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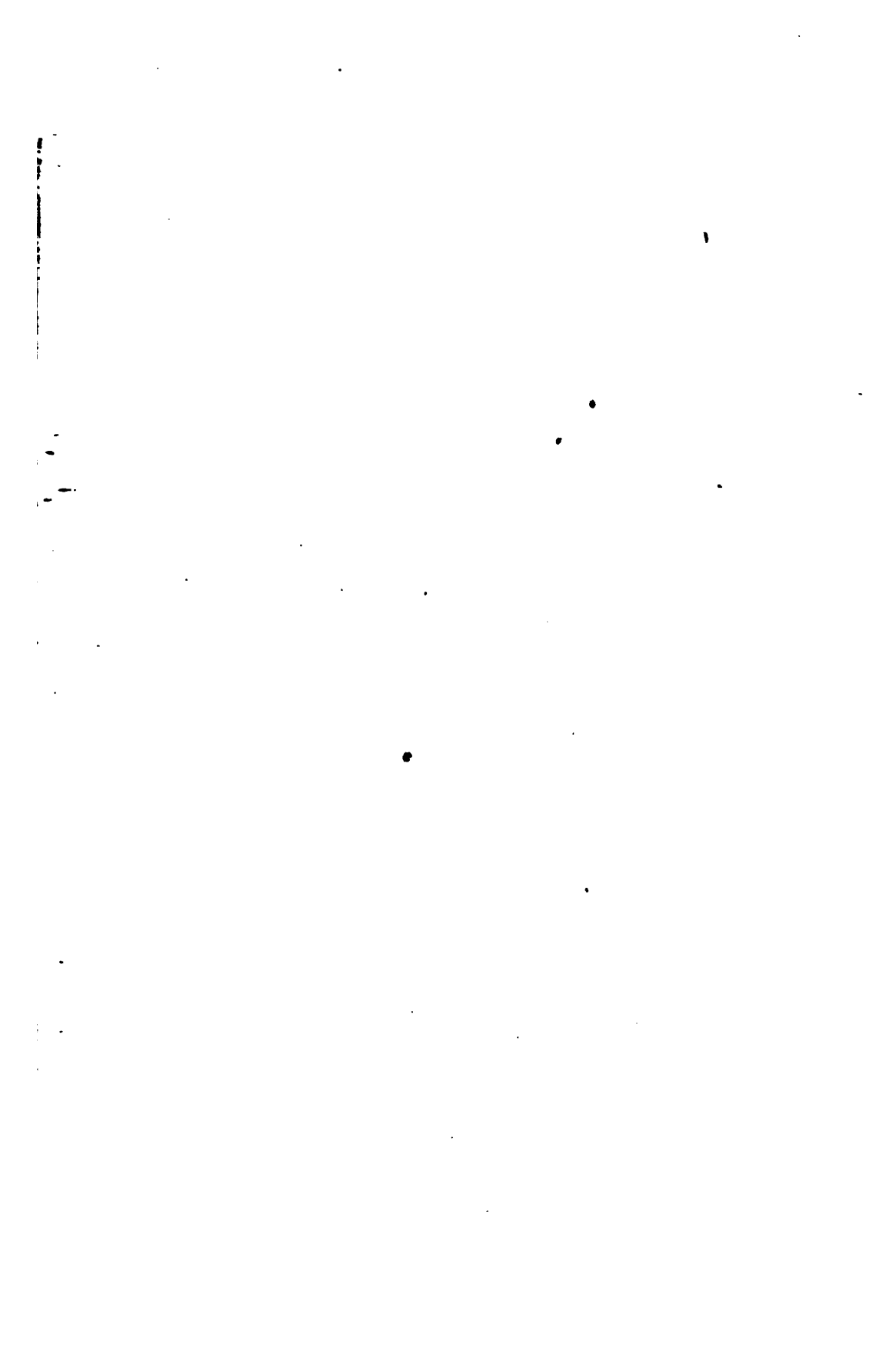


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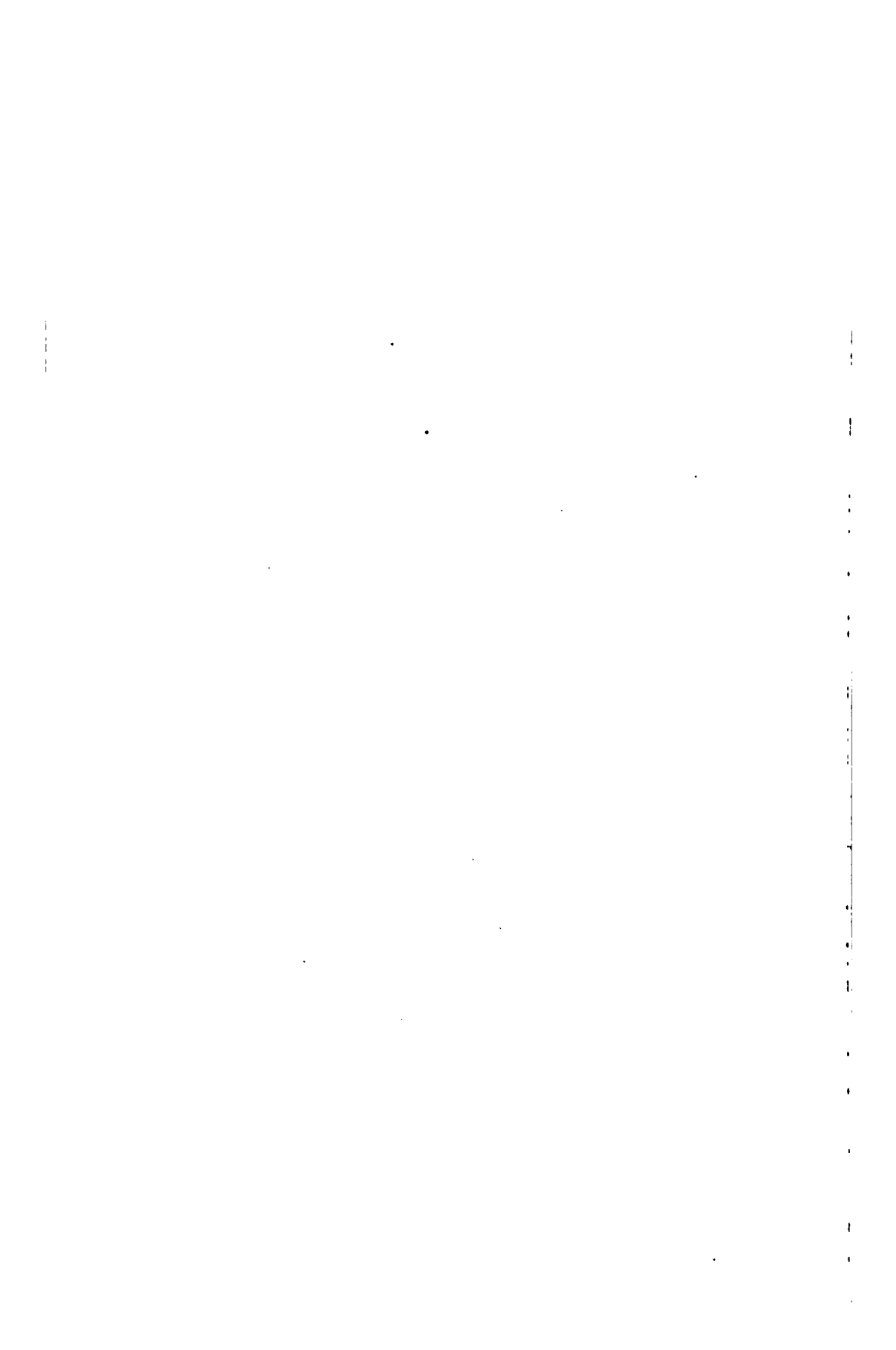
IN MEMORY OF

CHARLES GROSS

GURNEY PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL
SCIENCE







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(2. 2019)

The Bradford Antiquary.



THE
Bradford Antiquary.

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
Bradford Historical and Antiquarian
SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. I.

Edited by Charles A. Federer, L.C.P.


BRADFORD :
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
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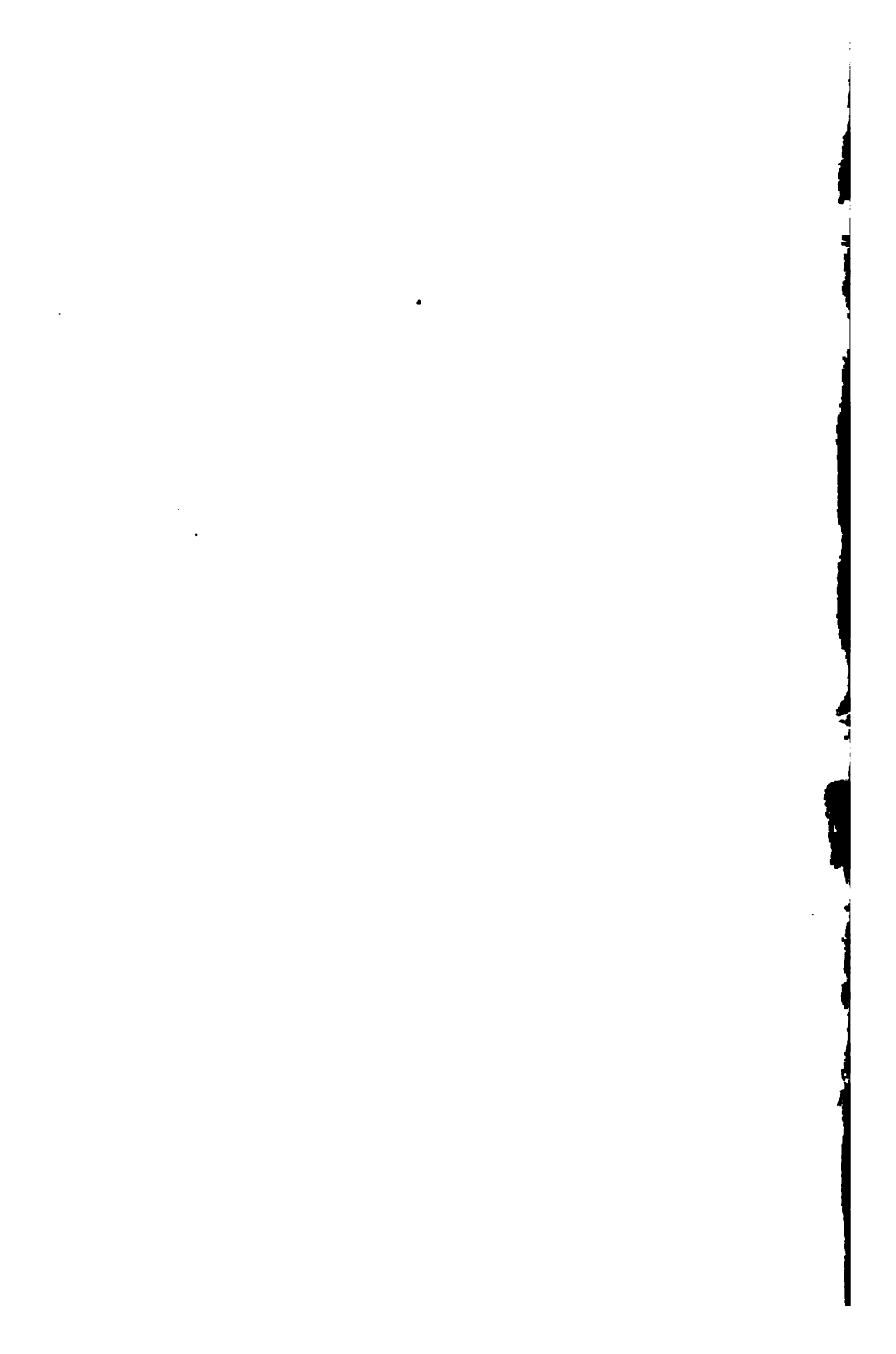
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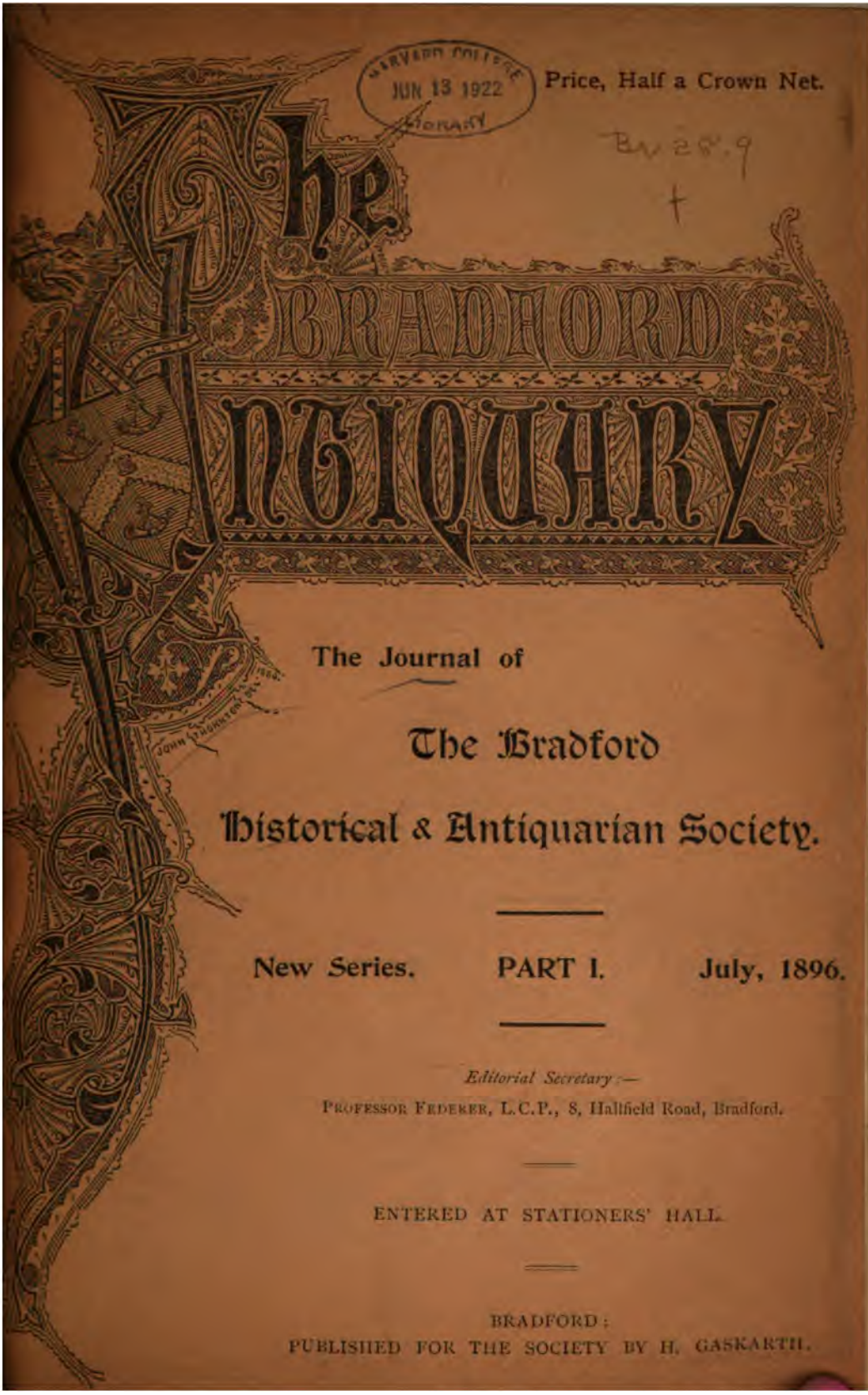
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The BRADFORD ANTIQUARY

The Journal of

The Bradford

Historical & Antiquarian Society.

New Series.

PART I.

July, 1896.

Editorial Secretary:—

PROFESSOR FEDERER, L.C.P., 8, Hallfield Road, Bradford.

ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.

BRADFORD:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY H. GASKARTH.

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OF ALL THE GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES MENTIONED IN VOL. I.,
NEW SERIES (Nos. 1 to 5), OF THE BRADFORD ANTIQUARY.

(COMPILED BY THE EDITOR.)

Abbreviations :—B. = Bradford ; E. = East Riding ; L. = Lancashire ;
M. = Manningham ; N. = North Riding ; Y. = York.

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Thomas Thornton Empsall.

In Memoriam.

BY

WILLIAM CUDWORTH.

*Late Editorial Secretary.**

THE death of our late President, Mr. Thomas Thornton Empsall, in March, 1896, was an event in the history of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society which every person connected with it deplored. Being, as he was, not only the practical founder of the Society and its President from the commencement, but also its most constant and indefatigable worker, the position he held was of unique importance. In recognition of services so ungrudgingly rendered by its President, it was fully intended that some record should be made in the Society's journal during his life time, and the present writer willingly undertook to be the compiler. But while "man proposes, God disposes," and Mr. Empsall passed away before such well-deserved recognition could be formulated in print. The existence and well-being of the Society were so intimately associated with the later portion of Mr. Empsall's own career, that it has been thought desirable to combine with a sketch of his life a brief *résumé* of the Society's operations from its commencement.

* This memorial notice has been prepared by express desire of the Council of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.—W.C.

Mr. Empsall was born at Slead Syke, near Brighouse, in August, 1824, and at the time of his decease was therefore in the seventy-second year of his age. Although residing for over half a century away from his native place, he ever retained a loving regard for it, and paid frequent visits to the scene of his boyish days. The family to which he belonged were among the well-to-do portion of the community for fully three centuries. His mother was one of the Thorntons of Raistrick, hence the significance of the second name he bore, and which is still borne by one of his sons. His grandfather was Joshua Empsall, and his father was named Joseph. Near to the place of his birth a somewhat noted pioneer of the worsted industry, named John Holland, erected Slead Syke Mill, himself residing at Slead House.*

As a youth Mr. Empsall passed through several branches of the worsted trade as carried on by Mr. Holland, but before reaching manhood removed to Bradford. Here he continued for some years still working at the same trade, but drifted from it as other opportunities offered.

Mr. Empsall's inclinations had always tended in the direction of a scholastic career, and with this view he entered Borough Road Training College, London. After going through the usual probation he returned to Bradford, and became associated with the late Mr. George Taylor, at one period a member of the firm of Milligan, Forbes & Co., one of the largest stuff merchanting firms of Bradford. Mr. Taylor was the chief supporter of, and an energetic worker in connection with, the school established at Little Horton by the members of Horton Lane Congregational Chapel, and found a useful co-adjutor in Mr. Empsall. For many years this school-room was the only building available for either religious or secular instruction at Little Horton, and both were given through Mr. Taylor's good offices. Many of the young people around were woefully

* An interesting paper by Mr. Empsall on Slead Hall, where his employer formerly resided, will be found in the second volume of the "Bradford Antiquary."

deficient in the rudiments of education, and evening classes for secular education were formed by Mr. Taylor, and were conducted for some years in the old school. Of these classes Mr. Taylor had the general supervision, but Mr. Empsall had the especial charge, and through the instruction there received many young men of Little Horton were enabled to take up responsible positions in Bradford. The late President, however, did not continue to follow a scholastic career, as in the course of subsequent events he married, and a favourable opportunity occurred for the commencement of a business in Manchester Road, which was successfully carried on for about thirty years, and from which he derived a comfortable competence.

During the earlier portion of the above-named period the decline of the handcombing industry in Bradford afforded an opportunity for usefulness which Mr. Empsall embraced. Acting along with a committee of Bradford gentlemen, which included Mr. Henry Brown, Mr. Henry Forbes, and Mr. William Byles, a movement was inaugurated for, if possible, providing employment in spade husbandry and in other ways for the large number of able-bodied men who were deprived of a living by reason of the introduction of the woolcombing machine. A number of these men were set to work in excavating the lower artificial lake in Peel Park; others were drafted to the Cleveland district which was then being largely developed by iron-mining; while other batches were provided with free passages to South Australia, where they were taken in hand by Mr. Lavington Glyde (brother of the Rev. Jonathan Glyde, minister of Horton Lane Chapel), and assisted to up-country work in the colony. Chiefly through the physical incapacity of many of those to whom a helping hand was held out, this otherwise philanthropic movement was not as successful as its promoters desired, although it did something to alleviate the distress at the time. On the establishment of a Bradford branch of the Mutual Provident Insurance Society in 1854, Mr. Empsall

became the local agent, and held that position for some years.

From early youth the late President possessed a strong taste for historical and antiquarian pursuits, and from time to time forwarded contributions on these subjects to the local journals. He also became an assiduous collector of topographical and historical works and manuscripts, and acquired one of the finest topographical libraries in the county. In later years he also devoted much time and money to searching out, translating, and transcribing ancient manuscripts, especially those relating to Bradford and neighbourhood, and to his unwearied and devoted labours local historians and antiquaries are indebted more than to those of anyone else in Bradford for historic lore which had been buried for centuries. In testimony of the ardour and devotion with which he pursued these researches at the Record Office, at Somerset House, and other depositories in London, an extract may be given from a communication addressed by Mr. Alf. F. Robbins to the Editor of the "Bradford Observer" shortly after Mr. Empsall's decease. Mr. Robbins wrote:—

"Others can testify to what was done by Mr. Empsall in regard to analysing and calendaring the registers of Bradford Parish Church, and the wills affecting your immediate locality preserved in the repositories at York and Wakefield. But I have had special means of observing what was his work whenever he visited London. The Public Record Office was to him a second home, to be sought with eagerness at the earliest available hour in the morning, and to be left with reluctance at closing time in the afternoon, that reluctance being only slightly lessened by the reflection that a full three hours yet remained for entrance to the British Museum, whither, even at the end of a day which would have outwearied most professional searchers of the public records, he would often betake himself, so as not to lose an available moment that could be given to his favourite pursuit. Nor did the Record Office and the British Museum exhaust for him the antiquarian attractions of London. In return for his having initiated myself, as a fellow-student of local history, into the always alluring mysteries of the Record Office, I had the satisfaction of being able to tell him of manuscript treasures, still unexplored, which repose among the archives of the House of Lords and in the Archbishop of Canterbury's library at Lambeth Palace. To know that these existed, and to endeavour to extract from them whatever concerned the town and manor of Bradford, formed virtually a simultaneous operation with Mr. Empsall; and when at nightfall he would return to his London home, fatigued with the physical exertion,

but glowing with delight at the discoveries the day had disclosed, those who had themselves felt the keen joy of successful historical research would best enter into the delight, and understand how the weariness was forgotten. Mr. Empsall's researches into those portions of the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster which specially affect the manor of Bradford, and into that splendid collection of manuscripts at the Record Office, which tell the local story of the Civil War as it related to your immediate district, entitle him, indeed, to an honoured memory among Bradfordians."

Mr. Empsall was practically the founder of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society, and the writer well remembers the conversation which led to its formation. This incident, however, will have a more fitting place when subsequently treating of the Society's operations. From the date of its formation in May, 1878, until his decease, he was its President with the exception of one year. Throughout that long period he was most assiduous in promoting its interests, and the Society was the object of his solicitude even on his deathbed. Mr. Empsall never published in book form the result of his researches, but he frequently read papers to the members of the Society, and these were in due course published in the Society's Journal, the *Bradford Antiquary*. Among the papers so published were those entitled "Bradford During the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries," "Local Royalist Compounders," "The Bolling Family," "Joseph Lister, the Historian," "Bibliography of Bradford," "Bradford Parish Church Registers," and "Notes on Old Local Families," &c.

Mr. Empsall had also for some years searched for documents relating to the Charities of Bradford and the immediate neighbourhood, and had been successful in collecting much information on the subject. In this research he had made numerous extracts which have not yet been made public, but which doubtless will be found in the manuscripts now in the possession of his family.

Mr. Empsall also held office as one of the Bradford borough auditors for a considerable period, and took an active part in the reorganisation of the affairs of the East Morley and Bradford Savings Bank some years

ago. Soon after the re-division of the wards of the borough in 1882, Mr. Empsall was elected a representative for the Listerhills Ward on the Bradford Town Council, and was thrice re-elected, retiring from the Council at the election in 1892. In that capacity he took an especial interest in the Free Library, and rendered good service on several occasions in obtaining contributions for the library. He was also a member of the Bradford School Board from 1879 to 1882. He had been twice married, and has left a widow, four sons, and two daughters.

In conclusion, it may be added that the valuable topographical library collected by the late President during many years, as well as his manuscripts, the result of much painstaking research, remain in the possession of his eldest son, Mr. J. K. Empsall. The valuable transcripts made by him from the Bradford Parish Church Registers have been bequeathed to the Bradford Free Library.

In accordance with the wish of the Council, that a sketch of the past history of the Society should accompany the obituary notice of its President, the following brief *résumé* has been compiled by his biographer. Only the merest outline, however, can be given in the space allotted, but additional information from the same pen will be found on p. 165 Vol. I. of the Society's Journal, and also p. 92 Vol. II.

The origin of the Society is clearly traceable to a conversation which took place between the present writer and Mr. Empsall in the early part of the year 1878. In the course of a mutual "confab" on matters local and antiquarian, but chiefly the latter, our late President remarked—between the leisurely puffs of a respectable "churchwarden"—"Ay, I do wish we could get up a good Antiquarian Society in Bradford. There is so much to be got together in relation to the town that such a Society could take in hand." The practical outcome of that remark was a circular which the

present writer undertook to get into circulation, convening a meeting of persons interested in antiquarian pursuits, to which the signatures of Thos. T. Empsell, Jude Yates, Wm. Glossop, and Wm. Cudworth were appended. Mr. Yates, although an ardent antiquarian, found himself unable from the circumstances of his official position, to do more than give the sanction of his name to the formation of an institution which had his heartiest sympathy.

The meeting convened as above was held in the offices of Messrs. Glossop & Gray, Kirkgate, on May 9th, 1878, Mr. Empsell presiding, when, on the motion of Mr. E. P. Peterson, seconded by Mr. J. Horsfall Turner, that "an association to be called the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society be formed," there was a unanimous response by those present. The first meeting of the Society was held on May 30th, 1878, at the Globe Hotel, Piccadilly, when a code of rules was adopted, and the following list of officers agreed to, viz.:—President, Mr. T. T. Empsell; Vice-President, Mr. E. P. Peterson, F.S.A.; Treasurer, Mr. Wm. Glossop; Secretary, Mr. Wm. Cudworth; Librarian, Mr. Wm. Scruton; Members of Council, Messrs. J. Maffey, M.D., J. Horsfall Turner, John Thornton, Chas. Geo. Virgo.

Among the objects which appeared to come within the scope of the Society, and calling for attention on the part of its members, the following were agreed upon, viz.:—

(a) The examination and reproduction of documents and records bearing on the past and present history of the locality.

(b) The searching and transcription of ecclesiastical or public records, registers, &c.

(c) The preparation of plans and views of places or buildings of interest or antiquity, or other objects that it may be considered desirable to preserve.

(d) The collecting of antiquities, books, coins, &c., especially those associated with Bradford or its neighbourhood.

(e) The preparation of papers on ancient or modern local institutions.

(f) The study of architecture so far as it may lie within the scope of the Society's operations.

(g) The preparation of biographical and genealogical notices of local worthies and the preservation of portraits.

(h) The collecting of materials relating to the traditions, manners or customs of the town and neighbourhood, and generally the furthering of the collection and preservation of whatever may be considered of historical or antiquarian interest illustrative of the history and topography of the area covered by the Society.

The inaugural address of the President was given on July 12th, 1878, the subject being—"The aim and scope of an Historical and Antiquarian Society." During the remainder of the year 1878 four other papers were read by Messrs. J. H. Turner, John Thornton, Simeon Rayner, and W. Scruton. The papers read in 1879 were by Messrs. A. B. Sewell, T. T. Empsall, W. Cudworth, W. Scruton, Dr. Maffey, J. H. Turner, W. Glossop, and Samuel Margerison. In 1880, the papers were contributed by Mr. Empsall, and Messrs. Rayner, Peterson, Skevington, Cudworth, Maffey, Turner, Scruton, and Margerison; and in 1881 by Messrs. Empsall, Rayner, J. W. Turner, Dr. Bell, J. H. Turner, Margerison, and Scruton. In 1882 papers were contributed by Dr. Maffey, Messrs. Empsall, Thornton, Jno. Batty (of Rothwell, who read two papers), and W. Exley; and in 1883 by Mr. Empsall, Messrs. J. W. Turner (two papers), Glossop, S. O. Bailey, Rayner, and Thornton. During the month of January, 1881, the first number of the Society's Journal, *The Bradford Antiquary*, was published, and the second part in September, 1882. Up to the year 1883 the Society's meetings had been held in the Bradford Grammar School, but in the early portion of 1884, by the generosity of the Free Library Committee of the Corporation, a room was set apart for its use in the Library premises, which is still so occupied. During the last named year only three papers were given, namely, by Messrs. W. Claridge, M.A., W. Scruton, and John Lister, M.A.; but in 1885 five papers were contributed, namely, by Mr. Empsall (two papers), and Messrs. W. Glossop, H. Butterworth, and W. Cudworth.

The Society's Excursions had now become extremely popular, attracting from about 70 to 130 members according to locality and other circumstances, and additional interest was imparted to them by their being

accompanied by Mr. Geo. Hepworth, a member of the Society and an expert photographer. Through Mr. Hepworth's good offices, views were secured of many of the places visited, which were reproduced in the form of lantern entertainments with descriptive lectures. Greater pains were also taken by the Council in arranging the excursions to secure the services of cicerones possessing knowledge of the scenes visited, and by these means, and the admirable arrangements made in respect to them by the then honorary secretary, Mr. J. A. Clapham, the excursions of the Bradford Antiquarian Society have achieved a marked success, and during the summer months have become quite an institution in the social life of Bradford and the immediate neighbourhood.

In consequence of a movement initiated by the Bradford Philosophical Society, this Society became affiliated, towards the close of 1885, with the above-named organisation, an arrangement which still exists. Papers were read before the Society during the session of 1886 by Mr. Empsall, and Messrs. W. Claridge, John Lister, J. R. Pritchett (of Darlington), and W. Cudworth. In 1887 the contributors were Messrs. Scruton, Lister, Glossop, C. A. Federer, Empsall (two papers), and G. Hepworth (of Brighouse); and in 1888 by Messrs. Cudworth, W. A. Brigg (Kildwick Hall), Federer, Pritchett, Hepworth, and J. W. Clay (Rais-trick). The papers for 1889 were by Mr. Empsall (two papers), and Messrs. Lister, Butterworth, Cudworth, and Hepworth. An extra paper was given during the session of 1890 by the Right Hon. G. J. Shaw-Lefevre, M.P., on "The Preservation of Common Rights," and Mr. John Lister contributed papers on the "Pilgrimage of Grace," with especial reference to its local adherents. The other papers given during the session 1891-2 were by Mr. Scruton, Mr. J. N. Dickens, Mr. Percival Ross, Mr. Hoffman Wood, Mr. Empsall, Mr. Cudworth (two papers), Dr. Leadman (Boroughbridge), Mr. Scruton, Mr. Federer, Mr. John Sowden, Mr. Butler Wood, and Mr. Claridge. During

the session of 1893 the papers were contributed by Mr. Federer, Mr. Empsall, Mr. John Sowden, Mr. J. A. Clapham, Mr. Wm. Horne, F.G.S. (Leyburn), and Mr. Wm. Scruton, during 1894 by Mr. John Thornton, Mr. T. T. Empsall, Mr. George Hepworth, Mr. John Lister, Mr. J. Horsfall Turner, and Mr. Herbert F. Wroot. In 1895-6 the papers given were by Mr. T. T. Empsall, Mr. J. A. Clapham, Mr. Thos. Mitchison, the Rev. Bryan Dale, M.A., Mr. Wm. Cudworth, Mr. C. A. Federer, Mr. W. Claridge, M.A., Mr. T. H. Healey, and Mr. Wm. Scruton.

No apology will be needed for giving prominence to the contributors of papers during the eighteen winter sessions through which the Society has passed. It will be obvious to all thinking minds that this feature of its operations is of supreme importance, as upon it depends the existence of the Society as an archæological organisation. The Summer Excursions, whilst affording the occasion of pleasant country rambles, are not without their educational uses, and by all means should be continued and encouraged, but the real essence of archæological research will ever be found in the concrete form presented at the Society's monthly meetings. How far the materials indicated in the outlined scope of operations given in an earlier portion of this sketch, have been worked, might with advantage form the subject of inquiry at some future meeting of the Society.

A most important feature yet remains for mention, namely, the Society's Journal, *The Bradford Antiquary*. First issued in January, 1881, two volumes have now been published, with every promise of a continuance of the Journal. Originally intended to be the repository of material of permanent interest contained in the papers read at the Society's monthly meeting, the Journal has fully justified its existence to the present time, as a glance at its contents testifies, but it goes without the saying, that its future largely depends on the material provided in papers read before the Society. Another source of "copy" for the Editor

exists in descriptive accounts of the various excursions to places of archæological interest got up by the Society, but even these accounts involve a considerable amount of preparation on the part of those willing to undertake them. With the appearance of the third volume of the *Antiquary*, of which the present number is the first instalment, the old form and arrangement will have passed away, and an improved style take their place. Superior facilities for illustrating the Journal will also be taken advantage of in future issues.

The burden of this sketch is obviously a call to activity and work on the part of all who desire the future welfare of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society. The field is large, but the labourers are few, and alas! they are a diminishing number. May the example so nobly set by our deceased President be an inspiration to others still remaining, many of whom are doubtless sincerely desirous of the welfare and future prosperity of the Society of which he was for so long a period the devoted President!

The portrait accompanying this sketch is from a photograph taken by Messrs. Appleton & Co. of Bradford, and reproduced and printed by the Meisenbach Company, London.



ANCIENT MONASTIC PROPERTIES.

IN THE

NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BRADFORD.

BY

THOMAS THORNTON EMPSALL.

PREFATORY NOTE.—This paper, read before the Society on the 16th February, 1894, represents the last literary labour of our late lamented President to which he was able to give the requisite revision for publication. His intention had been to join to it his second and concluding paper on the same subject, read before the Society on the 11th January, 1895, and as long as hopes of ultimate restoration to health buoyed him up, he cherished the anticipation of laying his researches on local monastic properties before our readers in a more complete form. But when he became conscious that his course was run and that the tide of life was ebbing fast, with loving regret yet perfect resignation he handed the manuscript to the editor, fully aware that he himself should never behold it in printed form. To the historian and antiquarian, this posthumous paper of Mr. Empsall's will commend itself as perhaps the most important of his contributions to local history, elucidating as it does some hitherto obscure points and conclusively disproving some assumptions made on insufficient data which had led previous historians astray.—(*Editor.*)

THE subject of this paper is of much wider scope than is implied by the term "Monastic and Kindred Institutions," the title by which it is set out in our programme.

In ancient times, prior to the foundation in this country of monasteries, there existed sundry other national organizations of a semi-religious character that in course of time became largely endowed with properties of various kinds by their patrons, a large portion of which was situate in York-

shire and became ultimately intermixed with the belongings of the monasteries. I refer in particular to the Knights Templars, a daring and arrogant military organization, which at length coming under the ban of the Pope as a luxurious, effete and immoral brotherhood, their original virtues having been stifled by wealth and indulgence, were suppressed in 1312—and to the Knights of Malta or the order of St. John of Jerusalem, which succeeded to much of the property of the former. Both had their origin before the conquest, and most of their endowments date from the Norman or pre-Tudor period. The latter body, it should be observed, bore at first the name of "Hospitallers," its original mission being quasi-medical, to which was subsequently attached a military element; when, it is alleged, they became largely recruited by the admission of people of the highest rank and influence, and adroitly preserving a passable semblance of religion in their organization were permitted to survive to a later period than the monasteries.

Early in the fourteenth century the order was in possession of a large number of the fairest manors in the kingdom, and these, together with detached portions of land, quit rents, &c., rendered it extremely wealthy and independent. Its chief establishments were called Grandpriesories and Commanderies, of which in Yorkshire were Mount St. John, near Thirsk, Temple Hirst, near Hull, Temple Newsham, near Leeds, and Newland Park, in the parish of Normanton, all possessions of the most desirable kind in the country. In addition, there were numerous subordinate local agencies, whose duties were to look after the properties in their several districts, to register the wills of the tenantry, to gather the rents accruing from the properties, and to remit the same to their appropriate centres. How they were spent there, no one yet has attempted to explain. The order was declared illegal shortly after the dissolution of monasteries, and its properties were confiscated; but so dilatory was the operation, that sufficient was left

to encourage Queen Mary to attempt its resuscitation, but her premature death put an end to the scheme. Her sister Elizabeth made short work of the remains, selling off the best portions as soon as practicable. For years afterwards, however, there remained a large number of smaller interests in the shape of small portions of land and quit rents varying from 1d. to 10s. and upwards each. The bulk of these rents were of the smaller class, and consequently at the close of the sixteenth century, owing to the fall in the value of money, appeared insignificant by comparison with their original value four or five centuries previously.

These were the last to be disposed of. They were arranged in batches as much in accordance with the old order of things as was found convenient. Thus, to Crossley Hall were attached about 200 items extending from Batley westward to Pudsey, Allerton, Cottingley, Thwaites, Eldwick, Bingley, and even Keighley. This lot drifted into the hands of Richard Sunderland, of Coley, towards the close of Elizabeth's reign. Why he made the investment is difficult to understand considering the trouble and cost involved in such small interests. However, the family stuck to the evidently profitless and troublesome properties for well nigh a century. I have seen a survey of "the Manor of Crossley Hall taken at the court there," dated 1670, by order of either Peter or Samuel Sunderland, which shews that nearly all the smaller rents were from ten to twenty years in arrear. Possibly the scintillation of dignity accruing from the possession of the title, together with the rights of "probate" and "heriot" would be what they chiefly coveted. Similarly the Manor of Coley, which estate belonged to the same order for centuries, together with all its other interests in the parish of Halifax was secured by the Ryshworths who were long the representatives of the "Knights" there. By marriage the same drifted into the hands of the Sunderlands and ultimately to the Hortons, of Howroyd, who yet hold a large accumulation of documents relating to the

transactions of the Manor of Coley. With regard to the larger and more valuable interest of the Knights of St. John, including the Manor of Batley, they were quickly appropriated by wide-awake parties, but being mostly outside what may be called the neighbourhood of Bradford they scarcely come within the area proposed for consideration.

Coming now to the monastic orders—abbeys, priories, nunneries, &c.—there were probably a dozen of them which held between them at least two-thirds of the property on the south, east, and west side of Bradford to a considerable distance. The town itself was singularly free from their incumbrance, nothing as yet being known of any such possessions. There were a few Bradfordians in early times who bestowed small gifts on St. Mary's Abbey, York, and a few other similar establishments. It may be that some of the properties named in a very singular survey of Bradford by an inquisition taken at the Old Bailey in 1614, might consist of items of this nature. No indication of this, however, occurs in the document itself, and it is certainly wide of the mark to call it by the title named, for from the absence of details it is difficult to ascertain where several of the properties are situate; a large majority of them, accompanied by slight descriptions, are clearly within the parish, while a few are much farther away. My impression is that the "survey" was designed as an inventory of such lands, buildings and chief rents, yet unsold, as had formerly belonged to the monasteries—the drift or remainder of the spoil of the previous gigantic plunder. Some of the properties are situate at Allerton, Wibsey, Pudsey, and an important parcel is actually within the town of Leeds. Altogether the document is very remarkable, and would be appreciated if it could be reproduced here. Hardly were the greater monasteries suppressed ere their establishments together with the homesteads, so called, were appropriated by parties near the throne—Bolton for instance by Lord Clifford, Kirkstall and Nostell by Cardinal Wolsey, Fountains by Sir

Richard Gresham—while less immediate and scarcely less valuable estates became the possession of such as had easy access to them. A vast number of smaller and still more distant properties were secured by less important personages, and not a few fell to the share of a class of speculative gentry who thrived mightily by the game.

Notably among the latter tribe were many Yorkshiremen, some indeed neighbours, as William Ramsden, of Longley, the ancestor of the great Huddersfield family of that name, Richard Wilkinson, of Royds Hall, both of whom bought parcels or grouped lots, sometimes on their own account, but often in association with other persons living in the vicinity.

Taking first the monastic possessions in the immediate neighbourhood of Bradford, I find they were more numerous than has been hitherto supposed. Among these there may be named, in passing, Tyersall, an appanage of Nostell, Newhall, Bolling, which, with a fair estate attached, belonged to Kirkstall, Leaventhorpe and Headley belonging to Nostell, and the nearest and best known of all, namely Burnett Field, and the famous spur tenure, Horton. Several of the above properties at the dissolution were concealed, that is, not returned in the list of properties of the establishments to which they had belonged. That this could have happened with regard to the latter properties is remarkable, and possibly they might have been lost sight of altogether, had not the action of speculators brought it within the cognizance of the Augmentation Court. Much excitement and much correspondence and enquiries ensued, the result of which was the appointment by the court of an official who reported, in 1543, as follows:—

BURNETT FIELD AND HORTON CLOSES.

“This property, called Burnett Field and Horton Closes” (says a detached paper in the bundle), “is found to have been let in 1535, by the Abbot of Christall to one James Sharpe, of Horton, near Bradforde, on lease for thirty years at a rent of 44s. annually and the payment of a certain sum of money to the said Abbot, and had in hand by him at the time of the sealing of the said lease.”

“That the said property consists of one mess^e thare with all lands, meadows, wood and other appurtenances, and is situate in the Lordship of Bolling and is called Burnett Felde and is now in the tenure of the sayde James Sharpe. There is also a close of land with its appurtenances in Horton.”

The latter, and equally valuable portion of these properties, is dismissed in a very summary way, which shows that at this stage there could not have been much consideration given to it. Nearly one third of Sharpe's lease had elapsed when this took place, so that there is just room for suspicion that up to then it was not known exactly whether Sharpe was lessee still or the absolute owner. There is no offer to purchase accompanying the above statement, but another statement follows signed by Hugh Fuller, the Clerk of the Court of Augmentation, which is accompanied with analogous descriptions of the other properties proposed to be purchased combined in the same proposal. It is headed :—

“Application for a grant of Abbey Lands to William Romesdene, and Robert Whytyall, of Elland, of parcells of lond late belonginge to ye Monasterye of Chrystiall.”

“Ye application is for londs and ten^{ts} in Hortone and Bollinge, near Bradford, of ye annual valor of 44s. by ye year.”

Ye particular is :—A mess^e in Horton and all ye londs to ye same belonginge and apperteyninge, and also a close within ye villate of Bollinge called Burnett Felde, all which is let and is in the tenure of James Sharpe by indenture under the seal of the late Monasterye of Christiall, but not hitherto shewn to the auditor, and for which it appeareth the said James Sharpe pays annually as above, at St. Michael and Pentecost.

Memorandum. The said premises is no parcell of any Manor, ffarme, Grange, or other Hereditaments exceeding the clere yearly valor of ffortee poundes.

That the premises is distant from any of ye Kinges houses which bene kepte and reserved for his Hyghnes acces and repaire (use) or anie of his graces fforests, chaces, or parkes, of, I am infourmed 9 or 10 myle.

That as concernyng patronages, advowsones, churchyes, or other promocyones thereunto apperteyninge, I know of none.

Item. What ffyne or ffynes hath bene payde for ye premyses, I am not informed.

Item. I have mayde no partyculars as yett of these premyses to anie persone or persones, nor I knowe none that is desirous to purchase the same but these bringers. Hugonis ffuller.

Memorandum as above :—There be growinge about ye scytuacon of ye seyde mess^{es} and ye hedgys inclosing ye lands perteyninge to ye same and

other landes aforeseyde, 60 ashes and elmes of 60 and 80 yeares growthe, usually croppd and shredd. Whereof 50 are reserved to the ffermor there for housebote and hedgebote, which he hath been accustomed to have there, and 10 resydue valued at 4d. the tree, which in the whole amount to 3/4.

What had been paid to the Abbot of Kirkstall by James Sharpe does not appear, nor does what Ramsden and Whittle had to give, and it is now scarcely possible to ascertain the respective amounts because of the mergence of this in the other properties, a lump sum only being named for the whole; but some idea on the point may possibly be derived from what follows.

What was the intended arrangement with Sharpe there is nothing to show, but as upwards of twenty years of his lease were yet unexpired, he would have to be reckoned with by somebody, and it seems clear enough on the face of the records that the officials in their sales did not exercise sufficient caution to prevent injustice to interested persons such as Sharpe. Ramsden himself who was generally the administrative party, whoever might be his associates, was not at all scrupulous, and being moreover a smartish man of business, and of considerable influence also at head quarters, generally contrived, before making purchases, to secure customers for them. In the present case, an understanding, in fact a legal agreement, with Richard Lister, of Ovenden, was executed, setting forth that both these properties of Horton and Burnett Field should be transferred to him at a price named, immediately after coming into Ramsden's hands. But notwithstanding the covenant named, performance was resisted by Ramsden subsequently, either in consequence of finding the properties more valuable than the parties were aware of, or because they had cost more than had been anticipated. However Lister, who was not a man to be trifled with, on realizing the situation waxed becomingly indignant, and straightway appealed to the great fountain of justice, as then was, in the following lugubrious but withal animated strain:—

37th HENRY VIII.

To ye King our Soverayn lorde and his honorable counsayll established in ye Northe Parties.

In mooste humblye man^r complaynge unto your heighnes and your seyde counsayll youre dayle oratore, Richard Lyster of Halyfax in youre Countye of York, Mercer. That whereas one William Rommysden of Longley in your saide Countye gentylman dyd covenante and graunte to and with your sayde subject that he the seyde William affore ye Fest of Easter in the 35th yeare of yoare mooste nowble reigne, should purchase and bye of youre Heighnes oon Mess^e or Tenemente with its appurtenance in Lytyell Hortone in Bradforthe dayle. Also one Mess^e with a appurtenances in Bolling called Burnett Field, both in your sayde Countye of York, which laite was appurteynynge and belongyng to the seyde layte dessolved Monesterye of Crystall, to youre sayde orator and to hys heyres for ever. And also afore the seyde Fest of Ester shoulde deliver or cause to be delyvered unto youre sayd orator one good sure sufficient and lawful estate of Fee Symple sealed with youre Gracious Seall of your Gracious Courte of th' Augmentation of all and singular the premyssez with th' appurtenances to have to your sayd orator and to hys heyres for ever. And for the assuraunce thereof to be done as aforeseyde, the seyde William Rommesden and one Robert Whyttell of Eland in your seyde Countye, Yeman. dyd bynd theyr selves by there dede obligatorye in the some of an Hundryth Poundys Sterlyng to do and perfourme the premyssez in fourme aforesayde, as by the same obligacion more at large yt dothe appeare. By reyson whereof your seyde orator dyd sell fyve Merlyngs (?) landys of his inheritance and payd the sayd William to have the premyssez as ys afforeseyd, the some of Thre Skore Poundys Sterling, and nowe so yt ys, good and graciosus lorde, that as yet the sayd assuraunce of the premyssez ys undelevered unto your sayd oratour, and also the sayd hundreth poundes as yett is unpayd unto your sayd orator, albeit he hath divers tymys demaunded the sayd assuraunce of the sayd William or payment of the said hundrethe poundes, which to do he hath at all tymes delayed and yet doythe, which ys to th' utter undoying of your sayd oratour.

Wherfor in consedoracion of the premisses your oratour in the way of Pitye and Charytie prays youre Heighnesse to graunte youre graciouse lettres missive be sent unto the seyde William Rommysden and Roberte Whyttall commaundyng them t' appeare before your Heighness and your sayd counsaill at a day and place limytted by youre Heighness, there to haunser unto the premyssez. And youre sayd oratour shall daylye prairie to God for the good preservacon of youre moste Roiall estate, longe honor and fylcete t'indure.

Richard Lyster.

This had the desired effect, an order being at once issued for the transference of both properties to Lister, to be held, it is expressly stated, as Military Tenures. How Sharpe was dealt with I have no information, but we find Richard Lister afterwards settled at Horton, where he died in 1570, while his son Thomas occupied

Burnett Field. The latter subsequently succeeded his father Richard at Horton, his son John having charge of the other property, and a few years afterwards letters patent were granted by Queen Elizabeth authorizing the alienation by Thomas to his son John of:—

“All the enclosure of land, meadow, wood and pastures formerly called Burnett Field which is held of us in capite, *as is said.*”

The closing words are singular, as seeming to imply that at head quarter there was no record that this, like all the rest of the property in Bolling, had been continuously held while in monastic hands by that specific service. In 1606 Thomas Lister becoming aged, John his son leaves Burnett Field to take up his abode with him, and John Whitley, of Ovenden, who married his daughter Mary, succeeds to Burnett Field. The elder Lister did not long survive the arrangement, and at his death Burnett Field was sold to William Walker, of Bolling, and letters patent were obtained from King James for its alienation. As has been stated, the Listers, upon their acquisition of these properties, determined to settle on the Horton section which continued their seat for more than 200 years. It need hardly be repeated that this property was the ancient “Spur Tenure” created by John of Gaunt. What was the quantity of land it originally contained has never been properly ascertained, but it is pretty certain that it must have been considerably increased by subsequent purchases, else the traditional couple of oxgangs must have been a misnomer.

At the time when the last of the Listers married Dr. Crowther, the estate extended from the line afterward called Crowther Street across to Great Horton Road, and embraced both Ashgrove and Claremont, Melbourne Place, &c., to a junction with the Sharpe estate westward. On the advent of the Listers here there must already have been standing a dwelling-house on the spot, of a substantial character, with deep mullioned windows, or the family erected one soon after, for a large part of the substantial building erected by Samuel

Lister in the last century, and which is now (1895) in process of demolition, clearly shows that it was built largely on the basement of an older edifice.

WIBSEY AND REVEY.

Continuing the main subject, I find that higher up Manchester Road, outside the Boro' boundary, the whole of Wibsey and Revey belonged at one time to the Monastery of Kirkstall, but the district being, as I suspect, much less profitable than many of the other distant possessions the institution was burdened with, the Rookes' appropriated it all without any sort of acknowledgment. There is, I grant, not the slightest reference to Wibsey in the monastic inventory alluded to above, nor have I found it mentioned in any other documents at the Record Office in this connexion, but I think there can be little room for doubt of its being recognized as a portion of the abbey lands at an early date. It is clear, however, that if any of the older inhabitants were cognizant that these lands were *de jure* monastic property, no attempt was made to bring the fact to the knowledge of the authorities.

A significant fact to be noted here, is that as early as 1548 the Rookes' are found selling detached portions of land on the outskirts of the Slack, on reserved considerations. The following is an abstract from a Deed of Feoffment given by William Rookes to another of the Lister family, called John of O'Kylne (where that place may have been I do not know) in Bradfordale, of:—

A Mess^e and all my lands and tenements, &c., called Bromehill.

Also a Bovate of Arable land in Wibsey.

Also a close called Carr, and a meadow called Carynge, and another called Bromehill Close in Wibsey.

Also 2 closes in Wibsey called the Intacks, and 1 rood of land improved from the common Moor of Wibsey abutting on Deep Carr.

Also 7 roods lately improved from the Waste of Wibsey abutting on Bromehill, at the yearly rent of 12d. and 2d. per year.

Also reserving to myself and my heirs the service of a Plough Boone or 6d. yearly, and Scicle Boone or 2d. yearly, and another service called the Stubble Boone or 2d. yearly, at my Court at Royds Hall.

And I the said William Rookes will warrant the said John Lister and his heirs, against John, abbot of Crystal, against all prosecutions and reprisals

This, it will be noted, was eight years after the dissolution, a circumstance that appears to shew that Rookes even then was not quite certain that the ecclesiastical change was absolutely irrevocable.

I have seen several other deeds of or about the same date conveying lands in the same neighbourhood on similar conditions.

This is the second Lister which settled in this neighbourhood about the same time. In the deed he is described as of O'Kylne, wherever that was in Bradforddale. His descendants survived at the same place till the commencement of last century, the last male dying then in the possession of considerable property, the bulk of which went to a person of the same name living at Brighthouse.

There were many other valuable properties near Bradford that I had not the least suspicion were or had been in any way connected with Monastic Establishments, as for instance Tiersall, Chellow, Leaventhorpe, Headley, Newhall, Bowling, Faweather in Baildon Moor, including Harden Grange (then occupied by one John Mylner who ran one of the mills, for which altogether he paid the rent of 32s. 10d.), Hawksworth, and Gilstead. Besides this, above Wibsey, to the west and north of Bradford, there was a wide circular belt of territory, terminating at Bingley, which contributed largely in the shape of rent to the resources of the Monasteries, as tenants in chief, for many centuries.

HARDEN.

The Manor of Harden was one of the richest possessions of Rievaulx, and I feel inclined to deal with it at this point before proceeding with some of the nearer items. The Monastery was absolute owner of this property, subject of course to the payment of the crown's claims, but the rents though small were what are called raik rents, and although I shall put before you a list of tenants, there are a few considerations connected with it that must occupy some attention.

The records relating to this set forth that—

Walter Paslew, Esq., of Est Riddlesden, one of his Gracious Majesties lege subjects, humbly solicits his Grace to purchase the Manor, Messuages, Grange, Woods, Underwoods, Mills, &c., in Ayredale and Harden, late belonging to the now dissolved Monasterie of Rievaulx, and now to the King's moost Gracious Majestie, the same to be held in capite by the 20th part of one whole Knight's Fee, which said application by the said Walter Paslew is dated ye 18th February, 31st year of ye reigne of his Grace Henry ye 8th (1540-1).

The general suppression of the larger monasteries, of which Kirkstall was one, commenced in the spring of 1540 and continued for several months or till the November following; hence we learn from the above date that Walter Paslew was among the first crowd of the smaller gentry who sought to enrich themselves out of the spoil of the ancient church.

In the inventory of particulars about twenty tenants are named, the properties they held comprising thirteen farms, three walke mills (grain), the Grange, &c., which exclusive of the woods (the trees in which they could not or had not time perhaps to count, although named specially), yielded altogether the magnificent sum of £20 by the year, and beneath this is the sale price which was fixed by the court presumably, namely, £274 13s. 4d., or less than fourteen years' purchase on the rent named. From the documents it appears that Harden was originally called Halton, but the name was changed probably to avoid confusion with several other places in the West Riding bearing the same name. The three Walk Mills unitedly paid £2 16s. 2d., the occupier of one of them being John Milner, as above stated, who lived at Harden Grange, and paid for mill and dwelling-house together the rent of 32s. 10d. The other rents too, judging by the quantity of land attached to them, must have been extremely low even for that day. The price given for the estate would certainly yield a good return and be a very profitable investment, taking into account the cultivable land alone, and much more so when the woods which were thrown in are coupled with the bargain.

But profitable as this purchase was, it scarcely equalled numerous other purchases out of the huge

wreckage, and it certainly would be as much if not more needful to Paslew's large family than to the many other beneficiaries who obtained a larger share.

He was moreover very well aware of his advantages, and appreciated them. He did not, however, survive long afterwards—only four years—dying prematurely at the very time when he was called upon to be in harness in defence of his sovereign Scotland way. This unfortunate circumstance he refers to in his will—

“I, Walter Paslew, of Riddlesden, entending by the Grace of God, according to ye Kinge's commaundement by his letters to mee directed, shortlie to tak my Journey towards ye Scotts for ye defence of ye Reaume of Englonde.”

And further on he remarks :—

“And whereas I am seased of londes and tenements in Harden, Colyngworth, Ricrofte, and Cowelhouses latelie purchased of ye Kinge's Majestie, and holde ye same of my soveraigne lorde the Kinge in Capite.”

The above is nearly all the property mentioned in the will, but it was not all he obtained by the “Dissolution,” setting aside what he might acquire other ways. This is obvious enough if we compare the post mortem inquisition of his father about twenty years previously, and the like inquiry instituted at his own decease. There were two institutions in early times having charge of this class of business, one which made inquiries into the realty of persons deceased, the other recording the estates of wards and successions, and to these the family historian is greatly indebted for valuable material in the prosecution of his task. In the document named, relating to the younger Paslew, we find that he died seized of the Manors of Riddlesden, Harden, Morley, Morton, Est Morton, West Morton, Kyghley, Scoles, Presthorp, Okeworth, Ekysley, Lacock, Byngley, Hainworth, and Lees. But the jurors also say that the greater part of these were, by deed dated shortly before his decease, distributed among his four sons and a daughter who was married, I believe, to Wm. Calverley. This was a very sensible precaution, as by it was saved a heap of money which would have otherwise gone into the coffers of the state.

I have hinted above that some properties other than Harden were obtained in the same way. The Manor of Morley, together with much other property situate there appears among these acquisitions. That Manor was a portion of the belongings of the Priory of St. Oswald, near Pontefract. The Priory itself and its appurtenances were given to Cardinal Wolsey, but its scattered possessions fell into the hands of other parties, and in the accounts of sales by the Augmentation Office this particular manor occurs as being sold to Walter Paslew for £125. What became of this Manor till its acquisition by Sir John Saville later on, has up to his time been an inscrutable mystery to the Morley historians. That distinguished antiquary, Norrison Scatcherd, in his valuable history of Morley, confessed himself unable to trace the successive ownership; he, however, suspected that the manor must have passed through lay-hands, while Mr. William Smith, in a later work on the same subject, passes over the question in silence. You are therefore the first to learn the secret, but it is not at all unlikely, now that the facts are ascertained, that some other writer will ere long be found appropriating it without acknowledgment as the result of his own research.

Paslew had five sons, Francis, Richard, Alexander, Walter, and Thomas, and I think as many daughters. The Manor of Harden, and the semi-Manor of Marley which formerly belonged to the Knights of St. John, he placed in trust for the benefit of his wife and daughters till £40 each should be raised for the daughters as their fortune. The fate of these manors for more than 150 years afterwards is somewhat devious. The Manor of Morley he gave just before his death to his third son Alexander, while several isolated properties there were given to other sons. Up to Walter's decease his cousin George lived at Morley and managed the property for him, but afterward when Alexander came into possession, it was arranged that Francis and he "should fynde said George, honestlie, meete, drinke and clothe yerlie duringe hys lyfe or els to gyfe hyme fflower markes yerlie towards hys ffyndyng."'

WEST RIDING CARTULARY.

A COLLECTION OF

ANCIENT DOCUMENTS, CHIEFLY FROM THE HEMINGWAY MSS.,

TRANSCRIBED AND ABSTRACTED BY

CHARLES A. FEDERER, L.C.P.

I.

Silsbridge, Horton. (2 March 1608-9.)

3NDENTURE made the second day of March in the sixth year of the reign of James, &c., between THOMAS BOWER of CALVERLEY, clothier, on the one part, and WILLIAM ROBARTE of BRADFORD, cardmaker, of the other part, witnesseth that the said THOMAS BOWER, for and in consideration of the sum of twenty pounds of good and lawful English money to him by the said WILLIAM ROBARTE well and truly paid, &c., doth absolutely grant, &c., to the said WILLIAM ROBARTE, &c., all that close of land, meadow, and pasture, commonly called SYLLBRIGGE CLOSE, with the appurtenances, situate in Horton in Bradford Dale, now in the tenure or occupation of the said WILLIAM ROBARTE or his assigns, together with all and singular ways, waters, watercourses, commons, commodities, mines, quarries, woods, underwoods, easements, &c. And also that the said close, &c., be kept harmless of and from all former and other bargains, sales, gifts, grants, leases, mortgages, feoffments, jointures, dowers (and especially of the jointure and dower of ELLEN, now wife of the said THOMAS BOWER), &c. And moreover that the said THOMAS BOWER and his heirs and the said ELLEN his wife shall at all times during the space of seven years next ensuing, at the reasonable request of the said WILLIAM ROBARTE, execute any further conveyance, &c., so always that the said THOMAS BOWER, ELLEN his wife, or his heirs,

be not enforced to travel forth of the county of York, except it be to the city of York, for the making of the said assurance, &c.

Sealed and delivered the day and year within written, in the presence of us:—

JOHN DAWSON.

ABRAHAM LISTER.

WILLIAM X CLAYTON.

his mark.

II.

Lands at Eccleshill. (15 October 1751.)

