, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42.
Lake Country, 185.
Lake, John. 168.
Lancashire, 71, 142, 186, 222, 227, 229, 255.
Lancaster, 196, 204.
Lancaster, Earl of, 38.
Lane Head, Brighouse, 40.
Lanehead, Ogden, 201, 240.
Langdale, Sir Marmaduke, 163.
Langfield, 17, 21.
Langfield, Henry, 46.
Langfield, Thomas of, 25.
Latham of Coley, 142.
Learoyd, Richard, 106.
Lee Bank, 27, 85, 260, 261.
Lee, Job, 258.
Leeds, 80, 81, 103, 138, 139, 141–151, 177–8, 200–1, 221, 227, 229, 231–2, 240, 247.
Leeds Railway, 259.
Lee House, Ovenden Wood, 115.
Lewes, Monks from, 37, 55.
Lewes, Prior of, 44, 76, 94.
Lewes, Priory of, 32, 34, 35, 89, 99, 100.
Leyland, F. A., 240.
Leyland, Halifax Sculptor, 102.
Libraries, 211–15, 266.
Library, "Public," at Parish Church, 111, 166.
Lightcliffe, 101, 198, 209.
Lightcliffe Church, 224.
Lilly Bridge, 209.
Limed House, Shibden, 238.
Limers Gates, 208.
Lincolnshire, Rebellion in, 97.
Linen Hall, 177.
Lister, 78, 138, 186.
Lister, Bartholomew, 53.
Lister, Jeremy, 185.
Lister, John, 19, 30, 32, 38, 59, 80, 82, 102, 188.
Lister, John, of Upper Brear, 165.
Lister, Joseph, 141, 151–2.
Lister Lane, 262.
Lister, Miss., 153, 224, 239, 240, 250–252.
Lister, Richard, 48.
Lister, Robert, 48.
Lister, William, 87, 88.
Lister Road, 229.
Literature, Cheap: William Milner, 254.
Liverpool, 231.
Liversedge, Cavalry from, 247.
Lockwood of Lockwood, 39, 40, 41, 42.
Logarithms, "Briggian," 110.
London, 55, 79, 200, 228, 231, 232.
Long Can, Ovenden Wood, 119, 129, 132.
Long Causeway, 155, 159, 227.
Looms, Power, 238–9.
Lord Nelson Inn, Luddenden, 138.
Lowe, Robert of, 26.
Luddenden, 118, 138, 155, 158, 218.
Luddenden Chapel, 85, 134, 167.
Luddenden Bridge, 86.
Luddenden Dean, 13, 127, 155, 170.
Luddenden Foot, 109, 218, 227, 228.
"Ludd, General," 245–9.
Luddites, 245–9.
Lumb Beck, 218.

Lumb Falls, 226.

Macadam, 228.
McDonald, Police Spy, 247.
Maceroni on Pike Warfare, 253.
Machinery in Textile Trades, 217.
Machinery, Objections to, 236.
Machinery Riots, 251.
Machon-House, 76.
Mackworth, Sir Francis, 152–9.
Magna Via, 155.
Making Place, 179–180, 211, 221.
Malt Shovel Inn, Mytholmroyd, 209.
Manchester, 142, 153, 231–2, 247–8.
Manchester and Leeds Railway, 259.
Manchester Massacre, 250.
Mankinholes, 25, 66.
Manor Courts, 23, 26.
Market, Halifax, 174.
Marsh, Dr., Vicar, 167.
Marsh Hall, Northowram, 124.
Mary, Princess, Baptism of, 90.
Marston Moor, 159.
Meadowcroft, Dorothy, 152.
Mellor, George, Luddite, 246, 249.
Merchant Adventurers, 60, 79.
Metcalfe, John: "Blind Jack," 228–9.
Midgley, 15, 17, 21, 52, 85, 155, 193, 197, 227.
Midgley, William of, 25.
Mildmay, Captain, 147.
Militia Ballot, 188.
Milk Trade, 235.
Mill Bank, 58.
Mill Chimneys, 82.
Mill near Blackshaw Head, 219.
Mills, Early Halifax, 83, 84.
Milner, Hugh, John, etc., 47, 48.
Milner, Robert the, 78.
Milner, William, Publisher, 254.
Milnes, Charles, Luddite, 248.
Mirfield, William of, 45.
Mitchell, Anthony, Sowerby, 168, 170.
Mitchell, Matthew and Jonathan, 140.
Mixenden, 158, 229, 239.
Mixenden Beck, 224.
Mixenden: the Fold, 124.
Mixenden Green, 138.
Monasteries Closed, 99.
Money, Weighing, 189.
Moot Hall, 23, 73, 76.
Moor End, 159.
Mottoes on Old Homes, 121.
Mount Pleasant, 261.
Mount Skip, 155.
Mount Zion, Ogden, 199.
Mulcture Hall, 124, 160.
Municipal Government, 265.
Murgatroyd, 19.
Murgatroyd, James, 129–133, 138, 139, 156.
Museum, British: Edwards' Bindings, 215.
Museums, 266.
Myleas Place, 76.
Mytholm, 185, 208.
Mytholmroyd, 15, 52, 125, 152, 191, 193, 195, 207, 209, 217, 227, 237.