IN CHANCERY.—Depositions of witnesses taken at the house of JOSEPH FOX, innholder in Bradford, in the County of York, the fifteenth day of October in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred Fifty and One by virtue of a Commission issued out of his Majesties High Court of Chancery directed to JOHN STANHOPE, Esq., THOMAS GROSVENOR, ALAN JOHNSON, and WILLIAM THORNTON, Gentlemen for examination of witnesses in a Cause depending in the said Court wherein JOHN SIMPSON and others are Plaintiffs and JAMES KITSON is Defendant, which said JOHN STANHOPE and WILLIAM THORNTON took and administred to each other the Commissioners' Oath annexed to the said Commissions, and administred the Clerk's Oath thereto also annexed to JOHN BINNS and DANIEL BATTY the ingrossing clerks before they entered upon the execution of the said Commission.

On the part of the Complainants—

JAMES BARRACLOUGH, of Eccleshill, in the County of York, aged seventy-five years and upwards, being sworn and examined,

1st. To the first Interrogatory this deponent saith that he knows all the complainants and the defendant JAMES KITSON, and has known them for several years, That he knew EDWARD KITSON, MARGARET KITSON, and JAMES KITSON, father of the defendant JAMES KITSON, all now deceased, and knew them several years before

their respective deaths; that it is about Twenty Years since the said EDWARD KITSON dyed, that the said MARGARET KITSON dyed about six or seven years ago, and the said JAMES father of the defendant JAMES dyed about eleven or twelve Years ago as this deponent believes.

2nd. To the second Interrogatory this deponent saith that the said EDWARD KITSON was in his life time and at the time of his death seized or in possession of two messuages and several lands and tenements thereunto belonging, lying, and being in Eccleshill, in the County of York, in the whole of the yearly value of thirty-five pounds or thereabouts as this deponent believes.

6th. To the sixth Interrogatory this deponent saith, that having heard of a suit commenced by WILLIAM KITSON, nephew and heir-at-law to the said EDWARD KITSON, against MARGARET KITSON for the recovery of the real estate of the said EDWARD KITSON or some part thereof, and this deponent accidentally meeting the now defendant JAMES KITSON, this defendant said to him: You two (meaning the said WILLIAM KITSON and the said defendant JAMES) are going to sue for the estate and very likejy a third person will run away with it, for Mrs. HEMINGWAY showed me another will of old EDWARDS but would not let me read it, to which the said defendant answered: The estate is all left to me by that will except a few closes, or to that purpose or effect.

WILLIAM ATKINSON, of Bradford, in the County of York, woolstapler, aged thirty-two years, being sworn and examined deposesh as followeth—

1st. To the first Interrogatory he saith he knows all the complainants and the defendant JAMES KITSON, that he hath known the complainant JOHN SIMPSON about a year and a half, and hath known all the other parties for several years, that this deponent did also know EDWARD KITSON and MARGARET KITSON, both named in this Interrogatory, and knew them for several years before their deaths.

8th. To the eighth Interrogatory this deponent saith he hath not, and to the best of his knowledge, remembrance and belief he never had in his hands, power or custody, neither did this deponent ever see, read, or hear read the last will of the said EDWARD KITSON, bearing date on or about the ninth day of October, One Thousand Seven Hundred Twenty and Nine, but that this deponent once had in his custody a paper writing purporting to be a last will of the said EDWARD KITSON, bearing date the twenty-second day of October, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirteen, which appeared to be cancelled before this deponent ever saw the same, but when or by whom or upon what occasion the same was so cancelled this deponent knows not, that the same paper appears to be attested by MARY FISH, MARY BUTLER, and ROBERT BUTLER, and is at this time as this Deponent believes in the possession or power of the defendant JAMES KITSON, and this deponent further saith that he doth not know or believe that he ever had in his hands power or custody, and that he never did see, read, or hear read, any other last will of the said EDWARD KITSON, or any other paper or writing under the hand and seal of the said EDWARD KITSON purporting to be his last will and testament.

HENRY HEMINGWAY, of Bradford, in the County of York, Gent., aged forty-five years, sworn and examined deposeseth as followeth—

1st. To the first Interrogatory this deponent says, he knows the parties, complainants, and defendants in this cause, and hath known them several years, and also knew EDWARD KITSON, MARGARET KITSON, his sister, and JAMES KITSON, all in this Interrogatory named, several years before their respective deaths, but cannot set forth the particular days or times when they or any of them dyed except as to the said EDWARD KITSON who dyed as this deponent has been informed and believes in the month of December, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty.

4th. To the fourth Interrogatory this deponent saith that on the death of the said EDWARD KITSON, the said MARGARET KITSON, his sister, entered to all his real estate, and that in Easter Term, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty.

III.

Lands at Heaton. (7 April 1692.)

Indenture made the seventh day of April in the fourth year of the reign of our sovereign lord and lady William and Mary, &c., being a Bond of Indemnity given by JOHN GAWKROGER, of KEIGHLEY parish, to his brothers TIMOTHY GAWKROGER, of THORNTON, and JOSEPH GAWKROGER, of HEATON in Bradford Dale. The deed recites, that TIMOTHY GAWKROGER and JOSEPH GAWKROGER having at the request of JOHN GAWKROGER become his sureties and become bound jointly and severally with him to ELIZABETH PIGHELS of COTTINGLEY, in the parish of Bingley, their sister-in-law, widow and executrix of the will of ROBERT PIGHELS, her late husband deceased, in the sum of £300, that JOHN GAWKROGER and SARAH, his wife, and JOSHUA, his son, will pay all such legacies, &c., as the said ROBERT PIGHELS in his will dated 2 September 1691, did charge them to pay out of a certain farm devised to them—that John indemnifies his brothers by demising to them conditionally for a nominal sum of five shillings the following property in Heaton, viz.:— a messuage now tenanted by BRIAN ROBERTS, part of which was lately occupied by RICHARD ILLINGWORTH; one cottage occupied by JEREMY SPENCER; one garden adjoining and belonging to the same messuage; one garth or garden-stead on the south side of the way or street adjoining the lands of JAMES GARTH on the east, south, and west; two lathes or barns belonging to the same messuage, with the elings or outshuts, and one outhouse or swinecote adjoining the said barns, the whole lying in the upper end of Heaton in the parish of Bradford, and near adjoining to a messuage, the

inheritance of SAMUEL HOLMES the younger, late in the tenure of WILLIAM CAPPES, but now in the tenure of the said BRIAN ROBERTS, RICHARD ILLINGWORTH, JEREMY SPENCER, and THOMAS GREENWOOD; also two seats in the Parish Church of Bradford, to the same messuage belonging; also four several closes of land, meadow, and pasture, containing by estimation about eight days' work and called by the names of The Half Acre, Marr Lands, Frizinghall Steel, and the Pighil, lying in Heaton aforesaid, and late in the tenure of WILLIAM SMITH, but now in the occupation of THOMAS GREENWOOD; the Half Acre abuts and adjoins upon the lands of JAMES GARTH, SAMUEL HOLMES the elder, and JAMES LISTER, on the south part, and upon the lands of JOHN JOWETT and WILLIAM CRABTREE on the north part; Marr Lands, Frizinghall Steel, and Pighil all lie together and abut upon the lands of JAMES LISTER, the younger, upon the east part, upon the lands of JAMES LISTER, the elder, upon the north part, and upon the lands of Mr. PETER MASON upon the south part; also four closes of land, meadow, and pasture, lying together and containing by estimation about ten days' work, known by the names of The Delf Close, The Coal Close, The Street Close, and the Well Close, all lying in Heaton aforesaid, late in the tenure of WILLIAM CAPPES and DANIEL GREENWOOD, but now in the tenure of THOMAS GREENWOOD, abutting upon the lands of JOHN FIELD on the west part, upon other lands of WILLIAM CAPPES, belonging to the Free Schools of Bingley, on the east part, upon the highway called Toller Lane on the south-west part, and upon the Commons of Heaton on the north part, &c.

Yielding and paying therefore yearly to JOHN GAWKROGER the yearly rent of one red rose in the time of roses, and no more rent, &c.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of us:

THO. GILL.

ANTHO. HOYLE.

IV.

Coal Pits at Heaton. (16 May 1771.)

Articles of Agreement between JOHN FIELD, Esq., lord of the manor of HEATON, in the parish of BRADFORD, and ABRAHAM RHODES, of HEATON ROYDS, yeoman, &c.

In part consideration for certain farm premises at HEATON ROYDS lately purchased by JOHN FIELD of ABRAHAM RHODES, the indentures of lease and release bearing date 13th and 14th May, 1771, and in consideration of an acknowledgment of five shillings paid to JOHN FIELD, the latter grants that it shall be lawful for the said ABRAHAM RHODES, his agents, servants, workmen, and all others authorized by him, at and from "one PITT now open in a certain close of ground called the ACKER, parcel of a farm called WAINWRIGHT FARM, situate at HEATON ROYDS, the inheritance of the said ABRAHAM RHODES, and formerly in the occupation of JOHN WAINWRIGHT, &c., to dig for, get, lead, draw, take, and carry away, sell, convert, and dispose of, &c., all and every or any of the Coals, Mines, Veins, Seams, and Quarries of Coal, found, &c., under the soil, &c., and in the bowels, &c., of a certain close of ground called the CROFT or "BACKSIDE CLOSE" now belonging to JOHN FIELD, formerly in the possession of JOHN SMITH, but now in the occupation of JOSEPH BEANLANDS, being a parcel of the estate purchased by JOHN FIELD of ABRAHAM RHODES, for so long only as ABRAHAM RHODES shall continue owner of WAINWRIGHT'S FARM but no longer. ABRAHAM RHODES, his workmen, &c., shall also have full liberty to go down into a certain pit now open in a certain other close of ground called the CROFT lying on the north side of and belonging to a messuage at HEATON ROYDS where ABRAHAM RHODES now dwells, being also parcel of the lands purchased by JOHN FIELD of ABRAHAM RHODES, "to cleanse, open, scour, and keep open, a certain sough or drain there, heretofore driven, sunk, and made, and now open for the

“draining the coals,” and for that purpose to take out of this last mentioned pit, earth, dirt, stone, coal, &c., but only for ABRAHAM RHODES’ own use, but not to sell or dispose of, also to drain the same by any other way except sinking of pits or breaking the soil. JOHN FIELD disclaims all and every Lord’s Rent on WAINWRIGHT’S FARM as long as it remains in the possession of ABRAHAM RHODES, but whenever he shall sell or convey the same, it shall be subject to a Rent of five shillings and one penny per annum to the lord of the manor for ever. Also that ABRAHAM RHODES and his tenants, occupiers of WAINWRIGHT FARM, “shall have for the same period of time the sole use and free liberty of sitting in and enjoying all and every or any seat and seats, pew and pews, situate in the Parish Church of Bradford,” &c., allotted to any part of the lands purchased by JOHN FIELD of ABRAHAM RHODES.

JN^o. FIELD. ABRAHAM RHODES.

Witnesses: JOHN EAGLE.
JOHN BENTLEY, Jun.
JN^o. BINNS.

V.

Messuage at Heaton, Heaton Woods and Frizinghall Milldam.

(31 July 1575.)

Indenture of lease made the last day of July in the 17th year of the reign of our sovereign lady Elizabeth, Queen, &c., between JOHN BATTE (Batty), of Birstall, in the County of York, gentleman, of the one part, and THOMAS GREENGATE (Greengate). of Heaton, husbandman, of the other part. JOHN BATTY, in consideration of a certain sum of money paid to him by THOMAS GREENGATE, “demiseth, graunteth, and to ferme dothe lette” unto the said THOMAS GREENGATE one messuage with the appurtenances in HEATON now

in the occupation of the said Thomas, together with "all landes, tenements, cloises, meadows, woodes, commons, and pastures to the said messuage belonging" and now in the proper occupation of the said THOMAS GREENGATE, "to have and to hold, &c., to the said THOMAS GREENGATE and his assignes from the twentieth day of March which shall be in the year of our Lord God a thousand five hundreth foure score and one (20 March 1581-2) unto the full end and terme of fourteen years from thence next following," &c., yielding and paying therefore yearly during the said term to the said JOHN BATTY, &c., the yearly rent and ferme of eight shillings "in the feaste of Penticost and Seynt Martyn in wynter by even porcions and one henne* yearlie at the feaste of Seynt Thomas th' Appostill" during the said term of fourteen years. THOMAS GREENGATE binds himself and his assignes that they will at their proper cost and charges from time to time repair, maintain, &c., the said messuage, &c., "and that the said THOMAS GRENEGATE and his assignes shall from tyme to tyme affirme, maintayne, and upholde suche part of the Milne Damme called FFRISYNGHALL MILNE DAMME accordinge as the said THOMAS and other tenants of the said premises have been accustomed to do and upholde," &c., and shall lead "tymbre nedefull for the said reparacions, suche as he the said JOHN BATTY shall have growinge within the lordshippe of HEATON onlic excepted, whiche tymbre (except latte and borde) the said JOHN BATTY covenanteth and graunteth to assigne and appoynt within the lordship of HEATON afforsaid by hymself or his deputies" upon reasonable request. THOMAS GREENGATE covenants that he shall well and sufficiently save and keep the great wood and other woods now growing and that shall hereafter grow upon the said land from waste and destruction, and that it shall be lawful for JOHN BATTY to fell and carry away all or any of the said wood at pleasure at any time. JOHN BATTY covenants "that it shall be lefull to the said THOMAS GRENEGATE and his assignes to intake,

*The "hen" boon is a certain indication of ancient feudal or monastic tenure.—(Ed)

plowe and sowe any pte of the common or moore of HEATON afforsaid for thre croppes together or more if the tenantes and other the inhabitantes of the said towneshippe can and will agree to the same." Reserving re-entry in case of non-payment of rent within twenty days of the stipulated times, and with proviso that THOMAS GREENGATE "shall not lett, sell, graunte awaye, nor assigne the said pmisses nor any pcell thereof to any person or persons but onlie to his wife during her widowhode or any one of his children without the special licence of JOHN BATTY, &c.

(Signed) per me, JOHSM. BATTE.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of JAMES SHORTE, WILLIAM BAYLDON, ROGER COLSTON, THOMAS GARTHE, WILLIAM GARTHE, RICHARD CAPPES, WILLIAM JOWETT, WILLIAM GRAYVE, and others,

per me, JACOBUM MYDGLEY.

VI.

Heaton. (April 1590.)

To all men to whom this present writing shall come, EFFAM GREENGATE, late wife of THOMAS GREENGATE, late of HEATON ROIDES, in the County of York, deceased, sendeth greeting in our lord God everlasting: Whereas JOHN BATTY, of Birstall, in the County of York, gent., by his indenture of lease sealed with his seale, bearing date the last of July in the 17th year of the reign of our sovereign lady the Queen's Majesty that now is, hath demised, granted, and to farme letten to the said THOMAS GREENGATE now deceased one messuage or tenement with th' appurtenances in HEATON aforesaid then in the occupation of the said THOMAS and now in the joint or several tenure or occupations of me the said EFFAM and RICHARD GREENGATE or the one of us as our assignee or assigns, together with all lands, tenements, meadows, closes, woods, commons, and

pastures, to the same messuage or tenements in any wise appertaining or belonging in HEATON aforesaid, To have and to hold to the said THOMAS GREENGATE and his assigns from the twentieth day of March in the year of our lord God one thousand five hundred four score and one unto the full end and term of fourteen years from thence next following, &c., yielding and paying therefore yearly during the said term to the said JOHN BATTY, &c., the yearly rent of eight shillings of lawful English money in the feast of Pentecost and St. Martin-in-Winter by even portions and one hen yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle during the said term of fourteen years, as by the said indenture amongst diverse other covenants and agreements therein contained more at large it doth and may appear, All which rights, title, interest, and demands of the said THOMAS GREENGATE, deceased, of and in the full half, part, or moiety of all the said premises I the said EFFAM now have to me and my assigns for and during all the said term of fourteen years if I the said EFFAM do so long live, by good and lawful conveyance in the law by and from the said THOMAS GREENGATE, my late husband, deceased. Whereupon now know ye that I the said EFFAM GREENGATE for and in consideration of a certain competent sum of money, &c., to me paid by the said RICHARD GREENGATE before the ensealing and delivery of these presents, I have given, granted, bargained, sold, &c., to the said RICHARD GREENGATE and his assigns, as well the said moiety of the said messuage or tenement and of all other the premises demised by the said indenture of lease, as also all the right, title, interest, &c., whatsoever, of me the said EFFAM in the said premises, &c. To have and to hold the said moiety or half part of the said messuage, &c., to the said RICHARD GREENGATE, &c., immediately from the day of the date hereof for and during all the said term of fourteen years granted in and by the said indenture of lease before recited, if I the said EFFAM so long do live, in as ample manner and form as I have or ought to have and enjoy by virtue of any conveyance

heretofore to me made or otherwise, yielding, &c., therefore all the rents, duties and charges as I stand charged with, &c. And I truly, the said EFFAM GREENGATE, &c., grant to RICHARD GREENGATE, &c., by these presents that he the said RICHARD GREENGATE, &c., shall peaceably have and hold, &c., the said moiety, &c., for and during the said term, &c., without any lawful lett, trouble or encumbrance of me the said EFFAM or of any other person or persons claiming by, from, or under the right, title or estate of me the said EFFAM, &c. In witness whereof, &c., I the said EFFAM GREENGATE have set my seal the third day of April in the five and twentieth year of the reign of the said sovereign lady ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

(Signed) EFFAM GRENEGATE.

Sealed and delivered the day and year within mentioned in the presence of WILLIAM HEY, RICHARD THORNTON, GEORGE SOWDEN and others.

VII.

Message at Heaton, Heaton Woods, Frizinghall Milldam.

(12 May 1598). *Renewal of the preceding lease.*

This indenture made the twelfth day of May in the 40th year of the reign of our sovereign lady Elizabeth, &c., between JOHN BATTY, of OAKWELL (Birstall) in the county of York, gentleman, and ROBERT BATTY, son and heir apparent of the said John Batty, of the one part, and RICHARD GREENGATE, of HEATON ROIDES, in the said county, husbandman, of the other part, witnesseth that the said JOHN BATTY and ROBERT BATTY for and in consideration of a certain sum of money to them by the said RICHARD GREENGATE in hand paid at and before

the ensealing hereof have demised, &c., to the said RICHARD GREENGATE one messuage or tenement with th' appurtenances situate in Heaton aforesaid together with all and singular houses, edifices, buildings, orchards, gardens, tofts, crofts, lands, tenements, meadows, feedings, pastures, closes, woods, ways, water-courses, commons, and turbaries, to the said messuage belonging, &c., now in the tenure or occupation of the said RICHARD GREENGATE or his assigne, to have and to hold, &c., from the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary last past before the day of the date hereof, for and during the full end term of twenty years from thence next following, &c., yielding and paying therefore yearly during the said term to the said JOHN BATTY (if he so long do live) and after his decease to the said ROBERT BATTY, his heirs and assigns, the sum of eight shillings of lawful English money at the feasts of Pentecost and St. Martin in winter by even portions, and also one hen yearly at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle during all the said term of twenty years. And the said RICHARD GREENGATE, &c., doth covenant, &c., with the said JOHN BATTY and ROBERT BATTY that he shall at his proper cost and charge well and sufficiently repair, maintain and uphold the said messuage and other the demised premises, and also so much or such part of the milne damme called FFrysinghall MYLNE DAMME in HEATON aforesaid as hath been accustomed to be made and upholden for the tenement aforesaid, and also yield, bear, and do such other duties, suites and service to the said mylne in grinding of their corne or otherwise as the said RICHARD GREENGATE or any other tenant or farmer of the premises for the said messuage, &c., ought of right or have been accustomed to yield, bear or do (great timber only excepted), which said great timber requisite and needful for the same, such as they the said JOHN BATTY and ROBERT BATTY or the heirs of the said ROBERT shall have growing within the lordship of HEATON aforesaid (except lath and board), the said JOHN BATTY and ROBERT BATTY, &c., covenant to appoint or assign by themselves or their

deputies to the said RICHARD GREENGATE, &c., when and as often as need shall require, &c. And also that the said RICHARD GREENGATE, &c., at all and any time during the said term when and as often as the said JOHN BATTY or ROBERT BATTY shall for the service of the Queen's Majesty in her wars be charged or assessed to find or provide one light horse or more, shall content and pay to the said JOHN BATTY or ROBERT BATTY the sum of three shillings and fourpence of lawful English money for and towards the finding of the same; and if the said JOHN BATTY and ROBERT BATTY shall be charged or assessed to find the moiety or one half of one light horse, then and so often the said RICHARD GREENGATE, &c., shall content and pay the sum of twenty pence of right lawful English money, and so rateably after three and fourpence a light horse as the said JOHN BATTY and ROBERT BATTY shall be charged or assessed more or less. And moreover that he the said RICHARD GREENGATE, &c., yearly at his cost and charge during the said term for the better enclosing and fencing of the fence of the demised premises, make and raise or cause to be made and raised in the said fence of the premises a stone wall in length one rood and a half, and in height a yard and a quarter or else in lieu thereof so much with quickset in such places where it will grow and so continue the same until the said fence be so made or set. And the said RICHARD GREENGATE covenants that he shall not at any time during the said term dig, get, or grave any turves in or upon the waste or common of HEATON on the East side of the Nether Thorne in PICROFTE or upon the East side of the higher corner of the West Field, nor burn any of their fallow grounds nor any turves upon the same. And also that the said RICHARD GREENGATE, &c., shall well and sufficiently save and keep the great wood and timber trees, &c., upon the demised premises from waste and destruction. And that it shall be lawful for JOHN BATTY and ROBERT BATTY, &c., to fell, cut down, and carry away all or any of the said wood at their pleasure, &c.,

leaving only sufficient (hedge boote and garsell), for the necessary hedging and fencing of the premises. And moreover it shall be lawful for the said JOHN BATTY and ROBERT BATTY, &c., if they and o'her freeholders of the said lordship of HEATON can so agree, to take in and enclose any parte or parcel of the waste common of HEATON at any time without any lawful, let, trouble, or interruption of the said RICHARD GREENGATE, &c. And the said JOHN BATTY and ROBERT BATTY grant to the said RICHARD GREENGATE, &c., that it shall be lawful for him to have, fell, and take sufficient and competent hedge boote growing upon the premises for the necessary fencing of the same when and as often as need shall require. And also to enclose, plough, and sow any part of the common or moor of HEATON for three crops together or more if the tenants and other the inhabitants of the said township will permit and agree unto the same, for and during such time only as the said JOHN BATTY and ROBERT BATTY and the ancient freeholders aforesaid shall not agree for the perpetual enclosing and taking in of the same. It is also provided that the said RICHARD GREENGATE, &c., shall not during the said term demise, let, or assign the said messuage or any part thereof to any person or persons other than to his wife or some one of his children without the licence of the said JOHN BATTY and ROBERT BATTY, and that such wife or child shall not after the said assignment so to them to be made, let or assign the said premises to any person without the special licence of the said JOHN BATTY and ROBERT BATTY. In witness hereof, &c.

(Signed) per me JOH^{em}. BATTE et per me ROB^{tum}. BATTE.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of us :

RICHARD BATTE, JAMES BOOTHE, JAMES BAWME,
WILLIAM CAPPES, and others.

VIII.

Fine on Messuage at Heaton. (1 November 1720.)

This Indenture made the first day of November in the yeare of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twenty and in the Seventh yeare of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord George now King of Great Britain Betweene JOSEPH GAWKROGER, of HEATON, within the Parish of Bradford and County of York, Yeoman, and Issabell his now wife of the first part, MARY GAWKROGER, daughter of the said JOSEPH and ISSABELL GAWKROGER of the second part, and JOSEPH FFIELD, of HEATON aforesaid, Gent., of the third part. Witnesseth that for the better securing, settling and conveying of the messuage, lands and hereditaments, hereinafter mentioned to the severall uses and estates as are hereinafter likewise mentioned, and for diverse other good causes and valuable considerations him the said JOSEPH GAWKROGER and ISSABELL his wife thereunto moveing, It is covenanted, contained and agreed upon by, betweene, and amongst all the said partyes to these presents and their heirs, And the said JOSEPH GAWKROGER for himself and ISSABELL his said wife and for their respective heirs and for every of them doth covenant and agree to and with the said JOSEPH FFIELD his heirs, executors and administrators, and to and with every of them by these presents, That he the said JOSEPH GAWKROGER and ISSABELL his said wife shall and will at their own proper costes and charges in the law on this side and before the end of Hillary Terme now next ensueing, acknowledge and levy in due fforme of Law and according to the Laws and Statutes of England one fine *sur conusans de droit come ceo, &c.*: to be ingrossed recorded and sued forth with proclamations according to the Statutes in that case made and provided and the usuall course of fines with proclamations in such cases used and accustomed unto the said JOSEPH FFIELD and his heirs, Of and upon all that messuage and tenements and all the cottages, barns, buildings, and other edifices what-

soever to the same belonging, situate, standing and being in HEATON aforesaid and now in the possession of the said JOSEPH GAWKROGER or his assignes and also of and upon all the lands, closes, grounds, and hereditaments whatsoever to the same belonging and therewith now or at any time heretofore used, occupied or enjoyed, or reputed, taken or knowne to be part, parcell or member thereof situate, lyeing and being in HEATON aforesaid now also in the occupation of the said JOSEPH GAWKROGER his assignes or undertenants By the name or names of one messuage, one cottage, one barne, eight acres of land, ffour acres of meadow and eight acres of pasture, common of pasture for all manner of cattle and common of turbary or by such other appropriate and convenient name or names, quantityes and qualityes or numbers and certaintyes of acres of land as shall be thought fitt and requisite, which said ffine so to be acknowledged and levyed as aforesaid and all and every other ffine and ffines in what manner and fforme soever after the date of these presents shall be to the use and behoofe of the said JOSEPH GAWKROGER and ISSABELL his said wife and their assignes for and during the terme of their two naturall lives and of the life of the longer liver of them and from and immediately after their respective deceases and of the decease of the longer liver of them, Then to the use and behoofe of the said MARY GAWKROGER partye to these presents and of the heirs of her body lawfully issueing, and for default of such issue to the use and behoofe of the right heirs of the said JOSEPH GAWKROGER for ever, subject neverthesse to the provisoer or power of revocation hereafter mentioned and expressed, that is to say provided always that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said JOSEPH GAWKROGER at any time hereafter during his naturall life by any deed or deeds, writing or writings under his hand and seale lawfully executed and testified by two or more sufficient witnesses, to revoake, alter and make void all or any of the use or uses, estate and estates herein and hereby limited and created of the

said premises as aforesaid or of any part thereof and in and by the same deed or deeds, writing or writings by him so made, executed and testified as aforesaid to create and raise any new use or uses, estate or estates of all or any part of the premises herein above mentioned and limited as aforesaid so as such new use and uses, estate and estates, hereafter to be raised, created and limited of the said premises or of any part thereof by the said JOSEPH GAWKROGER be by him limited and declared to be to the use of some or one of the son or sons, daughter or daughters of the said ISSABELL now wife of the said JOSEPH GAWKROGER and to the heirs of the body of such son or sons, daughter or daughters issueing, and for want of such issue then to the use of the right heirs of the said JOSEPH GAWKROGER for ever and to and for no other use or uses intent or purpose whatsoever. In Witnesse whereof the parties above named to these premises have interchangeably sett their hands and seales the day and yeare first above written.

JOSEPH GAWKROGER, ISSABELL GAWKROGER,
the mark of MARY GAWKROGER, JOSEPH FIELD.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of us: JOHN
HOLDSWORTH, JOHN COCKROFT, Jun.

IX.

Adwalton and Eccleshill Lands. (4 August 1710.)

A MEMORIAL of a will to be registered in the Register Office at Wakefield, in the West Riding of the County of York, pursuant to the acts of parliament in that behalf made and pvided. A WILL bearing date the Fourth day of August in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ten, made by ABRAHAM BROOKSBANK, late of Reading, in the County of Berks,

clerk, deceased, amongst other things of or concerning all that his messuage or tenement and barn, together with all his lands and cottages lying and being in Adwalton, in the parish of Birstall, in the County of York, and also of or concerning all that his house, messuage, or tenement and barn, together with the lands thereafter particularly mentioned, that is to say, the grounds called the Upperlands and Netherlands, and the close called the Common, and the close called Boothman close, and the close called Apperley, the grounds called the Roydes, two closes called the Haighs, and the close called Copleyroyd and Inge, all which said last mentioned house, messuage, or tenement and barn, lands and premises are situate, lying, and being in Eccleshill, in the said County of York, together also with a certain rent charge of six shillings and eightpence per annum issuing and payable out of the lands of one JOHN HODGSON in Eccleshill aforesaid, WHICH said will is witnessed by WILLIAM NOAKE, Junr., of Reading aforesaid, Gent., and EDMUND DAVIES and CHRISTOPHER ABERDY of the same, Yeomen.

Signed and Sealed by ABRAHAM BROOKSBANK and JOHN BROOKSBANK, two of the sons of the said ABRAHAM BROOKSBANK, deceased, and devisees in the said will, in the presence of

JN^o. BLAKE.
SAM HEMINGWAY.

ABRAHAM BROOKSBANK (Seal).
JOHN BROOKSBANK (Seal).

SHIBDEN DALE

AND

SIR THOMAS BROWNE'S "RELIGIO MEDICI."

BY

BRYAN DALE, M.A.

THE name of Sir Thomas Browne occupies a distinguished place among the writers of the seventeenth century. His eminent position is due, not so much to any particular faculty in which he surpassed others, as to a peculiar combination of many excellencies, and a certain striking originality of thought and expression. He was well-versed in the recondite learning of former ages. He was an acute observer of the phenomena of human life, and he devoted himself with great zeal to the pursuit of natural science. But, above all, he delighted in intense self-reflection and mystic speculation; and he was by nature a poet. He could not help contemplating all things in their ideal relations, or seeing in himself an epitome or picture of the universe; and sometimes he seemed to lose sight of the actual world altogether in the glow of his own brilliant fancy.

No estimate of his writings can, I think, be correct, which does not take into account first and foremost this characteristic of his genius. It also serves to explain in some measure the secluded and undisturbed course of life he pursued amidst the fierce religious and political conflict of his time. Modern science assures us that hurricanes revolve around a centre of perfect calm. Outside the charmed circle the tempest may rage furiously, within it all is peace; and such was the little world in which he dwelt, looking

out upon the bitter strife, but taking no part therein ; and at length at the age of four score years save three, he "took farewell of the elements" and lay down to "sleep till the resurrection."

Before considering the evidence of Dr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Browne's residing in Shibden-dale,* in the parish of Halifax when he wrote his *Religio Medici*, we must briefly notice the circumstances of his earlier life. He was born in London, October 19th, 1605. His father was a mercer, of an ancient family of Upton, in Cheshire; his mother was Ann Garroway, of Lewes, in Sussex. When he was a child his father died; and the great loss which he thereby sustained may be inferred from a little incident which has been left on record. The good man "used to open his breast when he was asleep and kiss it in prayers over him (as it is said of Origen's father) that the Holy Ghost would take possession there." Is it any wonder that he should have something of the mystic in his constitution, or that he should afterwards write, in his manner, of the Divine Spirit; "This is that gentle heat that brooded on the waters and in six days hatched the world Whosoever feels not the warm gale and gentle ventilation of this Spirit, (though I feel his pulse) I dare not say he lives; for truly without this, to me, there is no heat under the tropick, nor any light, though I dwelt in the body of the sun" ? (*Religio Medici*.)

The mercer's widow and her four children were left with a fortune of nine thousand pounds; and young Browne was sent to be educated at Winchester Grammar School. Meanwhile, his mother was married, "probably" (says Dr. Johuson) "through the inducement of her fortune" to Sir Thomas Dutton, "the same, who killed Sir Hatton Cheke in a duel." He was a Captain in the army, and was, according to all accounts, a man of violent temper. Between him and the retiring, meditative youth, there could be little in common. It would also appear that the latter enjoyed small advantage of his share in the fortune left by his

* Shibden or Shipden (sheep valley).

father. At eighteen he removed from Winchester to Oxford, where he entered as a fellow commoner of Broadgate Hall, afterwards Pembroke College, and was admitted successively to the degree of Bachelor and Master of Arts. In 1629 he left the University, and began practising medicine somewhere in Oxfordshire. But here he continued only a short time; and then accompanied his father-in-law into Ireland, where the Captain had some official employment in the visitation of forts and castles. From Ireland "he passed into France and Italy; made some stay at Montpellier and Padua, which were then the celebrated schools of physick, and returning home through Holland, procured himself to be created Doctor of Physick at Leyden" (1633). He had a natural love of travel; and he cultivated such an acquaintance with the travels of others that (as Whitefoot says) "of the earth he had such a minute and exact geographical knowledge, as if he had been by Divine Providence ordained surveyor general of the whole terrestrial orb, and its products, minerals, plants and animals," To his mingling with men of different countries, customs, languages and religions must also be attributed in some measure the gentle and tolerant spirit which breathes through his writings. "I feel not in myself" he says "those common antipathies, that I can discover in others; those national repugnances do not touch me, nor do I behold with prejudice the French, Italian, Spaniard, or Dutch; but where I find their actions in balance with my countrymen's I honour, love and embrace them in the same degree." "Now for my life—it is a miracle of thirty years (1605-1635), which to relate were not a history, but a piece of poetry, and would sound to common years like a fable. For the world, I count it not an inn, but an hospital, and a place not to live, but to die in. The world that I regard is myself; it is the microcosm of my own frame that I cast mine eye upon: for the other I use it but like my globe and turn it round sometimes for my recreation." (*Religio Medici.*)

After taking his degree at Leyden Dr. Browne returned to England, and about the same time occurred the death of his father-in-law. This event may possibly have put an abrupt termination to his travels, in which he had spent whatever substance he possessed, and henceforth he seems to have been entirely dependent on his profession. All the older accounts of his life assume that he continued for the next three or four years in his native city of London, and there wrote his *Religio Medici*. But there is sufficient evidence to show that this is a mistake; and that the honour of being his residence, during its composition, belongs to Shibden-dale, a quiet and beautiful valley lying between Bradford and Halifax. The precise occasion of his taking up his abode there has not been discovered. It may have been due to some old school or college acquaintance, and finding the place adapted to his taste, and not unsuited to his professional duties, he determined to continue at least for a while.

The first mention of the fact is made by William Bentley in "Halifax and its Gibbet Law." Bentley was clerk of the Parish Church, and published that book in 1708; but the book was written by Samuel Midgley in Halifax gaol, where he was imprisoned for debt, and died in 1695, without having the means of printing it in his own name. Oliver Heywood, of Northwram, near Shibden-dale, notes in his Register: "Samuel Midgley, that was prisoner in York Castle, 1685, waited on us, hath been prisoner three times in Halifax jail for debt, dyed there, buried July 18th, 1695, aged 66." Midgley practised medicine, and would therefore be naturally interested in the history of his predecessors in the healing art. He was born four or five years before Dr. Browne came to reside in Shibden-dale, and may have himself seen the Doctor or have heard of his residence from some one who was acquainted with him. Oliver Heywood did not come into the neighbourhood till some years later (1650), which, together with the little sympathy felt by such an ardent puritan with the sentiments of the *Religio*

Medici, serves to account for there being no allusion to Dr. Browne in his Diaries.

In "Halifax and its Gibbet Law" it is said: "The physicians and professors in that science were Dr. Power, Dr. Wilkinson, Dr. Maud, and of late Dr. Threapland and unto whom I cannot forbear adding the learned Dr. Brown (who for his worth and fame was thought worthy of knighthood by his Prince), because in his juvenal years he fixed himself in this populous and rich trading place, wherein to shew his skill and to gain respect in the world, and that during his residence amongst us in his vacant hours he writ his admired piece called by him *Religio Medici*."

In 1738 Thomas Wright, curate of the Parish Church, published his "Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax," in which he says: "Neither must I omit in this place Sir Thomas Browne, Doctor of Physick, who, though born in London, October 19th, 1605, yet practised here as a Physician in his younger years. About the year 1630 he lived at Shipden Hall, near Halifax, at which time he wrote that excellent piece, entitled *Religio Medici*, before he was thirty years of age; for he says himself in that book, p. 113, edit. Lond., 1736 [1643]. He had not seen one revolution of Saturn, neither had his pulse beat thirty years." Wright's statement, in which he was followed by Watson, was no doubt founded upon that of Midgley, but he slightly antedates Dr. Browne's residence and gives no authority for his assertion of its having been at Shibden Hall.

So far at least the evidence is by no means satisfactory. But in the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum a correspondence has been preserved, throwing new light on the subject. This correspondence took place between Dr. Browne (who was now practising as a physician at Norwich) and Dr. Henry Power, of Halifax, who attained some eminence in his profession. Henry Power was the son of John Power, and was a lad of about twelve years of age when Browne resided in Halifax parish (1634). At that time Henry Power's father was living, and on friendly terms with Browne.

His mother was soon afterwards left a widow, and married Anthony Foxcroft (1639). In a letter written by him to Dr. Browne from Halifax, June 13th, 1646, and giving some account of his studies at Cambridge, there is a postscript to this effect: "Our towne can furnish you with very small news, only the death of some of your acquaintance, viz., Mr. Waterhouse and Mr. Sam. Mitchell." Nathaniel Waterhouse was the well known benefactor of the town, and at the time of Browne's residence in Halifax he obtained a Charter of a Poor Law Incorporation, in which the names of Samuel Mitchell (of Scout Hall, in Shibden-dale), and John Power, gentleman, occur among the twelve governors. Henry Power goes on to say: "the enclosed is from my father-in-law (Foxcroft) to yourselfe; if your occasions will permitt the returne of a few lines to either of us by this bearer, wee shall be very glad to accept them."

In another letter, two years subsequently, he says: "Sir, my father Foxcroft and mother, in their last visit to Cambridge, forgott not to tender their best respects to you, which I have requited in the like returne of yours to them (according to your request) this last journey." There are other letters of great interest, and in one of them occurs a statement which I do not think has been hitherto noticed in connection with this subject. Henry Power had now obtained his medical degree, appears to have married Foxcroft's daughter by a previous marriage, and was settled at New Hall, near Elland. "Dear Sir" says Browne to him (June 8, 1659): "I wish my time would permitt my communication with you in any proportion to my desires, wherein I should never bee wearie, whereby I might continue the *delight I have formerly had by many serious discourses with my old friend, your good father (John Power), whose memorie is still fresh with mee, and becomes more delightful by this great enjoyment I have from his true and worthy sonne.*"* This correspondence makes it certain that Dr. Browne was well acquainted

* The works of Sir Thomas Browne, ed. by Simon Wilkin, vol. II, p. 521.

with several of the most respectable families of Halifax and enjoyed the friendship of some of its most worthy men.

As to the exact place of his residence in Halifax parish, it has been usually thought that it was (as stated by Wright) Shibden Hall; now in the possession of Mr. John Lister. But this could hardly have been the case, inasmuch as Shibden Hall had been purchased by the Listers, from Caleb Waterhouse (brother of Nathaniel before mentioned), more than twenty years previously, and was then in the occupation of Thomas Lister. It was, moreover, described in a document of about the same date as Lower Shibden Hall, as distinguished from an Upper or Over Shibden Hall, which was much higher up the valley; and to the latter place the statement of Wright must be referred.

Some years ago, in company with my friend Mr. Lister, I went to see if I could find any indications of Dr. Browne's residence there. It happened to be shortly after a heavy fall of snow, and it was with great difficulty that we made our way through the snow drifts and reached the spot. The old Hall was then a farm house; and it has, I believe, been since taken down and replaced by two cottages. It stood high up on the hill side, overlooking the valley. Always secluded and still, it seemed at that time as if buried amidst arctic solitudes. The only person we met was a man called Abraham Wilson, who was a tenant of the farm under Mr. Michael Stocks. Abraham, it appeared, had given notice to quit, and he asked us if we had come to take the farm off his hands. Entering the house through a double porch of hewn stone we were at once attacked by an ugly cur evidently unaccustomed to strangers. But Abraham's wife received us in a very civil manner; and having told us some of her troubles, lighted a candle (for it was a very dark afternoon) to show us the carved oak ceiling of the kitchen, which had been completely lime-washed. She pointed out in one corner of it the form of a bird, which she called the "Shebden Hullet"; and over the

fire-place an inscription cut in stone containing the letters J.S.F. and the date 1626.

This date, it will be observed, is seven or eight years previous to that of Dr. Browne's residence, and doubtless indicated the time when the house was built or reconstructed. The letters were the initials of the names of James Foxcroft and his wife (Sarah or Susannah); and James Foxcroft was in all probability a brother or near relative of Anthony Foxcroft, the step-father of Henry Power, Dr. Browne's friend. In a list of the successive constables of Halifax (preserved in Brearcliffe's Manuscripts) there is an entry that "James Foxcroft of the Cross, formerly of (Upper) Shipden Hall," was constable in 1638-9; the same James Foxcroft, butcher of the Swan, we further learn, was "constable in army time, 1643," and was "an oyl drawer." He seems to have built the house, let it to Dr. Browne in 1634, gone to live at the Cross, and finally settled in Halifax.

The association of Dr. Browne with the Foxcroft family, in addition to other reasons before given, renders it all but certain that he resided at *Upper Shibden Hall*; and thus it may be considered that the wooded glades of Shibden-dale ministered by their quiet beauty to the compilation of his greatest and most eloquent work. "In such a spot and especially at the commencement of his professional career, he must have had considerable leisure; which it is very natural to suppose he would endeavour to improve, by reviewing and preparing some memento of the events of his past life." (Simon Wilkin, "Supplementary Memoir.") It is pleasant to think of its author, sitting in the old stone porch and dreaming over the miracle and mystery of his life; or riding along rough and miry roads in attendance upon his patients, sometimes alighting to pick up a rare plant that attracted his notice; or, if at night, pondering on

"Stars silent above,
Graves silent beneath."

and meditating "the world to me is but a dream or

mock-show, and we all therein but pantaloons and anticks, to my severer contemplations." He has been described as a "sad and solitary man." But such language ill expresses his real character. "For my conversation" (he wrote), "it is like the sun's, with all men, and with a friendly aspect to good and bad." "He was excellent company" says Whitefoot "when he was at leisure, and expressed more light than heat in the temper of his brain; he was never seen to be transported with mirth, or dejected with sadness; always cheerful, but rarely merry, at any sensible rate; seldom heard to break a jest, and if he did, he would be apt to blush at the levity of it." He says of himself "I am naturally bashful; nor hath conversation, age or travel been able to effront or harden me." His portrait expresses something of his gentle, benevolent and mystical spirit; for, as he wrote, "In our faces there are certain characters which carry in them the motto of our souls; wherein he that cannot read A.B.C. may read our natures." "His complexion and hair" says Whitefoot "were answerable to his name, his stature was moderate; and habit of body neither fat nor lean but εὐσάρκος (full-fleshed). In his habit of clothing, he had an aversion to all finery both in fashion and ornaments. He ever wore a cloke and boots when few others did." This description sets the man before us as he appeared 250 years ago.

The *Religio Medici* was written about the year 1635. "This I confess, about seven years past, with some others of affinity thereto, for my private exercise and satisfaction, I had at leisurable hours composed" (Preface to the first authorised edition, published in 1643). "It was penned" the author says, "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." In 1637 he left Shibden-dale and went to reside at Norwich, where a larger and more attractive sphere for his professional duties presented itself. The book was not at first sent

to the press by himself. In his leisure he made several copies of the original manuscript, and circulated them among his friends. One of these found its way to the printer in 1642, "without his assent or privacy;" but as it contained several things he did not wish to see published, and was otherwise imperfect, he felt compelled, in self-defence, to repudiate it, and sent forth an authorised edition, being "A true and full copy of that which was imperfectly and surreptitiously printed before" (1643). It obtained considerable celebrity, and ran through several editions in the course of a few years, provoking on all hands severe criticism. By Protestants it was condemned for its Catholicism; by Catholics for its Protestantism; by both for its scepticism. Yet it was translated into several languages; was annotated by numerous commentators; and became the model according to which a host of similar productions were formed.

The book is not exactly the author's creed, nor his confessions, nor his soliloquies, nor his speculations; but a combination of all these. So far as it is a mirror of himself, it is himself reflected in the ideal light in which he was accustomed to regard every other object. "It must be read" says Coleridge, "in a dramatic and not in a metaphysical view; as a sweet exhibition of character and passion, and not as an expression or investigation of positive truth." Whilst protesting his orthodoxy, he declares that he has entertained heresies "old and obsolete, such as could never have been revived but by such extravagant and irregular heads" as his. Whilst he loves to "lose himself in a mystery; to pursue his reason to an *O altitudo!*" he refers to "sturdy doubts and boisterous objections, which," he says, "I conquered not in a martial posture, but on my knees." The treatise was "an attempt to combine daring scepticism with implicit faith in revelation."* It taught a doctrine of toleration which went far beyond the spirit of the age. "I could never divide myself" he says "from any man upon the difference

* Dictionary of National Biography.

of an opinion, or be angry with his judgment for not agreeing with me, in that from which, perhaps, within a few days I should dissent myself Persecution is a bad and indirect way to plant religion. It hath been the unhappy method of angry devotions, not only to confirm honest religion, but wicked heresies and extravagant opinions." That which gives the book its chief value is the numerous eloquent passages, autobiographical, speculative, apologetic, poetical, often deeply devout, which are scattered through its pages, and impart to it an ever fresh and undying interest.

Of the remainder of the life of Dr. Browne little can here be said. He married in 1641, and had a numerous family. In 1646 he published his "Enquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors," and in sending out a fourth edition of this work in 1658, he added two essays on "Urn Burial" and "The Garden of Cyrus." The former of these essays "stands alone for phantastic solemnity in English prose." He gained an eminent position among the citizens of Norwich; on the occasion of a royal visit to the city he received the honour of knighthood (1671); he also carried on a considerable correspondence with some of the most noted men of his time; he occupied himself in making extensive collections of "medals, books, plants and natural things;" and at length, on his birth-day, October 19th, 1682, he illustrated in his own decease the "remarkable coincidence" of which he had previously written: "Nothing is more common with infants than to die on the day of their nativity But, in persons who out-live many years, that the first day should make the last, that the tail of the snake should return into its mouth precisely at that time, and that they should wind up on the day of their nativity, is, indeed, a remarkable coincidence, which, though, astrology hath taken witty pains to salve, yet hath it been very wary in making predictions of it." (Letter to a Friend.)

"At my death," he wrote, "I mean to take a total adieu of the world, not caring for a monument, history

or epitaph, not so much as the bare memory of my name to be found anywhere but in the universal register of God." But what he did not care for has taken place; for a mural monument to him was set up in the Church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, where it remains to this day, and where also his coffin plate with an inscription, and his portrait may be seen. What, however, he regarded with abhorrence has strangely occurred. In his "Urn Burial" he had written: "Who knows the fate of his bones; or how often he is to be buried? who hath the oracle of his own ashes, or whither they are to be scattered? To be knaved out of our graves, to have our skulls made drinking bowls, and our bones turned into pipes, to delight and sport our enemies, are tragical abominations escaped in burning burials." Alas! for the irreverence of curiosity and modern science. His skull has been somehow "knaved out of" its resting place, and deposited in the Museum of the Norwich Hospital, for the inspection of every sight-seer; and the description of it as "unusually long, the back part exhibiting an uncommon appearance of depth and capaciousness," seems to confirm literally what he had figuratively declared of his own "extravagant and irregular head."*

It cannot be doubted that he was (as it has been expressed) "a good man, of gentle soul, and true, serious and pious life among his fellows." The anticipation of some one, at the publication of his *Religio Medici*, on account of its supposed scepticism, that "he was yet alive and might become worse," was not realised; on the contrary he was deemed specially devout considering his profession; which was then considered, as it has often been since, somehow unfavourable to faith. The old saying is *Ubi tres Medici duo Athei* (where there are three physicians two are atheists). To him, however (as Whitefoot says), the old saying ought to be applied, "Honour a physician with the honour due to him."

* *Varia*. By J. Hain Friswell (1866).

I venture to conclude with a version of the Evening Hymn, which he was accustomed to repeat at the close of every day, and which, he says, was the only laudanum he needed to make him sleep soundly; making only the verbal alterations required by the exigencies of grammar and metre—

The Night is come, like to the day
Depart not Thou, great God, away.
Let not my sins, black as the Night,
Eclipse the lustre of Thy light.
Keep still in view, for Day to me
Is made not by the Sun but Thee.

O Thou, whose nature cannot sleep,
Still on my temples sentry keep;
Guard me against those watchful foes,
Whose eyes are open while mine close;
And let no dreams my head infest,
But such as Jacob's temples blest.

While I do rest, my soul advance,
And make my sleep a holy trance;
That so I may, my rest being wrought,
Awake into some holy thought,
And with as active vigour run
My course as doth the nimble Sun.

Sleep is a death; O make me try
By sleeping what it is to die!
And then as gently lay my head
Upon my grave, as now my bed;
Howe'er I rest, great God, let me
Awake again at last with Thee.

And thus assured, behold, I lie
Securely, or to wake or die,
These are my drowsy days; in vain
I do now wake to sleep again;
O come that hour, wherein I may
Not sleep again, but wake for aye.*

* O come that hour, when I shall never
Sleep again, but wake for ever!

THE PAPER HALL, BRADFORD.

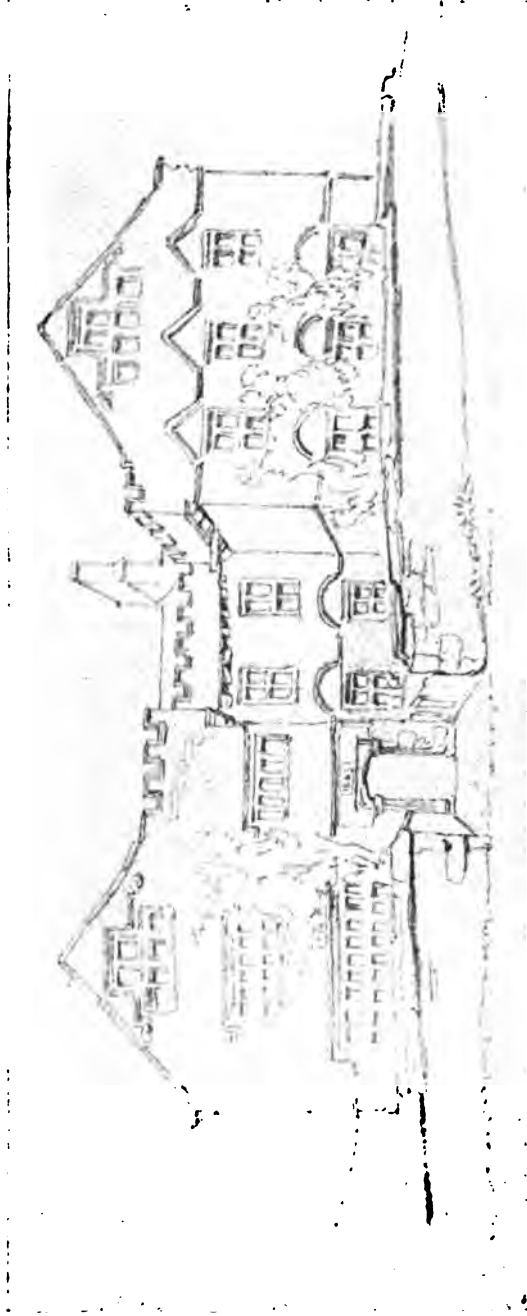
BY

HERBERT E. WROOT.

THE ancient mansion which stands about a hundred yards from the Bradford Parish Church in that part of Barkerend Road, known until comparatively recently as High Street, is not able to boast a history of striking interest. It still presents, however, despite the base uses to which it has now descended, and the ugly obstructions which prevent a fair view of the building being obtained, so imposing an appearance that it is somewhat surprising that local antiquaries have not before been stimulated to an enquiry into the vicissitudes of its past existence.

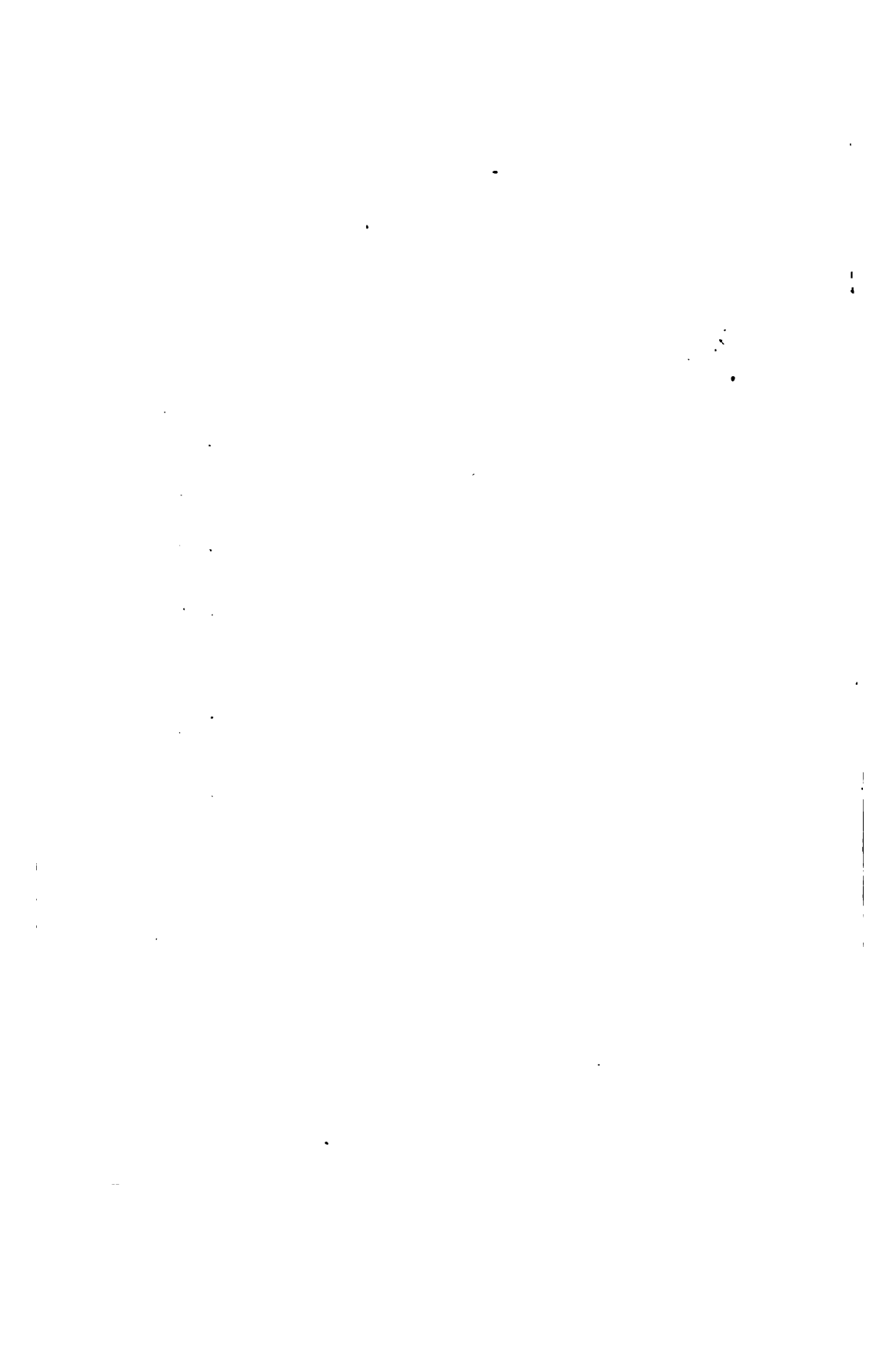
The Hall was built, as an inscribed date over the main doorway shows, in the year 1648,* but my efforts have unfortunately been unsuccessful hitherto in ascertaining by whom it was erected. It has been indeed ascribed to William Rookes but of this I have found absolutely no evidence, and the suggestion is improbable, for throughout the decade in which it was erected William Rookes's resources were sufficiently taxed by the building of Royds Hall, and by the political troubles in which he became involved. During a portion at least of the momentous times of the Commonwealth the house belonged to one Ezekiel Cooke, of whom nothing further is known to me, but soon after the Restoration

* A tradition exists in the neighbourhood of the Hall that the last figure of this date was tampered with some years ago, in consequence of a wager; and curiously, the artist who in the early part of this century made the sketches reproduced herewith, transcribed the date as "1643." But the most careful examination of the stone with a magnifying glass, lends no support to the allegation that the last figure has been altered.



THE PAPER HALL, BRADFORD, IN 1817.

(Reproduced from a Drawing by John Preston Neale.)



it passed into the hands of a worthy, whose name is more familiar—Hugh Currer, afterwards of Kildwick. During the life-time of his father Henry Currer, who held the estates and manor of Kildwick until 1655, Hugh Currer seems to have been resident in Bradford, and in 1650 he was living in Kirkgate. This is shewn by an incidental reference to him in the will of Richard Brighouse, of Halifax, one of the Compounding Royalists, dealt with in a paper on the subject (*Bradford Antiquary* vol. I., p. 175) by the late president of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society (Mr. T. T. Empsall). At some time Hugh Currer acquired a considerable amount of property on the east side of Bradford, including the Hall at Barkerend where he took up his residence. After his accession to the Kildwick estates he occupied himself during several years with the rebuilding of a large portion of Kildwick Hall, and the great costs which those works must have entailed no doubt accounts for the fact that soon after the Restoration we find him effecting sales of some of his Bradford properties and raising money by mortgages on others. Mr. William Cudworth possesses the original deed by which Currer, in February, 1661, sold to Elkanah Wales, clerk, of Pudsey—who, in the following year, was numbered among the nearly 2,000 ministers ejected from the Church of England under the Act of Uniformity—and to James Sale, clerk, also of Pudsey—subsequently ejected from St. John's Church, Leeds—several closes of land in Bradford. These included a close called Broadroyd, on the east side of the footpath leading from Bradford to Bolton, closes called the "Cote Close," the "Four Acres" and the "Bente," all being in Barkerend, and also "one water course springing in a certain close on the North Hundercliffe." About the same time Currer raised money by mortgage on other Barkerend property, among the mortgagees being Sir George Savile, of Thornhill, and subsequently John Weddell, the younger, of Lincoln's Inn, London, and of Bradford. The Hall in Barkerend and some closes

of land were mortgaged to Weddell in May, 1662, for £1800, and on the 15th March, 1663, a deed was signed by which Hugh Currer sold to John Weddell "all that messuage or tenement wherein the said Hugh Currer now dwelleth." With the Hall were sold several closes of land among them being "The Ffalderinge" (containing eight days' work). A field of this name was situate at the junction of Peckover Walk with Harris Street, and is now partly occupied by Sion Chapel; it is mentioned in the award of the Commission on the Glebe Lands of Bradford, printed in Mr. Cudworth's paper on the subject in the *Bradford Antiquary*, vol. II., p. 186. Other closes included in the sale were "one croft now divided into two, below the great barne" (containing four days' work) and crofts called the "Seaven-landes," the "Natell Croft" (containing six days' work), a "close called the North Hunderscliffe now divided into two" (containing twelve days' work), the "South Hunderscliffe" (seven days' work), the "Side Hunderscliffe" (three days' work), a close called "Barker Lathe" (four days' work), "all which messuage and lands," the deed goes on to say, "the said Hugh Currer late bought and purchased of one Ezekiell Cooke or his assigns"; also one other close "called Hundercliffe ab Hurrakens, late the land of Toby West," and another close called "Barker Lathe," late the land of Thomas Leadyard, "together with all those seates and stalls situate and being in the Parish Church of Bradford."

The Weddells, into whose possession the Hall had now come, were a family of London lawyers of some distinction, and as they seemed to have had in their hands pretty nearly the whole of the business of a money-lending character in Bradford toward the end of the seventeenth century, they gradually acquired a considerable amount of property in the locality. Oliver Heywood, in his event book under date 1672, tells an interesting anecdote of one of the Weddells, who was probably the father of John Weddell, "the younger." He says: "Mr. Weddel, of Bradford, who

hath been as great an attorney as any in the country and was raised to a great estate of late, had built a sumptuous new house near the church, had many mens businesses upon his hands, we were at dinner lateley at Mr. Milners funeral, speaking of death, he said complimentally it will surely come &c. I advised him not to goe into his new house too soon, he ans. no not till towards Micaelmas, he had been exceedingly intent upon it, it must forward, was almost finished, he went up to the town, came into London on munday, june 17 or thuesday, but he died on thursday, june 20 72, some say he was seized upon by a palsy, others that he had been at a tavern and got some hurt with drinking, but he is gone, and his wife takes on very heavily, they are left in a labyrinth of trouble not knowing how things stand, he purposed that should be the last time of his going to London—so it proved, circumst. sad.” (*Heywood’s Diaries*, vol. III., p. 191.) The late Mr. Empsall although he had spent a considerable time in the search for information with regard to this family was unable to guess what house Heywood refers to.

John Weddell was one of the original trustees of the Sunderland lectureship in 1671, but comparatively little is known with respect to the family. In 1680 John Weddell married Jane the daughter of Sir Thomas Jones, one of the Justices of His Majesty’s Court of King’s Bench, and a man whom readers of Lord Macaulay’s “History of England” will not have forgotten. Roger North described Sir Thomas as “a very reverend and learned judge, a gentleman and impartial,” but Macaulay wrote of him as a man who never but on one occasion “shrunk from any drudgery, however cruel or servile.” For us it will be a sufficient indication of his character to recall the fact that he credited and acted upon the infamous testimonies of Titus Oates and his associates, notwithstanding their obvious contradictions, and that in this very year 1680 in which he married his daughter to John Weddell, the names of Justice Jones and the notorious Chief Justice

Scroggs were coupled together in an order by the House of Commons for their impeachment. From this difficulty the judges were only extricated by the prorogation of Parliament. Still, Sir Thomas Jones was in one matter too honest and plain spoken for King James II. On being pressed by His Majesty to declare himself in favour of the royal dispensing power, he said he could not do it; and on the King's answering that "he would have twelve judges of his opinion," he replied that possibly His Majesty might find twelve *judges* of his opinion, but scarcely twelve *lawyers*. He was accordingly dismissed in 1686 with three other judges. He was impeached for another offence and imprisoned on the Great Revolution, and died in 1692. (See life in the *Biographia Juridica*, by E. Foss, F.S.A., p. 378.)

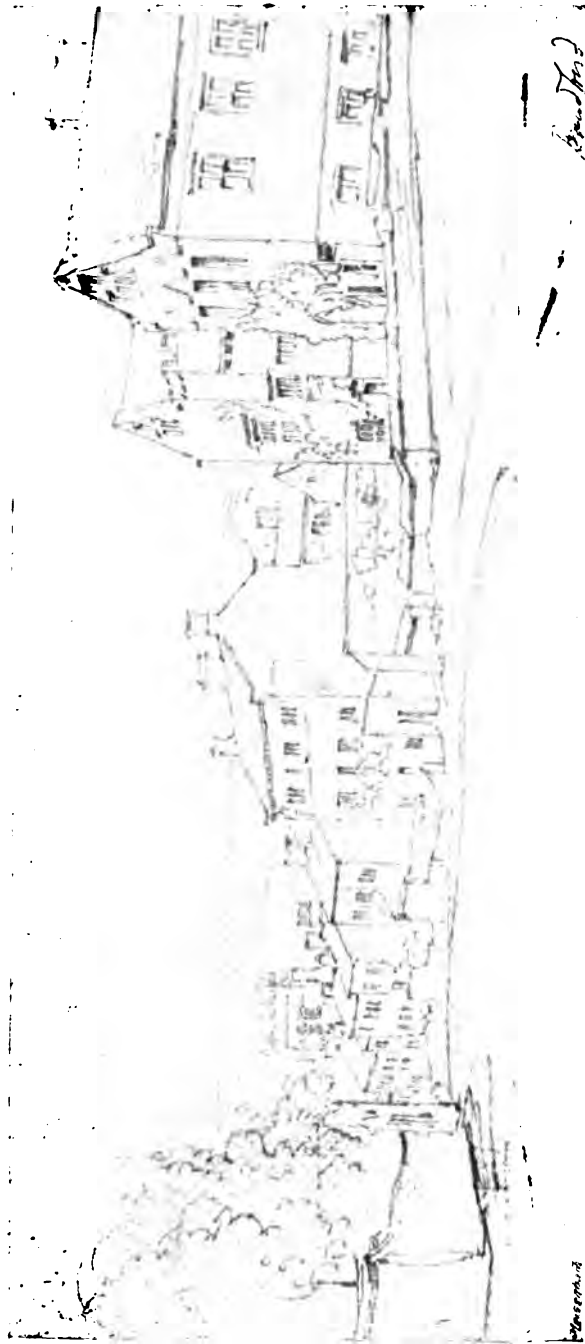
On his marriage John Weddell settled on his wife the house and lands bought from Curre which were then in the occupation of William Field, together with some other messuages in Bradford, "now or late in the several tenures or possession of . . . Render, Elizabeth Turner, Joshua Bolland and Samuel Jowett," and also a close called the "Bowling Green in Bradford, "now or late in the possession of Richard Cockroft," three closes called "the Breckes," "now or late in the tenure of Mary Wood," a close called "the Coleholes," "now or late in the tenure of Richard Ward," and all his other Barkerend property of every description. Either by the death of his wife or in some other way, the property very soon afterwards reverted to the control of John Weddell, and in 1692 and again in 1697, he raised mortgages upon it, among the mortgagees being the Honourable Thomas Newport, the second son of Viscount Newport, of Bradford, who was treasurer of the household to Charles II., and had recently been created Earl of Bradford. Thomas was himself subsequently (in 1716) elevated to the peerage under the title of Baron Torrington.

For more than forty years the property remained in the hands of the Weddells and descended from John

Weddell to his son Edward and thence to Edward's brother Charles Weddell, of Waddow Hall, in the parish of Mitton, in Bolland, Yorkshire. For twenty years of that time it seems to have been encumbered with heavy mortgages, and on July 23rd, 1717, Charles Weddell sold the Hall and land to Thomas Hodgson. The Weddells, however, though they had ceased to reside here seem to have kept up some connection with the town for members of the family were pupils at the school of Joseph Hinchcliffe, in Bradford. (*Bradford Antiquary*, vol. II., p. 183.)

There were so many branches of the Hodgson family in Bradford, that it seems hopeless to attempt to identify the particular Thomas Hodgson who had now become the owner of the Hall at Barkerend, and the attempt would be of little interest for Hodgson retained the property but a short time, and though William Feild or Field, the former tenant, seems to have left the Hall in or before 1717, Hodgson did not go to live there, though he farmed some of the lands. Having in the course of three years cleared off the mortgages Hodgson sold the house and lands in 1720 (December 22nd) to Robert Stansfield, of Bradford. The new owner is so well known a figure in the public life of the Bradford of his time, that little need be said of him here. Three years later than this purchase he married Anna, eldest daughter of William Busfeild, of Rishworth Hall, near Bingley, who survived him. After Robert's death, the property continued—I presume by settlement or by will—in the possession of the widow till in 1755 her eldest son Robert, who was then of the age of 28 years, purchased the Esholt Priory estate from Sir Walter Calverley Blackett. Presumably, to enable him to make this purchase, his mother handed over to Robert Stansfield a very considerable amount of property in the county. Among the Bradford properties were "the house wherein Ann Stansfield dwelt," and lands called the "Penny Oaks," a close in Manningham Lane containing four days' work, then in the occupation of Matthew Atkinson, one other close

called the Butts, then in the occupation of Joshua Stansfield, also all that capital, messuage and tenement and all buildings, closes of land now in the occupation of William Pollard, formerly the estate and inheritance of John Weddell, Esquire, deceased, And also all that close of land to the said last mentioned messuage belonging called Ffoldrings, now divided into two" together with other lands. Within a month, namely, on January 2nd, 1756, Robert Stansfield sold to Abraham Bower, wool stapler, Jonas Bower, wool stapler, and John Bower, wool comber, "that messuage, dwelling-house or tenement called Paper Hall, wherein William Pollard doth now inhabit and dwell," and also the "Low Croft," the "Little Croft," and the "Navel Croft." This is the earliest instance I have found of the application to the building of the name "Paper Hall," and of its origin I am ignorant. To Charles Booth, the younger, of Bradford, Robert Stansfield disposed of the two closes of land in the neighbourhood of the Paper Hall, called "the Foderings or the Foderlings." These are the properties in which alone we are here interested, but it may be useful to mention that among the Bradford properties sold by Stansfield at the same time were—to John Kitching, of Whetleys, yeoman, a close of meadow called the "Sheep Close" (one acre) in the occupation of James Fox; to Abraham Balme, of Bradford, a considerable quantity of land in Bowling; to Faith Sawrey, of Horton, widow, the dwelling-house called Holme Top, "wherein Jacob Hudson doth now inherit," with cottages, &c., adjoining, and lands adjoining Bowling Beck; to Robert Ramsden, of Bradford, merchant, various shops; to Joseph Rhodes, of Bradford, weaver, the pastures in Bradford called "Roundhills" and "Paddock"—John Stanhope, of Horsforth, who seems to have been a mortgagee, being joined as a party in this sale;—to Joshua Walker, the younger, of Bradford, apothecary, the land called the "Butts" (three acres twenty-five perches) situate in "Godmondend"; and then in the possession of Joshua Stansfield; to Anthony Ward,



HIGH STREET, BRADFORD, IN 1817.

(Reproduced from a Drawing by John Preston Neale.)



of Bradford, glazier, a meadow called "Forster's Close" near Manningham Lane (containing four days' work), then in the possession of Matthew Atkinson, and also the "Henry Atkinson Close" near Manningham Lane.

Since 1756 the Hall has passed with or without the adjoining land, by survivorship, by will, by intestacy, and by purchase, from one to another of the Bowers. At present it is jointly owned, together with the yard and the adjoining small shops by Herbert Morris Bower, Esquire, of Elmcrofts, Ripon, and Frederick Orpen Bower, D.Sc., F.R.S., Professor of Botany at Glasgow University. The Bower family is one of the oldest of existing Bradford families, and the names of its members continually appear in local records from mediæval times down to the present century. The three purchasers of the Paper Hall, Abraham Bower (died 1786), John Bower (died 1791) and Jonas Bower (died 1798) were partners in the business of wool-staplers, and owned together large property in the town and neighbourhood of Bradford, of which much was eventually distributed by a deed of partition (1792) between the heirs-at-law of Abraham and of John, the surviving brother Jonas, and other parties.

I have from time to time mentioned in the course of this paper the names of various tenants of the Hall. At the end of the last century and the beginning of the present century, the Hall was the residence of the Garnett family. James Garnett, the father of the late Mr. William Garnett, was residing there in 1792 or 1793, and was engaged in spinning with hand-mules. This is probably the earliest date at which Arkwright's ingenious invention, made public in 1780, was in use in Bradford. James Garnett died at the Paper Hall, in 1829, and members of the family continued to reside there until 1839. A few years later the house was cut up into a number of small tenements, and in 1847 the small shops now standing were erected on the site of the garden in front of the buildings. A letter, written many years ago in a local newspaper, signed "Vetus," which seems to be the source of the erroneous statement in Mr. W.

Scruton's "*Old Bradford*," that the Hall was acquired by the Bowers from the Rookes, is no doubt more reliable when it recalls the pride which old Mr. James Garnett took in his residence, and the care with which its handsome old oak wainscotting was kept constantly polished with bees-wax and oil. Some of the wainscot and of the fine oak mantel pieces were removed from the Hall a few years ago, but there are a few ornamental features still visible internally.

The views of the Hall which are here reproduced are from pencil drawings, in the writer's possession, made by John Preston Neale, an artist of no little ability and reputation in the second quarter of the present century. One of the drawings bears at the foot the words and date "The Paper Hall, Bradford, 1817." In that year Neale was occupied in a tour of the country for a series of "Views of Seats of the Nobility and Gentry of the United Kingdom," which ultimately extended to eleven volumes, and included no less than 737 engraved plates. In that work he gave an engraving of Tong Hall, and a drawing by him of Bolling Hall, which was not engraved, is also in the writer's possession. As these views are probably the only genuine records—not conjectural restorations—of the original appearance of the Paper Hall in its palmy days, it may be well to state that they formed part of the large collection of Neale's work preserved until a few years ago at Horsey Hall, Norfolk, where, prior to his death in 1847, Neale lived for many years, the owner of the Hall being a great friend and patron of his.

In conclusion I wish to express my thanks to the present owners of the Hall for permission to see the original deeds of the property, and to Mr. C. A. Federer and Mr. W. Cudworth, for assistance in illustrating the history of the building.

BURIAL REGISTER
OF
BRADFORD PARISH CHURCH.

TRANSCRIBED BY THE LATE
T. T. EMPSALL, ESQ.

CONTINUED FROM VOL. II., PART X., PAGE 276.

*Explanation of contraction in the second column: w. wife;
s. soune; d. daughter; ch. childe.*

1642, March.

5	William	s	John Woodhead, Bd. Widdow Farrand, Bd., pauper
6	Elizabeth	d	George Wilman, Wilsden
8		ch	James Warburton, Allerton, unbapt.
9	John	s	John Woodhead, Bd.
12	John	s	Henry Watkinson, Thornton
16			Isabell Lillie, Thornton, paup.
18	Marie	d	Samuell Eshton, Bd.
19		w	Richard Stancliffe, Gt. H.
21	John	s	John Crabtree, Bd.
24	Nathaniell	s	Thomas Hopkinson, Thornton
		ch	James Hill, Heaton, unbapt.

1643.

26			John Wright, Bd.
	Thomas	s	Stephen Banks, Bd.
28			Michaell Robertshay, Thornton
30		w	John Battie, Bd.

April.

3	Marie	d	William Bartles, Bd.
5			Robert Rishworth, Claiton
6		w	Thomas Mallinson, Bd.
7		ch	Jesper Drake, Thornton, unbapt.
9			Samuel Taylor, Bd.
10	Sarah	d	John Kirke, Bowlinge
12		w	Richard Kellett, Bowlinge
13	William	s	John Pollard, Bowlinge

- Marie d Josuah Hey, late of Bd.
 14 w John Pearson, Thornton
 17 Daniell Littlewood, a Souldier
 18 John Pearson, Thornton
 Robert s Richard Thomas, Allerton
 19 ch John Medley
 20 John s George feild, Shipley
 24 Thomas Hemingway, Lt. II.
 25 Richard Mortimer, Claiton
 26 Samuell s Samuell Milner, Claiton
 28 Widdow Grenehall, Ecclesfeild
- May.**
- 1 Marie d Robert Hill, Bd.
 2 Martha d Thomas Midglay and Martha Hollingworth, Bast.
 3 Widdow Jowett, Bowling
 ch Jeremy Aked, Bd., unbapt.
 John s Symon Askwith, Bramlay
 7 Lawrence Robertshay, Claiton
 8 Mr. Sowerbutte, Bowling in eccl.
 9 Widdow feild, Shipley in eccl.
 13 Marie d George Beecroft, Howlbeck
 ch Michael Akeroyd, Thornton, unbapt.
 14 John Hanson, of Linlay, Souldier
 16 Marie d William Brooksbank, Ecclesfeild in eccl.
 Anne d William Smith, Calverley
 18 William Baly, Bd.
 19 Thomas Willmson, Bd. in eccl.
 21 Henry Burton, a Souldier
 Samuell Elsworth, Calverley
 w Charles Rigge, Ecclesfeild
 William s Isaack Fletcher, Ecclesfield
 22 John s John Fletcher, Junr., Thornton
 23 w Bartholomew Parkinson, Bd.
 24 Richard Ingham, Bd.
 25 w William Bookcocke, Thornton
 26 John s Arthur Whitelay, Heaton
 27 w Tempest Pearson, Mann.
 Ellen d John Gumersall. Byerley
 Widdow Holmes, Heaton
 John s Mr. Hope, Bd. in eccl.
 28 John Lister, Halifax, Souldier
 George s John Newell, Gt. H.
 29 Christopher Swaine, Lt. II.
 John s Widdow Whitelay, Bd.
 30 Widdow Jowett, Thornton
- June.**
- 2 Pheabee d Widdow Robinson, Wllsden
 3 w John Northroppe, Mann.
 Henry Atkinson, Bd., Smith
 4 Hanna d Mr. Ellison, Minister, Otlay
 Marie d Robert Barran, Bkl.

- 11 Grace d Robert Smith, Allerton
s James Warburton, Allerton
- 12 w Samuel Ward, Lt. H.
Elizabeth Sowden, Thornton
- 14 w John Mortimer, Gt. H. in eccl.
- 15 Jonas s Joseph Green, Thornton
- 18 Marie d John Pighells, Claiton
ch John Lowcocke, Bd., unbapt.
s William Cordlay, Bowlinge
ch Richard Holmes, Bd., unbapt.
- 22 James s William Cordlay, Bowlinge
ch Richard Holmes, Bd., unbapt.
- 28 John Horton, Bd.

July.

- 7 James Walker, Bd.
Robert Hollyns, Clayton
- Jennet d Richard Jackson, Mann.
Jonathan Bower, Bd.
ch John Crabtree, Mann.
ch Jonas Bower, Bd.
- Frances d James Jowett, Bollyng
John Hey, Bollyng
Mr. William Sagar, Bd.
William Booth, Horton
Hellen Barker
- Elizabeth w Brian Wilson
- 12 George Fletcher, Bd.
Richard Stead, Mann.
- 13 John Green, Frizinghall
- 14 Katharine w Christopher Coocker, Bd.
- 15 Anthony Warde, Horton
- Thomas s Thomas Mallison, Bd.
- Susan w Richard Allerton, Bd.
- 19 ch John Drake, Streetgap
- 20 Robert Pearson, Bd.
- Anne w Thomas Jowett, Bd.
- Margarett w James Clarkson, Bd.
William Smyth, Bd.
- Susan w Robert Rawson, Bd.
- 21 Henry Lancaster, Bd.
Marie Mortimer, Gt. H.
George Keyner, Bd.
- 22 ch Anthony Hurste, Mann.
- 23 ch Richard Cordingley, Blackcarre
s William Rawson, Bowling

August.

- Alice w Abraham Braithwait, Clayton
- 3 George Holdsworth, Revey
John Blamires, Revey
ch Thomas Leaches, Morleycarre
- 4 Jonathan Horne, Bd.
- Grace d Michael Mitton, Bolton
- A d John Yarrs, Bd.

- 6 Martin Hemingway, Horton parva
 Robert Baily, Bd.
 d Abraham Jowett, Horton
 7 William Clarkson, Bd.
 w Samuel Stancliffe, Clayton
 8 d John Thomas, Bolton
 Jonathan Walker, Mann.
 9 Elizabeth w Thomas Wilson, Bd.
 William Cordingley, Bollyng
 10 Samuel Smyth, Bd.
 d Richard Croft, Mann.
 11 Susan d Abraham Oates, Clayton
 12 Isabell Paslewe, Widow, Shipley
 John Baily, Bd.
 14 Jane Marshall, Widow, Bd.
 Child still born of William Nortons, Eccleshill
 15 Effam w Joseph Dawson, Bolling
 ch Walter Waterhouse, Bd.
 16 John Barraclough, Chellawe
 ch Danyell Grenewood, Horton
 ch Michael Hargraves, Bd.
 17 Annie w William Kyley, Bd.
 James s John Campinatt, Allerton
 18 William Sugden, Bd.
 19 Isabell w Austine Cloudsley, Bd.
 Matthew s Thomas Whalley, Bd.
 Marie d William Harlie, Bd.
 20 John Sugden, Bd.
 John Kitchin, Bd.
 Isacke s John Waterhouse, Bd.
 Godfrey s Peter Ingham, Bd.
 21 Susan w William Aked, Bd.
 22 William Brooksbank, Eccleshill
 23 William Brook, Eccleshill
 William Swifte, Gt. H.
 Sara w John Hanson, Wibsey
 Elizabeth w John Hemsworth, Bd.
 Dorothe w Richard Jowett, Bd.
 Robert Firth, Heaton
 24 Matthew Stead, Bd.
 John Clayton, Gt. H.
 Mabbill w James Hopkinson, Bd.
 25 Gregorie Cooke, Horton
 Abigell w Michael Milner, Clayton
 26 John Northroppe, Mann.
 Sara Whiteley, Bd.
 27 John Darnebrook, Bd.
 John Murgatroyd, Bd.
 Bridgett d Richard Stead, Mann.
 Alice w George Kendall, Bolling
 28 Grace w John Kitchin, Bd.
 30 Martine s Henry Pollard, Tonge

	Grace	d Martine Hemingway, Horton
	John	s William Jackson, Bd.
31	Hester	w Richard Horne, Bd.
	Jonas	s William Thornton, Horton
September.		
1	Martha	w Roger Bower, Bd.
	Grace	d Samuel Guye, Bd.
	Marie	d Thomas Wilson, Bd.
	Marie	d Peter Ingham, Bd.
2		Thomas Smyth, Bd.
	Hellen	w William Swifte, Horton Isabell Wood, Mann.
3	Joseph	s Joshua Drake, Thornton John Drake, Dyeroid Nicholas Deane, Bd.
	Gervase	s Gervase Dixon, Bd.
4		Thomas Walmsley, Bd.
	Alice	w Robert Fletcher, Eccleshill
	Grace	d John Nicholls, Thornton
	Christopher	s Christopher Lambe, Bd.
5		William Clough, Bd.
6	Jane	w William Steevenson, Mann.
7		Roger Seedhill, Bd.
8		John Booth, Gt. H.
10		John Jowett, Bd.
	Samuell	s John Murgatroyd, Bd. Jennett Kitching, Bd. John Butler, Revey Widowe Hardie, Mann.
11	Grace	w James Swaine, Bd. Thomas Allerton, Allerton
12		Thomas Brooke, Eccleshill
	John	s John Stanckliffe, Clayton
	Joshua	s George Turner, Bd.
	Lewes	s Lewes Watson, Bd.
13		Abraham Lee, Bd.
	Marie	d Richard Hodgson, Bd. Jonas Watson, Bd.
14		Grace Lume, Bd.
15		Michaell Sowden, Cockan
16		Marie Clough, Bd., vid. Sara Northrope, Widow, Bd. Susan Stanckliffe, Clayton
	Ruth	d John Hodgson, Clayton
17		Isabell Whitehead, Eccleshill
	Maria	d John Vickers, Bd. Margarett Armistead, Bd.
	Sara	d Thomas Slater, Bd.
18		John Stead, Bd.
19	Elizabeth	w Richard Yeaton, Bd.
	Susan	w Edward Bolling, Chellow
	Isabell	w John Greenhough, Horton

- 21 Barbarie w Ezekiel Tayler, Bd.
 22 George Pollard, North Bierley
 Agnes w John Clarkson, Bd.
 Jeremy s Matthew Clayton, Horton
 23 Heaster w Matthew Clayton, Horton
 Sara d Isacke Dawson, Bd.
 Samuell s Samuell Tayler, Bd.
 Grace d Symeon Rosindale, Bd.
 24 Roger Bower, Bd.
 Margaret Firth, Frizinghall
 Grace d Bryan Utley, Bd.
 25 Susan d Gilbert Brooksbank, Horton
 Judith w Thomas Hodgson, Bolling
 Margaret w Thomas Croft, Barkerend
 26 Sara w John Walker, Bd.
 Sara d William Walker, Pudsey
 Edward Swifte, Bd.
 Sara w John Thomas, Bolton
 George s George Blanch, Bd.
 27 William s George Kendall, Bolling
 28 John Lister, Bd.
 Sara d Isack Fletcher, I. A. II.
 Anne w Robert Shore, Bd.
 John s John Jowett, Bd.
 Jeremy s Robert Clayton, Bolling
 Susan d William Wright, Horton
 29 Grace w Richard Midgley, Horton
 30 Jane w Tempest Rodley, Bd.
 Isabell d William Wigglesworth, Bd.
 Dorothy d Joseph Greenhough, Bd.
- October.**
- 1 Alice d Jeremy Thorpe, Bd.
 James and Matthew sons of James Ellis, Bd.
 Marie d Thomas Kellett, Mann.
 Marie d Henry Kitchin, Wilsden
 Lucretia w Jonas Briggs, I. A. II.
 3 Alice d Roger Knowles, Bd.
 Thomas Cauthrey, Bd.
 Anne Bowker, Bd.
 John s John Maude, Bd.
 4 Isabell w Mathew Nayler, Cockhan
 Sara w John Mortimer, Horton
 Jane Smyth, Bd.
 John s Robert Hopkinson, Bd.
 Andrew Utley, Bd.
 5 John Bamforth and Wife, Mann.
 Jonas Whitwham, Clayton
 John Nicholls, Thornton
 Mathew Stocks, Clayton
 7 Thomas Hollyns, Clayton
 Judith d James Swayne, Bd.
 Edmond Thompson, Bd.

	Mathew Oats, Clayton
Isacke	s Lawrence Longbothome, Clayton
Alice	w Joseph Firth, Bolling
8 Anne	w William Allerton, Allerton
Marie	d William Lister, Bd.
9	Walter Blagburne, Bolling
	Jane Darman, Bd.
Anne	d Christopher Foster, Bd.
Marie	w John Hodgson, Clayton
11 Hester	d Richard Taylor, Horton
12	Elizabeth Allerton, Allerton
Susan	d James Thorneton, Horton Magna
	Robert Fletcher, Eccleshill
	Sarah Holmes, Bd.
James	s John Waterhouse, Bd.
Marie	d Steven Hollingrake, Mann.
Sara	d Jonas Kay, Bd.
14	William Hey, Shopkeeper, Bd.
Alice	w Thomas Brooksbank, Bolling
Martha	d James Vickars, Bd.
Joseph	s John Eastburne, Mann.
Elizabeth	w James Earneshaw, Bd.
15 Sara	d William Greene, Bd.
Ellen	d Jonas Smythe, Bd.
16 Lawrence	s Christopher Butterfield, Bd.
	Phœbe Franckland, Cockan
Grace	w James Knowles, Bd.
Mercy	w George Field, Shipley
Sara	d Gilbert Threapland, Shipley
17 Margaret	d James Hill, Butcher, Bd.
	Grace Darwin, Bd.
Martha	d Thomas Kellett, Bolling
Marie	d John Jowett, Clayton
	Grace Sunderland, Clayton
18 Elizabeth	w Thomas Hodgson, Bd.
Isabell	w Thomas Bower, Bd.
Judith	d Roger Lister, Bd.
19	John Mitchell, Thorneton
20	Thomas Bower, Bd.
Joseph	s John Holmes, Bd.
	Alice Robinson, Bd.
	Marie Roides, Clayton
John	s Jeremy Thorpe, Bd.
21 Edith	d Robert Firth, Heaton
Anne	w John Holmes, Bd.
22	William Stancliffe, Clayton
23 Elizabeth	w Mr. Richard Brighouse, Bd.
	Nicholas Bower, Bd.
Elizabeth	w George Rayner, Bd.
25	Miles West, Bd.
Jonas	s Jonas Smyth, Bd.
Judith	d Roger Lister, Bd.

- Richard Roberte, Heaton
 25 John Nicholls, Tyersall
 Grace d William Jowett, Heaton
 Grace w John Medley, Clayton
 27 Susan d Bartholomew Parkinson, Bd.
 28 Margaret w Danyell Ingham, Bd.
 Grace w Jeremy Clegg, Horton
 29 Anne w John Maude, Bd.
 Elizabeth w Jonas Walker, Horton
 Margaret Smyth, Heaton
 Susan Robertshay, Clayton
 30 John Cockroft, Allerton
 Marie d John Wilson, Bd.
 Isacke Webster, Bolling
 31 Hellen w John Wilman, Wilsden
 Grace d Jeremy Clayton, Horton
 John Oats, Clayton
 Rebecka w William Prockter, Bd.
- November.**
- 2 James Hopkinson, Thornton
 Martha d John Cawtherey, Bolling
 3 John Crabtree, Mann.
 Martha w William Beamont, Bd.
 Thomas s George Bell, Bd.
 Marie d Moses Bawer, Wilsden
 Matthew Smyth, Eccleshill
 Anne w John Whitwam, Allerton
 Elizabeth w Nicholas Bower, Bd.
 5 William Allerton, Allerton
 Richard s Richard Higson, Gt. H.
 Dinah w Abraham Thomas, Mann.
 7 Edward Walker, Horton
 Susan w Richard Stancliffe, Clayton
 8 Richard Yeadon, Bd.
 Richard s John Kirke, Bolling
 William Nicholls, Eccleshill
 9 John Hardyate, Bolling
 Samuell s Richard Riddlesden, Bd.
 10 John Broughton, Bd.
 11 Grace d John Stevenson, Bolling
 12 Christopher Kellett, Browneroid
 Marie d James Bowker, Bd.
 w William Emmott, Bd.
 13 Easter d John Pighills, Horton Magna
 14 Isabell w John Eastwood, Shipley
 15 Thomas Kellett, Horton Magna
 John Baily, Allerton
 Anne Exley, Frizinghall
 16 Sara w Richard Mallinson, Bd.
 Richard Nayler, Bd.
 17 Anne w Edward Lang, Bd.
 Anne w John Milner, Clayton

	Susan	d Jeremy Clegg, Horton Gilbert Threapland, Shipley
18	Anne	w Jonas Bower, Bd. John Butterfield, Horton Mrs. Elizabeth Jopson, Bd. Susan Oats, Clayton
	John	s John Walker, Butcher, Bd.
19	Grace	w John Deane, Thornton John Webster, Bd. Anne Holmes, Horton
20		
21	Susan	w John Birkebe, Bd.
22		John Pickupp, Bd.
	Susan	w Gilbert Threapland, Shipley.
23		Isacke Houldsworth, Bierley John Northropp, Mann.
24	Elizabeth Easter	w William Tong, Mann. d Matthew Naylor, Thornton
25		Gilbert Brooksbank, Horton Magna Elizabeth Smyth, Bd.
28		Joseph Greenhough, Horton
29	Sibill	w Robert Craven, Frizinghall
	Marie	w Thomas Mallinson, Bd.
	Anne	d Tempest Cordingley, Holme, Infra domin. de Tong
30	Agnes	w Gilbert Brooksbank, Horton
	Abraham	s Abraham Ogden, Eccleshill
	Alice	d Matthew Stead, Bd. Christopher Thornton, Bd. Effam Higgin, Bd. George Kighley, Eccleshill
December.		
	2	Anthony Smyth, Calverly par.
	3	Samuel Firth, Bd. John Blakey, Fairweathergreen
	4	Roger Knowles, Bd. Anthony Grestone, Bd.
	5	Grace w John Jowett, Bd. William Sowden, Thornton
	6	Priscilla w Thomas Hodgson, Bolling
	Margarett	w George Pollard, Woodlands
	7	Mercie w John Vicars, Bd.
	Sara	w Thomas Hollins, Clayton
	8	Thomas Hodgson, Bolling
	Jennet	w Anthony Grestoue, Bd.
	Sara	w John Clough, Horton
	9	Marie d John Selbie, Eccleshill
	Sarah	w Joseph Greenhough, Horton
	10	Joseph s John Drake, Thornton
	John	s Robert Phillip, Clayton
	11	Robert Bower, Bolling
	Marie	d Andrew Hall, Horton

- 12 Tempeste s William Roberte, Bd.
 13 Christopher Hall, Clayton
 Widow Barraclough, Horton
 Margaret d John Vickars, Bd.
 15 Jonas s Joseph Greenough, Horton
 16 Bridgett Farrand, Bd.
 17 Anne d Thomas Newall, Bd.
 18 John Dobson, Thornton
 Marie w John Crabtree, Mann.
 Hester d Robert Sutcliffe, Horton
 John Sharpe, Bd.
 Hellen w Edward Cousine, Mann.
 Thomas s Jonas Brigg, Lt. II.
 20 Danyell Ingham, Bd.
 John Waterhouse, Bd.
 23 Jennet w John Baily, Allerton
 Edith w Robert Gant, Wharrell Gapp
 24 William Lee, Black Hey, Calverly
 Joseph Jowett, Thornton
 25 John Milner, Clayton
 27 Susan w Thomas Greenyate, Heaton
 28 George Craven, Frizinghall
 Edward Jackson, Clayton
 29 Alice Wilkinson, Bolling
 30 Hellen w Roger Pollard, Bolling
 31 John Smallpage, Clayton
 Abraham s Abraham Lee, Bd.
 Anne w James Cousin, Mann.
- January.**
 5 Isabell w John Hanson, Wibsey
 William s Frances Barraclough, Wibsey
 Alice w Samuella Pollard, Heaton
 7 John s John Pearson, Bd.
 Isabell w Richard Croft, Mann.
 8 William Emmott, Bd.
 10 John Jepson, Bd.
 James Wilson, Bolling
 Joyce w Thomas Newall, Bd.
 11 Richard s John Hodgson, Horton
 12 Matthew Sowden, Clayton
 16 Margaret w Walter Nayler, Mann
 18 Bilsber Varley, Bd.
 19 Thomas s Walter Nayler, Mann.
 21 Judith w Abraham Appleyard, Mann.
 24 Abraham Hemmingway, Clayton
 26 William s William Emmott, Bd.
 27 Timothie s William Pickard, Shipley
 28 Effam w John Hollins, Mann.
- February.**
 Helen w John Crabtree, Mann.
 2 Marie w Jeremy Clayton, Horton
 3 Martha d Christopher Burch. Heaton

- 4 Marie w Richard Mortimer, Clayton
Beatrice w Anthony Warde, Horton
- 5 Sara d Edward Jowett, Horton
- 7 Richard Metcalf, Clayton
- 11 Beatrice Fletcher, Gt. H.
- 15 Isabell w Thomas Lawkeland, Bolling Hall
- 16 John Walker, Bailiff, Bd.
- 17 Joshua Horton, Souldier, slaine in
Barkerend, Bd.
- 18 Judith and Martha daughters of John Jowett, Clayton
- 19 John s Edward Crabtree, Heaton
- 20 Marie d Robert Fletcher, Eckleshill
William s William Watson, Clayton
- 23 Jonathan s John Hainesworth, Clayton
Robert s Mr. Robert Hey, of London
- 25 John Jowett, Bd.
- 26 Grace Pollard, Lt. H.
- 28 Isabell w Martin Batchler, Wibsey
- March.**
- 3 Michael Hargraves, Mann.
Thomas Gibson, North Bierley
- 5 Sara d Stephen Hollingrake, Mann.
- 6 Nicholas Cordingley, Bolling
- 7 Henry s Edmond Smyth, Bd.
- 12 Richard s William Hey, Bd.
Robert s Robert Knowles, Bd.
- 14 John s John Crabtree, Mann.
- 16 Sara s Thomas Murgatroyd, Bd.
- 1644, March.**
- 25 w Thomas Darwin, Bd.
John Milner, Bd.
Thomas Wilson, Bd.
Michael Bartles, Bd.
- 26 William s William Jowett, Bowlinge
- 27 Abraham Whittiker, Clayton, pauper
- 28 Walter s John Craven, Frizinghall
- April.**
- 4 w Robert Balme, Bd.
- 5 Elizabeth Lange, Bd., pauper
- 7 John Sharp, a Souldier
- Grace d George Holdsworth, late of Revay
- 8 Widdow Wilson, Bd., pauper
Samuell Stanckliffe, Claiton
- Marie d John Baly, Allerton
- 9 w Richard Horner, Claiton
- 14 Grace Barrowclough, Gt. H.
- 15 Widdow Jowett, Thornton, pauper
- 17 w John Holdsworth, Claiton
Hester Dixon, Bd.
- 23 w John Fairbank, Bd.
- 24 Lidiah d Samuel Greathead, of Woodkire

- 28 John Jowett, Shipley
 29 Thomas Mitchell, Thornton
- May.**
- 2 John Adamson, Heaton
 4 Grace d John Holdsworth, late of Bierley in eccl.
 Isaack s Jonathan Rishworth, Claiton
 7 w Edward Preston, Thornton
 10 Grace d Jonas Fearnley, late of Bd.
 12 w Thomas Fawcett, Bd.
 14 John Jowett, the elder, Bowling
 Alice d Peter Baines, Bowling
 ch Thomas Rishworth, Thornton, unbapt.
 16 Anne Crabtree, Claiton
 18 Amos s James Thornton, Bowling
 20 Widdow Hawmond, Lt. H.
 21 w William Hay, Junr., Bd.
 25 Sara d Robert Wilkinson, Mann.
 27 Maria d Thomas Lambert, Burstall par.
 31 Davial s Joseph Milner, Claiton
- June.**
- 1 w Michael Metcalf, Bd.
 w Thomas Gledhill, Gt. H.
 2 w Richard Mortimer, Claiton
 3 Anthony s Hugh Smith, Heaton
 4 w Jonas Eshton, Gt. H.
 11 Joshua s Robert White, Bd.
 15 Widdow Balme, Wilsay in eccl.
 20 ch Joseph Milner, Claiton, unbapt.
 21 Richard Allerton, Allerton
- July.**
- 3 w Mr. John Nicholle, Gt. H.
 4 w Richard Wilkinson, Mann.
 10 William s William Hey, Ecclesfield
 12 Edward Roade, Bowling
 14 Francis Boothman, a Stranger, died at Bd.
 18 w Hugh Smyth, Heaton
 22 Anne d Peter Snowden, Shipley
 Robert Dickinson, Claiton
 Anne d Widdow Appleyard, Bd.
 27 Martha d Robert Jubb, Claiton
 28 John s William Snowden, Bd.
- August.**
- 4 Jane Booker, Gt. H.
 5 William s William Birtwhistle, Allerton
 10 Christopher Burnell, Bd.
 Christopher Booth, Thornton
 11 Marie d John Ratcliffe, Bd.
 13 Thomas s Mr. Nicholls, Gt. H.
 14 Nicholas Roade, Allerton
 w John Fletcher, Thornton
 James s William Webster, Bd.

- 17 Martha Hollingworth, Bd.
 23 William s James Blackburn, Ecclesfeild
 26 Charles Cowlston, Bd. in eccl.
 28 Widdow Bower, Gt. II. in eccl.
 ch John Baly, Bd., unbapt.
 29 w Mathias Brooksbank, Ecclesfeild
 30 William s Robert Swaine, Gt. II.
 Peter Ellis, Bd., pauper
- September.**
 1 Susan d William Pollard, Heaton
 Rebecca Craven, Bd.
 4 Grace d Richard Stones, Claiton
 ch Henry Halstead, Heaton, unbapt.
 Widdow Rishworth, Claiton, pauper
 Dorothy Bartles, Bd.
 5 w Robert Smythies, Bd.
 11 Thomas Croft, Bd. in eccl.
 14 Widdow Gill, Thornton
 15 Grace d John Prestley, Gt. II.
 16 Christopher Swaine, Lt. H.
 18 Widdow Booth, Bd.
 Joseph s Tristram Akeel, Gt. II.
 ch John Laycocke, Mann., unbapt.
 22 Joshua s John Crabtree, Mann. in eccl.
 Sara d John Pearson, Thornton
- October.**
 2 Maria d William Pollard, Heaton
 William Kellett, Bowling, pauper
 Christopher Sugden, Gt. II., pauper
 4 s William Swaine, of Bd., smith
 13 Samuel John Wilkinson, Mann.
 29 Christopher Thornton, Bowling
 30 s John Wilson, Bd.
 31 Joshua
- November.**
 3 w Joseph Robertshay, Claiton
 w Thomas Atkinson, Lt. II.
 5 Jeremy s John Ellis, Bd.
 9 William Walker, Bd.
 10 Thomas Hillhouse, Bd.
 16 w Francis Blackburn, Bd.
 18 William Pickard, Shipley
 19 Richard Rowlingson, Wibsey
 Thomas Smallpage, Gt. H.
 20 Jonas s Widdow Mitchell, Mann.
 Jane d Mathias Brooksbank, Ecclesfeild
 25 William Brooksbank, Shipley
 26 ch William Richardson, Bierley
 28 ch John Collinson, Gt. H.
 30 Joseph Broughton, Bowling in eccl.
- December.**
 1 Issabell d John Webster, Bd.

- 4 Peter Pickard, Shipley
 5 d William Roberts, Bd.
 6 w Edmund Hewett, Claiton
 9 Maria d John Cawtheray, Bowling
 28 William Thomas, Bierley
 Jonas Boardall, Wibsey
 John s John Creswicke, Bowling
 29 Sara d William Snipe, Gt. H.
 31 Thomas Dixon, Bd.
- January.**
 2 ch Joseph Denbie, Wilsden
 3 John Wright, Mann.
 6 James Sharp, senr., Horton
 8 Sara d Abraham Jowett, Gt. H.
 Anne d Thomas Sharp and Anne Hirst, Bast.
 12 James Hill, Heaton
 13 William Hill, Heaton
 20 2 ch Jeremy Claiton
- February.**
 11 Martha d Jeremy Jowett, Bowling
 Jeremy s William Ball, Bierley
 12 ch William Sharp, Bowling
 13 William s William Sharp, Bowling
 14 ch John Brigg, Claiton
 16 w James Kighley, Calverley
 18 David s Widdow Hillhouse, Bd.
 21 ch Mathew Hainworth, Claiton
 25 Grace d John Midgley, Wilsden
 26 ch Abraham Barraclough, Ecclesfield
- March.**
 2 w Christopher Clark, Bd.
 22 Jonas Fearnley, Bd.
 24 John Parkinson, Bd. in eccl.

[Interments in 1644—149.]

- 1645, April.**
 2 Francis Blackburn, Bd.
 3 w Michael Squire, Ecclesfeild
 4 William s Jonathan Fletcher, Claiton
 14 John s Abraham Swift, Claiton
 17 John Walsh, Mann.
 w John Lumb, Mann.
 18 ch Michaell Drake, Thornton
 19 Joseph Hargrave, Claiton
 25 Marie Deyne, Allerton in eccl.
 ch Joseph Sharpe, Bowling
 26 John Northropp, Mann.

THE GENESIS OF ENGLISH SURNAMES.

BY

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*Abbreviations: A.S. Anglo-Saxon; N. Norse, i.e., Danish
or Norwegian.*

SURNAMES are the mark of an advancing state of civilisation and the outcome of the gradual agglomeration of large numbers of people in communities. As long as a country is sparsely inhabited, and as long as a population is estimated at so many square miles per inhabitant instead of at so many inhabitants per square mile, so long will the intercourse of an individual with his fellow men be necessarily restricted within very narrow bounds and the circle of his acquaintances be exceedingly limited. The dozen or score people with whom he comes into occasional contact require no distinctive appellation to ensure recognition, and as we even now find hunters, miners, and settlers in a newly occupied country dropping their inherited family names and confining themselves to the simpler appellatives Jack, Bob, Bill, &c., so a very short vocabulary of names was found sufficient by our early forefathers to designate every individual of their acquaintance.

It is probable that in the first century of our era, at the period of the landing of the Romans at our shores, the approximately 60,000 square miles of England and Wales were inhabited by a population of not more than 500,000 people, say eight persons per square mile, scattered over the then habitable part of the country,

i.e., the ridges, lower hills, and table-lands, not subject to the periodical inundations which rendered all the lowlands little better than swamps. Towns in the modern sense of the word were absolutely non-existent, the common inhabited centres of the community being more in the nature of kraals, such as are found at the present day among the native tribes of South Africa, readily abandoned and easily rebuilt at some different spot as the exigencies of primitive life rendered desirable. For the scanty and not very easily distinguishable traces of these earliest agglomerations of dwellings, it would be perfectly useless to search our cultivated plains or accessible seashores: as before mentioned, the habitable portion of the land was restricted to the hills and table-lands—the more inaccessible to wayfarers and intruders the better—and to this circumstance alone can we attribute the preservation of even such scanty remains as we find on Grassington Moor, Rombald's Moor, Ingleborough, &c., which must have utterly disappeared had they lain in the way of modern agriculture or industry.

The advent of the civilised Roman made no alteration in the distribution and relative density of the population of Britain: the same considerations of defence and support which had led the Britons to select "high places" for their habitations, induced the Romans to place their stations and camps in commanding situations—in nearly every instance merely turning a British town into a Roman *castrum* or city—and to carry their roads over and along the ridges of dividing hills, so as to command the lowland on both sides. It was only at a much later period, when by the silently working forces of nature, occasionally aided by the rude labour of man, the stagnant waters of the dales and pastures skirting the hilly ranges gradually found outlets, that the expanding population followed the increasing means of subsistence and descended to the plains beneath.

From the foregoing description of the state of our country at that early period, which is not conjectural

but strictly historical, it must naturally follow that neighbours were few and far between, and were identified, not by names indicating descent, but by some expression designating the personal appearance of the man and the locality whence he came. The language of the whole country at that time being the various dialects of Keltic (kymrian, gaelic, &c.), the names given would in all cases be what in later times came to be called Welsh, and do not come within the scope of our subject, for there is scarcely any Keltic element left, either in the race or the language of later Great Britain outside Wales and Cornwall. The reason is not far to seek: the Saxon invaders had no thought of subduing and ruling the Kelts; they simply drove them out, root and branch, into the mountain fastnesses of the west. Such Welsh people and Welsh names as are now found amongst us are of comparatively modern importation, and the only traces which the early Keltic inhabitants of England have left of their existence are their rude implements, their burial places, and the names of striking geographical features, such as rivers and mountains.

I shall not dwell upon the all too short period during which Roman power and civilisation wrought a striking and apparently fundamental change in the state and character of Britain. The change was more apparent than real. Roman life in this country was from first to last mere garrison life, and the civilisation of communities was confined to the military stations whence radiated that wonderful system of Roman roads which the lapse of seventeen hundred years has not been able to obliterate. Splendid cities arose, it is true; but Eboracum and Uriconium, the capitals of the north and of the west of Britain, magnificent as they were, were not the homes of Britons but solely the abodes of a foreign conqueror's court and the centres of an extensive system of military administration. Thus, at the withdrawal of the Roman garrisons, the whole state organisation collapsed at once; the country reverted to its Keltic chaos; the flourishing cities of

the west were abandoned and left to decay till their very memory became obliterated, whilst those of the east, like York and Colchester, only escaped a similar fate through the early advent of the Saxons who stood considerably higher in the scale of civilisation than the British savages. It need hardly be said that the Roman occupation has left as little trace in our family names as in our race.

I pass on to the later period, when the successive invasions and immigrations of Germanic tribes (Saxons, Angles, Goths,* &c.) gradually pushing inland from the east and south coasts, had assumed such large proportions as to definitely change the Keltic character of Britain into the Teutonic character of Angleland or England. In connection with this matter, let us dismiss from our minds the idea of a sudden irruption of a large body of people or of an army, like that of the Normans in the eleventh century; it was no such thing. Modern critical research, initiated by such men as Gordon, Latham, and Angus, has decisively disproved the venerable tradition of the advent of Hengist and Horsa, whose heroic deeds used to throw a halo of romance over our early history and have often been artistically delineated by the inspired schoolboy during a tedious history lesson. On the other hand it has conclusively shown that the invasion of the Angles was a very gradual one, resembling in almost every particular that of the Whites in North America, who gradually displaced the native Indian inhabitants, just as the Angles or Saxons gradually displaced the Kelts in Britain. A momentous fact which cannot be explained away, is that more than a hundred years before the traditional calling in of the Saxons to help the defenceless Britons against the Picts and Scots, we have the testimony of the Roman historian Tacitus that the whole of the eastern coast of England, from the Wash to the mouth of the Thames was already called the Saxon shore (*litus saxonicum*).

* Miscalled *Jutes* by our early monastic historians.

Though the Saxons were not wandering hunters like the Kelts whose skulls or scholes differed but little from the wigwams of the North American Indians, but were tillers of the soil, yet their communities were small, and English society was represented for centuries by village life rather than townlife, so that the need for family surnames had not yet arisen. The ever continuing struggle between the Teuton farmer and the prowling Kelt prevented a material increase in the population, and it is doubtful whether even at the beginning of the fourth century of our era it amounted to as many as a million inhabitants. Nor must we forget another factor: the fervour of early christianity had also a tendency to again efface such class and family distinctions as had commenced to spring up in settled communities, and the brave SIEGURT or AELFRID who upon his conversion to the Christian faith received in baptism the name of JOHANNES or JACOBUS, thereby renounced his share in the patrimony of valour or pre-eminence left to him by his forefathers.

The latter part of the tenth century is generally assumed to be the period when family surnames came into common use. Local circumstances, however, must have determined their much earlier introduction in particular places. Let us now glance at the mode in which this must have happened, and transport ourselves in imagination into the midst of a colony of Saxons who have formed a settlement on the low ridges between the rivers Aire and Calder. Around them there is a wilderness of moor, forest and fen, in which the new comers have had as many difficulties to contend with as the backwoodsmen in the wilds of North America. As the community grows, the cultivated area becomes insufficient, and at length one of the fair haired colonists shoulders his axe and penetrates into the oak forest, once perhaps the scene of mysterious Druidic rites. Anon he discovers a sheltered spot, whose south aspect promises a fertile soil, and he sets about hewing down the secular oaks (A.S. *ác.*), burning out the stumps, removing the

undergrowth, collecting the stones, and in short forming what is now called a clearing but was then named a riding, ridding, rodding, or royd (N. rode=to root out). Our Saxon friend, who together with a multitude of others similarly circumstanced becomes known by the surname of RHYDER, RYDER, RIDER, RIDING, RUDD; RHODES, RHOYDS, &c., at last sees his efforts crowned with success, and a harvest of yellow corn waves over the spot where for ages nothing but the oak-corn or acorn (A.S. *âc*-corn) had thriven; thus the oakroyd has become the happy home of a succession of stout yeomen whose name ACKROYD, AYKROYD, AKEROYD, ECROYD, &c., perpetuates the memory of their earliest home.

This process of royding and naming the ground is by no means obsolete in our own time and neighbourhood. We need but follow the guidance of various sign-posts or boards at Ilkley which direct us to "The Ridings," *i.e.*, to the clearings or intakes on the moor, made within the memory of living man; or pay a visit to famous Ben Rhydding (originally Bean Ridding), where instead of a solitary royding on the bleak moor, where early in the present century a poor cotter succeeded in raising a scanty crop of beans, a stately edifice now rises, devoted to the art of "ridding" the body of all its ailments by the curative properties of water.* One family would perhaps "royd" a piece of land where a tribe of the dispossessed Kelts had had their skolls or SHOLES (A.S. *skyl*=shell), primitive dwellings consisting of a circular excavation in the ground, the earth being banked up round the edges to prevent water running in, and a tapering tent of sticks and reeds covered with skins at the top. Such a place, and subsequently its occupant, would naturally be called SHOLES, SCHOLEFIELD, SCHOFIELD, SCHOLEMOOR, and if a house (N. *cote*) was erected upon it, it would be a SCHOLECOTE or SCULCOTES. If the skolls are situated in

* A Scottish writer, describing the neighbourhood of Dewsbury, remarks with charming *naïveté* that the names of Hollinroyd, Boothroyd, Brookroyd, &c, go to prove that in former times "there were certain roads existing" there! — *E. Stuart, The Brontë Country, p. 18.*

a field (ley), the owner would receive the name SCHOLEY or SKELLY, and if a Saxon or Norse hamlet takes their place it would be called SKELTON.

As royds multiplied, however, the appellative Royder or Rhodes, was no longer sufficiently distinctive, and it became necessary to use more determinate names. We shall best understand this process if we follow some imitator of our original royder, who finds it convenient to erect some sort of building or booth (N. bod=shanty) on his clearing, and thenceforth becomes known as John the BOOTHROYD, or another who casts his lot in a low and flat district from which he gains the surname of HOLROYD (hol=low, as in Holland, Holbeck), or a third who brings the round summit of a hill under cultivation (howe=knoll or hill) and is thence called HOWROYD, or a fourth who makes his ridding in a retired corner of a valley (A.S. halke=corner) and receives the surname of RIDEHALGH or RIDDIOUGH (both alike pronounced Ridi-off in the West Riding of Yorkshire). Another settler clears a piece of ground adjoining a path or track (N. gate)* over the moors (moor-gate) and is now remembered as George of the MURGATROYD. If the path leads to pasture land it is a LEGGOTT, LIDGET, or LIDGATE (ley=pasture); if it leads to the village it is the TUNGATE; it may be so marshy as to gain the name of FROGGAT, and if exposed to the wild mountain blasts, a WINYATE, faithfully transmitting its name to the dweller in the vicinity. The hillside (A.S. b̄erh) affords occasional expanses of dry pasture land, and their relative situations impart to their owner or occupant the cognomen of HOWBER, HOLBER, and HOLBREY (low mountainside), HEBER (high mountainside), NORBER (north), SULBER (south), BLUBBER-HOUSES (blae ber=bleak mountainside). Many, nay most, of these forms in *ber* have in the mincing modern pronunciation of local names been hacked and trimmed into bergs and burys and boroughs; Horber has become

* Many amateur etymologists confound the northern (Danish) word *gate*=street, with the southern (Saxon) word *gate*=barrier or door, the northern equivalent for which is *bar*. Even such a careful writer as W. Scruton has fallen into this mistake.—(*Old Bradford*, p. 8)

HORBURY, Rosber (ros=well) has become ROSEBERRY Topping, Castleber is now CASTLEBERG, Stanber is now Stanbury, &c. The A.S. word keld=spring, has given rise to numerous derivatives in the surnames KELL, GASKELL (gars=grass), SALKELD, THRELKELD, and THURKILL (turl=hole),* KELBURN, KELLBROOK, whilst it must not be forgotten, however, that the etymon *kil* in Scotland and Ireland means church. A fellow colonist, the happy owner of a flock of kine, clears the forest to make them a pasture (A.S. ley=pasture), which procures him the surname of LEA, LEE, LEAH, LEEMAN, or more specifically LEAROYD, RODLEY, RIDLEY, KINLEY (kine-ley), COLLEY, COWLEY, OXLEY, MARLEY, FOLEY (mare-ley, foal-ley), or if he clears a piece of moorland for pasturing sheep, he is called MORLEY or SHIPLEY, or it may be BROADLEY or BRADLEY, LONGLEY or LANGLEY, FARLEY, BURNLEY (burn=brook), FERNLEY, FEARNLEY or FARNLEY, NEWLAY, PRIESTLEY, &c. One farmer would perhaps break up his ley or pasture, in order to cultivate oats, rye, or wheat upon it; forthwith he would be called RILEY or RYLEY, OTLEY, WHEATLEY or WHETLEY. Some again of the various roysds we have mentioned would be in situations where they were subject to the incursions of wild beasts or prowling strangers; to ensure comparative safety to the fruits of his toil, the settler would in such cases find it needful to surround his rhode with palisading or hedges, and the ground thus enclosed would be called a frith (fridan=to protect), the owner and his descendants rejoicing in the surname of FRITH or FIRTH.†

* The root turl, which we find in the English word nostril (nose-turl) is a common local name; various localities possess turlles or natural waterholes whence water for domestic purposes is fetched and where gossiping servants love to meet. Such was the place in Bradford where Whitfield first preached and where the common people met for questionable amusements, a place whose name has been changed to Tyrrel Street by the same lofty intelligences which altered Silsbridge Lane to Grattan Road and Breck Lane to City Road.

† The tendency of modern English has been to transpose the consonant *r* preceding a vowel, brid has become bird, brun - burn, froward - forward; the Yorkshire dialect makes gert out of great, and the Bridlington of the week-end visitor is becoming the Burlington of the day-tripper.

Leaving for a while the hill districts, we will pay a visit to the longer settled dwellers in the neighbourhood of the seashore, where we shall find the DOWNES, the CONYERS, CONYBEARES (rabbit-warrens), WARRENS, FALSHAWs (cliff wood), and FALSGRAVES (cliff ditch). These two latter names require a few words to themselves. The etymon *falas* (meaning bare rock, cliff) is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, existing geographical word (apart from the syllable *ar*, signifying water, which is found in varying forms in every language and country). At the very origin of the city of Rome, its inhabitants came into conflict with the neighbouring FALISCI or cliff dwellers along the seashore. We next trace the word in the place names and rock names FLAESCH, VALS, FALAESCHE, &c., in the Austrian and Swiss Alps; again it appears in FALAISE, the historic Norman seaport, and in numerous places along the Mediterranean and Atlantic seaboard, to be met with again at our doors in the HARD FLASKS, SULBER FLASKS, HIGH FLASKS, &c., familiar to those who have explored Malham Moor. The word GRAVE, GREAVE, GREAVES (ditch), requires no explanation for a Yorkshireman who uses the words gravng and digging indifferently.

Let us next visit the CLIFFES, with their relations the SUTCLIFFES (south-cliff) and RATCLIFFES (red-cliffe), not forgetting the HINCHCLIFFES and HINCHLIFFS (inch = small islet off the coast) and their neighbours called INCH, INCE, INNES, and HINCH. Further inland have spread the numerous families of HILL, MOUNTAIN, KNOWLES (knolls), RIVERS, BROOK, BROOKES, BURNS, (brun = brook) with the affiliated BLACKBURNE, WINTERBURN, HEPBURN (hep = fruit of the wild rose), GISBURN (geese brook), and all over the country are found the surnames LAKE, STONE, MOORE, MEADE, FIELD, WATERS, SANDS, CAVE, HOLT (meaning forest), GROVE, SHAW (small wood) or SHAY, with their relations BIRKENSHAW (birch wood), OAKENSHAW, RENSHAW (wren wood), HENSHAW, BUTTERSHAW (N. but = stubby), ROBERTSHAW, BRADSHAW (broad), BRAYSHAW (brae = meadow), CRAWSHAW (crow), EARNSHAW (earn = heron), BOLDSHAW

(bold=building) where a house has been built in the woods, GRIMSHAW (grim=dark), ELLERSHAW and OLLERENSHAW (alder).

It may appear strange that I omit the surname WOOD from the foregoing list of geographical names; the fact, however, remains that this surname, in its modern form, represents the A.S. form wôd=raging, mad, which already in Chaucer assumes its modern spelling: the A.S. wald and weald, meaning forest, comes down to us in the surnames WALDEN, WALDREN, WILDMAN, WILMAN, BLACKWOOD, and GREENWOOD, in which latter two names the change from wolde and wodde is comparatively recent. Hurst=thicket, gives us the surnames HIRST, HURST, HAZLEHURST; wad=ford, gives us WADDINGTON (ford, meadow, village), WADHAM, WADHUS, which has become WOODHOUSE, and we find the same hus (house) in BACCHUS (bakehouse or parish oven), LOFTUS (house with a loft), PORTEUS (gatehouse), HAGGAS (haghouse), *i.e.*, house and ground surrounded by a hedge=hag or hay). This same hay or hag we find in HEYWOOD, the N. equivalent for which is LUND (enclosed wood). The Saxon word mir=boundary, gives us MIRFIELD, MIRYSHAY (boundary wood), SKELMERDALE (the boundary land or dale on which there were some skulls). I may be permitted here to insert the remark, that anciently the word dale did not carry the meaning of valley as it does now, but wherever Danish influence prevailed it meant an estate or portion of freehold land; nothing is more common in ancient documents referring to lands in Craven than the expression "also, one dale or portion of land, situated, &c."

Some settler, however, less fortunate than others, found his lot cast in a district which had no natural outlet for its waters, where they "carred" or stagnated, and where nothing but withs and moss and perhaps a little line or flax would grow. The name of CARR (swamp), MASKER (moss carr), WHITTAKER (with carr), LINNECAR (line carr) would then distinguish him. He might succeed in roying a small piece of ground on

the hillside, away from his other land, and the name of such a separate piece (A.S. *pykl*) would serve to bestow upon him the appellation of PICKLES or PIGHILLS, so common in the neighbourhood of Bradford.