Names, Place, 19, 76, 220.
Names: Surnames, 43–50.
Napier, General Charles, 253.
Napoleon, Peace with, 203.
Naseby, Battle of, 160.
Navy, Halifax objects to support, 103.
Navy: Hawke and Rodney, 221.
Nether Field, 17.
New Bridge, 219.
New England, Puritans and, 140.
New Hall, Elland, 118, 123, 124.
New-House, 76.
Newlands, 155.
Newlands Gate, 193.
New Town, 220, 251.
Nicholl, Robertson, 254.
Norfolk, Duke of, 91.
Norland, 15, 17, 27, 85, 127, 217-8.
Norland Hall, 62, 63, 66, 78, 118, 122.
Norland, John of, 45, 80.
Norland Lower Hall, 124.
Normanton, 259.
Normanton, Matthew, 193-5.

North Bridge, 53, 78, 220, 260.
North Dean, 259.
"Northern Star," 254.
North Field, 17.
Northgate, 256, 258.
Northgate End Chapel, 260.
Northgate Hotel Yard, 231.
Northowram, 15, 16, 17, 48, 85, 184, 252.
Northowram: Marsh Hall, 124.
Norwich, 137.
Nottingham, 141, 245.

Oaksroyd, 209.
Oastler, Richard, 244.
O'Connor, Fergus, 253, 254.
Octagon Tower, 268.
Oddy, H. R., 60, 73.
Ogden, 56, 184, 199, 225, 240.
Ogden Brook, 224–5.
Ogden Reservoir, 239, 263.
Old Bank, 53, 148, 160.
Old Cock Inn, 123, 191.
Old Cock Yard, 231.
Old Crispin Inn, 245.
Old Earth, 42.
Oldfield, 139.
Oldfield, James, 194.
Old Lane, 240, 258.
Old Lane Mill, 240.
Old Market, 60, 98.
Old St. Paul's, London, 134.
Open Fields, 17, 76, 233, 234.
Orange Street, 220.
Orphanage, 265.
Otes of Holdsworth, 48.
Otes, Robert, 76.
Oteson, John, 47.
Ouram Hall, Shibden, 78.
Ovenden, 16, 17, 27, 85, 87, 88, 129, 160, 200, 229, 234.
Ovenden Hall, 116, 177.
Ovenden, Mill near, 238.
Ovenden Railway, 259.
Ovenden, Ralph of, 26.
Ovenden, Richard of, 44.
Ovenden Wood, 78, 115, 127, 129–132, 158, 224.
Ovenden Wood Brook, 87.
Over Nabroyd, 63.