These have all been examples of how in a primitive state of society and in a thinly populated country, names of natural features have become surnames, in the first place of single individuals, and subsequently of his family and descendants. Here let me repair an important omission. I ought to have stated before, that at this early period the female members of a family had no distinctive names until marriage, and were by the other members simply addressed as daughter or sister, by outsiders as *Johndaughter*, &c. Such forms as *Bess o' Jack's* (Elizabeth, daughter of the John whom everybody knows), &c., which are still current in remote corners of Yorkshire and Lancashire, will illustrate my meaning; the forms *Stephendaughter*, *Johndaughter*, &c., occur over and over again in the Subsidy Rolls published in the *Journal of the Yorkshire Archæological Society*. A similar custom prevailed even among the Romans where the woman remained nameless (I speak of course of prename, not tribal or family name) until at the marriage ceremony she assumed the feminine form of her husband's prename by repeating the usual formula "*ubi Caius, ibi Caia*," which may be familiarly translated "Where you're Jack, I'm Jill."

The quiet development of Saxon families and communities, shadowed forth in the preceding part of this paper, experienced, however, a serious check and for a time seemed in danger of being altogether and finally arrested. The common talk at every fireside along the Frisian coast and the banks of the lower Elbe would naturally be, how the Angles and Saxons had gone to possess the good land of Britain and had seized upon the rich inheritance left by the Romans. Exaggerated accounts of the wealth they had found there, would, of course, go forth among their neighbours on the other side of the Elbe and the Danes of both sides of the Kattegat (Norway). Some Goths had accompanied

the Angles in their earliest expeditions to Britain, and larger bodies of them set out, some from Spain, some from Gaul, to share in the scramble for Albion. They, however, found all the eastern coast of this island so fully occupied by the Angles, that they were forced to go further afield and to try their fortunes beyond the Forelands. They found a resting place in the Isle of Wight which they settled, but have left us no account of how they arranged with the original inhabitants of that fair island. The Danes or Norsemen (for we must not forget that the Norwegians were and are Danes), whose cupidity was aroused by the glowing reports of their southern neighbours, next sallied forth. Being strong and warlike, and finding that all the accessible coasts of Britain were already apportioned among the first comers, they felt no scruples in thrusting themselves in where they were told there was no more room. At first, single Danish ships, then two or three together, would hover off the eastern coast; their crews would land at favourable spots, harry, plunder, burn and slay in true pirate fashion, and carry their booty on board their ships to at once transport it to their northern homes. By and bye they would find it more convenient to spend the best part of the year in lengthened predatory incursions, staying many months in one district and only returning to Denmark for the winter months. A further step in advance was taken by permanently occupying and strongly fortifying the promontory of Flamborough, which placed the Yorkshire coast as far inland as the Wolds completely at their mercy. Then Saxon Streonshalgh—the safest and most commodious haven on the whole coast at a time when the east cliff on which the Abbey stands must have reached as far as the present bell-buoy—had to make way for Danish Whitby; and at last there was a desperate struggle for the mastery over the whole kingdom, for the various phases of which I must refer you to any good History of England. Suffice it to say, that after the overthrow of the Danish army under Guthrun at the battle of Ethandune by King Alfred, A.D. 878, a treaty was con-

cluded between the two nations, in virtue of which all Wessex, *i.e.*, all the southern coast from Somerset to Kent, was evacuated by the Danes, who on the other hand were confirmed in the possession of the greater part of the east coast, including Lincolnshire and all the counties north of the Humber. This district was then called the Danelagh (Dane law), the inhabitants of it being subject, not to English, but to Danish law, and the name was retained until the Norman conquest.

Now let us examine what influence these events exerted upon the vocabulary of common and proper names in the districts which were the scene of them. The Danish and Anglo-Saxon languages, though closely allied, presented essential differences, both in pronunciation and in word structure. Anglo-Saxon had already then the softer, not to say lazy, enunciation of the four semi-vowels, l, m, n, r, which characterises modern English in the south, with the tendency of inserting vowels between two successive consonants (brun, brid=burun, birid=burn, bird), and adding one of the semi-vowels to a word terminating in a full vowel (fro=from, Yorkshire frae and thro'), of which many of our Wessex friends have even now a very good "ideal." The Danes on the other hand rolled a full r and pronounced their words sharply and clearly; no slurring of words by drawling enunciation; no disinclination to close a word with a sharp snap. Without going into any extraneous details on this head, I should just like to say, on closing this portion of my subject, that the inhabitants of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire must be regarded, broadly speaking, neither as Britons, nor Saxons, nor Normans, they are purely and simply Danes, the conquerors and masters, both physical and intellectual, of the northern half of this kingdom. So pray let us not affect to shed the sympathetic tear of pity over the poor downtrodden Britons, a set of unmitigated savages; nor grow enthusiastic over the records of the brave doings of King Alfred, or Harold Godwinson, but rather let us remember that Yorkshiremen are the descendants of the men of Tostig and of

Harold Harfagr, and that it is Danish blood, Danish courage, Danish energy, which have made the north of England the true hub of the universe.

It is certain that a great number of Saxons remained in the districts permanently handed over to the Danes, and became gradually amalgamated with the latter; and it is equally certain that the names of natural features bestowed by the Saxons remained practically unchanged. New clearings and settlements, of course, received Norse names, so that we now find all over this country Danish village names in the midst of Saxon field names and Keltic mountain and river names. Let us at once say that all place names ending in *by* are purely Danish (N. *by*=village); thence the family names DENBY and DANBY (Danish village), and a host of other *by*'s. DEAN simply means Dane. A word very like it in sound, *den* or *dene* (N. *tæn*=dense woody recess) forms the compound SOWDEN (wild sow's hollow), OGDEN (oak hollow), YODAN (yew hollow), HESLEDEN (hazel hollow), BUCKDEN or BUCKTON,* WOLFENDEN (she-wolf's hollow), BARDEN (bear's), BROGDEN (badger's), RAMSDEN, &c. The Norse word *thwaite* (N. *thvet*=clearing) exactly corresponds to the Saxon *royd*; thence the families THWAITE, OTHWAITE (clearing on the howe or hill), COPPERTHWAITE (cow-ber-thwaite, *ber*=hillside), and, with the gradual softening and dropping of the initial *by* by the process already alluded to, WHITE, WAITE, and WADE. We have next THROP and THROUP (hamlet), softened to THORPE, with its congeners NORTHROP (north hamlet), one of our oldest Bradford surnames, WESTROP, KNOSTROP (Knut's or Canute's hamlet), &c. To the older inhabitants of Bradford the designations Manningham "liberty" and Manningham "thorpe" will still be familiar enough, the former to designate the township, the latter the cluster of dwelling-houses.

GARTH (field surrounded with a belt of trees; croft; orchard) is now softened into yard, but still remains in its old force in APPLGARTH, GASKARTH (*garse*=grass),

* It is necessary to distinguish between the A. S. *dinn*=hill, and *ton*=village.

AYS-GARTH (aes=ash), HOGARTH (how=hill) LINGARD (lin=flax), HAGGARD (hag=hedge). GILL* (glen traversed by a brook, whence our word gully) is found in numerous compositions, as COWGILL and COGHILL, CAYGILL (kye=cattle), GILBY and GILBEY (glen hamlet), GILLY (gill-lei=glen field); in GILLROYD we have one of the not uncommon combination of Norse and Saxon words. WORTH, a stretch of ground between the windings of a river, is nearly akin to the Saxon *Ing*, moist pasture, and both give rise to a number of combinations, as BUTTERWORTH (buttercup field), WORTHINGTON, HOLLINGWORTH (hol=low), ILLINGWORTH (ael=old), ASHWORTH, ACWORTH (ake=oak), BIRCHWORTH, RUSHWORTH, CUDWORTH, the worth on which a cote or house is built. The word cote is again found in a number of compounds, as COATES, CUTTS, COUTTS, ALCOTT or OLCOT (old house), and a most singular combination exists in a mansion near Hull named Sculcoates House, where the British word *skoll*, the Norse word *cote*, and the Saxon word *house* all meaning absolutely the same thing, are collocated. WATH is the Norse equivalent for the Saxon FORD, and is generally softened into *with* in compound forms such as ASKWITH and ASQUITH (ashford); of the Saxon form there are plentiful examples: BRADFORD is the broad ford where many can pass abreast; LONGFORD on the contrary is where the river is wide and the passage narrow.

May I here advance my own theory on the subject of the syllables *sett* and *cett* which have been given up as hopeless by etymologists. That we have to resort to the Norse language for an explanation of their meaning is clear; for the localities whose names contain one of these syllables are all situated in the Danish part of England, SETTRINGTON at the foot of the Yorkshire Wolds, APPERSETT, WINTERSETT, and BURTERSETT in Upper Wensleydale, FAWCETT in Westmorland and Cumberland, CONSETT in Durham. All these places have, besides, the peculiarity in common, that they are

* Distinguish between Gill, with soft g, meaning Giles, and Gill with hard g, meaning glen.

situated on sheltered and sunny hillsides, affording rich pasture to cattle. Will it be considered as very far fetched if I make the suggestion that we have here to do with the common Norse word *saetr*, meaning mountain pasture, which will be familiar to all those who have travelled in Norway, and that the surnames FORSETT, FAWCETT, and FAWSITT contain the two roots *fors* (N. waterfall) and *saetr*, and that both in BURTERSETT and APPERSETT we have besides the etymon *ber* (mountainside) treated of before?

Most of the Norse surnames are derived from original Norse prenames; thus GAMBLE from Gamel; KETTLEWELL (Ketil=Christopher); OATES from Uti; OSBORN (Uti's bairn or child); SEWARD, BARNES, &c. A few remarks on YEWDALL (Norse *odal* or *udal*): the udaller was the absolute freeholder and possessor of the ground on which he dwelt, who owed no feudal service but was a free and independent commoner. Under the Norman kings everything was done to extirpate this class of freeman whose position was really superior to that of the proud lordlings who owed feudal service to their master, whilst the udaller owned no master but the commonalty. Udall right and tenure still survive in some parts of the Orkneys and Shetlands; but we Bradfordians may be proud of having some of the direct descendants of these ancient freemen in our midst and neighbourhood.

Coming in the next place to surnames derived from occupations, we need touch only upon such as are not quite self-explanatory. This class of names presuppose a comparatively settled state of society and refer in great part to social life in larger communities. They date from a much later date than geographical surnames, and it is only after the conquest, about the end of the eleventh century, that these as well as all other surnames became permanent and received a legal status. For this reason, too, they are all of Saxon or Norman-French origin. The subsidy roll of Richard II., containing a list of all the settled inhabitants of our county, not being notorious

mendicants, gives us a valuable insight into the applications of professional surnames. We there meet with FLESHWEVER (flesh-hewer) or FLETCHER (butcher); the same word in the south of England, where Norman influences prevailed, would mean arrowmaker, which in the north was expressed by ARROWSMITH; then we have Thecker (thatcher), now spelt THACKER, THACKERAY, THACKWRAY, &c.; SOUTER and SUTER (cobbler); WEBSTER (weaver); WALKER (fuller); LITSTER and LISTER (clothier); BAKESTER, now BAGSTER and BAXTER, which must be translated BAKER, not bagman as is usually done. Next we have WAINWRIGHT (wain=cart); a SAGAR or SAGGER (sawyer, from sag=to saw); a GELDER or GELDART (to geld=to castrate); a SCRIVEN or SCRIVENER (notary); a COKE, COCKS, COX (=COOK), LAYCOCK (lay-cook at a monastery); LUCCOCK (luvecock=loaf cook), HISCOCK or HITCHCOCK (hirse=millet, porridge); a FARRAR or FARRER (farrier). The various herdsmen bear the names of CALVERT (calf-herd), COWARD (cow-herd), GODDARD (goat-herd), NUTTER (neat-herd), WEATHERHEAD (wether-herd), or simply SHEPHERD and HIRD. The original meaning of SMITH, *i.e.*, maker (faber) we find in SHOESMITH, SHUKESMITH, SUCKSMITH, all meaning shoemaker, and in ARROWSMITH. TASKER is the pouch maker, FORSTER the forester, CROWTHER the fiddler (British *crwd*=fiddle), WALLER and PALMER the pilgrim. Of national appellatives, besides the name DEAN=Dane, already alluded to, I need only mention FRANCIS=Frenchman, FLEMING, GALL (gael=Keltic highlander), COMBER (*cymr*=Welshman), and the various forms WALSH, WALLACE, WALLIS, WALES, WELLS, the adjective wallish=foreign being applied by the Saxons to everything and everybody not of the Teutonic or Scandinavian race.

Christian prenames have been the prolific source of derivative surnames; thus PETER has become PETERSON, PIERSON, PEARSON, PARSONS, PIERCE, PEARSE, PERKIN, PARKIN, PARKINSON, PETE, PEET, PEATE, &c. ("kin" having to be considered rather as a diminutive

termination than as "akin," Perkin=little Peter). Similarly with ROBERTSON, ROBSON, ROBINSON, and an infinite number more.

Some surnames, given to foundlings, were and are still taken from accidental circumstances connected with the finding of these poor outcasts of humanity, such as BIDLAKE (found by the lake), BIDWAY (by the way), BYWATER (by the water), NASH (atten-ash), NOKES and NOAKES (atten-oak), ATTACK (at the oak), BYGATE, BAGOT, and BAGHOT (gate=way), NEWCOME and NEWCOMB. The parish registers of Askrigg, in Wensleydale, contain the following entry :—Bapt. Dec. 3, 1780, Luke STONES, a foundling left at Askrigg upon the hard stones; by a woman unknown, on S. Luke's Day.

Nicknames, arising from some peculiarity of character or appearance, are very numerous represented among surnames. WOOD has already been alluded to; COLEFAX (cole=sly) may mean either sly fox or sly face; most of such names, however, are modern English.

I will conclude by mentioning some of the very few Keltic etymons which are represented among English surnames. The root maen (=stone) is found in MANN, CADMAN, PENMAN (pen=summit), STONEMAN, where two equivalents are collocated; in CUNLIFFE we have the root cwn=dog; gwin=man, is seen in UNWIN (white man), WINN, GWYNNE, and WYNNE; gallack=left, has given rise to our many GALLOWCLOSES=fields with a projecting or outlying portion, but altogether disconnected from the "gallows" which local topographers have sought to place there.

Norman-French surnames, which were not formed or bestowed in England, but were imported into this country at the period of the Conquest, do not fall within the scope of my paper.



LIST OF
RECTORS, VICARS, & TESTAMENTARY BURIALS
IN BRADFORD PARISH.

(1281 to 1667.)

FROM THE TORRE MANUSCRIPT.

THE TORRE MANUSCRIPTS, containing historical memoranda on all the parochial churches and chapels within the present dioceses of York, Ripon, and Wakefield, are the result of the life-long labours of that indefatigable antiquary, Mr. John Torre, who died at Snydall, near Normanton, 31st July, 1699. After his decease, his widow offered this invaluable treasure of ecclesiastical lore as a gift to Archbishop John Sharp (born at Bradford, 16th February, 1644), who, however, refused to accept it *gratis* and insisted upon her accepting a substantial equivalent for the same (twenty-five guineas). Archbishop Sharp left these manuscripts by will to the Dean and Chapter's Library, York, where they still remain. Although never published *in extenso*, yet extracts from them have from time to time appeared in the periodical press, notably the *Leeds Weekly Post*. The foregoing observations, regarding Archbishop Sharp's ownership of these MSS., for which documentary evidence is given in his *Life*, vol. I. pp. 137-8, and vol. II. pp. 109-10, are rendered necessary by some adverse remarks made by Mr. Drake in the preface to his *History and Antiquities of York*.—(*Editor.*)

BRADFORD.

PONTEFRACT DEANERY.

THE Church of S. Peter, of Bradford, was an ancient rectory belonging to the patronage of the Lascys, Earls of Lincoln, who presented the rector, and he a long time presented a vicar to the church by consent of the patron, till *temp.* Edward III., that the church was given to the new founded College of St. Mary, of Leicester, by Henry, Duke of Lancaster; and on the 17th November, 1416, it was, by Henry, Archbp. of York, appropriated to the Dean and Canons of the same, who in recompense of the damage which the Cathedral Church sustained thereby, reserved to him and his successors an annual pension of 20s., and to his Dean and Chapter 6s. 8d., payable at Pentecost

and Martinmas by the said Dean and Canons, who likewise were to distribute 20s. amongst the poor of the parish yearly. Also, he thereby reserved out of the fruits of the church a competent portion for his perpetual vicar who then was and for his successors, serving therein, who shall be henceforth presentable by the said Dean and Canons of Leicester, and have for his maintenance the same allowance which the present vicar and his successors used to receive. On 3 Oct., 5th and 6th Philip and Mary, Queen Mary granted to Nicholas, Archbp. of York, and his successors the advowson of this vicarage of Bradford.

LIST OF THE RECTORS.

- 7 Aug., 1281. Robt. de Tonington. *Lady Alicia de Lascy.*
 11 Feb., 1316. Dav. de Oxon. *Thomas, Earl of Lancaster.*
 20 Apl., 1323. Robt. de Baldok, jun. *Edw. II. Rex (died).*
 27 Jan., 1352. Will. de Horewith. *Joh., Duke of Lancaster.*
 Will. de Mirfield (died).
 8 Aug., 1375. Will. de Winceby. *John, Duke of Lancaster.*
 31 July, 1408. Tho. Duryth. *Henry IV. Rex as Duke of Lancaster*
 (resigned 2 Jan., 1416).

LIST OF THE VICARS.

- 22 Jan., 1293. Ric. de Halton. *Robert, Rector of the Church, with the consent of Alicia de Lascy.*
 Ric. de Irby. *Idem (resigned).*
 24 Mar, 1309. Ric. de Eure. *Idem.*
 13 Dec., 1327. Robt. Moryn. *Robt., son of Reginald de Baldok, Rector of the Church (resigned for the Vicarage of Wharrom).*
 24 Apl., 1328. Robt. de Byngnam. *Idem (resigned for the Chapel of Thorp, York).*
 17 Sept., 1331. Will. de Preston (resigned for the Church of Gygleswik).
 1 Dec., 1335. Hen. de Latryngton. *Idem Robt. Baldock (resigned).*
 15 Feb., 1337. Galfr. de Langeton. *Idem Robert (resigned for the Church of Adell).*
 22 Nov., 1348. Adam de Lymbergh. *Idem Robert.*
 Ric. de Wilsden (resigned for the Church of Castle Gate, York).
 10 May, 1364. Will. Frankelayn. *Will. de Mirfeld, Rector (died).*
 8 Aug., 1369. Will. de Norton. *Idem Will. (resigned for the Church of Edlington).*
 21 Aug., 1370. Will. del Cotes. *Idem Will.*

- 24 Dec., 1374. Steph. de Eccleshill. *Idem Will.*
 Will. (resigned).
 4 June, 1401. Will. Rodes. *Will. de Wynceby, Rector* (died 1435).
 Tho. Banke. *Dean and Chapter of the College of Leicester* (died).
 17 Jan., 1432. Dyonis Gellys. *Idem* (resigned).
 11 Aug., 1464. Hen. Gellys. *Idem* (died).
 24 July, 1476. Joh. Webbestor. *Idem* (died 1488).
 Ric. Strateburell. *Idem* (died).
 12 July, 1503. Gilbert Beaconsshawe *vel* Beaconhill, Dec. B. *Idem* (died).
 21 Sept. 1537. Will. More, Bishop of Colchester. *John, Bishop of Lincoln.*
 31 Mar., 1541. Will. Weston, S.T.P. *Assignees of Dean and Chapter of Leicester* (resigned).
 19 June, 1556. Thos. Okden *Other assignees* (died).
 1563. Laur. Taylor (died).
 1 July, 1568. Xtpher Tayler. *Elizth. Reg.* (died).
 30 Sept., 1595. Calebrun Kempe, S.T.B. *Eadem* (died).
 10 Dec., 1614. Ric. Lyster, M.A. *Archbp. of York* (resigned).
 11 Mar., 1615. Joh. Okell, M.A., *Fred. Morice arm. and Fr. Phillips* (died).
 22 July, 1639. Joh. Kempe, *Assignees of Joh. Maynard Mil.* (died).
 17 Sept., 1640. Edw. Hudson. *Car. I. Rex* (died).
 19 Apl., 1667. Abr. Brokesbank, M.A. *Maria Maynard, widow.*

TESTAMENTARY BURIALS.

- 27 Jan., 1435. Will. Rodes, vicar, to be buried in the church.
 2 Apl., 1476. Henry Gelles, M.A., vicar, to be buried in the chancel.
 20 Oct., 1487. (date of will made at Bolling Hall). Robt. Bolling, Esq., to be buried before the altar.
 20 Dec., 1488. John Webster, vicar, dying intestate, administration was committed to Ric. Webster.
 3 June, 1502. Trystrayme Bolling of Chellow to be buried in the High Quere.
 29 Jan., 1537. Ric. Tempest, of Bolling, Knt., to be buried in our Lady's Quere.
 19 Mar., 1543. Edw. Bolling, of Chellowe, gent., to be buried in the High Quere.
 8 Dec., 1548. John Illingworth, of Many Place, to be buried in the church.
 25 Apl., 1551. Will Roks, of Rods Hall, to be buried in the church.
 1561. Tristram Bolling, of Bradford, to be buried in the church.
 3 Mar., 1563. Robt. Bollynge, of Wybsey, to be buried in the church.
 20 May, 1564. Tho. O'Keden, vicar, to be buried in the High Quere or Chancel.
 16 Sept., 1583. Ric. Tempest, of Bolling Hall, Esq., to be buried in the church near to the place where his ancestors lye.

- 10 July, 1600. William Rawson, of Shipley, gent.
 19 Sept., 1603. John Layce, of Wood Kirke, gent., to be buried in this church.
 4 Dec., 1607. Walter Tempest, of Birkes, in Bradford, gent., to be buried in the church near his son.
 3 Oct., 1611. Tho. Flemynge, of Chellowe, gentn., to be buried in the churchyard near his father.
 5 Sept., 1612. Tho. Lister, of Manningham, gent., to be buried in the churchyard near his father.
 30 Mar., 1596. Christr. Tayler, vicar, to be buried in the churchyard.
 17 Aug., 1675. (date of will) Margaret Brathwayte, widow, to be buried in the church.
 11 July, 1433. Tho. del Banke, vicar, had his will proved.
 3 Nov., 1446. Joh. Walker, of Birill, to be buried in the church.
 6 July, 1504. Joh. Morton, of Bradfield, to be buried in the Church of St. Nicholas, of Bradfield.

WIBSEY.

- 21 Oct., 1636. Whereas there are 2 villages, viz., Wibsey and Byerley, within the parish of Bradford, the houses of whose inhabitants are far remote from their parish church, some of them 2 miles and some more; by reason also of want of room in the parish church for the multitude of people thither repairing, which occasioned William Rooks, of Rodshall, jun., gentn., with the rest of the inhabitants of the villages aforesaid, for the more easy enjoying the service of Almighty God at their own proper costs and charges, to build a chapel at Wibsey upon a parcel of ground called Ordsall Moore for the said inhabitants to resort unto, which they humbly desire may be dedicated and consecrated for the use of the said inhabitants of the 2 villages Wibsey and Byerly, who are contented likewise at their own proper charges to find and provide a curate or preacher to be elected and nominated to the Archbp. by the Vicar of Bradford to serve the said inhabitants in the same chapel, which said curate shall have settled on him £20 10s. per annum for his salary. Whereupon Richard Neyle, Archbp. of York, commissioned Richard, Bishop of Sodor, to consecrate the said chapel, and also the chapel yard thereof, for a burying place and for the service of the inhabitants, which on the 21 October, 1636, was done accordingly, and the chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity.


BOLLING

was one of those 25 towns which Henry Lascy, Earl of Lancaster, had in the wapentak of Morlay, held of the King in capite.

EXCURSION NOTES.

BY

CHARLES A. FEDERER, L.C.P.

 ON the 5th of September, 1891, the members of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society journeyed to Bardsey, by way of Leeds. Leaving Bardsey station under the guidance of Mr. J. A. Clapham, the party proceeded first to Bardsey Grange, an unpretentious building, but rendered memorable by the circumstance that its walls sheltered in succession two men of great note in their respective spheres in the political and literary world. The next place visited was the Mound or Castlehill, a remarkable earthwork of early British origin, where the Rev. E. B. Braithwaite, B.A., incumbent of Bardsey, welcomed the party and conducted them to the Parish Church which is an excellent specimen of Norman architecture, combining some portions of an earlier Saxon church. The Parish Registers, of which a most beautifully executed transcript has been made by Mr. Clark, the schoolmaster, were next inspected, special attention being directed to the entry which records the baptism of William Congreve, the dramatist. This entry proves undeniably that the date 1672 inscribed on Congreve's monument in Westminster Abbey as the year of his birth, is erroneous and should be 1670.

Tea was served at the Bingley Arms, and at its conclusion Mr. Charles A. Federer read the following paper on the places visited in the course of the afternoon :—

BARDSEY-WITH-COLLINGHAM.

Although Bardsey is at the present day an inconsiderable village, the embodiment of rural

seclusion, which but for its splendid church would scarcely merit the name of hamlet, it is undoubtedly a place of the most remote antiquity. Enthusiastic etymologists have petted the tradition that it was the central meeting place of the bards and druids of the northern parts of this island, and one historian "indulges the belief that where this peaceful village now stands in solitary pleasantness, the voice of measured declamation, and the wild shouts of enthusiastic fury were heard, and druids performed their horrible rites, while British warriors prepared for expeditions of plunder, or the sanguinary contests of civil wars." (Parsons' History of Leeds and surrounding District.) But we may at once dismiss such notions as entirely baseless, and look for the origin of this place-name in the name of the first settler or possessor, *Berd*, whose *ie* (Anglo-Saxon *hay*) or inclosure was naturally called *Berdeseie*, in which form we find it in the most ancient charters. We have instances of similar formations of place names in *Kilnsey*, *Wibsey*, *Pudsey*, &c.

However, Bardsey must have been a place of considerable importance in Saxon times, and this Saxon chieftain or eorl *Berd* was unquestionably a man of mark and exceptional high rank in the country; for though no historical documents now extant make mention of him, any more than of any other of the great Saxon families which formed the native aristocracy of these northern parts previous to the advent of the Normans—yet we have something better than the bare signature to some monkish charter to indicate his powerful influence: we have the well preserved foundations of the enormous earthworks and bulwarks which formed his burgh—call it castle or palace, whichever you like, for in those times both terms meant pretty much the same thing. These remarkable remains, dating from a period when the nation consisted but of lords, clerics, and serfs—subsequent to the tribal organisation and tenure of the land in commonalty which the Saxon invaders found in Britain,

and antecedent to the rise of the franklin class—are an indubitable proof that the superstructure was the abode of a powerful chieftain. It is now a universally accepted fact that until the end of the twelfth century the whole of the population of this country, except such individuals as were housed within the walls of a castle or monastery, dwelt in flimsy structures (skolls) made of beaten clay, mud, wattling, branches, light timber, &c., to which the terms hovel or shanty would alone be applicable now. This accounts for the circumstance that in the whole length and breadth of this country not a trace is now to be found of any uncastellated dwelling of the Saxon period. Where any kind of remains dating from that period are found at all, they are *ipso facto* the remains of castellated or monastic buildings. And this castle at Bardsey appears to have been of very unusual extent and strength. The form of it, too, is rather peculiar: the north-east side of the outer bulwark is as nearly as possible rectilinear, whilst the remainder of the interior is enclosed by an irregular semi-circle. An extensive inner work, corresponding in outline with the outer bulwarks, has a remarkable indentation on each of its longitudinal sides, the object of which remains a matter of conjecture. I am inclined to think that they were re-entering porches or recesses, perhaps in connection with portcullises, for there is every probability that a wet or dry moat surrounded the burgh. A most striking similarity is observable, both in outline and in extent, between this earthwork and the *ber* or *burgh* of Sandal Castle, which remains in almost its primitive state, whilst the Norman superstructure of masonry has almost disappeared. (See the descriptive article on Sandal Castle, by Dr. J. A. Walker, in the Journals of the Yorkshire Archæological Society). However strongly fortified, yet the castle was not strong enough to offer a long resistance to the terrible onset of the Normans when they ravaged the north of England with fire and with sword. The house and its tenants alike were swept away by the resistless torrent, and the ownerless

lands of Bardsey became a portion of the Conqueror's wide domains. The return in Domesday Book states "In Berdeseie, Ligulf *had* two carucates to be taxed. Land to one plough. Twenty shillings."

Not long after the conquest, Bardsey with Collingham and Micklethwaite was bestowed by the Conqueror upon the Mowbray family, who in their turn bestowed it upon the newly founded abbey of Kirkstall, in the time of Alexander, its first abbot. King Henry II, however, quarrelling with Roger de Mowbray, coolly revoked the grant made by his predecessor, arbitrarily seized upon these townships, entirely ignoring their transfer to Kirkstall, and bestowed them upon Adam de Brus in exchange for Danby. The monks who had in the meantime founded an establishment at Bardsey and brought the lands into that profitable state of cultivation which distinguished all the estates which were blessed by monastic administration, naturally enough made a great outcry, but to little purpose, for the Norman kings let might be right where their own revenues were concerned, and Henry II in particular was no friend of monks and religious establishments. The monks of Kirkstall and Bardsey, submitting ostensibly to superior force, bided their time; and meanwhile managed to make things so very uncomfortable for their "masters," Adam de Brus and after him his son Peter de Brus, that scarcely was the breath out of Henry II.'s body when Peter petitioned his successor, the feebler John, to revoke the exchange made in his father's time, to let him have Danby back again, and to relieve him of Bardsey with its fly in the pot of ointment, the Kirkstall monks. Not only so, but Peter was content even to forfeit to the king the then enormous sum of one thousand pounds sterling in order to secure the retrocession. The following deed in reference to it contains several very suggestive expressions:—

"1200. Ebor. Foresta.—Peter de Brus has restored and quitclaimed to our lord the king and to his heirs for ever, the towns of Berdeseia and of Collingham and of Rigton, with all their appurtenances as well in

advowsons of churches as in domains, fees, homages, services, reliefs, and all other things belonging to the aforesaid towns, without retaining anything—for the town of Daneby with all its appurtenances and the forest of Daneby which our lord the king has restored to Peter and his heirs, holding of him and his heirs by the service of one knight's fee for the aforesaid towns which King Henry, father of our lord the king had before given in exchange to Adam de Brus, father of Peter, for the said town and forest of Daneby. And he, Peter, shall advise our lord the king as to the said towns, *touching all those who have been enfeoffed in them by Peter or by his father since he had those towns.* And for the *great desire which Peter had for making this exchange and at his great instance,* we have led the king to take of him one thousand pounds sterling. Term, at the instant Easter 250 marks, and so from exchequer to exchequer 250 marks until the whole shall be paid. Pledges: William de Stuteville 100 marks; Henry de Neville 60 marks; Hugh Bardolf 40 marks; Robert de Ros 200 marks; Eustace de Vesci 200 marks; Robert Fitz Roger 100 marks." *Rot. de Oblatis*, 110.

It was only five years later, however (1205), that the intercession of their powerful patron, Roger de Lacy, procured for the community at Kirkstall at least a conditional restoration to themselves of Bardsey and Collingham, to be held as a fee-farm from the king, subject to an annual rental of £90. Whether caused by natural reluctance to pay this unjust rental, or whether the finances of Kirkstall were really in an embarrassed state, the fact remains that the rent was paid irregularly and under pressure. The following extracts from the Westminster Rolls tell their own tale, and throw a curious sidelight on the manner in which royalty in those days contrived to discharge its financial liabilities:

"In 1207, Warin Fitz Gerald gives the King (John) a ruby of the price of 20 marks, or 20 marks in money, as the king may choose, that a right perambulation be made by twelve knights between the wood of the

monks of Kirkstall in Berdesei, and the wood of the said Warin in Harewood.

“At Westminster, 1221, the King (John) writes to the abbat of Kirkstall that of the rent still owing for Colingeham and Berdeseie since Michaelmas last past, he is to pay to the abbat of Bello Loco (Beaulieu) 17½ marks which remain unpaid toward the works of his church of Bello Loco as the king's gift.

“On the 14th November, 1222, the king orders the barons of the exchequer to credit the abbat of Kirkstall with £270, being this rent paid for the three years 1219-20-21, for the same manors (*i.e.* £90 per annum) “which the abbat paid by our order to Philip de Ulcote, that he may sustain himself in our service during our pleasure.” (Rot. Lit. Claus. I, 115, 457). All the rent (£90) for 1222 was paid by the king's orders to the abbat of Beaulieu for his new church.

“In 1224 the rent was again ordered to be paid to the abbat of Beaulieu.”

Yet in spite of all these drawbacks, Bardsey proved a most valuable possession to Kirkstall, constituting the principal source of its revenues, and it is even probable that a minor religious establishment was located here, subordinate to the abbey, for we find in 1396 a John de Bardsey as abbot of Kirkstall.

But nothing after all can better show the importance which the monks attached to Bardsey, and which impelled them during two reigns to persevere in clamorous importunity for its restoration to them, than the erection of the splendid church, in the words of an eminent ecclesiastical historian (Rev. R. V. Taylor) “one of the very best specimens of Norman architecture at present remaining in the north of England. Both tower and nave are imposing in appearance and admirable in masonry; and though its columns and arches have a heavy appearance in the interior, and though some slight symptoms of decay are visible about the beautiful entrance, it appears to be just as qualified to resist the action of time and of the elements as when it came fresh from the hands of its builders. It is

complete in all its parts, consists of nave, side aisles, porch, tower, and choir, and was most probably erected in the reign of the first Henry," for Domesday Book is silent about it, whilst in the reign of Henry II the advowson which was then in the patronage of the Archbishop of York, was granted by Archbishop Roger to his newly endowed chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at York.

I also extract from the Rev. R. V. Taylor's work on the Churches of Leeds the following particulars of the later history of Bardsey:—"From the dissolution of Kirkstall Abbey until the first year of Elizabeth, the barony, manor, or lordship of Bardsey and Collingham with Micklethwaite remained in the crown, but on the 20th of March of that year they were granted to Sir Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, whose grandson, Henry, Lord Hunsdon, by indenture dated 14th July, 1620, conveyed them to Sir Thomas Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouse, in whose family the estates remained until 1654, when they were conveyed by William, Earl of Strafford, to John Lewis, merchant, of London, afterwards Sir John Lewis, of Ledstone, who left two daughters and co-heiresses, Elizabeth, married to the Earl of Huntingdon, and Mary to the Earl of Scarsdale. The Bardsey estates were the portion of the latter, and in 1720, Nicholas Leake, Earl of Scarsdale, conveyed them to Robert Benson, first Lord Bingley, who left an only daughter, Harriet, married to George Fox, Esq., created in 1762 Lord Bingley, and he dying without issue in 1773, the barony of Bardsey with its appendages, is vested in George Lane Fox, Esq., of Bramham Park, heir to the estates but not to the title of the Bingleys."

BARDSEY GRANGE.

At Bardsey Grange, during the Commonwealth, occasionally resided Francis Thorpe, baron of the Exchequer, of evil notoriety. To this place he withdrew when divested of power, and here he died and was buried, without leaving any other record of his life

than a reputation of evil-mindedness and overbearing tyranny. Although certainly interred within the church, there exists no memorial of Baron Thorpe in the edifice, but his interment is recorded in the Parish Registers as having taken place on the 7th June, 1665. There is, however, a memorial of his widow in the form of a monumental tablet near the entrance of the choir, the inscription on which is "Elizabeth, widow and relict of Francis Thorpe, Thomas Wise, Francis Denton, Esquires, and daughter of William Oglethorpe, of Rawden, Esq., departed this life 1 August, 1666, aged 78, and lies interred near this pillar."

Soon after Thorpe's decease, and in the same house where he died, was born a man of altogether a different character, William Congreve. His father was a colonel in the army and a member of an old Staffordshire family of so great antiquity that it claims a place among the few that trace their line beyond the Norman Conquest. Congreve's mother was a niece of Sir John Lewis who had purchased the manor of Bardsey from the Earl of Strafford, and appears to have been on a visit to her uncle at the Grange when her confinement took place. The entry in the Parish Registers referring to this event is "1669/70, February 10, William, son of William Congreve, of Bardsey Grange, baptised."

This is neither the time nor the place to pass judgment upon the merits of Congreve as a dramatist and poet. As the author of epigrammatic and witty sayings which are still in everybody's mouth, he stands second only to Shakespeare: witness the world-known lines "Music has charms to soothe a savage breast, to soften rocks, or bend a knotted oak, &c." (*The Mourning Bride*), and scores of others. One severe critic sums Congreve up as the wittiest and least amusing of writers. At any rate he is certainly the only British dramatist at whose funeral in Westminster Abbey (January, 1729) all the pall-bearers were peers of the realm. The best edition of his collected works is that published by Tonson in 1752 (3 vols. 12mo).

COLLINGHAM SAXON CROSS.

A cross very similar to the one at Guiseley (for which see Hatton's Churches page 32, engraving facing page 48) was discovered in 1841 at Collingham, when the church was repaired. It was near to the foundation, about two feet under the ground. It is even a finer specimen of the Celtic cross than the one at Guiseley. The Collingham church, like the one at Guiseley, is dedicated to St. Oswald. The probable date of these crosses is the seventh century, and there is reason to believe that the Collingham cross was erected to the memory of Onswini, son of King Osric, who was murdered at Ingetlingum (Collingham) on the 20th August, 651. The cross which was formerly kept in the vicarage garden, is now placed within the precincts of the church and properly cared for.

ASSESSMENT FOR
RAISING A FORCE OF CAVALRY.

HORTON TOWNSHIP, 1798.

DIVISION OF MORLEY IN THE W.R. OF YORKS.

To the Collectors of the Township of Horton—

AT a meeting of the Commissioners for the Land Tax for the said division, held at the house of Mr. William Fox, Innkeeper (Sun), Bradford, on Friday, 12th day of January, 1798, for the purpose of causing to be inserted in the assessments all fines imposed upon any person in pursuance of an Act entitled: "An Act for enabling His Majesty to raise a Provisional Force of Cavalry to be embodied in case of necessity for the defence of these Kingdoms;" and the persons so fined to be respectively charged therewith,

and also to assess all persons within the said division in proportion to the number of horses, mares or geldings, by them respectively kept for the purposes of riding or drawing burdens, towards payment of the allowances made to the several persons who have provided men and horses for such service.

ORDERED—That an assessment of one pound one shilling and twopence for each horse be assessed and levied upon the owners of such horses comprised in this assessment. That the collectors appointed by this assessment do within fourteen days from the date hereof collect the same, and also the fines herein inserted, and also shall and do within seven days thereafter pay the same into the hands of the Receiver General of the Land Tax or his deputy at the Sun Inn, Bradford, on the fifth day of February, 1798.

ORDERED—That the collectors of the above taxes from April, 1796, to April, 1797, do carry their respective assessments made in April or May, 1796, to Mr. Wilkinson, the Surveyor, and that the surcharges made before April, 1797, be by him inserted in such assessments, and also the fines returned by the account transmitted by the Clerk of the General Meetings of Lieutenancy, and that the assessments when so amended and the form of the order before mentioned be signed by two Commissioners of the Taxes.

Given under our hands this 12th day of January, 1798.

HENRY WICKHAM. JOS. FIELD.

HORTON CAVALRY LIST.

HORSE.

Isaac Wilkinson	- 1	John Booth collecting the
Thos. Hodgson	- 1	money concerning the
Rich. Lumby	- 1	Cavalry, 2nd February,
Benj. Cordingley	- 1	1798, ten horses in the
C. S. B. Sharp, Esq.	4	class, at £1 1s. 2d. each
John Bower	- 1	horse - £10 11s. 8d.
Joseph Blamires	- 1	RICH. LUMBY, Receiver.

2

Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.

FOUNDED 1878.

SESSION 1895-6.

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The Session commences on the 1st of October in every year. During the winter months, a series of lectures on antiquarian and historical subjects are delivered in the Society's Rooms, Free Library, Bradford, the lecture night being the second Tuesday in every month; whilst during the summer months, excursions are organised to places of interest under the guidance of competent ciceroni.

The annual subscription for membership is 7s., and includes a free copy of the "Bradford Antiquary" which is published annually in July. Back volumes and parts of the "Bradford Antiquary" may be obtained from the Hon. Librarian or from the printer, at the rate of 2s. 6d. for each part. Intending members are requested to communicate with the Hon. Corresponding Secretary who will supply every information.



The

Bradford

Antiquary.



THE JOURNAL OF THE
Bradford Historical & Antiquarian
SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES. PART II. JULY, 1897.

Editorial Secretary:

PROFESSOR FEDERER, L.C.P., 8, HALLFIELD ROAD, BRADFORD.

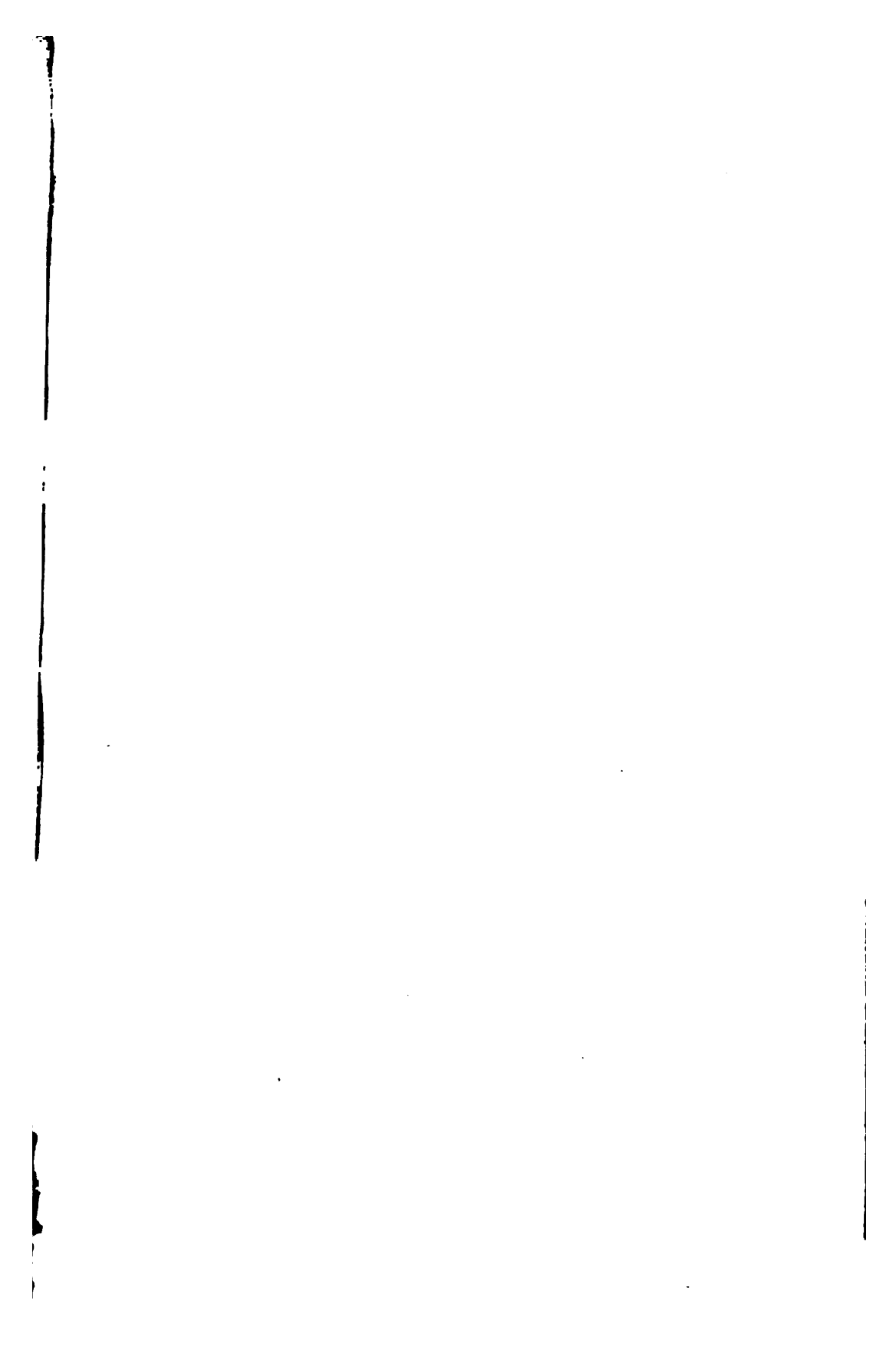
Entered at Stationers' Hall.

Price 2/6 net.

BRADFORD:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY H. GASKARTH,
11, SUNBRIDGE ROAD.

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Beitrag

THE SEEBOHM FAMILY,

OF BRADFORD, YORKS, AND HITCHIN, HERTS.

BY

WILLIAM CUDWORTH.

(With a Portrait.)

THE "people called Quakers" have long existed in Bradford, and have left indications of their usefulness in various ways — philanthropic, educational, religious, political, and commercial. Among other families or members of families of this society may be named the Hustlers, of Bolton and Undercliffe; Charles Harris, of Eastbrook House; the late Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.; William Wilson, James Ellis, and John Priestman; and three members of the Seebohm family. Of this family Benjamin Seebohm was a prominent minister in the Society of Friends. Of his two sons, Henry and Frederick Seebohm, the first-named was a famous ornithologist, while his brother Frederick is considered to be not only one of the best bankers in England, but he has acquired a considerable reputation in the literary world.

Benjamin Seebohm, father of the two members of the family referred to, was born in 1798 at Friedenthal, in the German principality of Waldeck. In the year 1814 he was invited to settle in England by John Hustler, of Undercliffe House, and his sister, Sarah Hustler, the former of whom undertook to teach him the wool business, and afterwards took him into partnership. The first years of Benjamin Seebohm's Bradford life

were spent at Hillside House, previously occupied by Sarah Hustler, and situate immediately below Undercliffe House. Bolton House, the residence of Mrs. Law, was at the time occupied by John Hustler, Jun. The grounds adjoining now constitute Peel Park.

During the year 1835 Benjamin Seebohm purchased a farm of about eighteen acres at Legrams. The house upon it had originally been a farmstead, but the former owner, William Maud (of Maud & Wilson, druggists, Bradford), had added a library and dining-room, and henceforth the residence became known as Horton Grange. The narrow road, called Toby Lane, ran down the back of the Grange, and died off into an old bridle track at the bottom leading to Great Horton. The beck at the bottom of the farm was the chief delight of Henry and Frederick Seebohm, who spent many happy days in damming up the beck course, in order to float their tiny ship the *Friedenthal*, named after their father's birthplace.

The plantations in the grounds, full of birds' nests, were robbed of an egg during each morning in the nesting season as a nucleus of a "collection" destined to become afterwards one of the most famous in England, and, encouraged by their father, the two lads were always on the look out for objects of interest in natural history. To the ground work thus acquired was attributable in great measure Henry Seebohm's subsequent repute in the scientific world.

Benjamin Seebohm's mind, however, did not lend itself to the routine of a business life, especially such an one as that of a woolstapler in the early years of the century. The details of the wool business of that period were strangely different to those now prevailing, involving many and long journeys on horseback to distant counties in search of the raw material. Those were also the days of the hand-loom and the "pot o' four," in daily use by the men folk, while the elder women assisted to eke out a none too luxurious existence with their spinning wheels. Whilst, however, fully discharging the duties falling to his share in business,

Benjamin Seebohm inclined rather to the work of a preacher of the gospel amongst the Quaker community. When a very young man, he accompanied Stephen Grellet, the Quaker Evangelist, and Sarah Hustler, of Undercliffe, on a tour of pastoral visitation through Germany, acting as their interpreter. Through Mr. Grellet's influence he became a sincere Christian, and soon after coming to Bradford, Benjamin Seebohm appeared as a preacher in the Friends' Meeting House in Goodmansend. In this capacity his reputation spread rapidly amongst the Society of Friends generally. He was admitted to the rank of a recorded minister, and travelled as a missionary over the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and many parts of Germany. Benjamin Seebohm was a well educated man; knew Latin and Hebrew, and was a perfect master of German, French and English.

As a preacher he was fervent and eloquent, using the English language with a power seldom attained by foreigners. In *The Friend* for November, 1896, appropriate reference is made to this phase of his character, from which the following extract is taken:—

His manner of delivery was peculiar to himself. He had an excellent voice, and self-possessed and dignified manner, which commanded attention. Rising with a few words, spoken very deliberately, in a low tone, his voice rose gradually till he had been about half an hour on his feet, when the words came with such volume and impetuosity that they filled the largest meeting-house, and found an entrance into ears habitually dull of hearing. Then, suddenly, when the whirlwind was at the height, he would drop down to a whisper which could scarcely be heard, probably finding in such contrast a relief to himself and others. His solicitude on behalf of young ministers was very marked, and he was very careful not to block their way, often waiting for them to "roll away the stone from the well's mouth," after which he would follow with the message entrusted to him.

Benjamin Seebohm's literary efforts were numerous. Among other works he edited the life of William Forster, father of the late Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., member for Bradford, and author of the Elementary Education Act of 1870. He also edited the "Life of Stephen Grellet," printed in 1860 by John Dale & Co., Bradford; also the Friends' "Annual

Monitor." He was one of the founders of the Friends' Provident Institution, whose chief centre and offices are in Darley Street, Bradford—an institution ranking high among similar organisations in England or elsewhere. Along with the late Charles Harris, of Eastbrook House, Benjamin Seebohm was mainly instrumental in establishing the Quakers' School in Chapel Street, Leeds Road, the first institution of its kind in Bradford, and to which the present writer with many others owe almost all the elementary education they received in early youth.

Benjamin Seebohm occupied Horton Grange from the year 1836 to 1864. In 1831 he married Esther Wheeler, of Hitchin, Herts. The Wheeler family had been Quakers for fully 250 years. Joshua Wheeler was incarcerated in Bedford Gaol with John Bunyan, and another member of the family was one of the 2,000 ejected ministers of 1662. Esther Wheeler herself was a respected minister of the gospel for many years, and succeeded ministers in the society for five generations. She published a treatise "On the Sufferings of Christ for our Sake," printed by Wm. Byles, then of Chapel Court, Bradford; also in 1854 "Youthful Pilgrims of the Society of Friends." She died in the year 1864. Benjamin Seebohm, having survived his wife by about seven years, died at Luton, Bedfordshire, in 1871.

HENRY SEEBOHM.

The issue of Benjamin and Esther Seebohm were three sons and a daughter, but the present narrative only treats of the late Henry Seebohm, and Frederick, his brother, who survives him. Henry and Frederick Seebohm were both natives of Bradford, having been born at Butler House, Barkerend. Henry, the eldest son, in 1832, and Frederick in 1833. Henry was educated at Bootham School, York, along with Aldn. Frederick Priestman and Edward Priestman, of Bradford. He was fond of natural history from his youth,

and for twenty-five years travelled widely in order to study birds, especially during their breeding season. Greece, Asia Minor and Norway were successively visited by him, and in 1875 he joined Mr. Harvie-Brown in a highly successful trip to the lower valley of the Petchora, in North Eastern Russia. In 1877 Mr. Seebohm pushed further east and accompanied the well-known Captain Wiggins to the Yenesei. These adventurous journeys are vividly described in "Siberia in Europe" and "Siberia in Asia" (Murray). A feature of the first of these works was an "aside" in the shape of a crisp account of a visit to Heligoland as bearing upon the migration of birds. The scientific results of both journeys appeared in the *Ibis*, and a paper on the second was read before the Royal Geographical Society, while an important contribution to ornithology will be found in his great work, "Birds of Siberia." Henceforward Mr. Seebohm devoted his attention specially—though not exclusively—to Northern Asia and Japan; he employed collectors, purchased collections, and from time to time made munificent donations to the Natural History Section of the British Museum, besides writing as an acknowledged expert. Among his most important works may be mentioned "British Birds, with Coloured Illustrations of their Eggs," "The Geographical Distribution of Plovers, Sandpipers, and Snipes," and "The Birds of the Japanese Empire." He also published several schemes of classification and many other papers on ornithology. For some years and up to the time of his death, he had been one of the honorary secretaries of the Royal Geographical Society; he was also a fellow of the Linnean and Zoological Societies, and member of the British Ornithological Union. As a geographer and a naturalist he had few equals in England. Of the sectional addresses delivered before the British Association at its meeting at Nottingham in 1893, Mr. Seebohm's paper on Arctic Geography ranked as the most interesting and perhaps the most important. Among other features brought out, was the vivid

picture drawn of the breaking up of the gigantic ice-floes—an experience of glacial action of exceeding value to students of the ice period in Britain and elsewhere.

Henry Seebohm was president of the Yorkshire Naturalists' Union in 1893, and at the annual meeting held at Skipton in November of that year, he contributed a valuable paper on the distribution of British birds. In introducing the subject, Mr. Seebohm said that as a native of Bradford all his early associations were connected with the districts round Bingley, Skipton, Settle, and Clapham, and other parts of Craven, and when he mentioned that his father's friends had included the Bakers, of Thirsk, the Tathams, of Settle, the Tukes, of York, and others, it would be seen that if he had not become "smittled" with the love of natural history, it would not have been because he was not placed in suitable circumstances for receiving that very contagious disease.

In business Mr. Seebohm was connected with the firm of Seebohm & Dieckstahl, Steel Manufacturers, Sheffield. He was also chairman of Joseph Rodgers and Sons, Limited; deputy-chairman of Ruston, Proctor & Co., Limited; a director of the Angier Steam Shipping Company, of the Phonopore Company, and of the Phosphor-Bronze Company. Some years ago he contributed a paper at the meeting of the Iron and Steel Institute. He resided at Horton Grange, Maidenhead, and Courtfield Gardens, London; and died on November 26th, 1895, in the 67th year of his age. His will bore date February, 1893, personalty being sworn at £101,000. In it he bequeathed his collection of birds, eggs and skins to the trustees for the time being of the British Museum, to be kept and preserved by them, and not for the purposes of sale. All the residue of his property is left to his widow, Maria Seebohm. The deceased gentleman had for some years previous to his death ceased his connection with the Society of Friends.

FREDERICK SEEBOHM.

Distinguished as were the two members of the Seebohm family already referred to, we have yet to notice the work done by Frederick Seebohm, the second son of the patriarch Benjamin, who, in some respects, is the most distinguished member of the family. As previously stated, he was born in 1833 at Hillside, Bradford, and when about three years of age was removed to Horton Grange. For some time he was engaged in the office of Benjamin Ecroyd, a Quaker Conveyancer, of Bradford. He afterwards studied law with J. B. Braithwaite, of London, and was subsequently called to the Bar. The law, however, was not destined to furnish Frederick Seebohm with a sphere in life; if it had, it may safely be averred that he would now be occupying a distinguished legal position. It so happened that in 1857 he married Miss Exton, a banker's daughter at Hitchin, and he left the law to become a banker. He is now at the head of the banking concern at Hitchin, and is held in high estimation in commercial circles generally. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society, also of the Royal Geographical Society, and is a F.L.S.

Frederick Seebohm, besides acquiring much distinction as a financier, has become even more famous in economic literature. His grasp of mind on many subjects of public interest may be judged by his voluminous writings, a list of which is appended to this slight sketch of his career. On the subject of land tenure Mr. Seebohm is an acknowledged authority, the result of his many years diligent research into customs prevailing in Great Britain and other parts of the globe. His work, entitled "The English Village Community"—an essay on economic history—contains a mine of information on land tenure in general, and is recognised as a standard work on the primitive open-field system of land culture. The work in question was published in 1882, and reached a third edition in 1884. Its object, as set forth in the preface, was "To set English economic history upon

right lines, by trying to solve the question whether it began with the freedom or with the serfdom of the masses of the people ; and further, what were their relations to the tribal communities of the western and less easily conquered portions of the island." The conclusion aimed at by the author, as the result of an exhaustive inquiry into the subject, was "That throughout the whole period, from the pre-Roman to modern times, there existed in Britain two parallel systems of rural economy side by side, but maintaining their isolation in spite of Roman and Norman invasion, namely, that of the village community in the eastern, and that of the tribal community in the western districts of the island ; further, that each had its own system of open-field husbandry, which are still distinct in modern remains." It will be remembered that one of our vice-presidents, Mr. John Lister, M.A., followed up the subject in a valuable paper bearing on its local aspect, as exhibited in the township of North Bierley, which will be found in Vol. I. of the Society's journal, p. 254. Mr. Seebohm subsequently published a paper on "The Tribal System in Wales," which throws much light on the inner organisation of a tribal people. It will therefore be no surprise to our readers that in March, 1893, Mr. Seebohm was appointed a member of the Royal Commission deputed by Parliament to inquire into the working of the land laws in Wales.

Frederick Seebohm's literary efforts were by no means confined to the subject of land tenure, as the following list of his writings and publications abundantly testifies, viz. :—"Emancipation of Slavery in America," 1855 ; State Paper Articles, published in *North British*, in 1858 ; "Sir Thomas More and the Reformation," 1859 ; "Essays on the Four Gospels," 1861 ; "Emancipation in America" (published by the Committee of the Society of Friends in 1865) ; "The Black Death and its place in English History," 1865 ; "The Population of England before the Black Death ;" "The Oxford Reformers," 1867 (second edition, 1869) ; "Compulsory Education in England," 1870 ; "Inter-

national Reform," 1871; "The Era of Protestant Reform," 1877; "The Hypothesis of the Christian Religion" (for private circulation); "The Tribal System in Wales," 1895.

About the year 1870 Mr. Seebohm acted as honorary secretary of the Freedman's Aid Society of Great Britain. In 1895 Mr. Hugh Seebohm, a son of Frederick Seebohm, published an essay on "The Structure of Greek Tribal Society," which enters into a careful examination of the structure of early Greek society, and traces from historical data the gradual building up of communities.

Benjamin, the younger son of Benjamin Seebohm, Sen., succeeded to the Bradford estate left by his father. Some of the property is situate in Market Street, opposite Messrs. Brown, Muff & Co.'s drapery establishment, which for a long period was known as "Seebohm's Buildings." He resides at Hitchin, and is connected with the banking business at that place.

In conclusion, the writer gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to a Bradford friend, Mr. George Field, for much information embodied in the above paper. Mr. Field's knowledge of the Seebohm family was acquired during a personal acquaintance with them while resident in the locality, and is therefore reliable.



WEST RIDING OF THE COUNTY OF YORK,
MORLEY DIVISION.

ASSESSMENT ON LAND IN THE YEAR 1692-3.

TRANSCRIBED FROM THE ORIGINAL RETURNS BY THE EDITOR.

(SEE "BRADFORD ANTIQUARY," VOL. I., PAGE 235.)

NORTH BYERLEY.