Pack Horses, 53, 54, 86, 177, 178, 185, 204, 207, 208, 215, 223, 226.
Pack Saddle and Pillion, 228.
"Painter's Camp," 270.
Parish Children in Factories, 243.
Parish Church, 31, 32, 33, 38, 42, 53, 55, 59, 66–78, 89–102, 104, 105, 111, 113, 116, 135, 153, 160, 165–168, 174, 207, 245, 260, 263.
Parish of Halifax, 15, 56, 113.
"Park, The," 261.
Park, People's, 265, 271.
Park Street, 261.
Parliament, First Member of, 165.
Parliamentary Borough of 1832, 251.
Patchett, Gregory, 138.
Peck, Richard, 78.
Peel House, Warley, 125.
Peep Green, Hartshead, 253.
Pellon Lane, 260.
Pellon Lane Chapel, 207, 220.
Pendle, 200.
Penrith, 161.
People's Charter, 252.
Persecution, Religious, 105.
Peterloo, 250–1.
Petticoat Lane, 168.
Piece Hall, 199–204.
Pilgrimage of Grace, 97.
"Pilgrimage of Mercy," 244.
Pilkington, Bishop, 103.
Pillion, 228.
Pineapple Hotel, 209.
Pious Uses Commission, 164.
Place Names: See under Names.
Plague in Halifax, 160.
Plug Riots, 254–7.
Plymouth, 221.
Pollard, Mr., 201.
Poll Tax, 1379, 46, 47, 53.
Ponden, Stanbury, 201.
Pontefract, 38, 96.
Pontefract Castle, 22, 163.
Pontefract, Honour of, 22.
Portinari, Giovanni, 100.
Portsmouth, 138.
Postage in 1820, 232.

Post Office : Mail Coaches, 232.
Post Office Savings Bank, 266.
Poundall, Major, 161.
Preachers, Wesleyan and other, 198.
Presbyterians, 140.
Preston Battle, 161.
Priestley, John, 173.
Priestley, Joseph, 152, 154, 158, 178.
Priestley, Luke, 232.
Priestley, Samuel, 143.
Priestley, Tom, 177, 182.
Princess Street, 224.
Printing Press, 224.
Pudsey, 141.
Punishments, 26.
Puritans, 103, 139, 164, 167-168.
Pye Nest, 210.

Quarmby Hall, 39.
Quarmby, Hugh of, 39, 40, 41, 42.
Queensbury, 56, 227, 253, 259.

Railways, 259–60.
Ramsden, Robert of Stoneyroyd, 165.
Range Bank, 56, 227.
Rastrick, Henry of, 48.
Rastrick, 15, 16, 17, 43, 84, 101, 135, 218.
Rawfold Mill, Attack on, 247, 249.
Records Office, Public, 80.
Recreation Ground : Savile Park, 267.
Rectors, 34, 35.
Reform Act, 251.
Reformers : Peterloo, 250.
"Religio Medici," 136.
Religious Bequests, 84.
Rendurer Place, 76.
Rentals in Halifax, 78.
Reservoirs, 263.
"Revenge upon Revenge" : Elland Feud, 38.
Revey Beacon, 102.
Riding, 73.
Riding, William, 96.
Richard, Duke of York, 71.
Richard the Nailer, 185.
Ringby, 115.
Riot Act Read, 256.
Riots, 250–1.
Riots, Plug, 254–7.
Ripon, 81, 161.
Ripponden, 168, 229.
Rishworth, 17.
Rishworth Family, 120.
Rising in the North, 103.
Road, Great, to and from Halifax, 55.
Roads, 53, 54, 85, 215–232.
Roads, Repair of, 136.
"Robinson Crusoe," 178.
Rochdale, 141, 142, 152, 154
Rochdale Canal, 222.
Rochdale Road, 227.
Rockingham, Marquis of, 194
Rodeman, William, 99.
Roebucks, Warley, 22.
Roger the Fuller, 43.
Roils Head, 153.
Rokeby, Archbishop, 89–102.
Rokeby, Archbishop W., Arms of, 91.
Rokeby Chapel, 90, 93.
Roote, Henry, 153, 168, 172.
Roote, Timothy, 172.
Rose and Crown Inn, 178.
Roses, Wars of the, 71, 73.
Royds, John, 194.
Royd's House, George Street, 210.
Rufford Abbey, 267.
Rushton, Ben, 255.
Russell Street, 168.
Russia, 224.
Ryburn, 218.