MARCH YE 2nd, 1693. An Assesst. made by us whose names are heere subscribed, for an aide to there Majesties of four shillings in ye pound for one year for ye carring on a vigorus warr against france.

	li.	s.	d.
John Rookes, Esq., for his lands and woodes	17	17	8
John Hanson	2	4	0
John Margerison	2	4	0
John Ellis	1	0	0
John Butler	0	10	0
Wm. Longbottom	0	11	6
Mary Swayne	0	4	6
John Spencer	0	8	0
Edward Waddington	0	6	0
Jonas Barracklough	0	6	0
Jos. Birkby	0	6	0
James Threapland	1	0	0
Abra. Barraclough	0	15	0
James Holmes	0	6	0
Abra. Pigeles	0	6	0
Whitley farme	0	10	8
Darron ffarme	0	10	0
Tho. Bower	0	8	0
Rich. Mortimer	0	18	0
Benjamin Holmes	0	8	0
Joseph Lister	1	12	0
John Smith	0	10	0
John Brigg	1	4	0
Jonas Thomas	0	16	8

	li.	s.	d.
John Sager	0	8	0
John Crosland	0	8	0
Joseph Blamires	0	6	0
Widd. Sager and Tho. Blaymires..	0	6	0
Tho. Barraclough	0	2	0
Daniell Blaymires	0	10	0
John Hodgheon for Mill	0	16	0
John Robinson	0	8	0
John Sharpe for Intrest	1	4	0
Tempest Cordingley	1	0	0
James Denham	2	0	0
John Cordingley	1	0	0
Ffran. Ramsbottom	2	14	0
John Crosland	0	4	0
Tho. Ffawcett	0	12	0
Jonathan Ffawcett	0	14	0
Alex. Wood	0	10	0
Jonas Ffox	0	4	0
Stephen Ffawcett	0	14	0
John Yarr	0	6	0
William Pollard	1	2	8
Tim. Ffearneside	0	5	4
George Daker	0	2	0
Sam Littlewood	1	2	0
Joseph Blackbrough	0	8	0
Sam. Thornton	0	2	0
John Wright	1	4	0
Rich. Marsden	0	8	0
Will. Howldroyde	0	18	0
James Thorntón	1	12	0
Widd. Walker	0	12	8
Jonas Woodhead	0	8	0
John Tordofe	0	1	3
Widd. Ffearnley	0	16	0
Will. Stead	0	6	0
Milles Smith	0	16	0
Robert Robinson	0	6	1
Widd. Sturdy	0	18	0
John Naylor	0	3	4
Joseph Pollard	0	16	0
Will. Blaymires	0	2	0
Widd. Firth and William Ramsden	0	14	0
Jonas Booth	0	10	8
John Naylor and John Wilson ..	0	6	0
Mr. Lund for Chappell Close ..	0	5	0
John Sugden	0	3	0
Jonas Woodhead for Coalemine ..	0	12	0
Richard Richardson, Esq.	8	7	3
Will. Pollard	3	4	0
Will. Pollard for Tim farme ..	1	4	0

			li.	s.	d.
Thomas Sharpe	..	..	1	6	0
Will. Gill	..	..	0	18	0
Abra. Akroyde	..	..	0	18	0
John Pollard	..	..	1	2	0
Sam Thornton	..	..	0	13	0
Robert Stead	..	..	0	9	0
Will. Blaymires	..	..	1	6	0
James Brooke	..	..	1	6	0
James Goodall, Jame Brook, Robert } Hargreaves, Will. Firth, Widd. Firth }	..	..	1	6	0
David Roades	..	..	0	11	0
Widd. Hodgheon	..	..	0	10	0
James Cordingley	..	..	1	9	0
Rich. Roades	..	..	0	9	0
John Brogden	..	..	0	13	0
Rich. Chappell	..	..	0	4	0
Toby Hobkinson	..	..	0	10	0
James Denham for G. farm	..	..	0	18	0
Toby Hobkinson for Broadbent	..	..	0	17	0
Isaac Stead	..	..	0	4	9
Sam Whithead for Tempest	..	..	0	16	0
Rich. Oddey	..	..	0	5	0
Tempest Cordingley	..	..	0	8	0
			<hr/>		
		Total	94	2	0
			<hr/>		

Assessrs. WILL. POLLARD and RICH. POLLARD.

Collectrs. JO. POOLE and JOS. WADDINGTON.

Sub-Collector. JOSEPH HOLEBOYDE.

CLAYTON.

An Assessment assessed by us whose names are here under subscribed of four shillings in the pound for one year for the carrying on a vigorous war against France as followeth March 1st, 1693.

			li.	s.
John Midgley	..	..	1	8
it. Jo. Midgley for stock	..	..	1	8
Tho. Sloddell	..	..	6	18
Isaac Hollings	..	..	2	8
John Midgley	..	..	1	4
Widd. Ridiough	..	..	0	12

				li.	s.
John Milner ..	..	..	..	1	4
Rich. Butterfield	..	..	..	0	12
Widd. Witton	..	..	..	0	4
Nath. Holdsworth and Jo. Smith	..	..	..	2	0
Israel Elswick	..	..	..	1	1
William Booth	..	..	..	0	11
Widd. Mortimer	..	..	..	1	16
John Sharp or occu.	..	..	..	1	15
Rich. Broadley	..	..	..	0	16
Ffrancies Wilkinson	..	..	..	0	12
John Hirst ..	..	..	..	1	7
Rich. Warburton	..	..	..	1	4
John Armjtage	..	..	..	0	16
James Cougell	..	..	..	0	8
Rich. Mortimer	..	..	..	0	8
James Mortimer	..	..	..	0	4
Hen. Longcaster	..	..	..	0	16
Abr. Nayler ..	..	..	..	1	0
Joseph Armjtage	..	..	..	0	19
Jos. Sucksmith and Jo. Smith	..	..	..	1	4
Joseph Armjtage	..	..	..	0	12
John Baytman	..	..	..	0	8
Abraham Moore	..	..	..	0	10
Lawrance Ambler	..	..	..	0	10
Edward Ackroyd	..	..	..	0	16
Edward Hemingway	..	..	..	1	0
James Ffirth ..	..	..	..	0	16
Mr. Abra. Longley	..	..	..	0	16
Micheael Ackroyd	..	..	..	0	4
Nath. Whitaker	..	..	..	0	16
Robert Wilkinson	..	..	..	0	4
Jere. Barstow	..	..	..	0	8
Tho. Mortimer	..	..	..	1	0
David Smith ..	..	..	..	0	8
Ed. Ackroyd for Brook farne	..	..	..	0	8
* * * * *					
John Smith oth' edge	..	..	..	0	18
Ffra. Wilkinson, jn. or Jo. Carter	..	..	..	0	8
Josh. Ambler	..	..	..	0	10
Adam Bell .	..	..	..	0	4
Robert Holdsworth	..	..	..	0	12
Widd. Smith ..	..	..	..	0	16
John Harrison	..	..	..	0	8
Sam Smalpadge	..	..	..	0	4
Jere. Barstow	..	..	..	0	4
David Smith for Thorp Ld.	..	..	..	0	4
Judeth Robinson	..	..	..	0	4

* Return mutilated. —Ed.

	li.	s.
Rich. Pollord	0	12
Jonas Hall	0	8
Abra. Bell	0	10
John Dawson	0	8
Jonas Hall and Will. Ward	0	4
Joseph Sowdinge	0	8
Joseph Pighels or occ. or owner	0	8
John Midgley for his rent out oth' Pennehill	0	8
John Rishworth for his rent out of Ja. Mortimer Land	0	4
Mr. Will. Horton for his free Rents	2	0

In ye whole .. 61*li.*—16*s.*

Quarterly paymt. is 15*li.*—14*s.*

Assessed by us,

THO. SLEDDALL. Colector, THOMAS MORTIMER.
JOHN HIRSTE.

Confirmed by us,

○ WALTER CALVERLEY.
○ THO. HORTON.
○ THO. RAMSDEN.

ECCLESHILL.

An Assessment for ye Township of Ecclesell of four shillings in ye pound granted to their Majties. for this pzent year 1693.

	li.	s.	d.
Imprimis. John Stanhope, Esq.	03	12	00
Mrs. Susan Stanhope	00	08	00
Jeremiah Copperthwaite	03	16	06
Henry Gill	00	04	00
Zach. Reyner	01	15	00
Occrs. of Brookesbank Lands	02	00	00
John Nichols	01	15	06
Nathan Jowett	01	05	06
William Kitson, senr., for Wormal Lands	02	06	08
Occrs. of James Thompson Lands	01	06	08
John Hodgson or occrs. of Garth Lands	01	14	06
William Norton	01	02	00
James Vickars	00	14	06
Widdow Swaine	00	18	08
Abraham Nichols	00	15	00
William Atkinson	01	05	00
John Jowett	00	17	04
Jeremy Sowden	00	12	00

	li.	s.	d.
Occrs. of Robt. Copperthwaite ffarme ..	01	00	00
William Sowden	00	09	06
Occrs. of Akeroyd Lands	00	16	08
Jane Baraclough	00	14	04
Samuel Swaine	01	04	00
James Willson	00	08	06
James Fletcher for his old ffarme ..	00	13	00
and for Mr. Stanhope Lands ..	00	05	06
Jonas Deane or occrs.	00	06	06
Xopher Armstead	00	12	00
* * Berrye	00	04	00
* * for his Land and housing ..	00	05	04
Thomas Fletcher	00	02	00
Anne Broadley	00	04	00
John Broadley	00	04	00
Occrs. of James Lister Housing ..	00	01	08
Richard Wareing	00	03	06
Thomas Briggs	00	02	06
Thomas Bond	00	16	04
Occrs. of Xopher Overend Lands ..	00	11	06
Thomas Hird	00	06	04
ffrancis Harrison	00	02	06
Lyonell Fletcher	00	06	00
Widdow Brown	00	08	08
William Sylson	00	15	00
Occrs. of Brashawe Lands	00	03	00
Occrs. of Lobley Housing and Wood ..	00	03	00
Occrs. of Lobley Holdacres and Normancloase	00	08	04
James Booth of Idle Thorpe	00	09	04
John Vickars of Idle Thorpe	00	08	00
William Barraclough	00	08	09
William Thompson	00	04	00
Joseph Vickars	00	07	10
Mary Barraclough widow	00	09	00
Occrs. of Gregson Housing	00	02	04
Occrs. of Horton Lands	00	10	08
Occrs. of Mr. Stanhope Little Hall ..	00	06	08
Occrs. of Sarah Berrye House and Croft ..	00	01	04
Occrs. of Swaine Haighes	00	06	00
Jer. Sowden and William Pawson for Intackes	00	06	00
David Hodgson for his stocke in trade ..	00	04	00
	<hr/>		
Tot. is ..	41	11	08
	<hr/>		
4th pt. is ..	10	07	11
	<hr/>		

Assessed by us, WILLIAM SOWDEN,
SAMUELL SWEINE.

Collectors, JNO. NICHOLS
JAMES WILSON.

IDLE.

1692, March 1st. An Assessment made and assessed upon * * * the Towne of Idle in the West Rydinge of the County of Yorke for the yearly profitts of trade, and all lands, tenements, hereditaments, &c. within the saide Towneshippe by James Booth and Lawrence Bucke, being assessors duly appoynted in that beh. accordinge to an Act of Parliament intituled An Act for a Grant to their Maiestyes of foure shilinges in the pound for one yeare for caryinge on a vigorous warre against ffrence.

	li.	s.	d.
Imp. Waltr. Calverley Esq., or occupiers } of High Holme, Stranforth, & Stubinges }	02	02	00
John Bucke and David Bucke	04	16	00
Thomas Stables	00	16	00
Occ. of William Stables Land	00	08	00
Mr. Robert Clarkson and for free rents	02	04	00
Widdow Ledgerd	03	12	00
Lawrence Bucke	01	01	04
Peter Glover	00	05	03
Mary Dawson	00	05	04
John Garnet	00	10	00
John Booth } Occ. of high feild }	00	13	04
Widdow Goodall	00	10	08
Gillbert Stead	00	10	08
Jeremiah Bower	01	01	04
Beniamin Sandall	02	16	00
Joshua Sandall	00	08	00
Lawrence Slater	01	01	04
James Berry	00	06	08
Zachary Yewdall	00	09	04
Joseph Drake for Sandall Lands	01	01	01
Joseph Drake for Garth Lands	00	02	11
Widdow Warweeke Lands	00	10	08
William Warweeke Lands	00	10	08
William Garth	01	01	04
Nickholas Pollard	01	12	00
Richard Sarginson Lands	00	08	00
Jonathan Hird	00	04	00
John Thompson	00	13	04
Widdow Clarkson and Samuel Farrar	00	13	04
Isabell Thornton	00	13	04
William Steade	01	04	00
Widdow Carlile	00	04	00
David Calvert	00	08	00
Occ. of Pearson Lands	01	04	00
William Jowett Lands	00	06	08
Samuell Jowett for Howgate Lands	00	18	08
Lawrence Bucke	02	08	00

	li.	s.	d.
Thomas Bucke	60	08	00
James Booth	04	02	08
John Thornton	00	06	00
William Norton Lands	00	06	00
James Marshall	01	12	00
Richard & John Simpson	01	06	08
Occ. of Thomas Hird Lands	00	11	02
Occ. Tristram Moss Lands, Samll. Swaine	00	02	10
Thomas Hird	00	16	00
William Atkinson	00	08	00
John Steade	01	04	00
Occ. of Mr. Waide Land	00	13	04
James Hobson	00	08	00
Occ. of Thigthe holme	00	13	04
Samuell Jewet for Clarkson Lds.	01	18	00
Samuell Jewet Land at Thorpe	00	06	08
Jeremiah Eshton	00	11	00
John Walker	00	12	00
Edmund Gill (Samll. Marshall)	00	13	04
Joseph Armitage	00	04	00
Joseph Vickers, senior	00	08	00
John Vickers	00	10	08
Samuell Kitson and Ben. Rangdall	00	05	04
John Mitton Lands	00	12	00
Elizabeth Swaine Lands	07	16	00
Robert Swaine	00	08	00
Joseph Vickers junior	00	10	08
Joseph Vickers for Stanhope Ld.	00	05	04
Thomas Dawson	00	12	00
Samuell Calvert	00	13	04
Beniamin & John Swaine	00	18	00
& for Musgrave farme	00	08	00
John Greave	00	05	04
Mr. Stanhope for Yewdall Ld.	00	04	00
William Ffoster	00	17	04
Jonas Hargraves	00	10	00
Jonathan Tayler	00	12	00
Occ. of Mr. Ramsden Lands	01	12	00
Thomas Sarginson	00	13	04
Anthony Slater	00	10	00
Thomas Hill for part of Slater Ld.	00	03	04
Occ. of Hill house	00	04	00
William Denby senior	00	08	00
William Denby junior	00	18	08
Occ. of Joshua Denby Land	07	13	04
Occ. of Mr. Coates Lands	01	16	00
Occ. of William Denby Lands	00	05	04
Widdow Denby Lands	00	16	00
Widdow Sands	00	17	04
Joseph Holmes	00	05	04

	li.	s.	d.
Josias Craven	00	02	08
Martin Dawson	01	10	08
and for Pullan Land	00	13	04
Jonathan Prat & for Pullan Lands	00	10	00
John Midgley .. .	01	01	04
John Slater	00	17	04
Mercy Slater	00	04	00
Thomas Slater senior	00	16	00
Thomas Slater junior	02	13	04
Robert Craven	00	04	00
Georg Skirrow	00	06	00
John Adcocke	00	12	00
Widdow Skirrow	01	04	00
Georg Booth	00	01	04
Richd. Farrar	*	*	*
John Gregson	00	01	04
Elizabeth Swaine house	00	01	04
Joshua Goodhall house	00	01	04
James Booth for Hobson house	00	01	04
Widdow Hodgson house	00	01	04
Samuell Swaine house	00	01	04
Samuell Jowett house	00	01	04
Edward Swaine house	00	01	04

PERSONAL ESTATES.

John and Benjamin Swaine	00	06	08
Mr. Joshua Goodall & widdow Goodall	00	06	08
John Midgley senior & junior	00	12	00
John Attkinson	00	03	04
	<hr/>		
Total comes to	85	15	00
	<hr/>		
The sume of each quarterly payment	21	08	09
	<hr/> <hr/>		

Collectors,

JOHN ADKINSON,
ZACHARY YEWDALL.

Confirmed by us,

GILBT. RIGBY, ○
JOHN ROOKES, ○
RIC. RICHARDSON. ○

PUDSEY.

Pudsey, Westrid. com. Ebor. March 8th, 1692.

An Assessmt. made by us whose names are hereunto subscribed of foure shillings ye pound rent in and throughout ye said top. according to an act of parliamt. and a warrt. to us directed.

	lb.	s.	d.
Mr. Richard Hutton	2	8	0
Tho. Hutchinson for his own Ld.	0	3	4
and for Nich. Jinkinson land	0	3	4
Jo. Hutchinson for his lands	0	5	0
Abr. Hutchinson for his land	0	3	4
Mich. Ryley for Goodall land	0	10	0
Jo. Pearson for Ferrah lands	0	6	8
Jo. Wilson for his lands	0	3	4
Jer. Wilson for his lands	0	5	0
Ro. Lumby for Mosse land	0	6	8
& for his own land	0	3	4
Tho. Lee for his land	0	10	10
Mr. Jo. Gregson for ye Shearoyds } & ye lowtown	1	13	4
Jo. Dodgson for his land	0	13	4
Sam. ffarrer for his lands	0	3	4
& for Mrs. Sale lands	0	13	4
Tristr. Mosse for his land	0	16	8
Mrs. Sale for her land	*	*	*
Mr. ffarrer for his lands	*	*	*
& for Mr. Milner land	*	*	*
James Poole & Wm. Childs for Hutton land	0	13	4
Wm. ffenton for Wilden land	0	3	4
Wm. ffenton for Swain land	0	6	8
Ja. Poole & Wm. Childs for Wilden lands	0	3	4
Sam. ffarrer & Pet. Ryley for Dan. Gant lands	0	3	4
Jo. Chapman for his ffarme	0	3	4
Jo. Lee & Elias Laycocke for Cuth. Lee lands	0	3	4
Ja. Whitaker for Mr. Whitaker lands	0	13	4
Wm. Darnbrough for his lands	0	10	0
Jos. Gant for Mr. Milner lands	0	13	4
Tho. Lee for Mr. Milner lands	0	13	4
Wm. Jenkinson for Swain lands	0	5	0
Miles Lolly for his lands	0	3	4
Jo. Pearson & uxor Stables } for Jenkinson lands	0	10	0
Hen. Bellas for Gargrave land	0	3	4
& for Jenkinson lands	0	3	4
Jo. Hudson for his ffarme	0	3	4
Jo. Smith for his lands	1	10	8
Edw. Lee	0	3	4
Edw. Harrison	1	5	0

		li.	s.	d.
Uxor Johnson for Mr. Smith lands	..	1	6	8
Tho. Dean for Wm. Lumby land	..	0	8	4
Jos. Gant for Swaine lands	..	0	13	4
Tho. Bucktin for Barraclough lands	..	0	10	0
Jo. Kent for his own lands	..	0	3	4
& for Goodall lands	..	0	13	4
Japhett Atkinson for Baraclough land	..	0	6	8
Jo. Pearson for Jenkinson 2 low railles	..	0	15	0
Jer. Gant for Farrer lands	..	0	8	4
Wm. Fenton for Swain land	..	0	3	4
Jo. Rud for Mr. Milner lands	..	0	3	4
& for ffarrer lands	..	0	8	4
Mr. ffarrer for his lands	..	0	10	10
& for Mrs. Sale lands	..	1	10	0
Mr. ffarrer for Saml. ffarrer lands	..	0	15	0
Jo. Lepton for ffarrer lands	..	0	10	0
Mich. Loblely for his lands	..	0	6	8
& for Goodall lands	..	0	10	0
& for Sam ffarrer lands	..	0	1	8
Jo. Rudd for Mr. Gregory tenemt.	..	0	10	0
& for Mr. Milner lands	..	0	10	0
Walter ffarrer for Mr. Butler tenemt.	..	1	0	0
Tho. Laycock for Mr. Milner lands	..	0	6	8
Jo. Gant for Mr. Milner land	..	0	3	4
Jo. Galloway for his land	..	0	2	6
Sam. Hinchcliffe for Musgrave lands	..	0	12	6
& for Gant close	..	0	4	2
Peter Ryley for Mr. Pardue lands	..	0	10	0
Ro. Gant for Wise land	..	0	3	4
& for Mr. Grego. lands	..	0	10	0
James Cawtheray & Joshua Bates	..	0	3	4
Ja. Tayler for Musgrave land	..	0	10	0
Jo. Lumby for his lands	..	0	3	4
Wm. Hall for Rich. Jenkinson lands	..	0	13	4
Mr. Craister for his lands	..	0	10	0
Ro. Hillas for Thompson lands	..	0	6	8
Ab. Hainworth for Nicolls lands	..	1	3	4
Hen. Nettleton senr.	..	0	16	8
Hen. Nettleton junr.	..	0	16	8
Jo. Barraclough for Stables lands	..	1	4	0
Wm. Mosse for his lands	..	1	1	0
Jo. Hey for money	..	1	4	0
Jo. Pearson for Thomas croft & Marleroyd	..	0	8	4
Tho. Purdue for his land	..	0	5	10
Tho. Davison for Nicols land	..	0	3	4
Wm. Bellas for Wm. Mosse lands	..	0	1	8
Uxor Balme for Tho. Smith land	..	1	0	0
Ab. Harper for Musgrave land	..	0	*	*
Ro. Burnell for his lands	..	0	*	*
Tho. Johnson for Mrs. Sale land..	..	0	16	8

	li.	s.	d.
Chr. Whitley for Beamond lands ..	0	13	4
Wm. Lumby for his lands ..	1	0	0
& for Mr. Beamond lands ..	0	13	4
Sam. Lumby for his lands ..	0	15	0
Edw. Harrison for Lepton land ..	0	15	0
Jo. Lepton for his lands ..	1	13	4
Jo. Crumack for Lepton lands ..	1	5	0
Geo. Langley for Mr. Jo. Milner land ..	1	5	0
Wm. Hollingworth for Mr. Milner lands ..	1	0	0
Jo. Hey for Mr. Milner land ..	1	3	4
Mr. Milner for his lands ..	3	13	8
Tho. Fenton, Jo. Roger, Rich. Buctin, & } Wm. Rudd, for Mr. Whitaker lands	0	6	8
Jos. Holdsworth for his lands, and for Abr. } Hutchinson, Tho. Hutchinson, and Tho. } Bankes, & uxor Robson, & Wm. fenton, } Tho. Wilson and Tho. Wilson	3	6	8
Jo. Mitchell lands, Sam. ffarrer, & for } Mich. Ryley farme, & Geo. Raper } farme, & Tristr. Hare farme, Jona. } Crowther farme ..	1	15	0
Jo. Pearson for Holdesworth land ..	0	6	8
Wm. Lumby for his land ..	2	18	4
James Whitaker for Jo. Smith land ..	0	10	0
Josh. Lumby for his land ..	0	6	8
Jo. Turner for Thomson land ..	0	3	4
Uxor Whitley for her land ..	0	6	8
Jo. Wilson for Tristrum Mosse land ..	0	3	4
Sam. Lumby for Quarries ..	0	6	8
Jo. Crumack for Gibson lands ..	0	7	6
Mr. THORNTON TENANTS.			
Ric. Sugden ..	4	0	0
* Holdsworth ..	0	18	0
* * Wm. Lord, uxor Bolton ..	1	5	6
Wm. Sugden ..	0	8	6
Tho. Ellett ..	0	8	6
Jonas Bower ..	0	13	1
Wm. Lee ..	0	9	9
Ab. Sharpe ..	0	13	6
Jonas Bower ..	0	14	6
Rich. Sizer ..	0	14	6
Jer. Cordingley ..	0	14	6
Ri. Sugden & Tho. Ellett for } Tristr. Hare farme	0	17	6
Ab. Sharpe ..	0	13	6
Ri. Sizer ..	0	4	0
Tho. Thackeray ..	0	1	11
Tho. Lee & rest of ye occupiers of Tyth ..	1	0	0
Isaac Broadley or occupiers of Watson land..	0	10	0

(Incomplete.)

PREHISTORIC CRAVEN.

THE WORK OF EXCAVATION IN UPPER WHARFEDALE.

BY

E. E. SPEIGHT.

THE nearest point to Upper Wharfedale reached by Canon Greenwell in his work among the barrows of this country was Rylstone, midway between Skipton and Grassington. Had he penetrated into the valley he would have had greater success than at the village of the White Doe, though probably his satisfaction would have been incomplete. It is a very annoying accompaniment of barrow digging in the Craven district that so many of the human remains are in a dilapidated condition; this is more or less the inevitable outcome of interment in such a substance as mountain limestone. The total number of barrows examined since the opening of the first one near Grassington in 1892 is only five, leaving several more to be worked. In each of these the skeletons were in a much worse state of preservation than usual, say in a Wiltshire tumulus, and in each case there was little of value or interest found along with the bodies. A full description of the working of these barrows, as well as an account of the excavation of other British remains will be found in Vol. XII., part V., of the proceedings of the Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society, under whose auspices most of the work took place.

In this brief note I wish to draw the attention of the members of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society to the nature and amount of work still to be done. My work during the summers of 1893 and 1894 consisted of the examination of several barrows and of the interesting British remains in Lea Green and in Grass Woods. That is to say, a partial examination; for this north bank of the Wharfe from Grassington to Kettlewell abounds in such remains, and we had

the opportunity of touching upon this district only. The nature of the land and the peculiar geological formations render the work of surveying and discovery very uncertain. So many natural hillocks resemble tumuli, and so many remains of ancient handiwork have become assimilated through weather and time into resemblance to the ridges and walls which are merely freaks of formation, that our only guide is the pick-axe, and these real objects of research are generally discovered casually; a new point of view sufficing to bring out in a moment what has been concealed for centuries. Only the other day I found myself on the surface of a tumulus in a region which I had traversed frequently before without a suspicion of its treasure, and this is especially the case with these dale uplands. They are so full of enclosures and walls that one never seems to arrive at a general idea of the whole. A walk along the central flats between the river and the moors from above Grassington to the north of Kettlewell, eight miles in a straight line, will reveal an enormous number of British remains to the careful seeker. But this is more than one day's work, for many of these clusters of enclosures and rows of huts are only visible as such from one quarter, until an exact estimate of their extent and form has been made out.

It seems to me that an admirable and useful scheme of work could be made out by the Bradford Antiquarian Society, if they would undertake the complete examination of all the settlements in these northern dales. This would entail years of work with spade, pencil and camera alike; but it would be a pleasurable variant on barrow opening and would supply much valuable information. I can suggest a few localities where work might be profitably commenced, when once the required permission had been obtained.

First of all there is the puzzling collection of ridges and rectangular enclosures in the pasture known as High Close, half a mile north of Grassington. Just beneath this is another large pasture, Lea Green, which I have partially excavated with results already made

known to members of the Society. Then again there is a long reach of highland stretching from above the village of Coniston to the flank of Great Whernside, and which is the site of many clearly defined ancient dwellings. One especially perfect and symmetrical specimen is situated immediately above Kettlewell, looking east from the village. On the opposite side of the valley we have Threshfield and Malham Moors, and here, too, vestiges of early stone work are common. A fine set of very primitive looking dwellings will be found at the summit of a knoll above Skirethorns, close to the mountain track crossing there into Upper Airedale. On the moors behind Kilnsey and Arncliffe much work might also be done, the only obstacle being the remoteness of the locality.

Three barrows at any rate should be opened. These are the large ring barrow near Yarnbury, one mile out of Grassington on the moor road: one at the north end of Skirethorns Wood, and a smaller one on the west slope of Trunla Ha, a curious hill of stone overlooking Dib Scar, less than two miles north of Grassington. Those at Yarnbury and Skirethorns have been purposely left until every preparation had been made for minute examination. There would be little difficulty in obtaining permission, as the leave so cordially granted to me by the Duke of Devonshire, Sir Mathew Wilson, Mr. Walter Morrison, and many of the local farmers, is now the prerogative of the Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society, who would, I am sure, be glad to have the assistance of the Bradford Society in a work which they find difficult of continuation. The value of such work is surely evident to those interested in historical and antiquarian research. I hope that the Bradford Society may find it possible to undertake a complete investigation of the early remains in these northern dales, and that their work may result in the publication in time of a worthy record of their labours. Bradford should someday possess a unique collection of local antiquities; for Grassington has already given us hints of what may be expected.

A N C I E N T E C C L E S H I L L .

BY

J. HORSFALL TURNER, F.R.H.S.

THE only attempt that has been made to compile the ancient history of Eccleshill appears in James' *History of Bradford*, where three pages contain all he has to report, and as much of this is conjecture, it will be advisable to print his account in full for reference:—

“There is a tradition of old date, that on the separation of Bradford Parish from that of Dewsbury, Eccleshill was left out of the former, because the inhabitants had killed a monk, and thereby excluded themselves from the pale of the Church. How long Eccleshill has, by *common repute*, belonged to the Bradford Parish I am unable to state, but so early as 1680 it paid a proportion of the lay, or rate, to Bradford Church. Eccleshill, however, long after the separation of Bradford Parish, continued part of that of Dewsbury, and at least some portion of the above tradition is correct, for in the endowment of Dewsbury Vicarage in 1349, mention is made of the *Decimæ et portionum garbarum de Eccleshill*, as belonging to that vicarage.”

“I have not seen it mentioned in Domesday Record. I am unable to conjecture with probability the meaning of the name, unless it comes from *Eglyws* (Church), that is, Church-hill. Some measures have been taken to accomplish the building of a Church at Eccleshill, but hitherto they have been unsuccessful, though one is much wanted.”

Twenty-five years later he adds in the *Continuation*:—

“Some arrangement took place whereby Eccleshill, whilst still attached to the fee of Earls Warren, formed part of the Parish of Bradford, but a sum was paid to Dewsbury Church as a compensation, or *modus*, for the tithes of the township. It does not appear that in ancient times any Ecclesiastical structure stood here, but there is a place called ‘Chapel Flatts,’ where human bones have been found. The tithe of Eccleshill to Dewsbury in 1348 was of the yearly value of 29s. 3½d., probably as the gift of Earl Warren, but sometime between 1349 and 1530 the amount drops, and Bradford Parish paid 8s. annually to Dewsbury, evidently representing some commutation. A handsome Church, in the

early English style, and dedicated to St. Luke, was built by subscription in the years 1846-7. The site and surrounding ground were given by George Baron, Esq., and the cost of the edifice, erected from designs of Mr. W. S. Rawstorne, amounted to £2,600. The parsonage, built on land presented by Mr. Baron, cost £1,000. The incumbents have been the Rev. Frank Randall, Rev. J. H. Edmonds, and Rev. Edward Mercer, who succeeded to the living in 1855."

"The Wesleyans have a Chapel here, built before 1788, as in Wesley's Journal of that year he writes:—'I have spent some hours with the Trustees of Eccleshill House, but I might as well have talked to posts.' It seems the Eccleshill clothiers were very intractable, and would keep the management of the Chapel they had raised in their own hands. The Trustees of the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel here caused Wesley much annoyance. He wished it to be like other Chapels, under the power of Conference. On one occasion he saw Thomas Lee, one of the Trustees, and said, 'Tommy, we must have this Chapel,' to which Tommy briefly replied, 'Never, while I live.' The Independents built a Chapel here in 1823."

This is all Mr. James has to say regarding the ecclesiastical history of Eccleshill. His account of the manorial history is shorter still:—

"Eccleshill, in Barnard's Survey, is not mentioned to be in the Leet of Bradford, but that of Wakefield; and it is in fact within the manor of Wakefield (though so far divided from it) at this day. It formerly was, as a parcel of that manor, the possession of Earl Warren, and that might account for it not being included in the Lacy Parish of Bradford."

"The manor was, at the time of Domesday Survey, under the name of Eglechil, included in the Soke of Wakefield, and contained three carucates of land to be taxed. To the Manor of Wakefield it still belongs. Soon after the Conquest, Wakefield, with all its large dependencies, became, by a grant from the Crown, the possession of the powerful family of the Warrens. By subinfeudation it became a mesne manor, within the liberty of Wakefield, and in the year 1316 Thomas de Shepfield is returned as the Lord. It afterwards came to the Thornours, and in a *post-mortem* Inquisition, taken in the ninth year of Henry VI., on the death of Robert Thornour, the jurors say that he died possessed of the Manor of Eccleshill, and of a messuage called Woodlands, and 50 acres of land in Calverley. The Thornours probably resided at Woodland, for in the year 1620 there remained in the south quire of Calverley Church a stone with the inscription: 'Pray for the soul of Thomas de Thornour and Margaret his wife.' I am not able to state how the manor came from the Thornours to the Hirds, but Brook, in his MSS., states that Mrs. Hird, of Apperley, was Lady of the Manor in 1780. She was succeeded by her son Nathaniel, who died unmarried, and her two daughters. These ladies, as devisees under the will of their father, Christopher Hird, Esq., sold the manor in 1825 to Jeremiah Rawson, Esq. T. W. Rawson, Esq., is the present Lord. An Act has been obtained this year (1841) for enclosing the Wastes of Eccleshill. Here were sometimes seated a younger branch of the Stanhopes, of

Horsforth, who, in 1713, built Eccleshill Hall, and obtaining a concession of 25 acres of land from the freeholders, formed it into a park. From the Stanhopes the hall and estate came by devise to the Stotts, who are now the owners."

"The inhabitants are principally engaged in the woollen manufacture. Eccleshill township lies on the western slope of Lower Airedale. Of late years Eccleshill township has become a favourite residence of Bradford tradesmen. Since the enclosure of the Common, villas, and other neat houses, have sprung up."

The foregoing is the complete account that Mr. James gives for Eccleshill, and we will now proceed to amend this account, and add further notices.

The Romans had two vicinal ways crossing Eccleshill township, one passing by the ridge of the hill from Tong Street, Dudley Hill, Bradford Moor, to Norman Lane and Wrose, the latter a British name. The other road passed from Bradford to Apperley. The old names "street" and "Stoney Lane," as applied to ancient country roads are general indications of Roman formation. I am not aware that any find of Roman relics in the township has been recorded, but the townships around have such reports to make. The history of the township begins with the first Anglian settler, whose name is incorporated in the word *Eccles-hill*. I know that I shall trench on favourite speculations in this opening attack on the etymology of the name, but truth is what all should strive after. Few studies are more delusive than the origin of place-names, a study in its infancy so far. A hamlet may be and is a "little-ham," or homestead—settlement, but is in nowise related to bacon, any more than Northumberland is the land of *thumbs*. Your School Board seal plays on the thought of Eagles-hill by displaying an eagle, but there is no more truth in this etymology than in any one of the hundreds of similar canting coats-of-arms, and the heralds who started this fancy never meant the ideas to be taken seriously. Neither is Mr. James' suggestion any nearer the mark in tracing the word from *Eglyws* (a church), even if the stoning of the priest in Stoney Lane was a veritable fact. Certain laws hold good in tracing the origin of place-names,

and it will be found that all our townships, and most of our old hamlets bear the names given to them by the Anglo-Saxon settlers of 500 to 700, and are descriptive of the situation, and sometimes are prefixed by the Anglian lord or family headman who settled there. Space forbids a discussion of this, and I can only now refer to the usage and literature of the Icelandic, Danish, and Germanic tribes, and it will be found that such men as Eckil or Aikil, Ide, Guy, Binga, Kihel, Fek, were settled in these parts, and gave names respectively to Eccles-hill, Ide-hill, Guy's-ley, Bing-ley, Keigh-ley, Feks-by, &c. These names of leading Angles may be found in Domesday Book, and other ancient records. Mr. James found out before his *Continuation* was printed that Eccleshill is mentioned in the Domesday Survey, but he makes a mistake in putting it Eglechil. An exact photographic copy of this word and the names of the rest of the places in Wakefield Manor will be found in my *History of Hipperholme, Brighouse and Rastrick*. It reads: In Egleshil, iii. c.' That means that Wakefield Manor, of which the King held the lordship himself, comprised also Eccleshill, with three carucates of land to be taxed. What this means will more fully appear afterwards. This is the oldest spelling, 1083, I have yet seen of Eccleshill, and might at first sight lead one to favour the etymology "Eagles'" hill, but an acquaintance with hundreds of ancient parchments confirms me in the oft-repeated assertion that Domesday was written by Norman scribes and the orthography in it is less reliable than the bulk of similar records. This is well-known, and I need not dilate upon it. It is worthy of note that the possessive sign, apostrophe s, is retained. It will be seen as we proceed with this history that the evolution of Aikil's-hill is true to etymological laws, and not mere guess work.

A tything generally became a township. The word means the "Ten-Court," for ten free families were bound together for mutual protection, and if any misdemeanour occurred the tything was held responsible.

These *things*, or courts, were generally held out of doors, on some conspicuous mound, or near some notable tree or bridge. Ten tythings made the hundred, which bears the name wapontake in Yorkshire, because the inhabitants had to "touch weapons" when the shire-reeve, or sheriff, made his annual round, in token of subjection to the king. The chief man in the township was called the "constable," or king's stability, and a high constable was annually elected for each hundred. This locality was, as it is still, in Morley Wapontake, and the Wapontake Court was probably held in earliest times at Tingley, or, as it was formerly properly spelt, Thing-lawe (Court-hill). The name still remains in use in the Isle of Man, where the Tynwald, or Parliament, annually meets on Tynwald Mount, and the Norwegian Parliament is known by a similar word. All these townships were distinctly allotted a thousand years ago, and scarcely an alteration in boundary or management has taken place since. The Domesday Survey of 1083 finds all our local townships named, with one or two exceptions. This paragraph treats of the national management of local affairs, but another system had been developing during later Anglo-Saxon times, viz., the Manorial. At the Conquest the descendants of Aikil and Ide had either sold their territorial rights to other Anglians or Danes, more wealthy than themselves, or they had been compelled, like those more powerful kinsmen, to forfeit their possessions to the Norman monarch and his barons, whilst in many cases they were glad to become subtenants, instead of over-lords. Gamel, and other wealthy Yorkshireman, sank into insignificance when the Norman king shared the old townships amongst his retainers. The three most powerful houses in these parts were the Percies, the Lacies, and the Warrens. Ilbert de Lacy thus became the owner of most of the land around Bradford, Pontefract, Colne, &c., with isolated townships such as Elland, Southowram, &c., whilst shortly after Domesday Survey, John, Earl of Warren, became the Lord of Wakefield, Sandal, most of

Halifax parish, and this isolated township of Eccleshill. Thus Lacy held land in the middle of Warren's estates, and Warren had property in Lacy's chief district. The only explanation for this cross arrangement seems to be that sales or marriages had united distant townships under one owner in Anglian times, and the gifts to the Normans depended not on contiguity altogether, but upon whose property was confiscated, whether compact or dismembered.

Under Anglian ownership, as well as Norman possession, Eccleshill was united to Wakefield Manor. Dalton, near Huddersfield, is a parallel case, being in Wakefield Manor, but also encompassed by the Lacy Honour of Pontefract. We have thus a national or wapontake system which is clearly defined and compact, a manorial system foisted upon the former which is promiscuous and disjointed, and to add to the anomaly, a third system, the ecclesiastical, which, though fairly compact, has many exceptions, as at Haworth, which is quite isolated from the rest of Bradford Parish, and Eccleshill, which was completely cut off from its former parent—Dewsbury.

Eccleshill, then, forms a parcel, or part of Wakefield Manor. The vast Manor of Wakefield, reaching from Sandal, Ardsley, Wakefield, to Halifax, and bordering upon Todmorden, with off-townships like Eccleshill, passed from the Conqueror's son to William and John, Earls of Warren, whose chief Yorkshire home was at Sandal Castle. The Earl's Steward held a great Court at Wakefield every three weeks, and twice yearly he perambulated his extensive domains to hold special Courts at Brighouse, Halifax, Holmfirth, &c. The greatest men of the county have held the office of Steward for Wakefield Manor, which became Royal property on the fall of the Warrens; and the gatherings at the Manorial Courts comprised all the civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries, their substitutes, and all the yeomen, freeholders, and copyholders, far and near, upon whom the Court Baron and Court Leet could demand an attendance, or impose a fine. These Courts

were great events, for when the Court Baron concluded the business of transfer, or heirships to property, or enclosure of waste lands, the Court Leet immediately followed, when the chief landed proprietors of the district sat as a jury, and tried all cases, brawls, selling ale, illicit games, and such matters as now come before Justices of the Peace.

From about 1300 the records of these great meetings have been preserved, and it is from these invaluable and almost unexplored documents that the following notes have been compiled. The Wakefield Rolls consist of rolls or volumes of skins, thirty or forty feet long in the first instance, stitched together, and written down one side and continued mostly down the other in the opposite way. Afterwards, instead of one continuous roll, there would be a dozen long skins stitched in book form at one end, and then rolled. For each year there is a roll, with few losses, and as they are written in abbreviated Latin, in the ancient court hand, with letters formed quite differently from our current hand, it will be seen that it takes an expert, to master the contents of one year, several hours' labour, and several days to make a full copy. Indeed, only two or three persons besides myself have had the courage to attack them, and no one has yet printed anything to any great extent from them, except the notes given in the "History of Brighouse." Mr. Osgood Field, of Rome, has just issued a history of the Field family, one half of which I supplied him from these rolls, but he has omitted to state how he got his information.

The relation of Eccleshill to Wakefield Manor is the more remarkable from the strange fact that no cases occur in the rolls, as in other manorial townships, of encroachments on the wastes, or paying fines for heriots, or successions. Evidently the township was, in very early times, handed over to a sub-lord, who held a manor within the great manor. We find, however, that, like other townships, the "*quatuor homines prepositi*," or four chief men of the town were regularly required to attend Wakefield Leet or Tourn.

In the Roll endorsed 1272, which I discovered to be a mistake for 1307, Radulphus (Ralph) the fforestar of Eckleshill, was fined 2d. for not attending the Tourn— "*non ven. turnio mia. ijd.*" In 1298 a Morice de Eckeleshill was on a jury at Wakefield. In 1309 William Alayn de Eckeleshill was called upon to respond to charges made by William Grenehod. In 1310 the Villata (village) of Eckleleshull was fined 4d. because its four representatives did not appear at the Court. At the Tourn, or Court Leet, the prepositi, or greaves, were elected from the chief tenants in succession. The greave, known in Saxon times as gerefa, was the lord's representative or reeve, and as such, a man of consequence in manorial matters. as the constable was in civil and criminal ones. The Court Leet, or People's Censure Court, in whose manor soever kept, is accounted the King's Court, because the authority thereof is originally belonging to the Crown, and thence devised to inferior persons, and is a Court of Record. All offences under High Treason were enquired into, though it could not punish many, but had to certify them to the Justices of Assize. In 1349 William le Smith de Eckleshill had a dispute in court with John del' Cliff de Hyprom. I do not know the cause nor the result, for the fearful Black Death stops the record, and temporarily suspended the courts. Its ravages will never be fully known, but they were most dreadful. Thirty years later, when the Poll Tax, which roused the ire of Wat the Tiler, was levied in this district it was found that no families had remained in the neighbouring township of Bolton since the ravages of the pest. Twenty-three groats, a total of 7s. 8d., was paid under this 1380 Poll Tax, in Eccleshill, which will give less than 20 houses for the township, probably only 16, or a population of about 70 souls. The census gives :—

Johannes de Thong' & ux. (wife) iiijd.
 Willelmus de Thong' & ux. iiijd.
 Thomas del' Kichyn & ux. iiijd.
 Johannes de Thong' junior, & ux. iiijd.
 Johannes de Woodhall' & ux. iiijd.

Laurencius de Eccleshill' & ux. iiijd.
 Ricardus de Dalton' & ux. iiijd.
 Thomas le Webster & ux. iiijd.
 Ricardus Vndirwode & ux. iiijd.
 Johannes Grayby & ux. iiijd.
 Ricardus Wright' & ux. iiijd.
 Thomas serviens (servant of) Johannis, iiijd.
 Alicia relicta (widow of) Thome, iiijd.
 Margeria filia (daughter of) Thome, iiijd.
 Alicia filia Thome, iiijd.
 Johannes filius (son of) Johannis, iiijd.
 Emma filia (daughter of) Johannis, iiijd.
 Johannes filius Ade, iiijd.
 Willelmus Grayf,' iiijd.
 Alicia Grayfdoghter, iiijd.
 Thomas Wright,' iiijd.
 Christiana de Wodhall', iiijd.
 Isabella filia Thome, iiijd.

It will be noticed that surnames and sirenames were not fully settled before 1400. John Tong, William Tong, and John Tong, junior, had undoubtedly sprung from Tong, near Pudsey. I have seen and photographed an old deed at Tong Hall reciting that Richard de Tang, about 1270, held lands there. Thomas of the Kichyn had probably been, or his father before him, master of the kitchen in some great household near. John Woodhall had sprung from the hamlet Woodhall, near Calverley, and Christiana is almost certain to have been his daughter. No payment could be claimed as Poll Tax for children under fifteen.

Laurence Eccleshill was a yeoman of repute, but it will be found that his descendants abandoned the descriptive place-name Eccleshill, and became known as Laurence-son, Law-son, Law-daughter, Law-wife, till the name Lawson included both male and female, sons, daughters, and wives, as we foolishly write the name now for both sexes. Richard Dalton was an immigrant from Dalton, near Huddersfield, which place was in Wakefield Manor, or we should scarcely expect to find him migrating so far. Richard-under-the-Wood resided near the wood. So far the surnames are derived from places, for I think Grayby is a misreading for Grayf.

The second great class of surnames comes from trades, and it will be remembered that until quite recent times trades were strictly hereditary, or by apprenticeship. Thomas the Webster was the town's weaver; Richard Wright was the town's wright, and may have carried with it the smith's trade. Thomas Wright would be his up-grown son. John Grayby, I take to be John the greave, and William as the Grayf's son, and Alice as the Grayf's daughter. Thomas was simply known as the servant of one of the wealthier Johns.

The third division of family names is derived from the sires, and these were the last to become fixed. Alice was widow of a Thomas, and Margery, Alice, and Isabella were his daughters, though the last being written separately possibly was daughter of another Thomas. In course of time the naturally written Alice Thomas-widow, Margery Thom-daughter became absurdly written Alice Thom-son, Margery Thomson. John John-son, and Emma John daughter would appear in after times both as John-sons. John Adamson is the last on the list, but it does not follow that any of these names were rigidly adopted by their descendants, or that one man may not appear in two or three different names in his lifetime. We shall find several new names as we proceed. Thus in 1362 Thomas de (of) Tyrsall de Ekkleshill was constable of Ekkelshill. In 1365, Stephen filius (son) Alexander de Wyndhill, was fined vjd. (6d.) for drawing blood from Thomas Kirkman. The kirk-man may have been the tithe collector, but it is highly improbable that the story of the stoning of a priest can have any reference to Stephen's rash act, for affrays were more common then than now. In 1370, John de Wodhall, or as the natives would always say, John o' Wodhall, was the town's constable, and had a grave case to report, for Thomas the Tyncler was fined ijd. (2d.) for harbouring beggars against the regulations, and the said Thomas is a common nuisance in the neighbourhood to the disquietude of the people, there-

fore his body is to be attached, that is, imprisoned, such is the meaning of the Latin entry. In 1372, John of Tong was constable. Margaret, daughter of John of Pudsey, had a dispute at the Wakefield Court about some cattle, and had to pay 2d., probably equal to 40d. of our money. John Gibson (son of Gilbert, that is), of Eccleshill, was her opponent. There is also a long trial between Thomas, Vicar of the Church of Calverley (this would be Thomas de Insula, otherwise Thomas L'isle) and Alice, the widow and executor of the will of Robert of Shellawe (Chellow Dean) about viijs. *pr. j. bove vendit dco Robt. apud Pudsay*; 8s. for an ox sold to said Robert at Pudsey.

1373, Laurence, son of William [of Eccleshill may be added], constable.

1374, William of Tong, constable, also in 1376 and 1378.

In 1380 Thomas and William of Tong both appeared at court.

In 1381 Laurence Lyle (little Laurence) was elected constable.

1382-3, William of Tong, constable.

1383-4, William of Eccleshill, constable.

1386, John Michell, constable.

1386-7, Richard of Wyndhill, constable of Eckeleshill.

In 1393 Richard Batman (man or servant to Bate), was fined xijd. for drawing blood from John the Horse-knave; John Gybson was fined 6d. for obstructing the road which leads across the camp de Eckeleshill (Eccleshill Fields). This is interesting as shewing that Eccleshill, like all townships, had its common-field, which the inhabitants shared by annual arrangement.

1396, Thomas the Milner was constable, and presented that William of Tong, John the Taillur, John of Wyndhill, and William Jonson ought to have attended the court, and being absent were fined a groat each. It is probable that the 4d., or 6s. 8d. value in our day, would awaken them to their public duties next time.

William of Tong succeeded as constable in 1397, and William of Kytchen in 1398, and John Wodhalle in April, 1398, and William of Tong in October, 1399.

We will now summarize the Eccleshill or Lawson family. Six hundred years ago, MORICE DE ECHELES-HILL appears at the great Court at Wakefield as a

juror, where RADOLPHUS LE FFORESTAR de Eckleshill in 1272 was fined *ijd.*, yes, *two* pence, for not going so far to attend the Tourn (*non ven turn.*) WILLIAM DE ECCLESHILL had a son Laurence, who was the leading man of the Township, and appears at Wakefield in 1373, as Laurence fil Will, and in 1380, 1384, 1404, as LAURENCE DE ECCLESHILL. The priest Stephen de Eccleshill Vicar of Bradford, 1374, was probably of the same family. His patron, William de Mirfield, was a large landowner in the neighbourhood of Bradford and Halifax.

LAWSON. Laurence of Eccleshill, was father of William Laweson, who is mentioned in 1412, Robert Laweson, or Lawes, 1413, 1420, and Matilda Lawedowter, also mentioned in 1412. I have noticed other instances of the transition of surnames, as the Hansons from the *de Rastricks*, Simmes or Simsons from *Simon de Ourum*, &c.

1373, Laurence fil Will, constable of Eckleshill.

1382, Laurence Lyle, constable of Eccleshill, I take to be the same person.

1383-4, William de Eccleshill, constable.

1384, Laurence de Eccleshill, constable.

1404, Laurence de Eckeleshill, constable.

1412, Matilda Lawedoghter, William Laweson, and others, fined *xijd.* each for brewing an helpale and selling against the statute.

1413, Robert Laweson de Eccleshill had under his charge two stray oxen: (*ij oues sunt ibm de strayure et in custod. de Robt.*)

1420, Robert Laweson, constable [the Constable, or Cuning Staple of the Saxons, was the King's Stay or Hold, and therefore a very appropriate name for the office. Others prefer the derivation from *Comes Stabul*, and trace the office to the time of the Romans. High and petty constables were ordained 18 Edw., I. There duties have varied at various times, and frequently, as will be seen, have been anything but agreeable.]

1434, Robert Laweson was elected constable, and his name appears during his office, 1435, as Robert Lawes.

TONG. This family undoubtedly took its name from the township of Tong, near Birstall. An ancient deed at Tong Hall, which the late Col. Tempest allowed me to copy in photography, records:—“*Sciant p'sentes & futuri qd ego Hugo de Nevell, d'ns de brerelay, dedi concessi & hac p'senti carta mea confirmam RICARDO DE*

TANG, *man'm de Tang,*" &c. Harl. MSS., No. 797, mentions Richard, son of Eskolf de Tange, and Hugh, son of David de Tange. From deeds, sans date, John, son of John de Tonge, held half a Knight's fee in Tong, 4 Hen. IV. The first I have met with at Eccleshill is WILLIAM DE TONG, probably a descendant of the said Richard. We have also to record Thomas, John, John the younger, and William the younger.

1372, William de Tong, constable of Eccleshill. Also in 1373-6-8.

1380, Thomas del'Tong, and William del'Tong attended the Wakefield Court.

1382-3, William de Tong, constable.

1396, William de Tong was presented for not attending the turn at Wakefield and fined *iiijd.* This was I suppose a heavy fine, and would teach Master William that fourteen miles journey was preferable to the fine. The Tourn was the Sheriff's Court, kept twice a year, viz: within a month after Easter, and Michaelmas, and so called because he takes the places in his circuit by *turn.*

1397, William de Tong, constable. Also in 1399, 1400-1, 1407.

1412, William de Tong, senior, was fined *iiijd.* for diverting from its right course the water of the town-well, and another *iiijd.* for not attending the turn. Was William afraid of going? He had better have gone and cried "*peccavi!*"

1401, William de Tong, junior, seems to have exceeded his father, or namesake, in daring. This year he was fined *xijd.* for making a rescue from the constable in contempt of his Lord the King. In 1410, he was presented by the constable for drawing blood (*trxt. sang*) from Will. Huchonson de Baildon, and mulcted in *xld.*

1422, John Tong was elected constable.

1431, John Tonge was fined *iiijd. non. ven. turn.*

1436, John Tonge, constable. The wife of John Tongg, in 1436-7, was twice fined for brewing.

1437, John Tonge fined *iiijd.* for not attending the turn, and again in 1439. The wife of John Tong was fined *iiijd.* for brewing and selling, in 1439 (*brac. servis et vend.*), and again in 1440.

DE WOODHALL. Johannes de Wodhall & ux paid the usual *iiijd.* in 1380, under the Poll Tax, and Christiana de Wodhall likewise paid *iiijd.* They undoubtedly took their name from Woodhall, on the borders of Calverley. John was constable of Eckleshill in 1370, 1399, and 1420-1, and was fined *iiijd.* in 1416 for not attending the tourn (*non. ven. turn.*).

GRAYF. Willelmus Grayf, in 1380, paid the Poll

Tax, *iiijd.*, and Alicia Grayfdoghter also paid *iiijd.* William Grayf, in 1412, was fined *xijd.* for brewing a helpale, and selling, and again in 1415 and 1421. (*brac. lez. helpales & vend.*) In 1416 he was constable of Eccleshiil. In 1413, he was fined *iiijd.* for making a new alehouse (*fec un Newalehouse*).

Richard Grayf (Greyf, Graif, as it is variously written), was fined *iiijd.* for not attending the turn in 1401, and again in 1416. Richard Gryve was constable in 1421-2, and fined for brewing helpales in 1421, 1423, and 1426. Members of this family, who probably derived the name from an ancestor who served the office of greave, occur repeatedly.

- 1413, John Grayf, fined *iiijd.* (*fec un Newalehouse contra. stat.*), and again in 1414.
- 1414, Thomas Graif was elected constable; in 1416 fined *iiijd.* for not attending the Tourn; in 1423 attached for "*brac lez helpales.*" Thomas Grayfe was appointed constable again in 1425, and next year fined for brewing, and in 1427 for absenting the election of greave (*non ven. turn*), *iiijd.*
- 1427, William Grayfe appears as constable.
- 1429, Thomas Grayfe, junior, *non ven. turn.* *iiijd.*, and again in 1431, in which year he was attached for brewing a helpale.
- 1433, Thomas Grve, *iunr.*, *non ven. turn.*, *iiijd.*, ditto in 1435, 1436, and 1437. Thomas Gryue was constable in the latter year.
- 1438-9, William Gryue was constable, and Thomas G'yue, Smith, was fined *iiijd.*, *non ven. turn.*; and in 1440 he was twice amerced in *iiijd.*, in 1442, 1443, and 1447, he had again to pay the fine.
- 1446, William G'yue was constable, and Thomas G'yue was drawn to account for brewing a helpale the previous year.
- 1452-3-4, Thomas G'yue, *non ven. turn.*, *iiijd.* each year.
- 1456, John Gryue, *non ven. turn.*, *iiijd.*
- 1458, Thomas Grave, constable.
- 1460, John Grayve was elected constable, but does not seem to have served the office. In 1462, John Gryue was elected constable and we find him serving the office in 1463-4 under the name JOHN BAILEE. I have no doubt they are one and the same person. In 1470-1, John Grave was constable for the township, and again in 1475 and 1483.
- 1493, R— Grayve was constable of Eccleshill.
- 1507, Willm. Grayfe de Bolton broke the pinfold of Eccleshill, and was amerced in *iijs.* *iiijd.*

We have followed the Poll Tax families, Tong, Eccleshill or Lawson, Woodhall, and Greave. The Kitchen family long continued here as the following notes will

shew. Johnson possibly became Jackson; Thomson, Adamson, Dalton, Webster, Underwood, and Wright, if they remained in the township, became known by other surnames. One of the oldest names of Shipley district was Denby, Denbigh in more modern spelling sometimes.

1400, Thomas de Denneby was constable of Eccleshill.

1401, William of Tong, constable.

1401-2, Thomas of Denby, constable, presented that William of Tong, junior, made a rescue from the constable of Eccleshill, in contempt of the lord the King, and for this obstruction of rules of justices, "*inde alloc est*" xijd. Richard Gryue (Greave) and John Mallynson were each fined 4d. (iiijd.) for not attending the turn at Wakefield.

1404, Laurence of Eckeleshill, constable thereof.

1406, John Brown, constable.

1407, William del' (of the) Tong, constable.

1409, Thomas Denby, constable; also in 1410, when he presented that William Tong, junior, drew blood from William Huchonson, of Baildon, and was fined xld. This heavy fine, 4'd., denotes a serious case.

In 1411, Thomas Denby was constable again, when John Gibson was fined 4d. for not attending the court at the election for the greaveship, and Richard Jacson was fined 6d. for brewing. Brewing and selling ales, and brewing helpales (*brac. helpales*) were very common offences. The helpales were times when a person brewed for the neighbours for some help received at harvest, weddings, and other times.

In 1412, Denby was again constable and presented that Matilda Lawedoghter (daughter of Laurence of Eccleshill), William Grayf, John Elys, William Lawesson, and Roger Colyer, each brewed a helpale and sold contrary to assize, each had xijd. to pay. William Tong, senior, was fined iiijd. for diverting the water of the town well from its right course. John Lumby was elected constable, but John Jakson's name appears as such at the next half-yearly court, when he presented that William Tong, senior, Robert Rycroft, and John Turner had not appeared at the turn as in duty bound, so were fined 4d. each.

1413, John Lumby, as constable, presented that Robert Ricroft, John Grayf, William Grayf, and John Lygerd, had made a

- Newe-ale-hous against the statute laws, and were each fined 4d. John Gybson was elected constable, October, 1413, and at the March 1414 court reported that William of Ricroft had made a helpale, fined 2d.; and two oxen were in the custody of Robert Lawe-son, of Eccleshill, which were strays, owners unknown.
- 1414, Thomas Graif, constable, John Bery and John Graif made a Newalehous and sold ale.
- 1415, William Ricroft, John —, William Graif, and a fourth person were fined xijd. each for brewing "helpales" and selling. William Grayf was elected constable.
- 1416, Grayf, the constable, presented that John Bery brewed "*lez. helphales.*" Thomas Ibbotson was elected constable, and at the October meeting presented that Richard Grayf, Thomas Grayf, John Wodhall, John Jacson, and John Bery had not attended the turn. A fine of 4d. each was laid.
- 1417, William de Ketchyn was constable.
- 1418, Richard Bristowe, constable.
- 1420, Robert Laweson, constable, presented that Margaret Bristowe this year, at Eccleshill, brewed "le helphales," therefore is attached; required to appear at the turn.
- 1421, John Wodhall, constable. William Grayf, Richard Grayf, Johna Schofeld and John Berry brewed helpales, therefore each was attached.
- 1422, Richard Grayf, constable. Thomas fletcher, and John de Bere, were fined 4d. each for not attending the turn.
- 1423, John Tong, constable. Thomas Grayf, Richard Grayf, William Streng, and John Bery "*brac. lez helpales, io attach,*"
- 1425, John Jacson, constable. John Bery and Robert Coup'r fined 4d. each for not attending the turn.
- 1426, Thomas Grayf, constable. Richard Ibbotson, Thomas and Richard Grayfe, John Wyse, John Bery, and Thomas Ricroft, brewed helpales and sold to the detriment of the excise, therefore attached.
- 1427, William Grayf, constable. Robert Scheplay brewed. John ledebeter, Thomas Grayfe, and John Jacson were fined 4d, each for not attending the turn.
- 1428, Robert Couper, constable.
- 1429, Thomas fletcher, constable. Thomas Grayf, junr., *non. ven. turn*, iiijd. (not attending the tourn).
- 1430, John de Sawsere, constable.
- 1431, John Tonge and Thomas Graive, iunior, fined 4d. each for not attending the Court. Thomas, also, and Robert Legard, had brewed helpales, so were attached, and Robert was elected constable for 1431-2.
- 1433, John ledbeter, constable. Thomas Grve, iunior, William Wyke, and Thomas fletcher fined 4d. each for absenting from the turn, and Wm. Wyke was attached as a common nocturnal nuisance. What the special complaint was, I do not know, but it could scarcely be "Paays, all hot!" He was fined 4d. next year for not attending the turn. Robert Laweson, called at

the next court Robert Lawes, succeeded ledbeter as constable in 1434, when Thomas Gryve (greave), iunr., was mulcted in 4d. for not attending the turn.

1435. John Tongge, constable. John ledebeter, wryght, and John ledebeter, webstre, Robert Couper, and Thomas Gryue, iunr., *non ven. ad turn.*, iiijd. each. The wife of John Tongg was reported for brewing.
1436. Thomas Bristowe, or Birstowe, was constable when John Tong's wife was fined 2d. for brewing, and Nicholas Tatarsall 4d. for not coming to turn.
1437. Thomas Gryue, constable. Thomas G., junr., and John Tong, were fined 4d. as usual for absence.
1438. William Gryue, constable. John Tong, Robert Wryght, and Thomas Gryue, smyth, 4d. each for absence. The wife of John Tong for brewing "servis," some kind of beer, fined 3d.

I take Robert the couper and Robert the wright to be the same person, and it is interesting to find that the two Leadbeaters were not following their ancestor's trade as leadbeaters, but were wright and weaver respectively.

1439. William Lister was constable. The name Lister means dyer.
1440. Robert wryght, constable. Thomas Gryue at each half-yearly turn this year was fined 4d., and at one turn the wife of John Tong, "*bras. servis & vend.*" ijd. She evidently kept an alehouse.
1441. John Sawsree, constable. A priest of this peculiar surname was about the first of the Reformation martyrs.
- 1442-3. William ledebeter served as constable, and Thomas Gryue paid his usual fine.
1443. Richard Walker, constable. Oliver Banke paid 4d. along with the old delinquent Greave.
1444. William ledebeter and Oliver Banke brewed helpales.
1445. William Lister, constable. Robert Wryght brewed.
1446. William Gryue or Greave was constable. William Lister and Richard Walker for not coming to tourn, fined 4d. each. Thomas Gryue, Richard Doket, and William Wilson brewed helpales last year.
1447. Hugh ledebeter, constable. John Smyth and Thomas Gryue, *non ven. turn.*, iiijd. Arabic figures were very seldom used before 1500.
1448. Robert Hare, constable.

KICHYN. Thomas del Kichyn and his wife paid the iiijd. due under the Poll Tax Act, 1380. William de Kytchen was constable of Eccleshill in 1398, and again in 1418, when the name is spelt Ketchyn. John Kychyn paid iiijd. in 1449, for not attending the Tourn. He was constable in 1454-5, 1465-6, constable elect in

1477, but does not seem to have served; constable, 1486-7; constable elect, 1488. His name appears Kechyn and Kichyn. In 1502, John Kechyn was chosen constable, and served the office also in 1514. This John Ketchyn of Ekkylyshyll was the only person in the township who was taxed 15th Henry VIII., when for his 40 shillingsworth of "guds" he had to pay xijd. In 1529, Robert Kytchen was the constable. As he most probably inherited the "40s. guds," minus (of course) the xijd. gone to the King, he had wherewith to make a will. I find amongst the wills at York that Robert Kitchyng of Ecclesell, parish of Bradforde, on the 3rd of June, 1537 (1537), ordered that his body be buried "within my parish church yearde of Bradforde. To my son Robert K., iiijli. To my brodre Richard, the close called Calfarode, iiij years. The rest to my wife and son Nicholas. Petre Mycell, my fader-in-lawe, and my broder Thomas K., to be supervisors." Robert Kechyn in 1524, was fined vjs. viijd. for allowing illicit games at his house. Thomas Kitchyn was constable in 1535, and Richard in 1541. In 1562-3, Nicholas K. was constable, and in 1582. He made his will January 9th, 1594, wherein he mentions the third part of his estate called the "deades" part. His children Thomas, John, and Margaret, were to be under the guardianship of his wife. A Nicholas Kitchen of Idel, made his will in the March following but does not refer to the Eccleshill family. In 1595, William Kitchyn, and Beatrix his mother, for not placing a wooden stele (*scalam silvestrum*) in Hallywell, ijs. iiijd. It seems Eccleshill has had its holy well. In 1597, William Kitchyn was elected constable. He was fined ixd. in 1603 for not placing a gate at George Stuble's house end. Thos. Craven and he had a dispute, 1605. In 1606, he was fined xijd. for not yoking (?) his pigs, and ijs. for not sufficiently maintaining le Beckyate, and ijs. iiijd. for rescuing cattle from the fold.

The following brief notes may add interest to Kitchen entries in Bradford Church Register:—

- 1607, William Kitchyn, constable of Eccleshill, and fined iijd. for not ringing his pigs.
- 1608, He was fined xd. for having an affray with John Yates, and vjd. for not making a sufficient gate at the "Stubley House-end," which was increased to xijd. in 1609, "*non fec. janua Stubley house end.*" Also 2s. for not maintaining the Beck-yate. In 1610 Lyonell Rayner and he were fined 6d. each for not repairing the gate at the end of the house of George Stubley. Increased to 12d. each in 1611.
1615. William Pollard de Tong fined xs. for drawing blood (*trax. sang.*) from William Kitchyn.
- 1616, Wm. Kitchyn, constable. He was fined 4d. for not ringing his pigs.
- 1618, Wm. Kitchyn for not maintaining a gate, 2s., increased to 6s. 8d. in 1618-19.
- 1622, Thomas Kitchyn elected constable.
- 1626-7, William Kitchyn, constable.
- 1638, William Kitchyn, for not sufficiently repairing a gate in Byerdale fence.
- 1638, George Kitchen, 4d., and others, *non annulaver nec subingo posuer porcos suos* (ringing pigs).
- 1638, George K., 4d., John K., 4d., &c, for not ringing pigs, and Mr. George was delinquent again in 1641.
- 1639, Charles Kitchen for not repairing the fences.
- 1640, Richard Stanhope and Thomas Kitchyn, for not making a gate between Apperley bridge and Calverley, xijd., to keep cattle from wandering from one common to the other.
- 1641, John K., for not repairing a gate, 12d.
- 1650, William Kitson was constable, probably meant for Kitchen.

Those interested in witchcraft will find in Whitaker's "History of Leeds" a long account of the trial of Hares, of Calverley, but fortunately the wicked practice of putting supposed witches to death was passing away in England, though the monstrous belief in witches has not yet died out even in our own day and locality. Whether Robert Hare was an immediate ancestor of the unfortunate Calverley people I have no means of stating, but he does not appear at Eccleshill again. He was succeeded by Thomas Fletcher as constable of Eccleshill in 1449. I spell the name with ff, though it was merely a form of making a capital F at that time.

Fletcher presented that Richard Walker, John Smyth and John Kychyn had not come to the turn, so they were fined 4d. each; and he reported the wife of

William Netherwood for brewing. Walker's ancestor had obtained his name from his calling of a walker or fuller at some fulling mill.

- 1450, Thomas Bristowe was constable.
 1452, John Netherwood was constable. Emma Machon brewed. The Machons or Machin were a very old Bradford family and the name survives here still.
 1453, April, William Lister, constable. Jacobus or James Machon, Patric Clement, Thomas Gryve and John Netherwood *non ven turn*, iiijd. each.
 1454, Thomas Bristowe, constable.
 1455, John Kechyn, constable. John and Thomas Gryve, Jacobus Machon and John Bristowe, *non ven.*, 4d. each.
 1456, Richard Walker, constable. John Greave and Machon again fined 4d. each for absenting from the tourn.
 1457, Thomas ffletcher, constable.
 1458, Thomas Grave, constable.
 1459, Hugh ledebeter, called at the next tourn Hugh Cowper, constable.
 1460, John Grayve, constable. Richard Walker brewed a helpale.
 1461, Richard Bestowe, constable. Evidently he was of the same family hitherto written Brestowe.
 1462, John Bestowe, spelt Birstowe at the next turn, was constable.
 1463, John Gryve was constable, and at the next turn he appears as John Baillee, which implied the same as Greave.
 1464, William Lister, constable.
 1465, John Kechyn, constable.
 1466, Richard Walker, constable.
 1467, Robert ffletcher, constable.
 1468, Robert Moresse, constable.
 1469, Thomas Bristowe, or Birkestowe, constable.
 1470, John Gryve, constable.
 1471, John Appulyerd, constable.
 1472, Richard Birkestowe or Birstoghe, constable.
 1473-4, John Birstoghe, constable, *ps. qd. omnia bene*, presents that all his well. So much for the credit of Eccleshill!
 1474-5, John Grave, constable.
 1475-6, Robert Mores, Moresse, constable. Thomas Calverley, *non ven. turn.*, iiijd.
 1476-7, John Aldirles, constable.
 1477-8, John Kichyn, constable.
 1478, Richard Walker, constable.
 1479, Robert ffletcher, constable.
 1480, Robert Moress, constable.
 1482, John Grave, constable.
 1483, John Aldirsley, constable.
 1484, Richard Birstowe, constable.
 1485-6, William Birstowe, constable.
 1486-7, John Kechyn, constable.
 1487-8, Richard Mitton, constable.

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- 1488-9, John Kechyn, constable.
 1489, Elias Wilkynson, constable.
 1490, John Walker, constable.
 1491, Thomas Walker, constable.
 1492, Thomas Bristoghe, constable.
 1493, Robert Grave, constable.
 1494, Galfri fletcher, constable.
 1495, John Bristogh, constable.
 1496, John Scoles, constable.
 1498, Thomas Stubley, constable.
 1501, William Kent, constable.
 1502, John Kechyn, constable.
 1503, John Walker, constable.
 1504, Thomas Walker, constable.
 1504-5, Galfri fletcher, constable.
 1505, John Walker, constable.
 1506, Richard Mitton, constable.
 1507, John Elles, constable.
 1508, Nicholas Rookes, constable.
 1510, John Walker, constable.
 1511, Nicholas Rookes, constable.
 1512, John Garford, constable.
 1513, Thomas Lyly, constable.
 1514, John Kechyn, constable.
 1515, John Walker, constable.
 1516, Christopher fletcher, constable.
 1518, Robert Whiteyng, constable.
 1519, John Mitton, constable.
 1520, John [Richard?] Birkynshagh.
 1521, Jacobus or James Rideyng, constable.
 1522, the same.
 1523, John Stubley, constable.
 1524, Richard Lyster, constable.
 1525, Richard Jowett, constable.
 1526, John Stubley, constable.
 1527, Richard Hill, constable.
 1528, Edward Grenehall, constable.
 1529, Robert Kytchen, constable.
 1530, Richard Walker, constable.
 1531, Richard fletcher, constable.
 1532, Christopher fletcher, constable.
 1533, Thomas Armytage, constable.
 1534, Robert Whittyng, constable.
 1535, Thomas Kitchyn, constable.

In 1507 Richard Wright and his wife were fined 2s. for allowing cardes and other unlawful games in their house, and for receiving players into their house. John Walker at the same time was fined 5s. for making an affray on Richard Mitton; whilst William Grayfe

of Bolton had to pay iijs. iiijd. (3s. 4d.) for breaking into the common pincfold at Eccleshill. William Walker and John Walker, junior, were fined 2s. for making a rescue (either obstructing the constable or the pinder). Richard Smyth of Idill and Richard Leger of Idill were each fined xijd. for an affray, by force of arms, *vi et armis*, at Eccleshill.

In 1516, William Mitton was fined 3s. 4d. for making a rescue from John Stublely and John Garthe at the common pincfold. John Garthe, I take to be John Gardford the constable of 1512-3.

At this time Walter Calverley, Esq., of Calverley, like all other great tenants in the Manor, had to pay annually xijd. as soccage to the Lordship of Wakefield. In 1533 Walter Calverley, knight, still paid, as by obligation, as free tenant the yearly sum of 12d. John Walker in 1521 was fined 1s. for breaking the common "plebicit." Robert Kechyn had 6s. 8d. to pay in 1524 for allowing unlawful games at his house; "*hospit. lus. lud. ad lud. illicit.*" At the same time Robert Whiteynge and John Walker had 10d. each to pay for an affray. They often fined both parties at that time for quarrels; wisely, we presume. In 1527, William Gelles was fined vs. for making an affray on Christopher ffletcher; and two years later a like sum was laid on Richard Lyster for an affray on John Byrkyshaghe, and Lyster had 12d. to pay also for not scouring or cleansing his drains in "le comon loyne."

(To be continued.)



BURIAL REGISTER
OF
BRADFORD PARISH CHURCH.

TRANSCRIBED BY THE LATE
T. T. EMPSALL, Esq.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 80.

*Explanation of contraction in the second column: w. wife;
s. some; d. daughter; ch. child.*

1645.

May	2 Marie	d John Sugden, Little Horton
	Agnes	d John Sugden, Lt. II.
	6	William Hawmond, Maningham John Smalpage, Claiton
	Jeremy	s Widdow Hall, Thornton in Eccl.
	7 Hester	d Edward Walker, Gt. H.
	15	w Thomas Ibbottson, Bd.
	17	ch Walter Jobson, Bd. ch Nathan Clegg, Lt. H.
	18	ch Thomas Rishworth, Thornton, unbapt.
	19 Eliz.	d George Craven, Frizinghall in Heaton
	21	ch John Clarkson, Bd., unbapt.
	26 Jonas	Jesper Broughton, Bd.
June	4	Edward Mortimer, Gt. II.
	6	Widdow Crabtree, Heaton
	7 Josuah	s Lewis Watson, Bd.
	12 Robert	s Robert Watterhowse, Thornton
	16	Widdow Hill, Heaton, paup. Francis Smith, Bd.
	William	Francis Smith, Bd.
	21 Marie	d Widdow Tailer, Bd.
	25	John Lun, Bd.
July	2	Widdow Hoyle, Bd.
	6 Jeremy	s Thomas Clough, Lt. H.
	10	Robert Firth, Bd.
	14	Widdow Mitchell, Thornton
	18 Sara	d Richard Allerton, Mann.
	23 Christopher	s Widdow Sugden, Gt. II., paup. John Drake, the elder, Thornton
	25	John Drake, the elder, Thornton
	29	w John Lister, Lt. H. in Eccl. James Dison died at Allerton
	30 Marie	d Michael Wood, Little Horton

Aug.	2	ch	William Wood, Bd., unbapt.
	4		Anne Smalpage, Claiton
	7		Thomas Craven, the elder, Bd.
Oct.	27	Josuah	Michael Metcalfe, Bd.
Nov.	20		John Lister, Lt. H. in Eccl.
Dec.	3		Widdow Bower, Heaton
	11		William Procter, Bd.
	13		Henrie Bradshay, Mann. in Eccl.
	18	Jeremy	Robert West, Bd.
	24	w	Thomas Clough, Lt. H.
	26		John Crabtree, Bd.
Jan.	14	Sarah	d Gregorie Cockroft, — in Eccl.
	19		Widdow Sale, Wooddall, Calverley Parish
	25	Josuah	Jonas Preistlay, Gt. H.
	27		Edmond Smith, Bd., paup.
Feb.	2	w	John Crabtree, Mann. in Eccl.
	9	Two Children	of James Smith, Bowlinge, unbapt.
	11	James	s James Smith, Bowlinge Richard Stancliffe, Claiton
	16	Robert Law	s Tobias Lawe, Gent., Thornton
	17	ch	Richard White, Lt. H., unbapt.
	24		William Northropp, Mann., Smith.
	28	w	Michael Drake, Thornton
March.	2		William Hill, Gt. H., Collier.
	3		Peter Spratt, Hull, a Souldier.
	5	ch	Richard Stancliffe, Allerton, unbapt.
	6	Henrie	s Henrie Kitchinge, Wilsden
	16		John Mortimer, the elder, Claiton in Eccl.
	18		William Jowett, Bd.
	21	ch	John Hoyle, Bd., unbapt.
	22	Samuell	s James Garth, Heaton
	23		Thomas Cordlay, Junr., Bowling
1646.	30		William Bower, Bd.
April	4	ch	Samuell Wadsworth, Thornton, unbapt.
			George Baker, Bowling
	7	w	William Fearnside, Gt. II.
		Marie	d Widdow Tailer, Bd.
	13	ch	Jeremy Dixon, Heaton, unbapt.
	23	w	Jeremy Aked, Bd. in Eccl.
May	2		Richard Pearson, Wilsay in Eccl.
	4	ch	Jonas Chippingdaile, Bd., unbapt.
	9	ch	Jonas Greenhough, Bd., unbapt.
	12	ch	William Richardson, Byerley, unbapt.
	27		James Swaine, Bd.
	31		Thomas Roade, Bowling
June	9		Widdow Crabtree, Bd.
		Judith	d Frances Smith, Bd.
	10	John	s John Lowrie, Claiton
	14		Edmond Braythwaite, Thornton in Eccl. John Judson, Bd., a Souldier

	18	ch Peter Snowden, Shipley, unbapt.
	19	Judith d John Lowcocke, Bd.
	24	Matthew Robert Wright, Lt. H.
July	2	Widdow Cawtheray, Bd., paup.
	8	w James Speight, Wibsay
	13	Two Children of Marie Hill, Mann.
	14	Thomas Hill, Wilsden
		Robert Garnett, Gt. H.
	18	ch Robert West, Bd., unbapt.
	24	James Sale, Pudsey in Calverley Parish
Aug	5	William Welster, Bd.
	14	John Illingworth, Mann.
	16	Susan d William Jowett, Thornton
	23	ch Walter Jobson, Bd.
	30	w. Walter Jobson, Bd.
Sept.	12	ch John Mawd, Bd.
	13	James Pickerin, Claiton, paup.
		ch Jonas Butterfeild
	26	w Abm. Waid, Wilsden
		Bridgett d Abm. Waid, Wilsden
	27	Eliz. w John Wilkinson, Mann.
Oct	1	w Arthur Whiteley, Heaton
	11	Widdow Wilkinson, Wilsden
	18	Marie d Richard Smith, Claiton
	26	ch William Rawson, Shipley, unbapt.
Nov.	3	Mr. John Nicholls, Gt. H. in Eccl.
	13	Thomas Croft, Barkerend, Bd.
		John s William Thornton, Lt. H.
	17	Adam Barrabie, Wilsden
	19	Widdow Oats, Claiton
		ch Robert Booth, Bowling
	20	Thomas Richardson, Byerley in Eccl.
	28	James Short, ye elder, Thornton
	29	Widdow Pickard, Shipley
Dec.	10	Widdow Richard Sharpe, Tonge Lrdppe
	13	Grace d Robert Wilson, Heaton
	23	Edward Crabtree, Heaton
		John s William Snowden, Bd.
Jan.	6	w Abm. Sharpe, Burstall
	7	Richard Chapman, Bd.
	23	Widdow Hargraves, Claiton
		Jane d Abm. Denbie, Wilsden
Feb.	4	Richard Smith, Bowling
	6	Widdow Rawson, Shipley
	8	Thomas Ellis, Bd.
		John Hill, Wilsden
		Samuell Bower, Heaton
	23	Anne d Thomas Wilkinson, Mann.
	24	William Midgley, Bowlton
	25	Marie Pollard, Tyersall
March	4	w William Seed, Bowlton

			Widdow Walker, Lt. II.
	11	w	Matthew Scott, Bd.
	14		Bartholomew Phenicke, Bd.
		John	George Wilkinson, Wilsden
	16		Edward Brooksbank, Wilsden in Eccl.
	20	w	Peter Snowden, Bd.
1647.			
April	1		John Walker, Lt. H.
	27		Widdow Hall, Claiton
	28		William Beamond, Bd.
		Elizabeth	d Richard Tailer, Bd.
May	1	Elizabeth	d John Jackson, Bd.
	10	Anne	d William Robinson, Thornton
	18	William	James Swaine, late of Bd.
	19		Widdow Ellis, Bd.
	30		Widdow Phillippe, Bd.
June	6	w	John Jowett, Mann.
	8		John Gomersall, Byerley
		w	Frances Drake, Bowling
	10	Thomas	William Booth, Shipley
	20		William Rawson, Bowling in Eccl.
July	23		Richard Jepson, Bd.
	24		William Denbie, Wrose in Calverley Parish
	30	Sarah	William Swallow, Gt. H.
Aug.	6	Abm.	s William Jackson, Gt. H.
	12		Thomas Craven, Lt. H.
	13	w	Henry Ramsbottom, Thornton
	25		Widdow Bentlay, Gt. H., paup.
Sep.	15		John Bradley, Mann., paup.
	16		Richard Wilkinson, Mann.
	20		Widdow Robinson, Thornton
Oct.	9		Widdow Wright, Bd.
	13	Nathan	s Widdow White, Lt. H.
	20		Matthew Cordley, Wibsey
	21		William Jowett, Heaton
	23		George Ffields, Shipley in Eccl.
	28		Jeremy Thorpe, Bd. in Eccl.
Dec.	12	w	James Hammerton, Pudsey
			Abm. Wade, Wilsden
	17	w	William Jowett, Mooreside
Jan.	12	w	William Jackson, paup.
			Samuell Netherwood, Bd.
	29	w	William Fletcher, Thornton
Feb.	6		Widdow Nicholls, Gt. H.
	7		Abm. Swaine, Lt. II.
	12	w	Thomas Thornton, Gt. H.
	15		John Atkinson, Bd.
	16		William Pollard, Bowling
March	16		Widdow Booth, Gt. H. in Ecc
	17		Grace Pighells, Allerton
	22	w	Christopher Lawson

1648.		
March	30	Roger Pollard, Bowling
	31	Widdow Shorte, Thornton
May	8	Thomas Croft, Shoemaker, Bd ch Mr. Crossley, Bd., unbapt. John West, Bd.
	17	George Hobson, Bd.
	25	w William Sugden, Lt. II.
June	10	Christopher Lawson, Allerton
July	31	William Jowett, Bd.
Aug.	18	Agnes Gibson, Bd.
		Elizabeth d John Mitchell, Shipley
Sept.	1	John Brigge, Thornton
	6	Marie d Samuel Fletcher, Thornton
	7	Widdow Brooksbank, Shipley
Oct.	6	w William Thornton, Lt. H. Jonas Halay, Thornton
	10	w Henry Whearter, Ecclesfield
	24	Michael Dobson, Thornton
	27	Thomas Lambert, Calverley Parish
	29	Widdow Booth, Shipley
Nov.	5	Stephen Holdsworth, Claiton Edward Jackson, Bd.
	7	w John Hill, Bowling
	9	w Joseph Rawson, Heaton
	12	Edward Brooksbank, Shipley
	18	w William Baly, Bowling
	20	w Abm. Barraclough, Ecclesfield
	24	w Samuel Hodgson, Bowling
Dec.	15	Widdow Firth, Manningham, paup.
Jan.	9	William Wilkinson, Bd.
	17	w John Elsworth, Bd.
	19	Thomas Ibbottson, Bd. George Pollard, Ecclesfield
	21	ch Ralph Foster, Thornton Widdow Thornton, Mann., paup.
	27	w Joseph Greene, Thornton
Feb.	6	Widdow Blaymires, Wibsey
	10	w John Balmforth, Mann.
	16	w Abm. Barstow, Thornton
	22	Wm. Richardson, Byerley
	23	Thomas Hustler, Bd.
March	2	w Robert Phillippe, Claiton
	3	Jonathan Gaunt, Calverley Parish
	4	William Frankland, Gt. H.
	16	John Barstow, Thornton
	20	Widdowe Shortte, Thornton
1649.		
April	11	w John Wood, Gt. H. William Brash, Bd.
	12	w William Bell, Bd.

May	6	Abm.	s Matthew Dishforth, Bd.
		Jane	d Thomas Ogden, Ecclesfield
	12		John Sugden, Horton
		Grace	d Christopher Swaine, Bowling
	24		Stephen Arrandell, Claiton
	25		Peter Jowett, Thornton
	28	ch	John Yarr, Bd., unbapt.
June	12	Grace	w Stephen Arrandell, Claiton
	17	Ellen	d Richard Kent, Bd.
July	2	Sara	w Frances Currer, Bowling
	3	Marie	w Robert Pollard, Bowling
	5		James Jowett, Wilsden
		Anne	d George Wilkinson, Claiton
		Marie	d Jonas Booth, Claiton
	8		ch John Milnes, Ecclesfield
		Alice	w Abm. Ogden, Ecclesfield
	16	Abm.	s Thomas Ogden, Eccleshill
	20	Marie	w Homphrey Kellett, Bowling
	25		Thomas Thornton, Horton
Aug.	3	Marie	d Samuel Deane, Mann.
	7		ch Robert Woods, Bowling, unbapt.
	9	Ellen	w John Milner, Bd.
	10		ch John Dixon, Bd., unbapt.
	25		William Horton, Bd.
Sep.	2	Alice	w Edward Vicars, late of Bd.
	8	Ellen	w Robert Duxbire, Calverley Parish
	9		ch Richard Smith, Bd., unbapt.
	10	Ellen	w John Wilkinson, Mann.
	14		Abm. Barstow, Thornton
	18	Barbary	d William Rawden, Mann.
		Sara	d Abm. Wilks, Mann.
		28		Margarett Himingham, Horton
	28		Susan Roads, Bd.
Oct.	8		Martin Haineworth, Claiton
Nov.	4		Ruben Snowden, Bd.
	7	Marie	d Jonas Craven, Frizinghall
	10		Richard Horne, Parish Clerk of Bradford
		Elizabeth	d William Lister, Bd.
	22		Mawde Beethom, Bast.
	24		Richard Sim, Bd.
	27		Robert Smithies, Bd.
Dec.	1	Thomas	s William Pullen, Bd.
	3		Samuell Pollard, Frizinghall, drowned
	4	Margrett	d John Walker, Horton
		Anne	d John Pearson, Bd.
	5	Marie	d Mathew Haineworth, Claiton
	7		Bartholomew Parkinson, Bd., slaine
	8	Edmond	s Edmond Mammon, Claiton
		Anne	d Elizabeth Brigge, Wibsay, paup.
	13	Susan	d John Ellis, Bd.
			w James Wooller, Horton

	22	Walter Nailor, Bd.
	23	Nicholas Maymond, Bowling
	26 Anthony	s John Wilson, Bd.
	31	Thomas Hey, Master of Arts, Bd.
Jan.	7 Hestor	d John Wilkinson, Claiton
	10	John Barrett, Bd.
	11 Josuah	s Jonas Robertshay, Claiton
	13	John Roper, Claiton
	Grace	d Thomas Sharpe, Bowling
	17 Sara	w William Pullen, Bd.
	23	John Hill, Bd.
	25 Ellen	w William Roads, Wibsey
	29 Dorathie	w John Vicars, Ecclesfeild
	Samuel	s Abm. Rylay, Heaton
Feb.	2	Robert Hutton, Bierlay
	4 Susan	d William Rayner, Bd.
	6 Alice	w Cristopher Burnett, Bd.
	7 Elizabeth	d William Allerton, Allerton
	8 Margaret	w Robert Hutton, Bierley
	9	Jonas Deane, Denham
	13	w John Iredaile, Mann.
	14	Henry Atkinson, Bd.
		James Ellis, Bd.
	16 Judeth	d John Hainworth, of Claiton
		John Whalley, Bd.
	17 John	s John Einshay, Bd.
	20 Maria	d Thomas Sharpe, Bowling
	24 Robert	s John Vicars, Ecclesfeild
	Sara	d William Collinson, Horton
March	1 Grace	d Thomas Walker, Bd.
	5	Ruben Jobson, Bd.
	8	Marie Gleadhill, Horton
	11 Sara	d Abm. Moore, Claiton
	14 Bridgett	w William Booth, Bd.
	Margret	w William Bawle, Bierley
	17	Benjaman Shawe, Claiton
	18 John	s William Proctor, Bd.
1650.		
March	25	Abm. Baits, Bd.
	Elizabeth	d John Roads, Bd.
	Jane	w William Boothman, Ecclesfeild
	Alice	w Jonas Oates, Claiton
	30 Anne	w John Watterhowse, Claiton
	31	Widdow Margret Northroppe, Mann.
April	7 Jeremy	s John Sowden, Thornton
	9	Jonas Mortimar, Horton
	10 Martha	d Jonas Crowther, Bowling
	11	Grace Newall, Horton
	14	Jeremy Ellis, Bd.
	Richard	s Richard Eshton, Bowling
	16	John Mitchell, Bowling

	17 Maria	d Robert Holt, Bd.
	18 John	s John Mawde, Bd.
	18 Jane	w Bryan Foster, Mann.
	23 Thomas	Arthur Whatelay, Heaton s Richard Sim, Bd.
	25	George Benson, Horton
May	4 Grace	w William Allerton, Allerton
	6 Sara	d Richard Hoodgson, Bowling
	10 Anne	d Charles Browne, Shipley
	17	Richard Shackleton, Claiton
	18 Maria	d Robert Wright, Horton
	23 Maria	d William Northroppe, Bd.
	26	John Mortimor, Laggrames
	27	Thomas Collinson, Bowling
June	2	Charles Barraclough, Bd.
	Joseph	s John Thompson, Bowling
	4 Margret	d John Walker, Horton
	7 Maria	d Jonas Smith, Bd.
	10	Jennett Crabtree, Bd. Isaack Hawmond, Mann.
	John	s Abm. Haineworth, Thornton
	19 Sara	d John Beamond
July	2	William Mountaine, Bd.
	9 Marie	d John Wood, Bd.
	Henry	s Henrie Settle, Calverley Parish
	25 Sarah	d Anthony Hirst, Allerton
	Abm.	John Firth and John his Son, Bowling s William Bartles, Bd.
Aug.	5 Ruth	d John Rigge, Bd.
	9 Marie	d Isaake Wormwall, Calverley Parish
	13 Sisella	w John Mortimor, Clayton
	19	Bryan Foster, Mann.
	23 Abm.	Samuell Stockdaile, Claiton
	28 Anne	d Stephen Banks, Bd.
	30 Elizabeth	w William Rawden, Mann.
Sept.	5	Michaell Balme, Allerton
	6 Anne	d Thomas Walker, Bd. Nathaniell Mitchell, Thornton
	Katherin	d Thomas Holmes, Bd.
	13 Hannah	d Abm. Bordall, Bowling
	Susan	w Thomas Hewitt, Wilsay
	14	Ambrose Bins, Wilsden
	20 Frances	d George Williamson, Bd.
	26 Thomas	s Thomas Walker, Bd.
	28 Edward	s Richard Kay, Bd.
Oct.	1 Elizabeth	d Thomas Squire, Bd.
	2	Richard Allerton, Mann.
	11	George Wilkinson, Bd.
	16 David	Francis Weatherhead
	Sarah	d Jonas Mortimer, Horton
	24 Grace	d Edward Walker, Horton
	28 William	s William Hey, Junr., Bd.

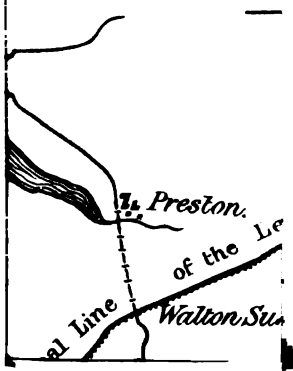
	29		Edward Brewer, Bd.
	30	Elizabeth	d Josias Nicholls, Bd.
		Faith	d Jeremy Collier, late Minister at Bd.
	31		Edward Walker, Horton
Nov.	1	Jeremy	s Jarvas Dixon, Bd.
	9		Richard Horne, Bd.
	10	Jonas	s Thomas Gleadhill, Cockan
	18		Thomas Bower, Bd., fair Beard
		Josuah	William Pollard, Heaton
Dec.	5	Daniell	Adam Hillhouse, Horton
		John	George Pollard, Ecclesfield
	12		William Rilay, Bd. Dier
	15	Marie	w John Crowther, Wibsay
	22	Sarah	d Robert Wilson, Bd.
	29	Dorathie	w Thomas Jowett, late of Horton
		Richard	s Richard Higson, Bd.
Jan.	2		Richard Booth, Claiton
	7		Robert West, Bd.
	8	Marie	d Robert Whittingham, Bd.
		John	s Henrie Atkinson, Bd.
	9	Margrett	w Richard Nephill, Bd.
	10		Judith Dobson, Bd.
	29	Hester	d William Smith, Bd.
	30	Jeremy	s Jeremy Ben, Bowling
Feb	2		Joseph Derwen, Bd.
	14	Susan	d William Hay, Bailiff of Bradford
	6	David	s Peter Medcalf, Bd.
	12	Sarah	d Thomas Houldsworth, Bowling
	13	James	s William Armitage, Ecclesell
	22	Sibell	d Jonas Craven, Frizinghall
	24	Sarah	w Martin Dawson, parish of Calverley
	26	Susan	James Knolls, Bd.
March	4		William Crabtree, Heaton
	5	Mary	d John Mortimer, Gt. H.
		John	s Francis Drake, Bowling
	6	Lineld	s John Raner, Eccleshill
	7	John	s James Whitteker, Claton
	8	Susan	Late wife of Simond Tailer, Bd.
	10		Joseph Hollings, Allerton
		Elizabeth	Nathaniel Tayler
	11	Agnes	w Thomas Clarke, parish of Leeds
	16	John	s James Hillyard, Bd.
		Mary	w John Jowett, Bd.
	24	Mary	d Matthew Oytes, Horton
1651.			
March	29	Mary	Late wife of Jeremy Ellis, Bd.
	31	George	s George Shires, Bd.
April	2	William	John Sharpe, Gt. II.
	3	Grace	w Jonas Briggs, Lt. H.
	8	Grace	w Henry Briggs, Gt. H.
	18		James Holdroid, Bd.

	19	Zacharias	s	John Rayner, Ecclesell
May	11	John	s	John Whaley, Bd.
	14			Richard Tempest, Gt. H.
	18	Susan	d	Abm. Bawme, Allerton
	27	Mary	d	John Wilson, Bd., Sadler
	29			Lyonell Fletcher, Eccleshill
				Mathew Royds, of Maningham
	31	Richard	s	John Sheafeild, Bowling
June	5	Timothy	s	John Rayner
		Thomas	s	Thomas Hey, Eccleshill
	6	Jane	w	Edward Sharpe, Bowling
	6	Mary	d	John Ardisley, Bd.
	12	Hannah	d	Richard Thornton, Gt. H.
	14		s and d	Henry Robinson, unbapt.
	25	Sara	w	John Smithyes, Gt. H.
		Mary	d	James Clayton, Bowling
July	20	George	s	William Greene, of Bd., buried at London
	3	Grace	d	John Holdsworth, Claiton
	4	Elizabeth	w	Abm. Swifte, Clayton
	9			Prudence Jowett, Bd.
	15	Agnes	w	Henry Barraclough, Clayton
	18	John	s	Samuel Ashton, Bd.
	21	John	s	John Pickeringe, Halifax
	24	Ann	d	William Hollingrake, Horton
Aug.	9	Sara	w	Richard Hodgson, Bowling
	21	Jasper	s	John Ellis, Bd.
	30	Jane	w	Michael Sunderland, Bd.
Sep.	7	Elizabeth	d	Robert Denby, Calverley
Oct.	5			Isaack Maude, Horton
	15	Susan	d	Edward Crabtree, Claiton
	16			Margrett Wood, Bowling
	22	James	s	James Gibson, Bd.
	23			William Aked, Bd.
	28	Thomas	s	Richard Richardson, Bierley
	29	John	s	William Hey, Bd., Bailiffe
Nov.	3			Joseph Bawmeforth, Thornton
		William	s	William Banes, Bd.
	10	Jennet	w	Joseph Hollings, Allerton
	14			John Hezell, Bowling
	24	William	s	Ruben Snowden, Bd.
	27	Richard	s	Robert Green, Bd. Taylor
	29	Bridget	w	Edward Brookesbank, Wilsden
Dec.	4			Jonas Ashton, Horton
	7	Michael	s	Thos. Atkinson and Grace Darwin, Bast.
				Nicholas Farrand, Bd.
	14	Jeremy	s	Robert Pinder, Bd.
	16	Judith	w	John Laycock, Mann.
	18	Sara	d	William Jowett, Heaton
	21	Jonas	s	Jonas Greenhough, Bd.



Line of the

GLAS NAVIGA



NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE
LEEDS AND LIVERPOOL CANAL.

Being some account of the origin and construction of that
undertaking in the early years of the reign of
George the Third.

BY

H. F. KILLICK,

Law Clerk to the Leeds and Liverpool Canal Company.

(With a Plan.)

PREFATORY NOTE.—Mr. Samuel Hailstone and his son, the late Mr. Edward Hailstone, F.S.A., filled in succession the office of Law Clerk to the Leeds and Liverpool Canal Company for nearly, if not for quite, a century. The latter for many years had no other professional occupation. He had from long personal association a strong interest in and attachment to the Company and their Canal, and in the later years of his life, assisted by his nephew, Mr. Arthur Hailstone, he collected a considerable mass of material with a view to the preparation of an historical account of the undertaking.

These documents included many original memoranda and papers in the handwriting of Mr. John Hustler, and many other papers bearing on the subject.

They came into my possession on my appointment as Mr. Hailstone's successor in 1888, and I have supplemented them by further notes and investigations of my own.

I have also obtained some of the particulars as to Brindley and as to some other general matters bearing on the early history of English Canals from Mr. Smiles's graphic and admirable account of Brindley and his work in the "Lives of the Engineers."

From these data I have been enabled to prepare the sketch which is embodied in the following pages. It has amused and occupied many hours of enforced confinement at home, and though I am conscious that

the story is defective and fragmentary in many respects and cannot be supposed to possess any general interest, I hope that it may be considered not unworthy of attention. I regret that Mr. Hailstone—whose long personal knowledge of and intimate connexion with the Canal, and whose great love for antiquarian researches would have qualified him so well for the task—should not have been spared to carry out his intentions, and I gladly acknowledge my obligations to him, not desiring that my own labors should justify the criticism—“*Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores.*”

WHEN the primeval savage found that it was easier to float a log across a pool or down a stream than to carry it upon his shoulder or drag it through the forest glade, he discovered the principle of inland navigation.

He found, though he could not explain it scientifically, that the resistance to traction caused by the displacement of water was much less than that of friction and gravitation. Many ages afterwards the simple arrangement of the lock, a water-tight space or chamber inclosed by gates in which the water could be raised to the level of a higher pool and depressed to that of a pool below, got rid of the difficulties occasioned by falls and rapids, and when an artificial channel was carried round them in which the lock was placed, the elements of canal navigation were complete and have practically remained unchanged.

For centuries past many English rivers and streams have been straightened, dredged and utilised as waterways.

In the important industrial district of which Leeds is the centre, the necessity for such facilities was long ago apparent.

In 1698 the mayor and several aldermen of Leeds, amongst them Joshua Ibbetson and William Milner, ancestors of the Ibbetsons of Denton and the Milners of Nun Appleton, and Sir Lionell Pilkington and other Wakefield gentlemen obtained an Act of Parlia-

ment by which they were constituted Undertakers of the Navigation of the Rivers Aire and Calder. They had power to straighten, improve, scour, and cleanse the channels of those rivers between the bridges at Leeds and Wakefield, and Weeland, a village on the Aire, a short distance above the point where it joins the Ouse. They were entitled to charge tonnage on every ton of cloth and other goods conveyed up and down the streams, and thus was provided a waterway, tortuous and shallow no doubt, but vastly cheaper than land carriage between the Clothing Districts of Yorkshire and the ports on the Humber, a waterway destined in the future under able management and by a long series of bold and judicious improvements and by the creation of the port of Goole to develop into that great navigation which is now one of the most useful and successful and not the least remunerative among the waterways of England.

The Act specially preserves to the Corporation of Pontefract an ancient toll of "4d. for every vessell with a cock-boat and 2d. for every vessell without a cock-boat passing between Templehirst and Knottingley Mills," thus indicating clearly that the River Aire had been used for the purposes of navigation long before.

During the long and peaceful administration of Sir Robert Walpole the country had been rapidly growing in prosperity and wealth, and nowhere had the progress been greater or more general than in the manufacturing and coal producing districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, and consequently at the accession of George the Third to the throne in 1760, the merchants and manufacturers of the West Riding were extending the production and distribution of their goods and were anxious to discover new markets for them both at home and abroad. Now to further this object, an advantage at that time by no means easy to secure had become an imperative necessity, namely, cheap transit for raw material and manufactured goods.

In view of the natural advantages possessed by England for the construction of canals, it is remark-

able that we should have been the last nation in Europe to adopt this means of conveyance, yet it was so; for in 1760 the canal was as entirely unknown in England as the railway, and no facilities existed for what we are accustomed in our day to regard as a matter of course, cheap, safe and easy means of transit for passengers and goods. The disgraceful condition of the roads in general rendered land carriage not only tedious and costly but even dangerous, and many places were practically inaccessible in winter for wheeled vehicles.

Arthur Young, who in 1770 travelled through the country between Liverpool and Manchester, gives a lively description of the state of the roads as he found them in that district, "I know not," he writes, "in the whole range of language words sufficiently expressive to describe the infernal road. Let me most seriously caution all travellers who may accidentally propose to travel this terrible country to avoid it as they would the devil, for a thousand to one they break their necks or their limbs by overthrows or breakings down. They will here meet with ruts, which I actually measured, four feet deep and floating with mud only with a wet summer: what therefore must it be after a winter? The only mending it receives is tumbling in some loose stones which serve no other purpose than jolting a carriage in the most intolerable manner. These are not merely opinions but facts, for I actually past three carts broken down in these eighteen miles of execrable memory." Under such conditions pack-horses were still very generally used for the carriage of goods. A few turnpike roads had been constructed and others were projected, but the system was highly unpopular and had caused furious rioting in the neighbourhood of Bradford as well as in other parts of England.

Navigations and canalised streams no doubt existed where they were available, and the Duke of Bridgewater had already in 1759 obtained the first of the Acts of Parliament under which his well known canals

were constructed; but until the 17th of July, 1761, when the first boat load of coal crossed the famous aqueduct at Barton on its way from Worsley to Manchester, no canal in the sense of an artificial waterway for barges regulated as to level by locks existed for commercial purposes in this country.

Thus as we have seen, the commencement of our present system of inland navigation coincided with the date of the accession of George the Third, a system which was during his long reign to be developed, perfected and extended throughout the whole country, and it is not without interest to remark that in this year of grace 1897, when we congratulate our most Gracious Sovereign and ourselves her loyal subjects on the still longer continuance of her eventful and glorious reign, we may remember that as the waterway was the chief creation of engineering skill in the days of her grandfather so the sixty years of her own reign have witnessed a far greater triumph in the railway, the most perfect means of transport which human ingenuity has yet devised. The full development of the railway system, its swift growth and its marvellous expansion over the whole area of Great Britain may well count as the crowning achievement of the Victorian Era.

The first of the Bridgewater Canals when opened proved at once a great commercial and financial success. One horse could draw from forty to fifty tons weight. The price of coal in Manchester fell 50 per cent. and canal navigation was at once recognised as marking a distinct and most important advance in carrying facilities. The Duke at once proceeded to extend his canal to Runcorn and thus supply those more adequate means of communication which were so greatly needed between Liverpool and Manchester. Numerous other canals were projected and the most brilliant anticipations were formed as to the success which was likely to attend them. Amongst other Yorkshire towns Bradford and her inhabitants shared in the general excitement. The town at that time cannot have contained more than 5,000 inhabitants, but then as now,

though on a smaller scale, it was the centre of a busy trading community. Bradford was isolated and for facilities of transit to or from coast or country it was badly situated. To the east the road to Leeds climbed the steep slope to Bradford Moor and kept high up on the hill side until it descended at Kirkstall into the Valley of the Aire. At Leeds the navigation of the Aire was available to Hull or Grimsby, Goole as yet existed not.

To the west Liverpool was then rapidly rising into the first rank as a sea-port. It was of course a very different place as compared with the great and opulent city which now with its satellites of Bootle and Birkenhead fringes the Mersey with miles of the finest dock accommodation in the world, sends forth its ships to traverse every sea and welcomes in its capacious haven the mariners of all nations. The population is not now much below three-fourths of a million, in 1769 it was 34,000. The Slave trade was then in full vigour and Liverpool was the commercial and financial centre of the traffic. The capacity of a vessel for the carriage of slaves was not infrequently advertised, and instead of the floating palaces which now arrive and depart almost daily with unfailing regularity, the average tonnage of the larger vessels did not exceed 400 tons. I need hardly add that steam-boats were unknown.

Liverpool was not more than seventy or eighty miles distant from Bradford, but it lay on the other side of the great range of hills known as the Pennine Chain which divide Yorkshire from Lancashire, and weeks were consumed in the tedious and costly transit of goods across Blackstone Edge.

Water communication from east to west the trading community of the West Riding were now determined to have, and many minds were doubtless busied with the problem as to how it should best be effected. The idea of uniting the headwaters of the Aire and the Ribble and by rendering them navigable creating a waterway from Leeds on the east to Preston on the west seems to have occurred to more than one person.

In the *York Courant* of 7th August, 1764, a paragraph appeared which after some general remarks on the advantages of cheap carriage continued as follows:—

“As the Rivers Aire and Ribble may be so easily joined at different places and rendered navigable between Leeds and Preston at an expense which the gentlemen who have estates on their banks may readily supply, it is thought proper to mention it to the public at this juncture. No season can be so proper for effecting works of this nature as times of peace when men and money can be no otherwise so well employed.”

At this time Mr. John Hustler, of Bradford, was largely engaged in business there as a woolstapler and dealer in wool, and was either then or shortly afterwards in partnership with Mr. Edmund Peckover under the firm of Hustler & Peckover. Mr. Hustler was about 50 years of age, a member of the Society of Friends, intimately connected with the principal members of that body throughout England, and a man of great foresight, tact, energy, and determination. John Longbottom had been a pupil or assistant to Smeaton the Engineer, and also I believe to Brindley the well-known Engineer who had risen to the first rank in his profession by the construction of the Bridgewater Canals, and was at this time recognised as the greatest authority on the subject. Longbottom, like most other engineers, seems to have been casting about to promote schemes for the making of canals, and was probably the authority for the paragraph in the *York Courant* to which I have referred. He was a native of Halifax, and it seems likely that he first brought the idea of a canal from Leeds to Liverpool before Mr. Hustler.

Amongst some of that gentleman's papers which are in my possession I find a notice apparently written for insertion in a newspaper, though I have not found any paper in which it appears.

It is endorsed “Address to the public” in the handwriting of Mr. Hustler, and begins by stating that Great Britain being nearly 800 miles from north to

south and the navigation round the extreme points tedious, dangerous and expensive, a navigable cut from east to west not much above 100 miles is a very interesting and important object, and the late improvements made in canal navigation by a noble lord has demonstrated it to be practicable. It should communicate, says the writer, at each end with a capital and safe port.

The produce of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Poland, Germany, Holland, Flanders, as well as the Eastern Coast of Britain wanted upon the Western, and those of the West Indies, North America, Ireland, and of the Western Coast wanted upon the Eastern, will not be subject to the danger, damage and great expense and delay attending the passage North and South, which are great even in times of peace, but in war are inconceivable.

Two schemes are stated to be in agitation. A canal between the Trent and the Weaver, and one from Manchester to Sowerby Bridge, each proposing to unite the ports of Liverpool and Hull. Both these being river navigations would be subject to the dangers and delays caused by storms and floods, and the proposed canals were on too narrow a plan "evidently rendering them incompetent to this grand national object."

Having thus disposed of the competitive schemes, the writer proceeds as follows:—

"It must be acceptable to the public to be informed that a person with great industry and application has discovered an opening betwixt the mountains of Yorkshire and Lancashire which is the most eligible if not the only one nature has formed for this important work, and that a plan and estimate is in considerable forwardness and will soon be laid before it of an entire navigable canal from Liverpool to Hull, proposed to be thirty foot wide and six foot deep, to be navigable with boats of sixty tons burden, to perform the passage regularly and constantly from each of the said ports to the other in three days, and which it will be demonstrated may afford to carry goods

through at six shillings a ton, and through all the intermediate space in proportion."

Further advantages are pointed out, and the writer adds, "We have seen greater sums than this will cost laid out in a bridge, an hospital, and other public works, but not one or all of them together ever promised a fiftieth part of the national improvement and advantage!"

It is amusing to note that the word fiftieth was originally written fifth and was afterwards altered in the manuscript, and we cannot but smile also at the astonishing discovery of a north-west passage through the wilds and between the mountains of Foulridge and Colne, now traversed by a railway in which no tunnel has been found necessary, the highest point being about 450 feet above the sea.

In these days when millions of capital are readily available and vast works of constructive engineering are undertaken by a single contractor and carried out by an army of skilled workmen assisted in every operation by steam power and mechanical contrivances as elaborate as they are ingenious, we are apt to forget how different were the conditions under which the Leeds and Liverpool Canal was promoted, designed, and to a considerable extent constructed in the first twenty years of the reign of George the Third. Accumulated fortunes available for new and speculative investments were by no means common, steam engines, except for pumping, were unknown. Great contractors were not in existence. Railways, donkey engines, steam diggers, were all unavailable, and canals themselves a novelty in which many details were to be learned from experience; moreover the army of nomadic giants who now cluster round every great work of construction, had to be created, trained and disciplined for intelligent and organised labour in the construction of canal navigation, from which they were to derive their present ordinary appellation of navvies or navigators.

The great project thus suggested, to whomsoever

we must ascribe the credit of the original idea, was at once taken up by Mr. Hustler above all others with the utmost energy and enthusiasm, and from this time to his death in 1790 he spared neither time, money nor trouble in promoting the scheme, in obtaining the necessary powers from Parliament, in superintending the finances of the concern as treasurer and its construction and management as a most active member of the Committee.

He persuaded or induced many of the wealthy and prudent members of the Society of Friends to contribute largely to the capital, and though he was ably assisted by many other gentlemen, including several of the leading inhabitants of Bradford, it is not too much to say that he was throughout the leading spirit of the undertaking.

Nothing illustrates this fact more forcibly than the intimate connection which existed from the first, always continued to exist, and exists to-day between the Leeds and Liverpool Canal Company and Bradford, a town which curiously enough is not on the line of the Canal and which is only connected with it by a separate and independent undertaking, the Bradford Canal.

The original meetings for promoting the Company were held at Bradford, where also the meetings of the committee of management and the general assemblies of the shareholders were regularly and frequently for many years in the past and are still occasionally held, and in this town the head office of the Company was located for three-quarters of a century, until about 1850 when it was removed to Liverpool, and the handsome and substantial offices were sold to the Bradford Savings Bank which still own and occupy them. The bankers and the legal advisers of the Company have always been located in Bradford. The former, now the Bradford Old Bank, owe their foundation as bankers under the firm of "Peckover, Harris & Co." in 1805, to Mr. Peckover, already referred to as at one time a partner with Mr. Hustler; and the present chairman of the Bank, Alfred Harris, Esq., has for many years pre-

sided as Chairman with conspicuous ability over the Canal Company.

I am, however, anticipating the course of events and must recur to the year 1766.

In the *Leeds Intelligencer* of the 24th of June in that year there appeared a notice, headed "Navigation between the East and West Seas," stating that "whereas such a navigation would be of great utility to trade, especially in time of war, and more particularly to the Counties of York and Lancaster, a meeting would be held at the house of Mr. John Day, known by the Sign of the Sun in Bradford aforesaid, on Wednesday, the 2nd day of July, 1766, at 10 of the clock in the forenoon, to consider of the proper ways and means to effect such navigation, at which meeting the nobility, gentry, and clergy of the said several counties, and all others who think it their duty to interest themselves in a matter of so great importance are requested to attend."

One need not be very old to remember the house of Mr. John Day known by the Sign of the Sun, which was in our own time under a well known landlord, Mr. John Wilman, a comfortable, respectable and well frequented hostlery, now, alas, improved off the face of the earth, much of the site thrown out to widen the public highway, the rest occupied by the imposing offices of the Prudential Assurance Company and surrounded by the handsome streets and palatial buildings of modern Bradford.

Let us imagine and try to restore for a moment the scene which presented itself to the eye on that July morning in 1766.

The Inn itself probably existed as we knew it, a three storied stone building of plain and substantial appearance at the foot of the steep hill of Ivegate, one of the three or four main streets of the town and the main road to Bingley, the Aire Valley, and the North. The Inn looked to the South upon the bridge already and still known as Sun Bridge by which the road was carried across the Bradford Beck. On the other side stood the Town Prison, and away on the right the

Bowling Green Inn and the vacant area in front, beyond which the road passed into the Hall Ings or Meadows, and between fields dotted with farm houses and cottages which then divided Bradford from the neighbouring hamlet of Bowling. On the right of the Inn a lane led by the side of the Beck to the ancient Soke Mills, and on the South side of the Beck were the Tyrrels or Turles, open fields in which the Cockpit and the Bowling Green supplied the inhabitants with recreation and excitement. The Ducking Stool, the Bull Ring, and the Pillory still existed, and men and women were still flogged at the Cart's Tail. The Sun Inn must often have profited from the concourse and excitement caused by the spectacles thus afforded. On the left of the Inn and on the other side of Ivegate were a few shops and dwellings divided from the Beck by a narrow lane. No factory chimney as yet belched forth its filthy volume of dense and sooty smoke to obscure the sunny sky, and the bubbling of the stream, still pure and unpolluted, mingled pleasantly with the cawing of the rooks in the great rookery which then occupied the site of the present Bradford Exchange.

The meeting was summoned, as we have seen, for the early hour of ten a.m., and the roads being bad and wheeled vehicles scarce, the nobility, gentry, and clergy who attended, would doubtless arrive, when they came from any distance, on horseback. Mr. Lecky has told us that the space of two long lives is sufficient to bridge the chasm that separates us from a society that would appear as strange to our eyes as the figures of a fancy ball, and like these unfamiliar forms would seem to us now the picturesque cavalcade which came that morning galloping over the Sun Bridge or riding slowly and cautiously down the steep rugged street of Ivegate, those old Yorkshire and Lancashire merchants, gentlemen, and yeomen, in their wigs, their quaint hats (much more sightly and comfortable, by the way, than the modern chimney pot), their heavy riding boots, and with their many coloured costumes shewing under their riding cloaks. We may imagine the stir and com-

motion aroused in Bradford that day by the arrival of so many important strangers at "the Sign of the Sun," where Mr. Hustler, clad in sober drab contrasting with the gay attire of the other gentlemen, doubtless awaited them.

The minutes of the meeting are preserved. They state that the object was to consider the proper means and ways to effect a navigation that will connect the East and West Seas, and communicate with the great ports and trading towns of Hull, Leeds, Wakefield, Bradford, Keighley, Skipton, Colne, Burnley, Clithero, Blackburn, Wigan, Liverpool, Preston and Lancaster.

The minute further states that after consideration of several plans "It is the opinion of this meeting that such a navigation is practicable, and will be of great utility to the trade of the kingdom in general, and particularly of the Counties of York and Lancaster. It is therefore resolved that a subscription be set on foot for raising money for defraying the expenses of making and completing the proper plans for effecting the said navigation and forming estimates of the expense attending the execution of such plans."

Mr. Richard Markham, merchant, Leeds, was to receive subscriptions, and those in Bradford were to be paid to Mr. William Thornton, who was a retired solicitor, then residing at Shipley Hall, and was, I believe, if not the founder of, at all events a predecessor in, the practice afterwards carried on by my own firm.

The meeting was adjourned to the 2nd August, and £129 was subscribed towards expenses; and the following is a list of the subscribers:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Jo. Buck and Son ..	5	5	0	Henry Wickham, Junr.	10	10	0
C. S. Booth ..	5	5	0	Edward Leedes ..	5	5	0
Wm. Stanhope..	10	10	0	Saml. Lister ..	5	5	0
Thos. & Hatton Wolrich	5	5	0	R. Markham ..	5	5	0
Wm. Wainman ..	5	5	0	John Whitaker ..	5	5	0
Edmund Lodge ..	5	5	0	Isaac Hollings ..	5	5	0
F. Fearnley ..	3	3	0	Richd. Richardson ..	10	10	0
Jno. Stanhope ..	10	10	0	Wm. Stanhope ..	5	5	0
Ric. Wilson ..	10	10	0	Will. Thornton ..	5	5	0
Benjn. Ferrand ..	10	10	0				

It is curious to note that the minute does not mention either Mr. Hustler or Mr. Longbottom as being present, though the latter was undoubtedly the author of one of the plans considered by the meeting, and I have a note by Mr. Hustler as to the list of subscriptions which shews that he was already an active promoter of the scheme.

Of the adjourned meeting on the 2nd August, 1766, I have no record, but a list of further subscriptions by 100 persons is added to the previous minute as subscribed on that day, Mr. Hustler subscribed £5 5s. 0d., and amongst the subscribers are many names of ancestors of present holders of stock in the Company, and many gentlemen afterwards prominently identified with it. The list clearly indicates the increasing interest which the proposals were exciting. Mr. John Day, mine host of the Sun, subscribed a guinea, which doubtless represented but a small discount off the numerous bowls of punch, tankards of ale, bottles of port, and other liquids, over which the merits and fortunes of the undertaking had been discussed under his roof, to say nothing of other sources of profit which the meetings had brought him.

On the 5th of August, 1766, three days after the meeting, Mr. Hustler addressed to the *Leeds Intelligencer* a long letter signed with his initials, stating the pleasure with which he contemplated the scheme, and describing the benefits which would ensue under seven heads.

There was, as before stated, a rival scheme for a canal from Sowerby Bridge to Manchester, in conjunction with the Calder and Hebble Navigations then recently authorised by Parliament and constructed, and accordingly in the same newspaper in September, 1766, there appeared a letter signed "J. T." criticising with great hostility Mr. Hustler's views.

The writer first expresses his approval of the rival scheme, and proceeds as follows:—

"But I can't help observing with concern, in several of your papers, advertisements proposing a junction of

the said two seas by making the River Aire navigable as far above Leeds as practicable, and carrying it on by canal to Preston, Lancaster, &c., at an expense so exorbitant that it will not be possible for all the freight that can ever accrue from such navigation to pay an adequate interest for, nor will the reader at all wonder at this assertion when he is told that on a moderate computation it is rated at £150,000.

“Supposing it practicable, indeed, to raise this enormous sum, which I don’t admit, and that there was a probability of making even a tenth part of the interest which the original proprietors of the Aire Navigation make at present, I will allow it might be some inducement to attempt such a work, but as probability in both respects seems greatly against it, and the above much more practicable scheme (which I hear is determined to be put into execution) being once effected, it will certainly render the proposed *Airy one* absolutely unnecessary if not entirely useless, for whatever goods or merchandise it may be needful to send from the East to the West Sea (and *vice versa*), may with equal propriety, more ease, and it’s presumed less expense, be conveyed by one or other of the intended navigations of Trent or Calder than by the proposed one to Lancaster, and that those two navigations when finished will be abundantly sufficient to convey all the goods that can possibly be wanted to and from the port of Hull to the West Sea, will scarce be controverted.

“How far then it may be consistent with prudence, even supposing it practicable, to attempt a third junction of the two seas from one and the same port is a point that ought to be very maturely weighed by every intended subscriber, as it requires no very extraordinary degree of sagacity to demonstrate that they cannot all succeed.

“Many other arguments might be urged to shew the inutility of such a scheme, supposing it practicable, and the absurdity of it considered in its present light, was not what is already offered abundantly sufficient to

convince all noblemen, gentlemen, merchants, &c., that this proposed navigation of near 150 miles in length, to be executed at the expense of £150,000 or £200,000, is in every sense of the word a most extravagant project."

This gentleman's notion of the extravagance of an expenditure of £150,000 to £200,000 upon 150 miles of canal, sounds strange in an age when a confiding public provide millions to carry on the manufacture of india rubber wheel tires, or the production and sale of the article now advertised as Bovril.

After the holding of the Bradford meetings, Mr. Longbottom appears to have proceeded with his survey and estimate, though the minutes do not disclose any instructions to him to do so.

On Tuesday, 29th December, 1767, an advertisement appeared in the *Leeds Intelligencer* and other papers, stating that some further progress had been made in surveying the Rivers Aire and Ribble and the grounds adjoining thereto, with a view to a plan and estimate of the proposed navigation, and a meeting is then called of all the gentlemen who have already encouraged or are desirous to encourage this public-spirited undertaking, to be held at "The Sun" on 7th January, 1768.

At that meeting Mr. Longbottom attended, his plan and estimates were considered, and the scheme was approved. He proposed a line of canal which followed closely the line of the Aire to Gargrave, then diverged across the Aire Valley to the west, crossed the hills into Lancashire at Foulridge and proceeded by the Ribble Valley to Ormskirk and Liverpool. A Committee consisting of the following Yorkshire gentlemen was appointed:—

Richd. Wainman, Esq.
Henry Wickham, Esq.
Jno. Stanhope, Esq.
Richard Wilson, Esq.
Mr. John Hustler.
Dan. Roundell, Esq.
Josh. Morley, Esq.

Benjamin Ferrand, Esq.
Saml. Lister, Esq.
Mr. Richard Markham.
Willm. Thornton, Esq.
Walter Stanhope, Esq.
Richd. Richardson, Esq.
Mr. Isc. Hollings.