St. Bartholomew's Fair, 80, 82.
St. Crispin Inn, 245–8.
St. John, Order of, 27.
St. Joseph's School, Southowram, 152.
Sanitation, Lack of prior to 1848, 262–263.
Sakeldene, 25.
Salterhebble, 222, 256.
Salterhebble Brook, 225.
Saltonstall, 13, 48.
Saltonstall, William of, 25.

Sandal Parish, 71, 170.
Sand Hall, Highroad Well, 196.
Savile, Henry, 87, 96, 98, 109–111.
Savile, Captain Henry, 267.
Savile, John, 46.
Savile, Sir John, 145.
Savile, Jonathan, 242.
Savile, Sir William, 143, 158.
Savile Badge, 97.
Savile Close, 193.
Savile Park, 265, 267.
Saviles, 42, 101.
Scenery, 230–1, 233, 270.
Scholefield, Jonathan, 144.
Scott, Sir Gilbert, 266.
Scout Hall, 121.
Seedlings Mount: Sydell-ing, 17
Selby, 142.
Sentry Edge, 153, 158.
Services charged to Rent, 27.
Settle, 204.
Settlers, Early, 13.
Shackleton, 48.
Shakehand Brig, 85.
Sharpe, Mr., 151.
Shaw Booth, 169–70.
Shaw Hill, 107, 119, 256.
Shaw Lodge Mills, 260.
Shaw Syke, 16, 237, 259, 266.
Shay, The, 78, 199.
"Shears, The," 237.
Shelf, 17, 45, 84, 85.
Shepherd, John and Alice, 49.
Shepherd, Thomas, 24.
Shibden, 49, 56, 78, 127, 153, 184, 209, 238.
Shibden Beck, 16.
Shibden Coal pits, 185, 199, 242.
Shibden Fold, 56.
Shibden Hall, 16, 56, 59–61, 78, 100, 126, 138, 152, 186, 208.
Shibden Industrial School, 229.
Shields, Frederic, 270–1.
Ship Money, 137–9.
Siddal, 38, 119–121.
Siddal Hall, 184.
Simm Carr, 184.
Skipton, 161, 200.
Skipton Castle, 131.
Skircoat, 16, 17, 85, 107, 218.
Skircoat Freeholders, 265–7.
Skircoat Green, 250, 253.
Skircoat Moor, 234, 256, 266–7.
Skylderyforth, 76.
Slaughter Gap, 159.
Smeaton, Engineer, 221.
Smith House, Lightcliffe, 199.
Smithson, John, 47.
Smithy Stake, 136.
Soil Hill, 56, 184, 186, 235.
Somerset House, George Street, 194.
Sour Milk Hall, 242.
Southampton, 105.
South Field, 76.
Southgate, 17, 154, 225.
Southowram, 16, 17, 22, 102, 115, 136, 140, 184, 237, 252.
Southowram Bank, 251, 261.
South Parade, 209.
South Street: Architecture, 209–10.
Sowerby, 15, 17, 21, 25, 46, 48, 80, 84, 85, 101, 125, 127, 128, 140, 155, 158, 161, 165, 168, 174–6, 200, 217–9, 220, 228.
Sowerby Bridge, 86, 135, 153, 158, 160, 172, 189, 217–222, 259.
Sowerby Chapel, 167.
Sowerby Constables, Account Book of, 140.
Sowerbyshire, 55.
Soyland, 15, 17, 143, 152, 158, 179–183, 200, 211, 229.
Spencer, Thomas, 26, 193, 195.
Spen Valley, 246.
Spice Cake Lane, 209.
Spinning, 50, 203–5, 236.
Spring Gardens, 115.
Spring Hall Lane, 236.
Square, 209.
Square Chapel, 199, 207, 209, 242 265.
Stainland, 17, 233.
Stanbury, 201.
Stancliffe, Richard, 85.
Stanford, John of, 45.
Stannary, 260.
Stannery End, 191, 193, 207.
Stansfield, 17, 21, 25, 84, 200.
Stansfield, Thomas, 80.

Steam Engine, 239–40.
Stephenson, Hugh, 52.
Stiperden, 159.
Stockdale, Thomas, 145–6, 149.
Stone Dam Mill, 78.
Stoneshey Gate, 197.
Stoney Royd, 16, 19, 165, 209, 212.
Stott, Engraver, 270.
Street Names, 261.
Stuart Rebellion, 186–188.
Stump Cross: Toll Bar, 225.
Sturbridge Fair, Cambridge, 80.
Styhog, John, 25.
Suffolk, 177.
Suffolk, Duke of, 91.
Sugden, 141.
Sunderland, 48, 120.
Sunderland, High: See under High.
Sunderland, Langdale, 163.
Sunderland, Richard of High, 52.
Sunny Bank, Greetland, 60, 63.
Surnames: See Names.
Surrey, Earl of: William of Warren, 20.
Sutcliffe, Gamwel, 189.
Sutton-in-Craven, 200.
Swales Moor, 56, 221, 224, 227.
Swendall, 237.
Swerd, Peter, 25, 66.
Swine Market, 270.
Swires Road, 193.

Tadcaster, 142, 150.
Talbot Inn, 194, 221.
Talbot, Major, 148.
Talbots, 71.
Talvace, John, 34.
Taxes, 26, 46, 137–9.
Taylor, Captain, 156.
Taylor, Dan, 242.
Telford, 228.
Tempest, Sir Richard, 96, 98–99.
Tempest Badge, 97.
Ten Hours Bill, 244.
Theft: Punishment under Gibbet Law, 28.
Thomas, Robert, 193–5.
Thomas, William, 204.
Thompson, Fiddler, 242.
Thompson, Mr., 159.
Thornhill, 96, 98.
Thornhill of Fixby Hall, 244.
Thornton, William, 253.
Thursden, 207.
Tilley-holme, 208.
Tillotson, Archbishop John, 174–6.
Tillotson, John: Luddite, 248, 249.
Tillotson, Robert, 174.
Timber Houses, 57.
Tinker, Richard the, 25.
Tithes, 33, 100.
Todmorden, 197, 227, 228, 230, 244.
Toll Bar Houses and Tolls, 225–7, 257.
Token, Tradesman's, 178.
"Top o' th' Town," 17.
"Top-o' t' Town Chapel," 260.
Tossit, 204.
"Tour through Great Britain," 178.
Tournay, 96.
Tourn (Criminal Court), 24.
Tower, Octagon, 268.
Town Council, 265.
Town, Growth of, 260–3.
Town Gates, 17.
Townley, 40.
Townships, Boundaries of, 16, 17.
Trade, Foreign: Sam Hill, 179–183.
Trade, Growth of, 78.
Trade, Local, 112.
Trade: See under Wool, Worsted, Cloth, etc.
Trafalgar, 260.
Transport, 215–32.
Triangle, 229, 250.
Trooper Lane, 160.
Tuel Lane, 228.
Turbard, Ingelard, 35.
Turner, J. M. W., 213.
Turnpike Roads, 226–32, 257.
Twining, Thomas, 233.

Ulnager's Accounts, 80, 81.
Uniformity, Act of, 172.
Union Cross Yard, 231.
Upper and Lower George Yards, 231.
Upper Brear, 56, 165.
Upper Rookes, 124.
Upper Saltonstall, 124.

Upper Siddal Hall : Coal Mine, 183.
Upper Willow Hall, 129, 130.

Victoria Reservoir, 263.
View of Halifax, 17th Century, 145.
Volunteers, 251, 266.