They were to meet with a like Committee to be appointed in Lancashire, and the joint committees were to pay Mr. Longbottom for his survey and estimate, and to call on Mr. Smeaton or Mr. Brindley to report upon it as soon as possible with a view to an application to Parliament. Mr. Markham and Mr. Hustler were appointed treasurers, but the former was soon removed, and Mr. Hustler became the sole treasurer in Yorkshire, and subsequently the general treasurer of the undertaking.

The Yorkshire Committee again met at "The Sun" on the 25th February, 1768, and resolved that no more subscriptions should be collected until the Lancashire gentlemen had paid as much as had been subscribed in Yorkshire. This was the first indication of several subsequent differences between the Yorkshire and Lancashire promoters.

Of the formation and earlier proceedings of the Liverpool Committee I have no minutes, but either on their suggestion or that of the Yorkshire gentlemen, the Liverpool Corporation had been applied to for assistance, and on the 4th November, 1767, that Corporation had agreed to subscribe £200 towards Parliamentary expenses, and the order states that a copy was to be given to Mr. Longbottom the surveyor. On the 6th July, 1768, the Corporation further agreed to contribute £50 towards a re-survey, and recommended the employment of Mr. Brindley.

On the 14th July, 1768, the Yorkshire Committee resolved to request Mr. Brindley to make a survey and estimate, to consider the survey already made, and to report, and Mr. Hustler was instructed to apply to Mr. Brindley with all convenient speed. I have Mr. Hustler's note of the information and instructions which he proposed to give to Brindley, and which were shortly that he must examine and report on Longbottom's scheme, and Mr. Hustler also makes a memorandum that he must sound Brindley about the size of the canal.

That extraordinary man who was now fully recog-

nised as the greatest authority on all matters connected with canals, was busily engaged at this time in the construction of the Bridgewater Canal to Runcorn, and in surveying for and advising upon numerous other schemes. He appears to have taken up the matter and to have lost no time.

By an advertisement in the *Leeds Intelligencer* on the 4th October, 1768, it was stated that Mr. Brindley had viewed the difficult parts and examined Mr. Longbottom's plans, and had given an opinion that it was a very practicable scheme, and a meeting was therefore called at the "New Inn" in Leeds, of those desirous of promoting it, which was duly held and at which a number of gentlemen were added to the committee.

Mr. Abraham Balme and Mr. Hustler were appointed to attend Brindley, and also to arrange with the Lancashire Committee for payment of their share of expenses, and to arrange also for a joint meeting of both committees.

Mr. Balme had only subscribed the modest sum of 10s. 6d. towards the survey, but from this time he was a most active and energetic promoter of the scheme and member of the company, and I need not remind my Bradford readers that he was a prominent inhabitant of Bradford who is commemorated to us to-day by Flaxman's fine monument in the Parish Church.

On November 15th, 1768, the following paragraph appeared in the *York Courant*.

"Since our last were imported at Liverpool from Ireland: 491 firkins and 88 casks of butter, 6 tierces and 21 barrels of beef, 20 barrels of pork, 64 hogsheds of tallow, and 1539 cow hides.

"It must give pleasure to every public spirited gentleman and all lovers of their country, that we are authorised to inform that Mr. Brindley has undertaken the re-survey of the canal proposed to be made betwixt Leeds and Liverpool, and is now actually at work upon it, and having examined the most difficult parts of it is of opinion that it is very practicable, and proposes to

finish the survey and make report to a general meeting of the gentlemen of the Counties of York and Lancaster towards the end of this month, and that there is no doubt of application being made to Parliament the ensuing session for leave and power to carry it into execution."

The connection between the firkins of butter, barrels of beef, and cow hides, and Mr. Brindley's survey is not perhaps apparent at first sight, but it is probably intended by the writer to suggest the facilities which the proposed canal would afford for distributing the imports of Liverpool amongst the growing populations of Lancashire and the West Riding.

Brindley's report was ready by the end of the month, and we can imagine the practical nature of his criticisms and the homely language and doubtful orthography in which they would be embodied. His numerous engagements made it difficult or impossible for him to give personal attention to the examination of Longbottom's survey, and the work was left very much in the hands of an assistant, Mr. Robert Whitworth. This gentleman, like Longbottom, had taken up with zeal the new gospel of inland navigation. He had published a book to advocate its advantages in 1766, in which he had proposed that "no main trunk of a canal should be carried nearer than within four miles of any great manufacturing and trading town, which distance from the canal would be sufficient to maintain the same number of carriers and to employ almost the same number of horses as before!!"

Years afterwards Mr. Whitworth became the Engineer of the Leeds and Liverpool Company, and it was from his designs and under his supervision that the central portion of their canal was ultimately constructed.

On the 5th December, 1768, a general meeting was held at the Sun Inn, Bradford, to receive and consider Mr. Brindley's report and estimate. He reported favourably of Longbottom's plans, and estimated that for the distance between Leeds and Liverpool, 108½

miles in length, a canal 42 feet wide at the top and 5 feet deep could be completed for £259,777, and would require 10 acres of land per mile. Of these figures one-fourth of the whole expense was required for lockage. Taking the interest on capital at 5%, and estimating repairs and expenses at £4,000 a year, an income of £17,000 was required, and Brindley estimated that the tonnage would produce £20,000 a year gross, thus shewing a handsome return to the investing public.

Of the accuracy of the forecast thus put forward I will at present say nothing. The data upon which it was possible to found an opinion were scanty and imperfect, and many of the calculations must have been purely speculative. The only canal which was at this time really open for its entire length was the Bridgewater Canal, from Worsley to Manchester, 10 miles in length, and principally used by the noble owner himself for conveying coals from his own collieries to Manchester.

The meeting resolved that the canal would be of great public utility, and that it would be proper to apply to Parliament for power to complete the same, and a deputation consisting of Colonel Wickham, Mr. Roundell, Mr. Hustler and others, were appointed to attend a general meeting at Liverpool on the following Friday, and arrangements were also to be made for a general meeting of the gentlemen of both counties.

The frugal treasurer notes in the accounts the expenditure of 8/8 upon James Brindley's expenses at Bradford, and of a further sum of 8/- as expended upon the same occasion upon Longbottom and Brindley. These figures indicate some mild amount of joviality, seeing that Brindley's ordinary scale of expenses was based upon the magnificent allowance of 2/6 to 3/6 per day, which he received from the Duke of Bridgewater whilst engaged in designing and constructing the Bridgewater Canals.

A meeting was held at the "Golden Lion" in Liverpool on the 9th of December, and attended by the

Bradford deputation, when similar resolutions were passed, and a committee appointed to meet the Yorkshire gentlemen on the 19th December at Burnley. The resolutions were signed by a number of Liverpool gentlemen, including the mayor, and were confirmed at a public meeting called by him and held at the Liverpool Exchange. In this delightful state of unanimity the two Committees met at Burnley on the 19th December, 1768, and decided that the matter was ripe for an immediate application to Parliament for similar powers to those granted by the recent Canal Acts. The capital was to be £260,000 in £100 shares, interest on capital was to be paid during the construction of the canal at the rate of 5 % per annum, Mr. William Tomkinson was appointed solicitor for obtaining the act; and Mr. John Hollingshead, of Liverpool, and Mr. Henry Ecroyd, of Edge End, Colne, were to attend upon the various landowners and endeavour to obtain their support.

Mr. Tomkinson had acted as solicitor for the Duke of Bridgwater on the application to Parliament for the Bridgwater Canal Acts. He had been successful in carrying the bill for the extension to Runcorn and Liverpool in the face of a very vigorous opposition during which he had himself been in the witness box for 4½ hours, an achievement which probably led the promoters of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal to desire to retain his services. The treasurer's accounts do not shew any payment to him, nor does his name afterwards appear; I do not think it likely therefore that he accepted the position which he was desired to undertake.

An advertisement was immediately issued calling general public meetings at Bradford and Liverpool, both on the 9th of January, 1769, stating the proposed arrangements for the formation of the Company, and that subscription lists would be opened at the meetings. These meetings were duly held and appear to have been numerously attended. The resolutions again set

out the general details of the scheme, an influential committee was appointed, and they were signed by numerous subscribers. Lord Thanet, a great Craven landowner and the owner of Skipton Castle, headed the list for ten shares, and the names of the principal landowners, the merchants of Liverpool, Leeds and Bradford, and many leading members of the Society of Friends, Birkbecks, Ecroyds, Gurneys, Wakefields, and many others, appear in the list.

A Bill was prepared and duly lodged in Parliament, and the Corporation of Liverpool petitioned the House in favour of it. The promoters, however, soon discovered that they could not hope to get the Bill through in the Session of 1769 for lack of time to complete their arrangements. The Bill was therefore withdrawn, with the intention of re-introducing it in the Session of 1770, and it was decided to make use of the time for a further survey of the route by Longbottom and Brindley. In the meantime, subscriptions were invited and agents appointed to receive them in York, Leeds, Hull, Bradford, Otley, Wakefield, Keighley, Skipton, Settle, Doncaster, Sheffield, and Pontefract. Similar arrangements were no doubt made in Liverpool, but I have not found any minute of them, and by February, 1769, £150,000 had been subscribed.

At a meeting of the committee held at the "Sun Inn" on the 8th of May, 1769, Mr. John Eagle, of Bradford, solicitor, was appointed Clerk to the Company. Mr. Eagle was, I believe, a gentleman in good practice as a solicitor at Bradford. He seems to have conducted the legal business of the Company with great ability and energy for some years, but in April, 1782, he found it necessary to resign, and was succeeded by Mr. John Hardy, afterwards one of the founders of the Low Moor Company, and the grandfather of the present Earl of Cranbrook.

The earliest minute I have of the proceedings of the Liverpool subscribers is dated 24th July, 1769, when they appointed a committee to meet weekly at the

house of Mr. James Hollinshead who was appointed chairman. Down to this point there seems to have been perfect harmony between the gentlemen of York and Lancaster; but now a notable contest, a bloodless War of the Roses, was to arise. This was a serious difference between the two committees which threatened to be fatal to the scheme and which required all the energy and tact of Mr. Hustler and his committee to deal with.

The Yorkshire people regarded the undertaking as connecting the two Seas, and especially as affording access from Yorkshire to Liverpool. They considered that it was better for the Lancashire towns to be connected with the main line by branches, and for a long distance in Lancashire the canal was to follow the Valley of the Ribble and to approach within a short distance of Preston. The Lancashire gentlemen on the other hand desired a much more southerly course, which, though longer and more costly, would take the canal through or close to many large Lancashire towns.

A fierce controversy arose at once on the subject; the first indication of the storm appears at a meeting of the Yorkshire committee on the 14th June, 1769, when Mr. Longbottom was ordered to take the following letter to Mr. Brindley:—

“ Sir,

Some of the Lancashire Gentlemen being very warm for almost an entire alteration of the Line of the proposed Canal through that County (the circumstances of which the Bearer, Mr. John Longbottom, will explain), we earnestly desire you will as expeditiously as possible settle with him the proper means of satisfying them how far it is eligible by a view of it or otherwise as you shall see necessary.

JOHN HUSTLER, THOMAS HARDCASTLE,
JOHN BUCK, ISAAC HOLLINGS,
THOMAS CROSLY.”

It appears that at this time the Liverpool committee had employed Mr. John Ives and Mr. Richard Melling to survey the country, and they had recommended a considerable alteration of Mr. Longbottom's route in Lanca-

shire. The Yorkshire subscribers employed Mr. Whitworth to report upon the Liverpool scheme, and he reported on 13th July, 1769, that Messrs. Ives & Melling were near 49 feet wrong in their levels between Burnley and Rishton. "It is worth considering," wrote Mr. Hustler upon this, "the impropriety of employing people so incapable of the undertaking, or placing the least dependance upon their reports."

On the 24th July, 1769, the Liverpool committee ordered Mr. Burdett, a local surveyor or engineer, to survey the country between Colne and Liverpool, apparently with reference to the proposed deviation, but at a meeting of the Yorkshire committee held at Bradford on the same day, it was resolved that the proposals of the Liverpool committee could not be admitted, on the grounds that the line they proposed was longer and more costly, and that the subscriptions had been obtained for the original line, and accordingly Mr. Balme and Mr. Hustler were directed to go to Liverpool and endeavour to persuade the committee there to abandon their desire for a deviation. The Liverpool Committee, however, do not appear to have been at all disposed so to do, and they made further suggestions for a branch to Runcorn and a bridge over the Mersey as part of their scheme.

Mr. Hustler was perturbed by the unlooked for split in the camp, and the references to it in his notes are numerous. A meeting of the Liverpool subscribers was called to meet Mr. Hustler and Mr. Balme on the 6th of September, 1769, and I find a note from Mr. Balme to Mr. Hustler, which appears to me to refer to their journey on this occasion, and which is as follows:—

"Tuesday night 9 o'clock.

Dear Sir,

As the night is so bad I cannot think it prudent to go into Lancashire so early as we proposed, and as there is no absolute necessity will it not be better to putt our journey off untill Friday, perhaps the weather may be more favourable.

I will endeavour to see you to-morrow; I hope your family are all well, and am your obliged, &c.

ARM. BALME."

On the back of this note is the following memorandum in Mr. Hustler's handwriting:—

“NOTE.—If the present projected canals are carried into execution, a gentleman may travell 1500 miles in his pleasure boat with his family and visit ten capital cities and thirty-five principal towns of England nearly as cheap as he can live at home.”

He appends the names of the cities and towns which may thus be visited, and this list is not without interest. It fixes the date of the letter as 1769, for the Oxford Canal was not authorised until that year, and Oxford is included in the list. It shews also that Mr. Hustler was familiar with what had up to that time been done by Parliament and the public in regard to canal schemes, and it reminds us how soon these advantages were appreciated and how rapidly their construction was then going forward.

The Duke of Bridgwater's first canal, from Worsley to Manchester, was opened in 1761, the extension to Runcorn had been constructed and opened for traffic to that place in 1767, but the lockage into the Mersey was not completed and opened until the last day of 1772. The total length of the Duke's canals was only about 34 miles, and yet by 1769 canals representing a total length of 280 miles, all laid out and engineered by Brindley, had been authorised by Parliament and were in process of construction. They were as follows:— In 1766 the Trent and Mersey or Grand Trunk Canal and the Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal; in 1768 the Coventry, Birmingham and Droitwich Canals; and in 1769 the Oxford Canal. The longest of these, the Trent and Mersey, was 88 miles in length, the Oxford 52, the others much shorter. The Leeds and Liverpool Canal was therefore, if not the most important or costly, at all events the longest canal which had yet been brought before the public.

I must now return to Mr. Hustler and Mr. Balme and their journey into Lancashire to endeavour to cool the warmth of the Lancashire gentlemen for the diversion of Longbottom's proposed line of canal.

That they would succeed in making the journey from Bradford to Liverpool in a day is hardly likely, for a stage coach between Liverpool and Manchester was not started until 1767, ran only three times a week, required six and sometimes eight horses, and the passengers breakfasted at Prescott, dined at Warrington, and arrived in Manchester in time for supper.

The two gentlemen would no doubt make their journey on horse-back or by post-chaise, by Halifax and Rochdale, and they probably crossed the lofty ridge of Blackstone Edge, and spent the night in Manchester or Rochdale. They, however, appear to have performed the journey in safety, and they attended the meeting at Liverpool on the 6th of September, when it was unanimously resolved that the following proposals should be made to the Yorkshire Committee:—

“1st. That the Lancashire subscribers should appoint a committee to manage the canal in Lancashire, and the Yorkshire Committee should do the same in Yorkshire; 2nd. That all expenses should be paid out of the subscriptions;” and the proposals closed with a somewhat peremptory statement that a direct answer was required from the Yorkshire Committee to these proposals.

Mr. Hustler appears to have remained several days in Liverpool, and to have made alternative proposals: “That the surveyors employed by the Lancashire subscribers should complete their survey and plan. That Mr. Brindley should afterwards re-survey both lines, and a general meeting should then determine which line was most eligible.”

The Liverpool Committee on the 11th September, 1769, appear to have accepted these suggestions and to have withdrawn their own proposals.

Mr. Hustler's action was endorsed by the Yorkshire Committee, and a general meeting was called to be held in November at the “Black Bull” in Burnley to settle the matter. The meeting was afterwards postponed to 11th December, as Mr. Brindley was

unable to be ready with his report by the earlier date, and in the meantime Mr. Hustler addressed a letter to the Liverpool papers on the subject. The draft of this letter he sent with Quaker shrewdness to his respected friend I. Tarlton, one of the Liverpool Committee, and an Alderman of Liverpool, and he wrote to him as follows:—

“I have sent thee on the other half-sheet some queries which, after thou hast corrected and adopted to thy own better judgment, I could wish thou would employ some trusty friend to get published in one of your papers that is most circulated. I think something of this kind may rouse some of your gentlemen out of their dream of their own great consequence, &c., after it has passed under my friend I. Tarlton's improvement, as I am persuaded no other person knows the people so well nor is so capable if he will set about it of turning the tables upon them.”

Whether the queries on the other half-sheet ever appeared in the papers I do not know. Mr. Hustler put the position in a series of paragraphs. He urged the great benefit of the undertaking, the folly and injury to Liverpool of the dissolution of the association who had agreed to find £260,000, the increased expense of the alternative scheme, and proceeded:—

“Is there not reason to suspect that some artful concealed enemies to this canal are underhand playing with the weakness of a few busy persons and furnishing them with specious pretences of having the public interest in view in their promoting and pursuing a glaring self-interest, and that intoxicated with the glittering but fallacious prospect they are made the weak tools of a deep laid scheme to break the association and destroy this noble and beneficial undertaking.”

All Mr. Hustler's powers of persuasion, however, seem to have been unavailing, for on the 4th December, 1769, a meeting of the Liverpool subscribers was held at the Golden Lion to receive and consider Mr. Burdett's report and to pass resolutions thereon

previous to the Burnley Meeting. The meeting seems to have ignored or disregarded the arrangement that the Burnley meeting was to decide the matter after hearing Mr. Brindley's report upon both the rival schemes. They resolved that "it be signified to the gentlemen subscribers and members of the committee in Yorkshire at the Burnley meeting that the Liverpool subscribers could not approve of Mr. Longbottom's line of canal, having considered the impossibility that a committee of gentlemen in Yorkshire, be they ever so attentive, should be able to carry into execution a line of canal of such an extent, and likewise being apprehensive that two committees might be impeded by difference of opinion."

They further resolved to propose what had practically been already proposed and afterwards withdrawn, namely, that the Liverpool subscribers should complete and manage the canal on the Lancashire side, and they concluded their resolutions by stating that "in that case, as from a separation of property the conducting of all matters relating to the different canals will not admit of the least occasion of controversy, so they counted themselves extremely happy in an expedient which had such an apparent tendency to cultivate and preserve that sociable intercourse and friendship which they desired might subsist between them and the Yorkshire gentlemen." These smooth and civil phrases were, however, somewhat marred by the final paragraph which stated "and this is to be understood as a total dissolution of all connections and a withdrawing of our subscriptions." Then follow no less than eighty-two signatures, which must, I think, have represented a considerable proportion of the subscribers in Lancashire, and which included Mr. Hollingshead, their chairman and treasurer.

These resolutions did not indicate much likelihood of unanimity at the Burnley meeting, and the Black Bull, no doubt, presented a scene of unusual animation on that winter morning, 11th December, 1769, when a

general assembly of all the subscribers in both counties met to receive Mr. Brindley's report and decide the momentous question. Mr. Brindley attended the meeting and produced his report and estimate. In his opinion Mr. Longbottom's line, $66\frac{1}{4}$ miles in length, would cost £174,324, and Mr. Burdett's line, 83 miles in length, according to Whitworth's figures would cost £240,881. Upon this, no doubt, a warm discussion followed, but a majority of the meeting ultimately adopted Mr. Longbottom's line as cheaper and shorter. It was further resolved to apply forthwith to Parliament, and the care and conduct of the bill was left to a committee of thirty-four gentlemen appointed by the meeting. The Liverpool subscribers at once handed in a copy of their resolutions withdrawing their subscriptions, the effect of which has already been stated.

The only entry in the treasurer's account on the date of this meeting is as follows:—"Brindley's dinner at Burnley, postages, &c., $7\frac{1}{4}$." At the rate of postage then charged, I fear that the cost of the dinner must have been very small.

The committee appointed at Burnley had no time to lose, and they seem to have wasted none, for they met only five days afterwards, namely, on 16th December, 1769, at Skipton, when the petition for the bill was read and agreed to, a deputation was appointed to ascertain the sentiments of the Corporation of Liverpool and to negotiate with the Lancashire subscribers, and numerous arrangements were made to facilitate the application to Parliament. It was also resolved to advertise the resolutions of the Burnley meeting and to ask for further subscriptions. Richard Wilson, Esq., then Recorder of Leeds; Mr. Sergeant Aspinall; Matthew Wilson, Esq., of Eshton Hall; John Clayton, Esq., of Carr Hall, Colne; Mr. Hustler and Mr. Balme were requested to attend in London and promote the bill.

A further committee meeting was held at Leeds, 10th January, 1770, when some of the Liverpool sub-

scribers, including Mr Hollingshead, offered to withdraw their objections if the Company undertook to construct the Liverpool end of the canal with the same expedition as the Yorkshire end, and this undertaking was at once given. William Wainman and Thomas Wilson, Esqrs., were added to the Parliamentary Committee of the Company, and the meeting adjourned "to the house of Widow Holbury, the Sign of the Star and Garter, at Kirkstall Bridge."

Thus the controversy appeared to be ended, and power to construct the canal as laid out by Longbottom and sanctioned by Brindley, was inserted in the bill and granted by the act, but, alas for the vanity of human wishes and the fallibility of human foresight, the northern line was never constructed, and in 1790 and 1794 Acts were obtained to abandon it and to substitute Burdett's line in which the canal as it exists to-day was ultimately constructed.

Mr. Hustler prepared and published "a summary view of the proposed canal from Leeds to Liverpool, and of its importance to the public," with a view of exciting the public interest in the scheme and of obtaining further subscriptions. The original draft is in my possession and seems to have been prepared in 1769, shortly after the meetings at Bradford and Liverpool in December, 1768, and from a postscript I gather that the publication was postponed owing to the withdrawal of the bill in 1769. The pamphlet seems to have been issued during the heat of the controversy, as the postscript sets forth very strongly Mr. Hustler's reasons for promoting the more northerly route.

In the light of a century's experience it is interesting to read the arguments by which the great undertaking was justified and to note the brilliant anticipations entertained by Mr. Hustler for the future. He begins by stating that a navigation between the east and west seas by the Rivers Aire and Ribble has for many years been practicable and desirable, but that public attention has been ineffectually called to it until about

three years before when the success of the Bridgewater Canals encouraged Longbottom to survey the country.

He then briefly states the development of the project and that Brindley estimated the expense of a canal from Leeds to Liverpool, $108\frac{3}{4}$ miles in length, 42 feet wide at the top, 27 feet at the bottom, and 5 feet deep, at £259,777, the interest at 5 % being £13,000, the estimated expenses of management, repairs, &c., £4,000, together £17,000, and the tonnage as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Limestone and stone at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ton			
per mile	8500	0	0
Coals at 1d.	3500	0	0
Lead, iron, deals, timbers, hemp, flax, hambro, yarn, wool, woollens, linen, and cutlery goods of all kinds, groceries, dye wares, mahogany, salt, Burslem ware, wine, spirits, corn, butter, cheese, Irish yarn, alum, &c., at $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. ...	8000	0	0
Together	£20000	0	0

He further states that as compared with land carriage the tonnage would only amount on merchandise to $\frac{1}{8}$ th, coals $\frac{1}{8}$ th, limestone $\frac{1}{12}$ th: an estimated saving after payment of freight of £210,000 a year. He points out the advantages of the canal in regard to the inexhaustible supplies of lime-stone and stone on the east and coal on the west, and works out figures shewing that the quantities likely to be carried fully justify Brindley's estimate. He then expatiates with some eloquence on the general aspects of the scheme, and his views are sufficiently interesting to be worth reproducing.

“We come now to consider it,” says he, “in a still more interesting view, viz., the great encouragement it will give to trades, population and improvement. In which view it will always have been a desirable thing, but in this age, when the neighbouring counties are

pushing these most beneficial works into execution, it is become indispensably necessary in our own defence. All experience teaches that nothing contributes more to the encouragement of trade and manufactures than the ease of conducting it, and the facility of conveying the manufactures to market together, with an uniform plenty of subsistence, all of which the canal will most certainly produce in the country within its influence. Six covered or decked boats might be built like the Duke of Bridgewater's, divided into three or four convenient rooms for passengers and merchandise, one of which might set out from Leeds and Liverpool every day at a stated hour, and making a short stay at proper places on its way to take in and discharge passengers and goods at fixed times also, would furnish the whole country with a cheap, safe, and expeditious conveyance of passengers and merchandise from one place to another, and would be an inconceivable ease and saving to the country as well as support of the canal; and merchandise from Leeds to Liverpool for exportation, which is often three weeks or more in conveying by land at the expense of £4 10s. a ton, and subject to damage, would be carried by these boats in the utmost safety in three days at the expense of 16/- a ton, by which many disagreeable disappointments would be prevented, and liquors and perishable goods of all kinds conveyed back to Leeds and all the intermediate country in one bottom, which would effectually prevent pilfering and any other loss or damage which could not well happen under these circumstances, which clearly shews the advantage a canal, being subject to no fluctuation from floods or droughts, has over the river navigations which are mostly slow and always uncertain. And nothing contributes," he continues, "so much to population as plenty of work and plenty of wholesome meat, which will evidently be the consequence of the facility with which trade and manufactures will be conducted, and corn and provisions of all kinds introduced by the canal; and if it is true, as is often asserted, that one

waggon horse destroys the produce of as much land as under proper cultivation would subsist ten people, what room and encouragement must it be to population when this country is delivered from an enormous load of these devouring animals, and oxen for the plough introduced in their stead producing beef for our support, and leather, horn and hoofs for our manufactures."

Mr. Hustler then points out that owing to cheap conveyance no article for consumption or use would be a drug in one part and scarce and dear in another, as is now, he asserts, often the case in corn, potatoes, apples, hay, straw, and other bulky and heavy articles, together with other arguments which I will not repeat.

He adds as a postscript that about £200,000 had been subscribed, that a bill had been deposited which it had been found necessary to withdraw for want of time, and which would be reintroduced in the ensuing session. Mr. Hustler then alludes to the deviation suggested by the Liverpool subscribers, and states at great length the reasons for adhering to Longbottom's line of canal.

Of the progress of the bill in Parliament I have not much information beyond what is afforded by the accounts kept by the treasurer. A plan of the proposed works and book of reference was lodged, but the plan was on a very minute scale and the track of the canal was indicated only by a black line. The book of reference contained the names of the landowners and the area required from each. I have the draft of the petition for the bill which is interesting as being in the handwriting of Mr. John Hardy, who was probably a clerk with Mr. Eagle whom he afterwards succeeded. The Act as passed contains numerous clauses for the protection of different persons and firms, and there were probably therefore some opponents in Parliament, but the opposition was not, I think, serious.

I have a copy of one petition against the bill by the Proprietors of the Douglas Navigation, Mr. Alexander Leigh and others. This undertaking had so great an influence upon the fortunes of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, with which it is now united, that some

explanation in regard to it is necessary. The small River Douglas rises among the range of hills to the north of Wigan, the principal of which is known as Rivington Pike. It flows southward to Wigan where it turns to the north-west and enters the estuary of the Ribble a short distance below Preston. In the sixth year of the reign of George I (1720), an Act had been obtained for making this stream navigable from Wigan to the Ribble as an outlet for the Wigan coal to Preston and the sea, a toll being authorised of 2/6 a ton. That this Act was not obtained without some opposition I have discovered from a short printed statement of certain reasons against it which seems to have been distributed amongst members of the House of Commons to induce them to oppose the bill.

The reasons alleged against the Bill are curious and interesting. It is stated that making the river navigable will infallibly destroy several thousand acres of rich meadow land worth from 50/- to £5 an acre, which if the bill be passed will not be worth 15/- or 20/- per acre, the acre referred to being no doubt a Cheshire or customary acre of 10,240 yards. That consequently it will lessen if not entirely put an end to the breeding of those great numbers of large cattle which those parts were remarkable for, and from which the southern markets were plentifully supplied, because if those meadows were ruined there would be very little hay in that part of the country for winter fodder. These direful consequences as the result of rendering a small stream straighter, deeper, and navigable for small craft appear somewhat imaginary. The House of Commons seems to have thought so, for the Bill was passed.

The channel was narrow, shallow and circuitous, but the undertaking had a certain amount of success. The river carried barges of about twenty tons burden from Wigan to Tarlton and the Ribble, and moreover larger vessels could at high tide get up to Tarlton Lock, where they could be loaded with coals for ports on the west coast, and for Dublin, Drogheda, and other Irish ports.

The line of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal crossed the Douglas at Newbrough. The undertakers of the Douglas were few in number, holding thirty-six shares all told, and they do not seem to have regarded the proposed canal with any hostility, inasmuch as Mr. Holt Leigh, of Wigan, a solicitor there, who was closely connected with them, and a son of Mr. Alexander Leigh, received subscriptions in Wigan towards the new undertaking. They, however, presented a petition against the Bill, alleging that the aqueduct carrying the Leeds and Liverpool Canal across the Douglas would prevent the use of masts and cause other inconveniences. Their opposition was, however, arranged, and the Act provided for their protection that a communication might be made between the navigation and the canal, for the use of which the undertakers might charge tolls, and it also prohibited the Canal Company from taking the waters of the Douglas for the supply of the canal.

By the month of May, 1770, the Bill had passed both Houses, and the side lights thrown upon the proceedings by the treasurer's account are not without interest and amusement. The party seem to have been occupied in London, no doubt, with occasional journeys to the north from the middle of February to the beginning of May, and I find during this period about a dozen payments to a Mr. Vincent Eyre for house-keeping for agents, amounting to £75 9s. 3d. Who this gentleman was I am unable to discover, but the agents were probably residing in apartments belonging to him. During the same period the landlady for money laid down, &c., received £36 17s. 6d.; but the maid for her attendance and money laid down by her received only £1 15s. 0d., so that the maid seems to have been rather shabbily treated.

The agents would, I presume, be Mr. Eagle, the clerk, and his staff, and the surveyors and their assistants. They do not seem to have dined in their apartments, for there are thirteen payments between 23rd February and 4th May amounting to £25 2s. 7d.,

for agents' dinners, the total payments under these heads being £139 4s. 4d.

By the middle of May the Act had been obtained (10 Geo. III. c. 114). It authorised the making of a canal from or near to Leeds Bridge to a certain place called The North Lady's Walk in Liverpool. The capital authorised was £260,000, in £100 shares, and £60,000 additional if required, and interest at 5 % per annum was to be paid on the capital called up until the works were completed.

Any of the subscribers named in the Act might withdraw at the first meeting, and the works were not to commence until £200,000 had been raised. The first meeting was to be held at the Black Horse Inn in Skipton, on 20th June, 1770, and the next at the Black Bull Inn in Burnley in the following August. A committee of management, twenty-three in number, was to be annually appointed, and there were of course numerous other provisions to which I need not specially refer. The total amount expended in surveys and preliminary expenses was £2,510 15s. 4d., the total costs of obtaining the Act were £2,217, and Brindley's charges, or at all events the total sum paid him, amounted to £445 6s. 3d.

The company obtained or assumed a coat of arms which quartered the Fleece of Leeds with the Liver of Liverpool, and which is technically described as follows: "Quarterly first and fourth azure, a fleece or, second and third azure, a liver sable, beaked and legged, gules: in the beak a bunch of seaweed vert, crest and anchor argent, sun-flowers or leaves and stalks vert, wreath of sun-flower foliage endorsing the arms vert." A scroll within the wreath bore the motto "*Ab ortu ad occasum.*"

The provisional committee met at the "Star and Garter" at Kirkstall on 23rd May, 1770, and finding that £200,000 had not been raised, issued advertisements for further subscriptions; Mr. Longbottom was ordered to report what parts of the canal should be first executed, and the committee adjourned to the "White Bear" at Crosshills.

The first meeting, or general assembly as it is quaintly styled in the Act, was held at the Black Horse Inn, Skipton, on the 20th June, 1770, as provided by the Act, and as the attendance was numerous the meeting immediately adjourned to Skipton Castle, where the names of the subscribers were read, and those who chose to withdraw gave notice to that effect. The amount subscribed after deducting the withdrawals was found to be £172,400. The following gentlemen were elected as the first committee of management:—

1. Jonathan Blundell, Liverpool, Esq.
2. Richard Wilson, Leeds, Esq.
3. Mr. Abraham Balme, Bradford, Gentleman.
4. Mr. John Hustler, Bradford, Merchant.
5. Henry Lutridge, Walton, near Preston, Esq.
6. Thomas Leach, Riddlesden, Esq.
7. Alexander Nowell, Read Hall, Esq.
8. Mr. Richard Ecroyd, Edge End, near Colne.
9. Mr. Peter Garforth, Skipton, Gentleman.
10. Walter Stanhope, Eccleshill, Esq.
11. Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, Bradford, Merchant.
12. Joseph Myers, Preston, Esq.
13. James Lomax, Clayton Hall, Esq.
14. Mr. Edward Brewer, White Birch.
15. Mr. John Hollingshead, Chorley, Gentleman.
16. Mr. Nathan Jowett, Clock House, Gentleman.
17. James Hollingshead, Liverpool, Esq.
18. Mr. John Halstead, Burnley, Merchant.
19. William Harrison, Orgreave, near Rotherham.
20. Col. Henry Wickham, Cottingley.
21. Mr. William Blakey, Keighley, Merchant.
22. Mr. William Chippendale, Skipton, Mercer.
23. John Clayton, Carr Hall, Esq.

The *York Courant* which seems to have taken great interest in the undertaking reported the meeting as follows, in its issue of 26th June, 1770:—

“ We hear from Skipton that on the 20th instant the first meeting of the Proprietors of the Canal Navigation from Leeds to Liverpool was held at the Black Horse there, pursuant to the late Act of Parliament, but on account of the great number of proprietors attending, the Meeting was immediately adjourned to the castle for the dispatch of business, where it was conducted

with great harmony. After deducting all the withdrawals from the subscriptions to this important undertaking—which by the Act the proprietors were allowed to make at the said meeting—the amount of the sum subscribed is £185,000. A committee of twenty-three gentlemen proprietors—whose influence, understanding, integrity, and zeal for the undertaking are well known—was chosen to put the Act in execution, in confidence of an immediate increase of the subscription to £200,000, the sum required by the Act. Though inland navigations have in general been deemed precarious undertakings, it is very remarkable that this canal meets with the universal approbation of persons of all denominations resident on its borders, and who best know the populous trading country through which it is to pass, insomuch that as we are credibly informed the admission to become a proprietor is now solicited as a favour.”

Thus it appears that no difficulty occurred in raising the capital, and when the committee met at Burnley on the 19th July, 1770, they found that the £200,000 required before the work could begin had been subscribed, and they at once proceeded with all speed to make the necessary arrangements. Brindley was appointed Chief Engineer at a salary of £400, and Longbottom, Clerk of Works, at the very modest salary of £160, which was to include travelling expenses.

It was determined, doubtless upon his recommendation, to begin three sections of the canal, namely:—From the Douglas to Liverpool, from Skipton to Bingley, and from Shipley to Leeds. The reasons which led to this determination were obvious. The two first sections were on the level without lockage. They were both long pools, twenty-eight and eighteen miles in length respectively. The last was more difficult and involved a descent from Shipley of 155 feet to the level of the river at Leeds, but when completed and in conjunction with the intended Bradford Canal it would afford a direct water-way between Leeds and Bradford, and connect Bradford with the Aire and

Calder Navigation. Mr. Hollingshead was appointed Treasurer in Lancashire and Mr. Hustler in Yorkshire, and a call of £5 a share was made.

We have now seen this great and beneficial undertaking, as it was fondly called by the promoters, initiated, promoted and authorised by Parliament. The modest capital of £260,000, about £2,600 a mile, was of course based upon Brindley's estimate of £259,777, and the Act contained no borrowing powers or power to raise further capital except an additional £60,000, but the lamb-like confidence of the promoters of the company in Brindley's figures was destined to be rudely shaken by the logic of events.

There is, however, a healthy honesty, a sincerity of conviction, and a public spirit mingled with private enterprise apparent throughout the proceedings which contrasts favorably with the arrangements under which joint stock enterprises are suggested, created and launched upon the public in the present day. No greedy promoter, no specious and misleading advertisements, no impecunious peers, baronets, and esquires hover round the earlier stages of the company's existence to attract for a bubble scheme the small resources of the too confiding investor, to dangle before him the prospect of impossible gains, and to land him finally in loss or ruin.

A considerable controversy had taken place prior to this time, into which I need not enter, as to the dimensions of the canal, a point of no small importance, and this question was finally settled by the committee at Burnley on 30th August, 1770. They resolved that it should be 27 feet wide and $4\frac{3}{4}$ feet deep.

The purchase of the land and the execution of the works now engaged the constant and arduous attention of the committee. The arrangements for the settlement between the landowners and the company of the price to be paid and compensation given were old fashioned and peculiar. Every gentleman in Lancashire and Yorkshire who was fortunate enough to possess £100 a year from land, was appointed and

might qualify and act as a commissioner, and the body thus appointed were to appoint a clerk and hold meetings at which they might exercise various powers in regard to the undertaking, and for the settlement of landowners' claims they were to act as a board of conciliation, fixing the price to be paid, with an appeal, if either party desired it, to a jury.

The second general assembly provided for by the Act was held at the Black Bull, at Burnley, on 31st August, 1770, and at that meeting Mr. Brindley intimated that his numerous other engagements prevented him from accepting the office of chief engineer. There can be no doubt that the labours which he had already undertaken, in regard to canal construction, were quite enough to engage all his energies, and in fact to overtax his powers. He died in 1772 at the age of 56 years. Mr. Longbottom was at once appointed in his place, and he agreed to accept the office, in addition to that of clerk of the works, leaving his salary to be fixed by the general assembly in September, 1771. He seems to have devoted himself more particularly to the Lancashire end of the canal, and on Wednesday, 7th November, 1770, as the *York Courant* "had the pleasure to acquaint the public," the Grand Canal from Leeds to Liverpool was begun near Halsall in Lancashire, and was intended to be carried on from Newborough to Liverpool with all expedition.

On November 16th, clerks were appointed at Liverpool and Leeds, each salary being fixed at £60, to include riding charges and rent. Mr. Joseph Priestley was appointed Accountant and Clerk of Works at a salary of £100, and the salary of Mr. Eagle, the Law Clerk, was fixed at £80, in addition to which he doubtless received legal charges for work done. An historical journal was ordered to be kept of the progress of the works.

The land required seems to have been purchased in Yorkshire without much difficulty and at reasonable rates. Many of the owners were proprietors of shares, and looked favorably upon the undertaking, and the

largest of them, Lord Thanet, and the families of Tempest, Roundell, Wilson, and Wainman, were active promoters of the scheme. Perhaps the best way of conveying an idea as to the course pursued in regard to the purchase of land and the settlement of compensation to landowners, is to refer to the report made by Mr. Peter Garforth, of Skipton, to a meeting of the committee held at Bradford, 24th January, 1771. Mr. Garforth and one or two other members of the committee had been appointed to negotiate with the Craven land owners, and he states very clearly what had been done since the last meeting of the committee.

The report is as follows:—

“ Saturday, 5th January, 1771, Mr. George Garforth, pursuant to Mr. Hustler’s order, waited on Mr. Jackson, of Farfield, relating to the cutting thro’ his land. Mr. Jackson gave, for answer that he durst refer the price of it to Mr. Recorder, Mr. Hustler, or any other honest man, and wished the proprietors good luck.

“ Monday, 7th January, agreeable to the order of last meeting, Mr. Garforth met Messrs. Leach & Blakey at Silsden, and have taken a house of John Smith, six months for 45/-, for the accommodating the diggers, and through the mediation of Mr. Heelis prevailed upon John Booth to let a bridge be thrown over the river for the same purpose the house was took. And William Robinson, the owner of the ground on the opposite side of the river, has consented that such bridge shall be fixed and the damage referred to Mr. Leach.

“ Tuesday 8th, Mr. Chippindale and Mr. Garforth met Messrs. Leach and Blakey at Kildwick, and desired Mr. Dehane to accept of 45/- per acre for the land near the church, and 20/- per acre for that at Farn Hill, and thirty-three years’ purchase, which Mr. Dehane refused; and also offered Mr. Redman 23/- per acre and thirty-five years’ purchase which he refused. Also waited on Messrs. Swire and Baldwin who said they would refer to commissioners. And then waited on Mr. Brown but only saw his wife, who told them

that her husband would not differ with the company about it. Mrs. Hargreaves referred her claim to Mr. Swire and he to A. Comes. They then proceeded to Bradley and waited on the freeholders there, who concluded to consider the business till Thursday that the committee met at the White Bear. Mr. Waddington and Mr. Chamberlain met to value the Duke's land, but the snow falling prevented it.

"Wednesday 9th and Thursday 10th January, Messrs. Stanhope, Garforth, Hustler, Leach, Blakey, and Jowett met at the White Bear to consider of such things as should be thought necessary for the commissioners viewing the lands. The Bradley land owners refused to agree for their lands but leave it to the commissioners.

"Friday, 11th January. The committee met at the White Bear to attend the commissioners. The weather was very unfavourable, so that the commissioners could not judge of the value of the lands; but in the evening of that day Mr. Swire on behalf of Miss Coates and Messrs. Baldwin, Phillips, Gill, Redman, Dehane, and Cryer entered into an agreement to refer the value of their land to Messrs. Chamberlain and Waddington.

"Saturday 12th. According to the adjournment of the commissioners, the committee met at Keighley, and the commissioners adjourned from thence to Bingley, where the landowners *was* desirous of giving the company all the trouble they could. The snow still continuing on the ground, the commissioners adjourned to the *Helm* Tree in Bingley on the 13th February next.

"Friday, 11th January, Mr. Swire offered the committee that he will take down the barn and accept of £45 and 6d. per yard for so much thereof and the garden belonging to Widow Hargreaves as should be wanted for the making of the said canal, which was verbally agreed."

It will be observed from the above report that the commissioners appointed by the Act were holding meetings for the purpose of exercising their functions. They had appointed Mr. Thomas Tindal their clerk,

and had advertised that they would meet at the White Bear, Cross Hills, on 11th January, 1771, and the Golden Fleece, Keighley, on the 12th, to fix a price on all such lands between Skipton and Bingley as were wanted for the canal and not already agreed for. In Lancashire similar negotiations were proceeding, mainly through the agency of Mr. Longbottom, and it appears by the minutes that at a meeting of the Lancashire Committee held at the Wheat Sheaf in Ormskirk, 1st February, 1771, present, Henry Lutwidge, Esq., Jonathan Blundell, Esq., James Hollingshead, Esq., Mr. John Halstead, and Mr. Richard Ecroyd, Mr. John Longbottom acquainted the committee that he had already contracted with several landowners at the rate of thirty years' purchase for their lands, which appears to have been the usual price given for lands in the neighbourhood. The committee resolved "that this committee approves of what Mr. Longbottom has done in purchasing as above and now orders him to proceed in purchasing other lands for the use of the said navigation betwixt Liverpool and Newbrough, but not to give any person more than thirty years' purchase without authority from another committee for so doing, and in case any person demand more, that he give information thereof to the said committee." At the same meeting it was further ordered "that Mr. Longbottom do build or contract for the building of six boats of such construction and dimensions as appear best adapted for carrying on the works upon the said navigation."

We will now return to Yorkshire and pursue the history of the dealings between the company and the hard-hearted landowners of Bingley who "was" desirous, as Mr. Garforth plaintively reports, of giving all the trouble they could. The commissioners, after several adjournments, met at the Elm Tree Inn, Bingley, on 20th March, 1771, and the committee of the company attended the meeting. The minutes of the committee tell the story very simply and graphically. The obstructive landowners seem to have been Edmund

Starkie, Esq., Mr. Abraham Broadley, Mr. Timothy Lister, Thomas Busfield, Esq., Solomon Fell, Esq., Mrs. Rhodes, Mr. Staveley, Lord Bingley, Benjamin Ferrand, Esq., The Rev. Mr. Smith, and the Trustees of Bingley School. The minutes state that "the commissioners for valuing the ground for the canal in the Parish of Bingley being met at the place above-mentioned, and no agreement being likely to be come to with the landowners, and the majority of the commissioners present being chiefly landowners on the line of the canal, and it being given out that an extravagant price would be fixed on such ground, it is ordered by this committee that notices be prepared in readiness in case such an extravagant price should be fixed by the commissioners, requiring a jury to inquire and assess the lands to be cut through. And in the evening of the same day the commissioners made a report of the value of such lands as they had gone through, and which appeared, and truly was a most extravagant price. And the said committee then ordered the notices to be delivered, and demanded a jury, which was accordingly done, but the commissioners not giving orders for such warrant, the committee then ordered a warrant to be prepared and offered to the commissioners, which Benjamin Ferrand, Esq., one of the commissioners then present, put in his pocket pretending it was not a proper one." The conduct of Mr. Ferrand on this occasion was certainly open to hostile criticism. He had qualified as a commissioner by taking the necessary oath at the Elm Tree Inn, Bingley, on 13th February, 1771, when the commissioners had adjourned to March 20th, and thus thought it proper to do so when the value of his own lands was one of the questions which the commissioners met to decide. He had previously been favorable to the scheme, had subscribed £10 10s. 0d. to the expense of the survey, and was a member of the committee appointed at Bradford in January, 1769. I do not find, however, that he subscribed for any shares, and he is certainly not named as a shareholder in the act. Be that as it

may, he thought it right as a commissioner to sit in judgment upon the assessment of compensation to himself and his neighbours, and that although the Act (s. 75) provided that no person should act as a commissioner where he was concerned in the matter in question. The minutes of the commissioners themselves shew that the commissioners present were Robert Arthington, Benjamin Dickinson, Joshua Hartley, Henry Waugh, Samuel Hutton, Johnson Atkinson, William Dixon, Roger Swire, Robert Stansfield, and Benjamin Ferrand, who had already qualified, and James Lister, John Smyth, Richard Clayton, Henry Hemingway, and John Cockshott, who qualified at the meeting. Mr. Peter Watkinson and Mr. Joseph Mason had previously qualified and had been objected to as interested, but the objection was now over-ruled and they were allowed to act in the matter in question. They viewed the lands and assessed the compensation as follows:—

Mr. Starkie from £76 to £86 per acre; Mr. Broadley £80 per acre; Mr. Timothy Lister £80 per acre; Mr. Busfield from £78 to £100 per acre; Mr. Fell from £25 to £80 per acre; Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Staveley from £80 to £90 per acre; Lord Bingley from £70 to £80 per acre; Mr. Ferrand from £90 to £160 per acre; Mr. Smith £140 per acre; Bingley School Trustees £140 per acre. These figures, as the minutes of the canal committee shew, excited their indignation and led them to demand a jury. The valuation was signed by Mr. Ferrand, Mr. Swire, Mr. Watkinson, Mr. Johnson Atkinson, Mr. Stansfield, Mr. Cockshott, Mr. Lister, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Dixon. In the cases of Mr. Broadley and Mr. Timothy Lister, the canal committee seem to have decided to accept the commissioner's valuation of £80 an acre, and then so far as they were concerned the matter ended. Mr. Ferrand was naturally well satisfied with his own valuation of his own compensation, and according to the minutes of the committee which I have already quoted, he treated the demand of a jury with scorn, put it in his pocket and

pretended that it was not proper. The commissioners adjourned and decided to take the opinion of counsel on the subject, and as counsel advised that the company were acting legally they very reluctantly issued a warrant to the Sheriff to summon a jury for the 22nd April, 1771, at the Queen's Head, Bingley.

By this time, no doubt, public interest had been excited in the conflict between the company and the landowners, and the attendance was so large that the accommodation afforded by the Queen's Head proved inadequate, and the commissioners for greater convenience adjourned to the Methodist Chapel. The landowners raised technical objections which were over-ruled, and the jury were sworn and the proceedings were adjourned again to the Queen's Head, when a shewer was appointed, after which the lands were viewed by the jury. The proceedings seem to have lasted two days, and to have been partly conducted at the Inn and partly at the chapel. The jury awarded as follows:— Mr. Starkie from £75 to £85 per acre; Mr. Thomas Busfield £50 to £90 per acre; Mr. Fell from £30 to £75 per acre; Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Staveley £75 per acre; Lord Bingley £75 per acre; Mr. Ferrand £75 to £80 per acre; Mr. Smith £80 per acre. Bingley School Trustees a rent charge of £4 per acre. There was thus a substantial reduction by the jury of the commissioners' figures and the appeal of the canal company was successful. The minute of the canal committee recording their meeting at the Elm Tree, at Bingley, on this April 22nd, 1771, is as follows:—

“The commissioners met this day and impannelled a jury for settling the value of the ground to be cut through for the use of the canal, belonging to Edmund Starkie, Esq., Thomas Busfield, Esq., Solomon Fell, Esq., Mrs. Sarah Rhodes, and Miles Staveley, Lord Bingley, Benjamin Ferrand, Esq., the Rev. W. Smith, and the Trustees of Bingley School, and the jury going to view the lands, and it being apprehended they could not finish such view before to-morrow night, the commissioners adjourned until Wednesday morning.

Ordered that Mr. Leach, Mr. Blakey, Mr. Balme, and Mr. Garforth be requested to attend during the jury's taking their view, so that the landowners or any other persons do not interfere with them, and the bailiffs take care to execute the charge given them."

Only one other jury seems to have been summoned in Yorkshire, and in other cases the price was either fixed by agreement or by the award of the commissioners or of arbitrators. Similar proceedings seem to have taken place in Lancashire where, however, the landowners generally were less friendly. I find only one record of the summoning of a jury, at the Wheat Sheaf in Ormskirk, 20th and 21st April, 1772. The claimant was Henry Blundell, Esq., of Ince Blundell. He refused to submit the matter to the commissioners, or even to allow them to enter on his land, and required a jury. The jury gave him thirty-six years' purchase upon the rentals which varied from £3 3s. 0d. to £1 10s. 0d. per acre for the Cheshire or customary acre of eight yards to the perch, or 10,240 square yards.

Mr. Blundell's objection to refer to the commissioners may have arisen from the fact that the company had profited by their experience at Bingley, and had before the meeting of the commissioners ordered their clerk to write to John Clayton, Esq., of Carr Hall, in Lancashire, a member of the committee, to request his attendance, and to Mr. Cross, Mr. Eagle's agent in Preston, and Mr. Holt Leigh, to request their attendance and to urge them to get post chaises and engage as many of their acquaintance to attend the commissioners as they could procure. These instructions seem to have been carried out, for there was a very numerous attendance at the meeting of commissioners at the house of Mr. Samuel Hanmer, the Wheatsheaf, in Ormskirk, on that 20th April, 1772, and commissioners were present even from the neighbourhood of Bradford and Halifax. Mr. Holt Leigh himself attended, was appointed chairman, and signed the judgment in accordance with the verdict of the jury. I ought to have added that the jury gave in addition to the thirty-six

years' purchase, which represented the value of the land, one years' purchase for damages caused by severance, &c. It is curious also to note that after shewers had been appointed and the jury had gone to view the lands, the commissioners adjourned until the following morning at the early hour of seven o'clock to receive the verdict.

Lord Derby appears to have demanded forty-five years' purchase for his land, and as the company objected and failed to agree with him the matter was finally referred to arbitrators. This land was, however, in the immediate neighbourhood of Liverpool, and was doubtless rising in value. On the subject of the purchase of land it must be borne in mind that the sections of the canal first constructed ran in Yorkshire through the rich pastures of Airedale and Craven, and in Lancashire through the fertile plain which lies between the Mersey and the Ribble. One of the landowners in the township of Armley was Sir John Ingleby, of Ripley Castle, and from him in March, 1771, the company bought £5,000 worth of timber, part at Ripley, but some apparently at Armley, from which it would appear that the slope of the hill there, round which the canal now wends, was then clothed with timber of substantial size and value.

As the land was acquired the works were pushed on as rapidly as possible under the active supervision of the committee, especially, as regards Yorkshire, of Mr. Hustler, Mr. Balme, and Mr. Nathan Jowett, all three influential Bradford men. Local workpeople were employed and small sections of the works were let to them by tender. Twelve contracts made by Longbottom for stone getting, brick making, land purchases, and works were confirmed by the committee on 16th November, 1770, and on the complaint that the workpeople laid the earth in an irregular manner, an overseer of diggers was appointed in January, 1771, at the modest wage of 10/6 per week.

The committee seem to have decided as early as 1770 to proceed with the section of the canal between

Bingley and Shipley, in addition to the three portions originally decided upon. This section included some heavy works, the five-rise and three-rise locks at Bingley, which seem to be referred to in the 112 minutes as the locks at Holesfield and Bowling Green, Bingley, the locks at Dowley Gap, the aqueduct of seven arches at the same place over the River Aire, the locks at Hirst Mill, and the aqueduct over the Bradford Beck. The plans for the mason work of these works were exhibited and explained to intending contractors by Longbottom at a committee meeting at Bradford, 20th February, 1771, and the works were let on the following day. The minute is as follows:—

“Memorandum that the mason’s work belonging to the locks intended to be made at Holes Field and the Bowling Green in Bingley, was let to John Sugden, Wilsden, mason, Barnabas Morvil, Jonathan Farrar, and William Wild, of Bingley, masons; and the masonry belonging to the lock intended to be made at Dowley Gap, near Gilstead, and of the aqueduct bridge over the River Aire, near Cottingley New Mill, was let to Jonathan Sykes, of Oulton, and Joseph Smith, of Woodlesford, masons; and the masonry work at the aqueduct bridge intended to be made over the rivulet called the Bradford Beck, at Windhill, was let to James Fletcher, of Bradford aforesaid, mason and contractor; and contracts were then drawn and entered into by the several persons aforesaid, and Mr. John Longbottom, the engineer, for performance of said work accordingly, namely:—The mason work of Holes Field and the Bowling Green Locks to be done before the 1st January, 1772; the masonry work of Dowley Gap Lock and the aqueduct bridge at Cottingley New Mill before the 1st April, 1772, and the masonry work at the aqueduct bridge at Windhill before the 1st May, 1772.”

Mr. Longbottom appears to have had an anxious time. He was constantly travelling between Lancashire and Yorkshire bargaining for land with owners, friendly and hostile, making contracts for works and

material, and having occasional difficulties with his numerous contractors. On the 20th March, 1771, at a committee meeting at the Elm Tree Inn, Bingley, the minutes state that Messrs. Lawton and Weston, contractors, employed by Mr. Longbottom in Lancashire, having failed to give security for the performance of their contract, the committee ordered the following letter to be sent to Mr. Longbottom who had reported the matter to the committee:—

“ Sir,

Yours of the 17th inst. to Mr. Hustler was yesterday produced to the committee at the “ White Bear,” and on considering the neglect of Messrs. Lawton and Weston in not procuring good security for the carrying on of the works as they proposed, it is the opinion of such committee that the proposals of Messrs. Lawton and Weston is become void, not only for that reason but for their neglecting the management of the work. I am ordered to acquaint you that they approve of the steps you have taken and that you are desired to pursue such method for the benefit of the said work as you think most advisable.

Yours truly,

JAMES HEBDEN,

BINGLEY, 20th MARCH, 1771.

P.S.—Mr. Hustler has just received yours of the 18th, and in confirmation that the Committee approve the steps you have taken they have signed their names hereto and desire you will exert yourself in the best manner you are able, and keep up your spirits, and you will be supported in every proper measure, and that no sinister, envious, or *ilnatural* insinuations will be listened to.

Signed,

THOMAS LEACH, JOHN HUSTLER, JOHN HALSTEAD,
THOMAS HARDCASTLE, WILLIAM CHIPPENDALE.”

During this busy time there were not wanting critics who decried the undertaking, alleged that the dimensions of the canal were unnecessarily large, the capital insufficient, and predicted that the central portion would never be executed. In the *Leeds Intelligencer* of 26th March, 1771, there appeared a long letter vigorously defending the company and pointing out that the dimensions finally

agreed on were less than those calculated for by Brindley, and that their reduction would be an act of folly and would not save more than £14,000. "A most extraordinary inducement this (says the writer), to spoil the noblest canal in Europe, and such as would give just grounds to all posterity to stigmatise the present proprietors with being truly 'penny wise and pound foolish.'"

By the 25th July, 1771, the Lancashire work had so far proceeded that boats were first launched on the canal between Newbrough and Liverpool. These were, no doubt, the boats which Longbottom was directed to order on February 7th for the use of the contractors, and the event appears to have been celebrated with some rejoicing, for the committee authorised an expenditure among the workmen of £4 4s. 0d., and the careful treasurer actually disbursed £5 15s. 6d. The launching of the boats reminds us that we have not yet alluded to one very important factor in the great undertaking, without which capital, engineers, land, and works must all have been useless, I mean water supply. We are apt to assume that that to which we are accustomed exists as if we see it by the order of providence, and quite independently of the efforts and energies of man. Thus, we see daily the sluggish waters of the canal, and it does not perhaps strike us at first that the passage of every boat through a lock requires and causes the descent of many thousand gallons of water from a higher to a lower level and the consequent necessity of replacing this water either from natural or artificial sources of supply. Longbottom had proposed to supply the canal partly from intercepted streams, and to supplement them by a reservoir placed on the summit level of the canal on the marshy plateau between Foulridge and Barrowford or Colne. The sections of the canal between Skipton and Bingley and between Shipley and Leeds first constructed in Yorkshire, might doubtless expect a sufficient supply from the becks or streams which descend into the River Aire from the tributary valleys of Morton and Bradford.

From Newbrough to Liverpool there was most probably no available source of supply unless water was diverted from the River Douglas, which would otherwise have found its way into the Ribble. This, however, was forbidden by a Section of the Act, and the prohibition might have proved a very serious difficulty. Fortunately, the undertakers of the Douglas Navigation were not disposed to be unreasonable, and after some negotiations, in November, 1771, Mr. Leigh offered twenty-nine out of the thirty-six shares in the navigation to the company for a price which they decided to give, and a sum was paid on account in December, the shares transferred to the company and the balance paid shortly afterwards. The committee seem to have been very much pleased with this purchase, which undoubtedly relieved the company from considerable difficulty, they even entertained the idea of utilizing the water supply thus acquired, not merely for the purposes of the canal but for the more ambitious if somewhat inconsistent scheme of supplying Liverpool with water, as appears from the minutes of the 21st December, 1771, which are as follows:—

“Ordered that Mr. Hustler be desired to write to Mr. Jonathan Blundell, of Liverpool, and to return him and Mr. Earle the thanks of the company for the extraordinary trouble they have had about purchasing the Douglas Navigation, and that Mr. Hustler desire them to send him an account of their extraordinary charges on this occasion, which will be allowed by the company. Ordered that Mr. Balme and Mr. Hardcastle be desired to go to Wigan on or before the 12th day of January next, to meet Mr. Longbottom there and view the collieries in that neighbourhood, and to make the first payment to Mr. Alexander Leigh of the money contracted to be paid for the navigation of the River Douglas, which is to be made on that day. Also to proceed from thence to Liverpool and to consult with proper persons there about supplying the town of Liverpool with water from the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, and also about taking such steps as

shall appear most advisable for opposing and rendering ineffectual the scheme now in agitation for applying to Parliament for an Act for making a navigable cut or canal from Wigan to Liverpool."

At a committee meeting at Bingley, 15th January, 1772, the minutes further record as follows:—

"In pursuance of an order of the last committee Mr. Hardcastle reported that he went to Wigan and met Mr. Longbottom there, and paid to Mr. Alexander Leigh the sum of £3,625, being the payment directed to be paid to him in full for one fourth part of the purchase money of his interest in the Douglas Navigation, and produced Mr. Leigh's receipt for the same.