Wade, General, 186–188.
Wadsworth, 15, 17, 21, 208, 233.
Wadsworth, Adam of, 25.
Wadsworth Lanes, 155.
Wages, Regulation of, 45.
Wainhouse, J. E., 267.
"Wainhouse's Folly," 268.
Wainhouse Terrace, 268–9.
Wainsgate, 199.
Wakefield, 26, 27, 53, 55, 80, 81, 96, 103, 136, 140, 142-145, 155, 170, 178, 224, 228, 231–2.
Wakefield, Battle of, 71.
Wakefield Court Roll, 30, 35, 38, 43, 45.
Wakefield, Manor of, 21, 32, 33, 185.
Wakefield Prison, 256.
Wales, Mr., 141.
Walker, 52.
Walker of Walterclough, 237.
Walker, William, 224.
Wallis, 28.
Walpole, Henry, 105.
Walshaw Dean Reservoir, 263.
Walters, Hubert, 34.
Waltroyd, 19, 87, 204–8.
Wards End, 209, 225, 251.
Warley, 16, 17, 21, 25, 49, 85, 127, 129, 138, 153, 155, 156, 188, 200, 220.
Warley, Nicholas of, 25.
Warley Wood, 109.
Warren, Earls of, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 38, 39, 55, 89.
Warren, John of, Earl of Surrey, 13, 20, 22, 23, 24.
Warren Shield, 21.
Washer Lane Dyeworks, 268.
Waterhouse, 139.
Waterhouse, Mistress Dorothy, 166.
Waterhouse, Gilbert, 100.
Waterhouse, John, 72, 86.
Waterhouse, Nathaniel, 134–136, 138.
Waterhouse, Robert, 99, 100.
Waterside, 209.
Water Supply, 263.
Water Wheel : Simm Carr, 184.
Water-wheels, 219, 237.
Watson, 178, 209–10, 230, 235.
Weaving, Hand, 50, 203–5.
Webster, 51–52.
Webster, Thomas, 43.
Well Head, 78, 165.
Wentworth, Lieutenant Colonel, 153.
Wentworth Woodhouse, 194, 210.
Wesley, John, 196–199, 233.
Wesleyan Revival, 242.
Westgate, 262.
West Hill Park, 261.
Westminster Abbey, Wolsey at, 89.
Westmoreland, 71.
Westwood, Avicia, Wife of Thomas of, 25.
Wetherby, 231.
Wharfe, 222.
Wharf Street, Sowerby Bridge, 222.
Whatmough, Robert, token of, 178.
Wheatley, 17, 85, 87, 204–7, 220, 229, 239.
Whipping-stock, 134.
Whitaker, Richard, of Skircoat, 106.
White-House, 76.
White Swan Inn, 231–2.
White Windows, 210.
Whittaker, Dr., 220.
Whittaker, Dr. : Prophecy on Coal, 224.
Whittle Lane End, 42.
Widdop, 155, 197, 231, 263, 270.
Wigglesworth, 204.
Williamson, Abraham and John, 168, 170.
Williamson, John, 153.
Wilkinson, Vicar, 60, 71–72, 83.
Willeby, John, and Chantry Chapel, 84.
Willow Hall, 129.
Willow Hall, Lower, 131.
Willow Hall, Upper, 129, 130.
Willroyd, 19.

Wilson, Benj., 250, 257.
Wilson, Robert, 189.
Wiscombe Bank, 148.
Wolfstones, 23.
Wolsey, Cardinal, 89–92.
Wood, Charles, 252.
Wood Lane Hall, Sowerby, 116, 125.
Wood, Richard, 87.
Woolcombing, 199–207.
" Wool Driving," 112.
Woollen Trade, 49, 78–88, 112–13, 236.
Woolshops, 63.
Workhouse, Governors of, 164.
Workhouse, Waterhouse's, 134.
Working Men's College, 266.
Worsted Manufacture, 179–183, 236, 258.
Wortley, James Stuart, 252.
Wrigley Hill, 235.
Wroe, John, 47.
" Wuthering Heights," 208.
Wycollar, 207-8.

Yew Tree, 130–132.
York, 25, 34, 43, 55, 82, 105, 144, 168, 173, 185, 193, 206, 223, 231, 239, 244.
York Castle, 191.
Yorkshire Penny Bank, 266.

14 DAY USE
RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED

LOAN DEPT.

This book is due on the last date stamped below, or on the date to which renewed.
Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

16Nov'59MJ

REC'D LD

NOV 10 1959

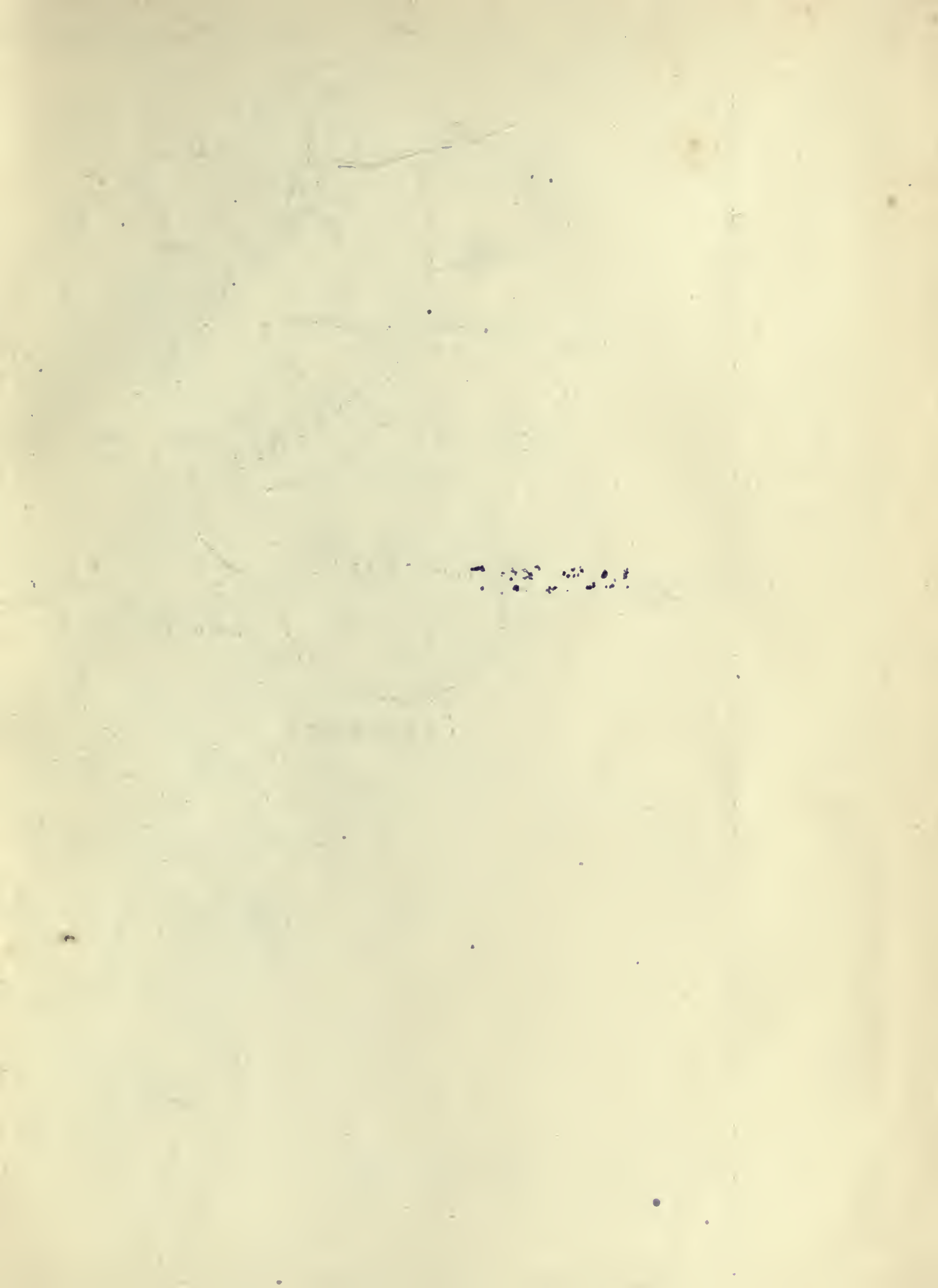
10 JUL '62GP

REC'D LD

JUL 28 1962

LD 21A-50m-4,'59
(A1724s10)476B

General Library
University of California
Berkeley



SEE PAGES 15-16 AND 84-85.

THE ANCIENT PARISH OF HALIFAX

DIVIDED INTO TOWNSHIPS

Old Chapels marked ✝

Township is not Bounded by a Stream, the Dotted Line denotes the Boundary.