"The valleys being flooded, Mr. Hardcastle could not view the ground where the coal mines are supposed to be, but proceeded to Mr. Banks, of Winstanley, who informed the said Mr. Hardcastle that in all the ground between Wigan and Newbrough on both sides of the Douglas Navigation are plenty of good coal, chiefly beds from four to six feet thick. And the said Mr. Hardcastle in a meeting of the corporation and inhabitants of Wigan, upon condition of their encouraging the navigation of the River Douglas, and in order to have their interest against the intended application to Parliament for a new canal from Wigan to Liverpool, proposed that the company would engage to take no more than one shilling per ton for the navigating of merchandise from Wigan to the junction of the present intended canal from Leeds to Liverpool. The said Mr. Hardcastle further reported that in a meeting with Scrope Calcott, Esquire, and Doctor Boscough, of Liverpool, agents for the proprietors of the Sankey Navigation, he, Messieurs Blundell and Earle signed an agreement with the proprietors of the Sankey Navigation, that the proprietors of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal should join them and bear one-third of the expenses attending the opposition to the Liverpool scheme of a canal from Liverpool, near Runcorn, to Wigan, the landowners bearing one other third, and the proprietors of the Sankey Navigation the remaining third part.

“Resolved by this committee that the above proposal made by Mr. Hardcastle to the Wigan gentlemen be complied with and that the agreement with Scrope Calcott, Esquire, and Doctor Boscough be confirmed.

“Resolved that Mr. Hustler, with Mr. Morris Birkbeck, Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, and Mr. Nathan Jowett, be requested to draw up a statement of the case respecting our complaints against the Liverpool scheme of a canal from thence, near Runcorn, to Wigan, to be printed for the information of the members of the House of Commons, and to be sent to the principal proprietors of this navigation with letters requesting them to use their interest with any members of their acquaintance.”

We may observe from this minute that the troubles and responsibilities of the committee were not confined to the purchase of land and the construction of the canal. The projected canal from Liverpool to Wigan above referred to, was promoted by those dissentient shareholders who had withdrawn their subscriptions to the Leeds and Liverpool Company at the Burnley meeting. They proposed to connect Liverpool and Wigan by an independent canal running near Prescott and Runcorn and curving round within a short distance of Worsley, no doubt with the object of an ultimate junction with the Bridgwater Canal. The communication between Liverpool and Wigan by the Leeds and Liverpool Canal to Newbrough, and thence by the Douglas Navigation to Wigan, was undoubtedly open to many objections. It was circuitous, being thirty-eight miles in length, against an actual distance from point to point of about twenty miles, and the Douglas Navigation was narrow, shallow, and not in good condition. Mr. Hustler, however, was as zealous and determined as before in defending the position of the company, and reasons against the proposed canal were prepared by him and the other gentlemen who were associated with him, and were printed and circulated. They began by stating the general benefits which would arise by the existence of a navigation extending from the east to the west sea.

“This striking object (say they) having about seven years ago engaged the attention of some gentlemen of liberal disposition, the whole face of the country was critically examined to find a practicable passage amongst the mountains which intersect this part of the island, the most promising pitched upon, and a careful and deliberate five years’ survey was made; the exact levels taken from Leeds to Liverpool, an extent of $108\frac{3}{4}$ miles, and the expenses of all the various works necessary to effect this great undertaking carefully estimated. These amounting to the prodigious sum of £260,000 would have staggered the resolution of the most sanguine, if the circumstances (which are stated at some length) did not afford encouragement to hope for a reasonable interest, and reflecting on the satisfaction that would arise from rendering a most important service to their country, they were induced to proceed, and by a junction with the Douglas Navigation proposed effecting the conveyance of coals from Wigan to Liverpool, and had in view the supplying the town and port with freshwater.”

They then state that nearly thirty miles of the canal had been finished within about twelve months, and allude to the fact that the rival scheme was promoted by those shareholders in the Leeds and Liverpool Canal Company who had withdrawn their subscriptions, and proceeded to urge many other reasons why the proposed canal was unnecessary and undesirable. The project was brought before Parliament in the session of 1772, and was supported by the Corporation of Liverpool. It was, however, vigorously opposed and the bill was thrown out. The controversy made it clear to the company that it was desirable, and in fact necessary, to substitute an artificial waterway from Newbrough to Wigan for the existing navigation, and a branch canal was therefore shortly afterwards cut between these points by the Canal Company and the undertakers of the Douglas Navigation, which, together with the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, afforded as it now affords a continuous artificial waterway between Liverpool and

Wigan. The portion of the existing canal between Newbrough and Wigan is thus in law part of the undertaking of the Douglas Navigation, and is now known as the Upper Douglas Navigation.

This extension was made in two sections, the first a short canal from Newbrough to Dean where a junction on the level could be effected with the River Douglas, and the second, authorised by the general assembly, 27th April, 1776, from Dean to Wigan, and carried out shortly afterwards. The Douglas Navigation was further improved by a canal from Burscough on the Leeds and Liverpool Canal to Tarleton, on the River Douglas, which was substituted for the river navigation to that point. The contracts for this canal were let in June, 1777, and it was opened in October, 1781, and is known as the Lower Douglas Navigation.

I am, however, anticipating the course of my narrative and must return to the year 1772. In that year the air was full of canal schemes, wise and unwise, practical and chimerical. The management of the Aire and Calder Navigation appears to have given great dissatisfaction, and a project was started to continue the Leeds and Liverpool Canal from Leeds to Selby, where it might terminate by a junction with the Ouse Navigation, the promoters, according to their advertisement, "being strongly stimulated by their feelings in the notorious abuses which had long been practised on the River Aire." The project was most vigorously opposed by the Aire and Calder Navigation, and after a fierce parliamentary contest the bill was thrown out, and a scheme promoted by the Navigation for a canal from Haddlesey on the Aire, a short distance below Knottingley, joining the Ouse at Selby, was authorised by Parliament and afterwards constructed, thus getting rid of the winding channel of the Aire to Weeland, and greatly improving the navigation.

Mr. Hustler appears to have supplied the newspapers periodically with an account of the progress of the works on the Leeds and Liverpool Canal. His first

communication was in October, 1771, when he was able to report that $21\frac{1}{2}$ miles were finished at an expense of £32,886. He pointed out that this work was at the most level part of the line, that the remaining part would be more costly, but that there was no ground to fear that the estimate would be exceeded. In April, 1772, he made a more elaborate report, and was able to state that 20 miles of the canal were then cut in Lancashire and 14 miles in Yorkshire, making together 34 miles. The outlay at this date was £48,888, and he estimated that the 34 miles would be completed for £19,326 more, making a total outlay per mile of £2,004 16s. 6d. He estimated the larger expense occasioned by extra lockage upon the rest of the undertaking at £207 6s. 6d. per mile, which would make the average per mile for the whole length £2,212 3s. 0d., and this, Mr. Hustler triumphantly considered to exhibit a probable saving from Brindley's original estimate of £20,000.

Mr. Hustler also considered it likely that this great and promising undertaking would be completed in less than six years, and that an extensive business would commence between Skipton and Bingley, and Newbrough and Liverpool before the next winter. In October, 1772, Mr. Longbottom was reappointed engineer at a salary of £700, which was to include his personal expenses, but he was to have a further allowance, not exceeding £50, for sums expended in treating landowners and contractors.

At this date some further difficulties appear to have arisen in regard to the completion of the Liverpool end of the canal. The Act provided that the canal should be made to the North Lady's Walk in Liverpool, and from thence to the Mersey. The Corporation of Liverpool made various requirements and raised some difficulties in regard to the communication with the river and docks. The minutes of the committee of 6th January, 1773, seem to refer to this question. They are as follows:—

“ A letter from Mr. Blundell to Mr. Hustler, dated

5th December last, with copy of letters from said Mr. Blundell and Mr. Earle, dated 2nd December, to the Mayor and Common Council of Liverpool, with the answer of the said Council to Messrs. Blundell and Earle's letter being read, acquainting the said Corporation that the proprietors do intend very soon to bring the canal to the North Lady's Walk at the north end of the town, and from thence to communicate with the River Mersey, agreeable to Act of Parliament, and as they should wish to be on good terms with the gentlemen of the corporation, desiring if there is anything disagreeable to communicate the same to them. To which the Corporation gave for answer, that if the company have anything to propose to the Council they will be ready to receive and give them an answer thereto, and call a council for such purpose. Ordered that the canal be proceeded with into or near the North Lady's Walk in Liverpool, as expeditiously as possible, and that any proposals to the Council of Liverpool be postponed till the canal be completed to or near the Lady's Walk."

There does not appear to have been any subsequent agreement on this subject. The canal terminated at the North Lady's Walk, and no communication with the docks was constructed until 1846. At last on the 8th April, 1773, three months after the opening of the Bridgwater Canal into the Mersey at Runcorn, the first completed section of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal was opened to the public between Bingley and Skipton, and the *Leeds Intelligencer* of 13th April, 1773, records the event as follows:—

"On Thursday last, that part of the Grand Canal from Bingley to Skipton was opened, and two boats laden with coals arrived at the last mentioned place, which were sold at half the price they have hitherto given for that most necessary convenience of life, which is a recent instance, among others, of the great use of canals in general. On which occasion the bells were set a ringing at Skipton; there were also bon-fires, illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy."

Neither the minutes of the company nor the accounts of the treasurer refer to this joyful occasion, but on the 15th of April, 1773, a toll gatherer was appointed at Skipton at a weekly salary of 18/-.

The *Leeds Intelligencer* of 27th April, 1773, contained a further report of the progress of the works, signed by Joshua Field, Thomas Hardcastle, John Hustler, and Morris Birkbeck. They reported that on the Lancashire side about 27 miles were cut and 16 navigable, and that the extension of the canal to unite the Great Canal with the Douglas Navigation was more than half cut. This, of course, refers to the canal from Newbrough to Dean above-mentioned. On the Yorkshire side the cutting was nearly completed from near Holme Bridge, four miles west of Skipton, to Brackendale Brook at Thackley, making 22 miles, of which 13 were navigable and open for use. They anticipated that the above lengths would be completely navigable in six months, and that the 53 miles would be completed for £120,220, a saving from the original estimate of about £7,000. They further state that in order that this great undertaking might speedily answer the expectation of the public and the proprietors, it was resolved that all the spare hands should be employed in extending the works to Leeds as soon as possible, and that the interior parts be suspended until that be done.

In October, 1773, the *Leeds Intelligencer* of the 26th of that month published a further report signed by Mr. Leech, Mr. Hustler, Mr. Peter Garforth, and Mr. Henry Ecroyd. They reported that near 31½ miles were finished, navigable from Liverpool to the Douglas, that 23 miles in Yorkshire would soon be completely finished, and that the 54 miles would be completed at a total charge of £138,512. This total sum, of course, amounted to something under £2,600 a mile, a sum greatly in excess of Mr. Hustler's previous estimates, and this the report proceeds to explain.

"It may be remembered (they say) that at the time of publishing the former accounts of the works, the

various progress they were then in, rendered the calculations of the expense uncertain, and that, from a variety of accidents which could not then be foreseen, the circumstances of finishing proved more expensive than was imagined."

As the variation between estimates and results is not unusual, even at the present day, we need not blame Mr. Hustler for his too sanguine expectations. The formal opening of the Liverpool end of the canal to the public appears to have taken place in February, 1774, and is described in the *Leeds Intelligencer* of the twenty-second of that month as follows:—

"A correspondent from Liverpool informs us that the new canal from that town to Leeds is now open for many miles, and in the course of a few weeks will be navigable as far as Wigan. Last week a fine new boat was launched, in the presence of a great number of persons, whose acclamations, attended with the firing of guns, shewed their joyfulness on the happy occasion. Several gentlemen sailed up the river to the estate of Mr. Thomas Ellison, in Litherland, where they were elegantly entertained with a cold collation and plenty of good British beer. Amongst the many toasts, the following were given, viz. :—Success to the Canal; the Proprietors of the Navigation, and that it might answer their most sanguine expectations; the Trade of the Nation; the Selby Canal, &c., &c. Each toast was accompanied with the firing of 21 guns, which were planted on the occasion, and the day concluded with the utmost joy and festivity."

Immediately afterwards similar demonstrations commemorated the opening of the canal from Skipton to Thackley, and the proceedings are thus described on the 22nd of March, 1774, in the same newspaper:—

"We hear from Bingley that 20 miles of the Grand Canal between Liverpool and Leeds was opened yesterday for business, from Skipton to below the junction with the Bradford Canal, in the presence of several thousand spectators. From Bingley to about three miles downwards, the noblest works of the kind that

perhaps are to be found in the same extent in the universe are exhibited, viz.:—A fivefold, a threefold, a twofold, and a single lock, making together a fall of 120 feet; a large aqueduct bridge of seven arches over the River Aire, and an aqueduct and a large banking over the Shipley Valley. Five boats of burden passed the grand lock, the first of which descended through a fall of sixty feet in less than twenty-nine minutes, to the amazement and delight of the spectators. These works (in the opinion of the best judges) are executed in a masterly manner, and the locks and their machinery excellent. This joyful and much wished for event was welcomed with ringing of Bingley bells, a band of music, the firing of guns by the neighbouring Militia, the shouts of the spectators, and all the marks of satisfaction that so important an acquisition merits. And as this is deemed, in various respects, the most difficult part of the work, it gives a pleasing prospect, not only of the practicability, but the certainty of the whole of this grand and most useful undertaking being completed in a few years.”

The next report of the committee on the progress of the works appeared in the *Leeds Intelligencer* on the 28th June, 1774, and was signed by two Lancashire and two Yorkshire proprietors, Mr. Jonathan Blundell, Mr. William Earle, Mr. William Blakey, and Mr. Hustler. They reported further satisfactory progress in Lancashire. In Yorkshire the canal was now navigable beyond Skipton to Holme Bridge, near Gargrave, where the waters of the Eshton Beck were taken into the canal in addition to the previous sources of supply, and an ample supply was thus secured. Good progress was also reported beyond Thackley towards Leeds. They concluded by stating as follows:—

“In the course of our journey we made particular enquiry about the business likely to come upon the canal, and had the pleasure to find that there would be a great demand for the Douglas coals at Liverpool and upon the line: that very large stocks of that article are now ready upon the banks of the navigation and at

the collieries, and that the business in this part is likely to set very extensively. On the Yorkshire side we found eighteen boats of burthen already built, a number of which have been for some time fully employed between Skipton and Bingley in the lime and coal trade, &c. There are forty lime kilns now erected and preparing between Skipton and Bradford, and the demand for lime is so great that the business on the line in this article and in coals must be soon very large."

But alas for the finances! the outlay had greatly exceeded Mr. Hustler's sanguine estimates, and it was now only too clear that Mr. Brindley's figures of £2,600 a mile, were altogether erroneous and insufficient. They were obliged to state that £183,436 9s. 2½d. had been already expended, and only £23,354 6s. 2d. of the subscribed capital remained available.

In the *York Chronicle* of the 1st of July, 1774, the following paragraph appeared:—

"Yesterday night a boat laden with coals went so high on the canal making betwixt Leeds and Liverpool as Holme Bridge above Skipton, on which account the bells of Gargrave were set a ringing, with other demonstrations of joy."

The same journal of the 8th of October, 1774, contained the following lively account of the opening of the canal for the whole distance between Liverpool and Wigan:—

"On Wednesday last that part of the Leeds Canal between Liverpool and Wigan was opened with great festivity and rejoicings. The water had been let into the basin the evening before. At nine the proprietors sailed up the canal in their barge preceded by another, filled with music, with colours flying, &c., and returned about one. They were saluted with two royal salutes of twenty-one guns each, besides the swivels on board the boats, and welcomed with the repeated shouts of the numerous crowd assembled on the banks who made a most cheerful and agreeable sight. The gentlemen then adjourned to a tent on the quay where a cold

collation was set out for themselves and their friends. From thence they went in procession to George's Coffee House where an elegant dinner was provided. The workmen, 215 in number, walked first with their tools on their shoulders and cockades in their hats, and were afterwards plentifully regaled at a dinner provided for them. The bells rung all day and the greatest joy and order prevailed on the occasion."

We have no details of these festivities in the records of the company, and we will hope that the highly respectable members of the Society of Friends who, with Mr. Hustler, doubtless attended upon the occasion, were able to do justice to the elegant dinner following immediately according to the report upon the cold collation. We will also hope that no catastrophe occurred to the band of music, such as is recorded in the *York Chronicle* of the 12th May, 1796, when at King's Morton Fair, two boats filled with a party of ladies and gentlemen of Birmingham, accompanied by a band of music, took their departure for that place along the Worcester Canal, "and safely and happily had they sailed (says the account) almost to the very place of their destination, when the gushing of the water of one of the stop gates unfortunately overset the boat in which was the band, and the sons of Apollo in the height of their merriment and in their very best clothes were suddenly shifted from their moving orchestra into the cool but sandy current. Wigs, hats, and musical instruments were floating on the surface of the water, whilst their owners were wading to the bank. These, however, being collected, the musicians marched dripping wet into the fair and soon resumed their merriment, and (in the words of the *Chronicle*) got their outsides well dried and their insides well wet."

The completion of the canal between Thackley and Leeds was not accomplished for some time afterwards. At the general assembly held at Liverpool, 21st October, 1774, it was reported that in Yorkshire the canal was finished from Holme Bridge to Field Lock at Esholt, twenty-three miles, and that a good deal of work re-

mained to be done towards Leeds. Twenty-nine boats were already fully employed and others were building. In Lancashire, the Douglas navigation was under repair from Wigan to Gathurst Bridge, and thence to Liverpool, thirty-two miles, the canal was completed.

There is a very clear account of the financial position of the company, dated 22nd April, 1776, in the handwriting of Mr. Hardy. It is as follows:—

General State 22nd April, 1776.

DISBURSEMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Expended in Surveys	2510	15	4			
Procuring	2217	7	6			
Cut: miles yards ..				4728	2	10
Works—Yorkshire 30 220 ..	107096	16	10½			
Lancashire 28 ..	83610	6	3¼			
Law and Office Clerks' Salaries, &c.	2486	0	0½			
Committees, Commissioners & Juries	1939	10	8½			
Leeds and Liverpool Canal ..				195132	13	11
Interest allowed at Call ..				22372	17	7½
Purchase of Douglas	11086	0	5			
Expenses in Improvements, deducting H. Leigh's payments ..	10724	7	8			
Rent of Leaseholds	500	0	0			
				25310	8	1
Total expended				247544	2	5½
Materials in hand				3000	0	0
				£244544	2	5½

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Capital Stock, 2059 shares at 100 ..	205900	0	0
Douglas Calls £14 per share ..	28826	0	0
Withdrawers	644	18	9
Tonnage—Yorkshire, 13th Oct., 1773	3167	4	2
Lancashire, 18th July, 1774	2473	9	0
Douglas, 10th Jan., 1772	1889	18	8
			7530 11 10
			£242901 10 7

HISTORY OF THE LEEDS AND LIVERPOOL CANAL. 233

		£	s.	d.
Total Payments	..	244544	2	5
„ Receipts	..	242901	10	7
		<hr/>		
		£1642	11	10

RECEIPTS BY TONNAGE.

		£	s.	d.
Yorkshire, 13th October up to end of year	..	121	6	2½
1774	.. .. .	918	17	9½
1775	.. .. .	1583	10	4½
1st January, 1876 to 18th March	..	543	9	9½
		<hr/>		
		£3167	4	2
		<hr/>		
Lancashire, 18th July to end of year	.. ..	435	8	3½
1775	.. .. .	1776	1	7
1st January, 1776 to 4th March	..	261	19	1½
		<hr/>		
		£2473	9	0
		<hr/>		
Whole Douglas 1772	.. .. .	924	13	8
1773	.. .. .	514	6	3
1774	.. .. .	533	17	0
1st January, 1775 to 7th March, 1776	..	743	1	1
		<hr/>		
		£2715	18	0
		<hr/>		
Of which was received our part..	.. ..	£1889	18	8

The expenditure had thus exhausted all the subscribed capital, all the special contributions towards the purchase of the Douglas, and several years' income. The actual construction of thirty miles of canal in Yorkshire had cost rather more than £3500 per mile, and the actual construction of twenty-eight miles in Lancashire on the level had cost just under £3000 per mile, without reckoning in either case any general capital outlay.

At length by June, 1777, the Yorkshire end was so far completed that the canal was opened to the junction at Leeds with the River Aire; and the *York Courant* described the event on the 10th June, 1777, as follows:—

“The same day the Grand Canal from Leeds to Liverpool was opened into the River Aire at the former place amidst such a concourse of people as were never seen in that town before, some computed them at 20,000 and others at 30,000. At eight in the morning the Bradford vessels moved from Apperley Bridge and arrived at Leeds Lock at half after twelve, where a booth was erected and the company regaled with a cold collation, coffee, tea, &c. On the vessels passing the locks, guns were fired from the ramparts. The undertakers of the rivers appeared in a vessel highly decorated to receive the proprietors of the canal into the river on their coming through the lock. They proceeded with a band of music playing “God save the King” through Leeds Bridge where the procession was saluted with twenty-one pieces of cannon placed on the Wharf below the warehouses belonging to the navigation, which was returned by the cannon from the rampart. After which the gentlemen of both navigations landed and walked in procession with the music playing before them to the New White Cloth Hall where an elegant entertainment was provided on the occasion, and the following toasts were drunk:— ‘The King,’ accompanied with twenty-one pieces of cannon; ‘The two Navigations’ with nineteen; ‘The Woollen Manufacture’ with nineteen. Sir George Savile’s Regiment of Militia fired three fine volleys at noon, and the evening concluded with a ball. Although the vessels and pleasure boats on the river and canal were very numerous, no accident has come to our knowledge, but the whole was conducted with great regularity, and the day was spent with harmony, festivity and decorum.”

The only reference to this event in the minutes is an order of the general assembly held at the Moot Hall in Leeds, 5th June, 1777, that “the several men who had put themselves under stoppages for cloathing themselves on the opening the canal be re-imbursed those expenses.” I assume that this refers to advances made for the purpose indicated by the company to workmen

which under ordinary circumstances would have been stopped out of future wages. With the rejoicings and festivities of that memorable day my story must draw to a close.

Fifty-eight miles of the canal authorised by Parliament in 1770 had been constructed, covering rather more than half the entire distance from Leeds to Liverpool, and the company were practically owners of the Douglas Navigation; but alas! more than the whole subscribed capital of the company had been expended as well as a considerable sum out of income, and their further financial resources were obviously inadequate to complete the canal. The prosperity of the country had been checked by the revolt of the North American Colonies and by the war of Independence which was now raging.

Under these conditions the company suspended any further extension of the canal and confined themselves for some years to the final completion and improvement of those portions which had been opened for public use and also of the Douglas Navigation. Many years were to elapse before the proud motto of the company "*Ab ortu ad occasum*" was to be justified. Fortunately each of the completed portions constituted a useful and remunerative undertaking. In Yorkshire owing to the completion of the Bradford Canal a waterway was afforded between Skipton, Bradford and Leeds, and direct access obtained by water to the Aire and Calder Navigation and the Humber, and coal, stone, limestone, and general merchandise provided an increasing traffic. The level of the waterway at Skipton was 267½ feet above the Aire at Leeds Bridge, which height was obtained by 29 locks, eight of which were at Bingley representing a rise of 90 feet. In Lancashire, water communication was established between Liverpool, Wigan, and Preston, and a great traffic immediately arose in the carriage of coal from the Wigan Coal Field, which has continued to the present day. The fall from Wigan to the basin at Liverpool was only 30 feet, and from Newbrough to Liverpool the canal was level.

The net income for 1778 was £4,561, or rather less than two per cent. upon the capital expended. In 1785 it had risen to £8,831, or between three and four per cent. The revenue of the company was mainly derived from tonnage paid to them by bye-traders. There was also some amount of passenger traffic, for in 1785 the profits from the packets or passenger boats were £164 13s. 1d., and at the general assembly held 21st October, 1774, the following bye-law was made on the subject of passenger traffic :—

“That every person passing in any boat between Wigan and Liverpool, or any other part of the line, shall pay for every two miles or under, one half-penny; each passenger to be allowed fourteen pounds weight of luggage; and in case any boatman shall neglect to give a just account of the number of passengers he shall at any time carry on his boat, with the distance each passenger shall have passed, he shall forfeit the sum of ten shillings.”

The company also seem to have been to some extent carriers on their own account to Leeds, very shortly after the opening of the canal to that place, but in this respect their operations were probably in the nature of an experiment and do not seem to have been conducted with much energy or to have been attended with much success, for at the general assembly on the 18th April, 1778, the minutes contain the following order :—

“It being moved whether the carrying of goods from Leeds to Bradford should be continued or not,

Ordered that the same be continued until the next general assembly, and that Mr. Jowett, Mr. Richard Hodgson, Mr. Thomas Skelton, and Mr. Charles Booth, or any two of them, be requested to meet the proprietors of the Bradford Canal and settle and consider the best mode of carrying on this business and give the necessary directions accordingly.” And on the 31st July in the same year the following very modest arrangements were sanctioned by the committee,

“Richard Bates, of Windhill, in the township of Idle, having proposed to furnish the company and the

proprietors of the Bradford Canal with two boats and to keep the same in repair for the annual sum of £45, for the conveying of merchandise and other goods between Leeds and Bradford, Ordered that this proposal be accepted, and Messrs. Leach and Balme, two of the proprietors of the Bradford Canal being present, consented thereto, and further ordered that Mr. Eagle prepare an article for the above purpose, consulting Mr. Jowett and Mr. Leach thereon; Ordered that Mr. Leach do purchase a galloway not exceeding in price the sum of five guineas for drawing the boats under the care of Angus Grant and that he be allowed a reasonable recompense for supporting the same."

Mr. Hustler remained until his death, in 1790, a most active member of the committee of management, and never ceased to urge upon the public the wisdom and desirability of completing the canal, and in 1788 he issued a pamphlet on the subject, in which, amongst other suggestions, he proposed that the money required might be borrowed at a low rate of interest in Holland.

Of the future history of the Canal, the gradual extension of the Yorkshire end, the fierce parliamentary contests with the Lancaster Canal Company over the proposal to divert the line and to adopt that which Mr. Hustler had in 1769 so energetically and successfully opposed, of the completion and opening of the great tunnel at Foulridge, and of the construction of the great reservoirs there, of the final and ultimate completion and opening of the waterway from Leeds to Liverpool in 1816, I do not now propose to say anything.

I believe that one venerable lady is still living, the sole survivor of the first party that on that day, more than eighty years ago, arrived at Liverpool amidst great demonstrations of public rejoicing, after traversing the entire length of the canal from Leeds. With her exception all those who were connected with the story which I have ventured to recall have long since passed away.

The great undertaking which in the last century fired our forefathers with an enthusiasm we can hardly appreciate, still remains with us, though its sphere of usefulness as well as its earning power, have been greatly narrowed and crippled, not only by railway competition but by the kind efforts of Parliament and the Board of Trade in 1893, to encourage the ancient waterways of the country by reducing their charges.

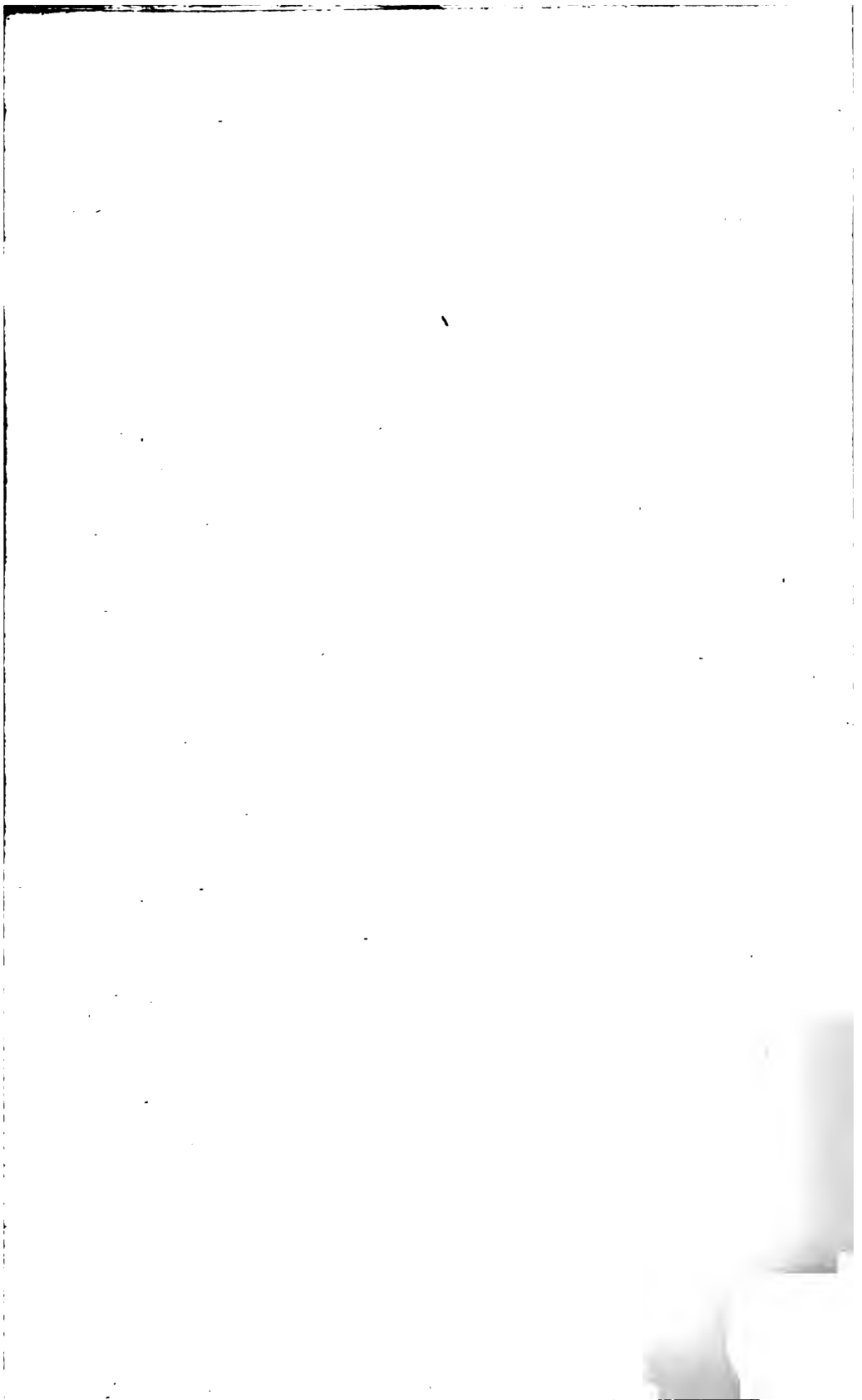
It has been difficult to avoid much uninteresting detail and not easy to confine the story within reasonable limits, but such as it is I commend it to your indulgence as illustrating for us the energy and public spirit which was to be found in Bradford in the early years of the reign of George III., and the methods by which in the infancy of our manufacturing and industrial development, a great joint stock enterprise was initiated and promoted and an important and permanent work of public utility designed and constructed.





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Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.

FOUNDED 1878.

SESSION 1896-7.

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The Session commences on the 1st of October in every year. During the winter months, a series of lectures on antiquarian and historical subjects are delivered in the Society's Rooms, Free Library, Bradford, the lecture night being the second Tuesday in every month; whilst during the summer months, excursions are organised to places of interest under the guidance of competent ciceroni.

The annual subscription for membership is 7s., and includes a free copy of the "Bradford Antiquary" which is published annually in July. Back volumes and parts of the "Bradford Antiquary" may be obtained from the Hon. Librarian or from the printer, at the rate of 2s. 6d. for each part. Intending members are requested to communicate with the Hon. Corresponding Secretary who will supply every information.



The

Bradford

Antiquary.



THE JOURNAL OF THE
Bradford Historical & Antiquarian
SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES. PART III. JULY, 1898.

Editorial Secretary:—

PROFESSOR FEDENER, L.C.P., 8, HALLFIELD ROAD, BRADFORD.

Entered at Stationers' Hall.

Price 2/6 net.

BRADFORD:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY H. GASKARTH,
11, SUNBRIDGE ROAD.

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THE ROMAN ROAD

FROM

MANCHESTER (MANCUNIUM) TO ALDBOROUGH (ISURIUM),

BY

J. NORTON DICKONS.

WITH FOLDING MAP AND ILLUSTRATION.

(Read before the Society, 13th November, 1896.)

THE only Roman road which can be said to have approached the parish of Bradford is the road from Manchester (Mancunium) to Aldborough (Isurium) which branched off from the so called Watling Street at Manchester.

There were two Roman roads running from Manchester into Yorkshire: one, Watling Street, the second of the Itinerary of Antoninus, which ran from Manchester by way of Saddleworth to Slack, the site of Cambodunum, and thence to York; the other, the subject of the present paper, which ran from Manchester through the parish of Rochdale, crossing Blackstone Edge from Littleborough to Sowerby, and thence to Ilkley, and falling into the Ermine Way at Aldborough. Though the general direction of the road may be more or less determined, the road itself cannot now be traced with any degree of certainty except at two or three points where it is still to be seen above ground.

In the first instance we will endeavour to trace the line of road. We are so accustomed to consider Manchester as a modern city that we fail to call to mind that Manchester owes its foundation to the Romans. When the Romans established themselves in the

Brigantine territory, somewhere about the year 120, and constructed or enlarged the great military road called Watling Street (which some writers think was originally a British road), running from Richborough in Kent across England to Chester and thence to the Roman wall *viâ* York and Aldborough, they constructed one of their principal camps at Mancunium, around which no doubt a small town would in time arise. The site of the Roman town has been determined by Mr. Watkin in his "Roman Lancashire" as lying between Bridgewater Street and Manor Street in Manchester, and bounded by the River Medlock on the south and east and a branch of the Bridgewater Canal on the western side. The site is now intersected by the Rochdale Canal, opened in 1840, and by the Manchester South Junction and Altrincham Railway, opened in 1848. No part of the Roman Mancunium now remains above ground, but in 1795 the walls of the station were still visible and are shewn on Green's Map of Manchester, and the last remains of the walls were not removed until 1850. The site of the walls is shewn on the map of Roman Manchester constructed by Mr. Watkin for his Roman Lancashire.

The road from the Roman station to the eastern slope of Blackstone Edge has so completely disappeared as to have led the learned author of Roman Lancashire to doubt whether it could be connected with the remains of the undoubted Roman road over the Edge. But the fact that no trace of it can now be traced is hardly a sufficient reason to doubt the earlier reference to its existence by Warburton, who marks on his map of Yorkshire, date about 1734, the road as running from Manchester to Rochdale, Littleborough and Blackstone Edge. In this he is confirmed by the Rev. John Whitaker, who in his "History of Manchester," published in 1771, page 138, says: "The road must have passed by Street Fold in Moston, Street Bridge in Chalkerton, and Street Gate in Ryton, pointing evidently for Littleborough, Blackstone Edge and Ilkley." "These three appellations of *street* very clearly

ascertain the general direction of its course, and sufficiently supply the absolute want of any actual remains or even of any traditional notices concerning it." He further notes that the road had then lately been dug up near Rochdale.

But, whatever direction the road took to Littleborough, it is now plainly visible near the eleventh milestone on the road from Halifax to Rochdale, and about a mile and a half on the easterly side of Littleborough.

There are three roads leading over the Edge from Littleborough. There is the modern road made in 1734, which ascends the Edge by fairly easy gradients; then there is the old road leading by Windy Bank and Lydgate to the White House, stated in the Act of 1734 to have become in "many parts impassable for wagons, carts and other wheeled carriages, and very dangerous for travellers," and which was the road Defoe travelled along on horseback in 1724; and there is the Roman road which leaves the old road about Lydgate and ascends the Edge in a direct line and crosses the summit of the Edge at a point about 200 feet higher than the other two roads and meets the present turnpike road on the eastern or Yorkshire side of the Edge near the ninth milestone on the Rochdale and Halifax Road.

The Roman road over the Edge is undoubtedly the finest specimen of a Roman road now existing in England, for some 1600 yards or more retaining its original pavement, and deserves to be included in the list of historic monuments which ought to be preserved by the nation.

Although the most perfect portion of the road is on the western or Lancashire side of the Edge, a better and more general impression of the road is gained by walking over the whole length beginning at the eastern or Yorkshire end.

Take the train to Ripponden station, and follow the present road to a farm house near "The Baitings," formerly an inn, and so marked on Ogilby's road book

(1698 edition). About three quarters of a mile from the 8th milestone, the present highway is carried on a somewhat high embankment over a small stream, and looking over the fence wall on the left, a green cart track will be noticed in the hollow below, which in a few yards crosses the Black Castle stream. Leave the cart track, where it crosses another stream coming down from the moor, and, keeping this latter stream on your left, you soon come upon the site of the Roman road, which, for some distance, skirted the edge of the stream, and was protected from it by a retaining wall. The pavement of the road has been removed, but the line of the road is easily ascertained by the lighter colour of the herbage growing upon it. The first distinct evidence of the road is found about a quarter of a mile from the turnpike road, in a row of six or seven paving stones, and remains of the original paving become more evident as you follow the road in a pretty straight line up the eastern side of the Edge. Going up the Edge, the road is for the most part hid by the ling and grass grown over it, but the direction can always be traced by two parallel lines of heather or bilberry mounds, about six inches above the ground, and which cover the curb or edge stones of the road. The pavement of the road is more or less visible to the summit of the Edge, and by pulling up the heather and grass it can be easily found. Upon the summit of the Edge the pavement ceases, and the road appears to have been cut through the rock and the pavement laid upon it. Upon reaching the western or Lancashire side of the edge, the Roman paving recommences and continues for three-quarters of a mile, until near the bottom of the hill, where it is either lost in the enclosures or has been used to build the stone fences of the fields. The gradient of the road on the eastern side of the edge is about one in seventeen, but on the western side it averages one in five and two-thirds.

With regard to the present appearance of the road, I cannot do better than transcribe Dr. March's remarks in a lecture delivered before the Rochdale Literary and Philosophical Society, November 7th, 1879.

“ This portion (i.e. the western) of the road is exactly 16 feet in width. In some places there are distinct indications of a deep trench on each side dug into the earth, for the purpose of drainage. The roadway is transversely arched, so that the water would run from and not toward the centre. The road is paved with square blocks. These are laid with great care, and are held by strong curbs which stand up some two inches above the level of the causeway. Exactly in the middle of the road is a line of massive stones, fitted together with great precision; while the smaller stones of which the general pavement consists are of ordinary sandstones, these special ones are always of the very hardest and densest grit. Along these stones has been cut by the masons art a deep and wide trough. The bottom of the trough is slightly but invariably convex (see illustration, taken at a spot about half way up the western slope), the width of the trough at its upper and wider part is one foot five inches, its true width across the bottom is one foot one and a half inches. Its depth at the centre varies from three and a half inches to five and a half inches. To return to the road in general, as before said, its total width outside all is sixteen feet. But the curbstones being above its level cannot be counted in. These vary in width from five and a quarter to six and three-quarters inches. We may safely consider then that the practicable width of the road inside the curbstone is fifteen feet. This causeway of fifteen feet is divided by the central trough into two roads of equal width, the measurement from the inside of the curbstone to the outside of the troughstone is six feet. Each of these two roads is grooved by longitudinal furrows, and no one entertains the least doubt that these furrows are wheel tracks, but they have certain characters. In each road they are three in number, and their positions is quite definite. The furrow nearest the trough is very deep and is four inches wide, that nearest the curbstone is also four inches wide, but is very shallow, while the middle one is not quite so shallow, and is generally broader or about seven inches wide. Thus at last we have the problem fully stated. What is its solution? What explanations have hitherto been advanced? Of course the kernel of the riddle, the crux of the difficulty, is the troughstone, and three theories have been devised to account for it. First it has been suggested that the central trough was an aqueduct for the purpose of carrying water from the top of the hill where it is not plentiful, to the bottom where it is found in the greatest abundance. Second it is said the trough was made for drainage, but the foundation of the road was drained by the side trenches, and its face is arched so as to carry rain away from instead of towards the centre, while the gradient is so considerable that special surface drainage could not have been required. Further, though we have everywhere evidence that the Romans paid great attention to drainage, we find it always done in quite a different way from this. Moreover the cost and trouble expended on the structure in question are out of all proportion to the end suggested, and lastly, no aqueduct could get worn by water in such wise as to present a uniformly convex bottom. The third theory is that the trough was worn by the feet of Roman horses. The principal answer to this is that, though the trough certainly shews signs of wear, yet it was undoubtedly in the first instance cut out by the chisel.”



The Meisenbach Co., Ltd.
PORTION OF ROMAN ROAD OVER BLACKSTONE EDGE.
From Photo by T. Mitcheson, Esq.

Dr. March advanced a fourth theory, that the central groove or trough had been made for the purpose of skidding the wheels of waggons when going down the steep portions of the road, in which theory he is supported by Mr. Watkin who in his Roman Lancashire says:—

“In May, 1881, I had the pleasure (in company with Canon Molesworth and Lieutenant Colonel Fishwick) of making a thorough inspection of the road. In the main we found the account of Dr. March correct, but noticed one curious fact, that for a long distance one side of the groove seemed much worn as if by wheels rubbing against it, whilst the other was almost as fresh as when made. In another portion the same thing would occur with the side previously found much worn now quite fresh, and the side previously little worn now much so. The conclusion to my mind was that the groove was made for the purpose of receiving and steadying the central wheel of a three wheeled vehicle. I am, however, bound to say that the same effect would be produced by a skidded wheel of two wheeled vehicles, the skid or brake being sometimes applied to the right wheel and at others to the left. Possibly both causes contributed to produce the effects. A vehicle ascending need not be skidded, it is therefore to the down traffic that the abrasions are due, more especially as there appears to be no trace of skidding in the side roads. The distance between the ruts have been closely investigated by Dr. March, and prove that the waggons using the road had wheels four and a half feet distant from each other. At the top of the hill the road widens out, as if to afford a resting place, and the trough ceases.”

To this theory of Mr. Watkin's I wish to add an observation of my own. While recently staying in the neighbourhood of some old quarries, near Scarbro', where the hills are numerous and the gradients as stiff in some places as the road over Blackstone, I saw several stone carts fitted with a tough beam of wood fixed to the axle tree at one end, and trailing on the ground behind, and I was told that the body of the cart was so adjusted that on going down hill the driver could tilt it backward so as to throw the weight upon the wood beam behind, at once taking the strain from the horse and forming a very simple and effective drag by pressing upon the beam behind, and as there are near the Roman road ancient quarries of stone still worked, it is possible the Roman carts were skidded in a similar manner, the end of the pole running in the

stone trough. The view of the road taken from a photograph lent me by Mr. Thomas Mitcheson gives a better notion of the road than any verbal description.

When did the road over Blackstone Edge cease to be used as a road? Upon the one inch ordnance map it is marked as a Roman road, and on the six inch map as a "Pack Horse Road." It is probable that the steep gradient would render the road difficult for wheel traffic, and so it would gradually cease to be used for carts, but it was used as a Pack Horse Road until a late period. It is shewn in Sayers' edition of Bowen's map in 1728 * with the following note: "This Roman way extends from Manchester in Lancashire to Aldborough near Burrowbrig, is all paved with stone and near eight yards wide." But in Horsley's time (1732) portions of the road were then missing. In speaking (Brit. Roman page 291) of the Roman roads in Britain he says:—

"I confess it is sometimes very difficult to discover or trace out a military way, which is frequently sunk several feet below the surface, either in mossy grounds or where the fields have long been in tillage. When I passed Blackstone Edge in Yorkshire I could not but be surprised to see how much the causeway there was below the surface, and I am well informed of a causeway in the country between Tine and Road in Northumberland sunk some feet below the surface; and though the military way which leads to South Shields, is a yard or two above the ground for two or three miles, yet for as much more it is almost below it, but even where it is so far beneath the surface, it is very capable of being followed when the ground is soft."

The next writer in point of time who notices the road is John Warburton, Somerset Herald, and himself a Lancashire man, whose notes and papers used for the preparation of his map of Yorkshire are deposited in the Bodleyan Library, Oxford. He says in tracing the road from Ilkley to Littleborough:—

"Having crossed the River Wharfe (the road) ascended to and crosses Rumbolds Moor near to the Black Knowle and then crossing the

* Colonel Fishwick in his "History of Rochdale" (1889) page 6; and Dr. March in his "Notes on the Roman road," both give 1728 as the date of Sayers' map. I have not been able to verify their reference, the earliest maps of Sayers I have seen not being dated. I am inclined to think Sayers' map is copied from Warburton's map where the note quoted as from Sayers' is to be found. Warburton's map is not dated but as it is referred to in "Drake's Eboracum," 1736, it must have been published some time earlier.

Addingham road appears again near to Morton Highgate, from which place it disappears until it comes to Hainsworth Shaw upon Harding Moor, where it crosses the way that leads from Bingley to Epworth taking its course on the inside of the Bounder Stones, and so by Ellercar and crossing the wall appears again in the field of Thomas Horsfield, near to the Wear Stones, little west of the high road to Halifax, and from thence crosses Denholme Edge, where it was met in digging the foundations of a barn."*

To the same effect is Dr. Richardson's testimony in his note communicated to "Leyland's Illustrations," volume 1, page 143.† He says he was informed by Rev. Mr. Roberts, rector of Linton-in-Craven, that:—

"He had observed a paved way of an unusual breadth betwixt Hainsworth and Cullingworth, in the parish of Bingley, which doubtless must have been a Roman way. It appears there bare, being about twelve feet broad and neatly set of such stones as the place afforded. Its stateliness shows its original, and you may trace it where the ground is pretty hard, a ridge appearing higher than the surface of the earth in some places being only covered with grass, though I have been informed that it is often met with at several feet deep upon the moors in digging for peats"—i.e. peats.

Horsley writing in 1732, says:—

"There is a military way from Aldborough to Ilkley, and another from Ilkley going southwards, which passes on the west of Halifax, and joins the Roman road from Tadcaster to Manchester. This latter way is paved, but I think not much raised, and there are some tumuli near it."

Horsley is not here quite accurate, as I do not find any trace of the Ilkley road falling into the Tadcaster and Manchester road, unless he means the road from Ilkley to Aberford *via* Adel. The road from Tadcaster to Manchester ran in some direction now impossible to ascertain (probably by Woodlesford) to Slack, the ancient Cambodunum, and then by Oldham to Manchester. I cannot find any satisfactory authority for the statement that the last named road ran through Leeds and Cleckheaton to Slack. Whitaker‡ who derived his information about the road between Halifax and Ilkley from Rev. John Watson, the Halifax historian, says:—

* Quoted by Leyland in Journal British Archaeological Association for 1864.

† Quoted by Leyland in his additions to Watson's Halifax.

‡ History of Manchester. Volume 1, page 138.

“The road having crossed Blackstone Edge, ranges nearly from North to South, being discovered in this direction along the eastern side, leaving Halifax considerably on the right, and Illingworth only a little on the left, † and passes through Denham Park, running a good way to the west of Bradford, and a little to the west of Cullingworth. Betwixt Hainworth and Cullingworth, the road is visible as a paved way more than twelve feet broad and neatly set with the stones of the country. It appears in several places upon Harding or Harden Moor, crossing the height of the moor, and pointing upon the Moor House above Morton, and is again visible upon Rumbles Moor. Upon the broad extent of this waste wilderness it appears, as I am informed, a raised paved road overgrown with turf, keeping upon the shelve of the hills, to avoid the cliffs on one side and the morasses on the other, and pointing directly upon the high steep rocky mound of the moor, to the gay valley of the wherf, and the little town of Ilkley within it.”

The late Mr. F. A. Leyland paid great attention to the Roman roads of the district, and published an article in 1864, in the Journal of the British Archæological Association upon the Roman roads intersecting the parish of Halifax, which he afterwards revised and greatly extended in his uncompleted edition of “Watson’s Halifax.” Leyland in his article and additions embodies much information concerning the road, collected from old inhabitants and surveyors of highways and others, and from his own researches, he having himself talked with old men who in their youth had travelled the whole distance from Luddenden to Ilkley by the Roman road. The result of his investigation may be shortly stated as follows:—The road up to the middle of the last century was fairly passable for foot passengers, along its whole length from Littleborough to Ilkley, but was in many places in a ruinous shaken up condition, and in some places enclosed. In some places it was incorporated with the highway, and in others, from time to time, portions of the road had been taken up and used for buildings, so that in 1864, the road within the parish of Halifax had ceased to exist as a roadway, and could only be traced with difficulty. But he traced the whole road and fixed it upon an ordnance map, and determined its course as follows:—

† Whitaker is here in error, the road leaves Illingworth on the right. Mr. Leyland thinks an *iter* struck off from near Illingworth to Cambodunum, and may be the road mentioned by Horsley.

The road after crossing the edge, where it is known as "The Devil's or Daubs Causeway," forms the present modern highway to the Bailing's Gate, where Warburton and Sayers mark a camp. It there left the turnpike and skirted the hill side by High Gate Head, Blue Ball Lanes, and Lane Head, ascended Fosson or Foxen Lane, where the pavement for a short distance was some time since still remaining, continued along Birks Lane, Bowood and Dean Lanes to Sowerby, passing west of the church and east of the town. It then descended the hill by a road, formerly called Finkle or Fincle Street, where in Leyland's time the old pavement remained, and crossed the Calder at Longbottom by a ford, paved with large blocks of stone to the width of some twenty feet.* Thence through the fields the road ascended by Hollin Hall, where some part of the ancient causeway was lately visible, and by Greystones Wood behind Magson House to Greystones, where it could be distinguished in the fields by a line of lighter green than the surrounding vegetation. The road then ascended to Newland gate, where it crossed an ancient road which Leyland thinks ran from Doncaster to Ribchester, and thence by Clough Head, Tower Hill, Sentry Edge, Houghton Towers, Balkram Edge, Hamilton Hill (crossing the highway near Kell Bots), to Cold Edge, where it was distinctly seen as a slight ridge, and its pavement felt in some places by probing the ground with a sharp pointed instrument.

The road then crossed Hunter's Hill, upon the summit of which there was a camp near "The Carrs," but whether Roman or British cannot now be determined.† From Hunter's Hill the road descended to "The Carrs," passed through the Lower and Upper Ings, crossed the "Hebble" Brook to the spot where the waters of Ogden and Skirdon Brooks united before the construction of Ogden Reservoir. Here the pavement

* I have been informed by Dr. Appleyard, whose family own Magson house, that the ford was destroyed when the bed of the river was altered some years ago.

† Mr. Leyland thinks this was a camp where the soldiers rested after leaving Ilkley, the next stage being Littleborough.

was entire about fifty years ago, when it was removed to make fences, and more of the road was destroyed when the Ogden Reservoir was made. On the six inch ordnance map the site of the Roman road is shewn crossing the Carrs and is next marked on the north side of Ogden Reservoir. From Lower Ogden Top the road ran past New Moss Farm and pointed to Fore-side Bottom. At Denholme Gate a small patch of road is marked on the ordnance map near White Windows, and a further bit in the enclosures behind St. Paul's Church Schools at Denholme Gate. The road then passed over Hallas Rough Park and by Cold Spring House where it is marked on the ordnance map as crossing Manywells Beck and the Haworth Road near Cullingworth Gate. Beyond Haworth Road no trace of the road between there and Ilkley can be now detected, though I think the present road from Ellercar to Hanisworth Shaw is the line of the Roman road. The road must have crossed the River Aire by a ford or wooden bridge, but it is now impossible to say where; it probably descended into the Aire Valley through Marley Wood and ascended the hill opposite, between West Riddlesden and West Morton, behind Upwood, nor is there any trace of the road to be found on Morton Moor. The road at Upwood was destroyed by the late Mr. Busfield about fifty years ago. The route described as above is clearly the one taken by Warburton when he explored the road for the purposes of his memoir and map.

The Roman road to Ilkley descended (as I have been informed) the slope of Weary Hill on the lines of the modern road from Keighley behind the Wells House at Ilkley, but in a more direct line. The Roman remains at Ilkley are still conspicuous enough to attract attention. The township of Ilkley was intersected by two Roman roads, the one leading from Manchester to Aldborough and the other from Broughton near Skipton to Adel and Tadcaster, considerable traces of which are still to be found near Bramhope, and were visited by the Council last year.

Whitaker, writing in 1771, after remarking that the town of Ilkley is almost barred up by trackless wastes and impracticable roads upon every quarter other than the great post road from Kendal to York, describes the town as lying "snug in the hollow of a valley, mean, dirty and insignificant, known only to the antiquarian for some curious inscriptions that have been discovered at it, and to the invalid for a fine spring of mineral water that had been found about a mile from it." Hethen proceeds to describe the Roman station as it appeared in his time, and as his description is the earliest notice of the camp at Ilkley, I make no scruple about transcribing it."

"The stationary area.....is pointed out by the appellation of Castle Hill, by the nature of the site, and by the remains of the Roman vallum. The site is admirably defended by the wharf in front, and by two brooks at the sides. The wharf glides along the northern front of it. A very narrow level of boggy ground ranges between the river and that, and the area looks down upon both from a steep brow of 25 or 30 yards in height. The western brook has had half its waters diverted into another channel, and must before have flowed a very lively current, and gave additional strength to a brow naturally steep and rising about 12 or 15 yards above it. The eastern brook is remarkably brisk and runs about 20 yards below the crest of the brow, and both of them discharge their waters into the wharf, a few yards below the station. The whole area was about 100 yards by 160, the northern barrier ranging, I suppose, along the line of the present lane, and parallel with and about 20 yards to the north of the Roman road from Broughton to Aldborough. The whole extent of the area contained about four acres of ground, encompassing a building called the castle, and including the church and its area. And the vallum of the station presents itself to the eye at the north western angle, and is easily discovered under the turf along the whole compass of the brows, being the rough sable flag stones of the country cemented together with indissoluble mortar..... The town was constructed very near to the station and along the course of the road from Broughton in Banks Croft, Scafe Croft, and some adjoining closes. There fragments of bricks remarkably red have been frequently dug up, and there the foundations of houses remain very visible at present (1771). No new inscriptions have been lately discovered. But many old inscriptions have in all probability been buried within the walls of the present church. A stone appears actually built up in the South Eastern corner of the building, and exhibits an inscription, once copied by Camden and by Horsley, but now (1771) absolutely illegible upon the outer plane of it. And on the northern side of the belfry within is a couple of stones, one of which was certainly a Roman altar, a patera appearing embossed upon the edge of

the stone, and the other is charged with a woman wearing a large peaked bonnet on her head and grasping a snake in either hand, which rise over each shoulder and list their heads considerably about it."

I have not been able to get a plan of the camp. The site is much encumbered with buildings, and the marshy ground between the foot of the camp and the river is being filled up with the town's refuse and tipping. If the area could be trenched, under the supervision of an expert, no doubt many remains would be discovered.

The road from the camp crossed the Wharf near the camp some short distance below the present bridge. Mr. Horsfall Turner says:—"The Roman road leading from the ford towards Stubham was laid bare during certain operations at the brickworks near the Old Hall, Stubham."

The direction the road took after crossing the river cannot now be ascertained. A little portion crops up in Stubham Wood. Formerly the road was more in evidence than at present. Whitaker's "History of Manchester" page 140, says:—

"The road to Aldborough is (1771) found again on Middleton and Blueburgh House Moors beyond the town paved like that (i.e., the road over Blackstone Edge) with stones uncommonly large, and edged, like that with still larger and points I suppose to Catterick."

The pavement mentioned by Whitaker as being visible in his day has long since disappeared. It may, as surmised by Horsley, have sunk where it traversed the wild moorland region to the north of Ilkley into, and is now deep below, the surface of the peat and bog; or the pavement may have shared the fate of having been broken up for fences or to mend the roads. Mr. Horsfall Turner in the "History of Ilkley, 1885," page 275, referring to the old mile post on the old road to Moorhouses, says:—

"A paved roadway passes directly under the greensward towards Windsoever and is probably the old Roman road."

Nothing of the road is now visible above ground between Ilkley and Blubberhouses, though its course may be detected in some places by the lighter tinge of

the vegetation or by a faint outline of the road, but any one relying upon finding the road in situ will be disappointed.

The road after leaving Stubham Wood appears to have continued along or parallel to Parks Lane, and in one of the enclosures near the old milestone at the top of Parks Lane the site of the road may be detected by the raised greensward, but when the road leaves the enclosed land and crosses Delves Beck it is lost. Its general direction is marked on the six inch ordnance map as crossing Bracken Ridge and Clifford Bog a little to the east of Bracken Well where it takes a sharp bend to the right, continuing across Sug Marsh in a straight line somewhat raised above the Moor to Cote Hill, Blubberhouses. It is shewn on the six inch map as passing behind an old gravel quarry marked Calliard quarry, entering some enclosed land near some old buildings called Moorhouse Lairs, and crossing the road from Otley to Blubberhouses, descending the field, crossing the River Washburne, and ascending the opposite hill to Crag Hall, where it joins and forms part of the present highway from Skipton to Knaresborough as far as Kettlesing Tollbar. From thence to Whitehall Nook, the line of road is perpetuated by a footpath only, generally distinguished by a slight ridge in the field across which it passes. The stratum of the road itself was taken up at Whitehall Nook about the year 1848, and was found to be composed of native boulders forming a kind of coarse pavement.* From Whitehall Nook the road traversed the township of Felliscliffe from west to east, but with trifling exceptions along none of the present carriage road, passing through the fields to the south of the present line of road, keeping along high ground, and in some places called Long Lane used as a bridle road so late as 1871. The road then passed through the village of Hamps-thwaite, not far from the track of the present road, ford-

* Graings's "History of Harrogate and Forest of Knaresborough, 1871," page 32, to which I am indebted for a description of this part of the road.

ing the river Nidd near the church and ascending Back Lane through Holly Bank Wood, where "remains of this old thoroughfare are still in evidence in the shape of large pave stones, some of which are as much as five or six feet long, and a foot and upwards in width. Many of them have been taken up for walling, but many remain yet *in situ* along the line of Roman march."* The road then passed through a corner of the township of Clint and part of Ripley. I have not been able to trace the road further, but according to Warburton's map, the road ran by way of Staveley and Copgrave to Aldborough, where the road crossed the river Eure upon a wood bridge, the piles of which were visible as late as last century, and then on to Catterick.

Aldborough, the ancient Isurium, and the Roman capital of the north before the rise of York, was one of the most important Roman stations in Britain. It was not only a walled town, but in size and wealth rivalled York. In plan it was an oblong parallelogram, about one and a half mile in circuit, intersected by the road from Tadcaster to York and by the road from Ilkley. As the Society has visited Aldborough, it is not needful to describe it, and there are enough remains of Roman buildings at Aldborough to afford matter for a separate paper.

N.B. The map accompanying this paper is traced from Warburton's map.

* Speight's Nidderdale, 1894, page 380.



WEST RIDING CARTULARY.

A COLLECTION OF

ANCIENT DOCUMENTS, CHIEFLY FROM THE HEMINGWAY MSS.,

TRANSCRIBED AND ABSTRACTED BY

CHARLES A. FEDERER, L.C.P.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 41.)

X.

Manningham. 27 July, 1603.

TO ALL XTIAN PEOPLE to whom this psent wrytinge shall come, Willm. Northroppe of Manninghamme in the county of Yorke, yeom., and John Northroppe sonne and heire apparant of the said Willm, sende greetinge in our Lorde everlastinge. KNOWE you us the said Willm. Northroppe and John Northroppe for and in consideration of a certeyne some of money to us in hande payd by Willm. Clayton of Allerton in Bradford Dale in the said county yeom, whereof and wherewth we acknowledge ourselves to be fully satisfyed and payd, and thereof and of everie pte and pcell thereof doe clearly acquitte and discharge the said Willm. Clayton his execut^s, adm^s and assignes and everie of them for ever by these psents. To HAVE demised released and quite claymed And by these psents for and from us our heirs and assignes and to demise, release and quite clayme unto the said Willm. Clayton, his execut^s, adm^s, and a^ssignes and everie of them for ever by these psents. ALL and all manner of rentes amountinge in the whole to fiftene shillinges yearly yssuinge out of certeyne landes and groundes with th' apptnces in Maninghamme aforesaid nowe in the tenure or occupacon of the said Willm. Clayton or his assignes. And

William Northrop
yeoman, of Manning-
ham. John North-
rop, his son and heir,
to

William Clayton of
Allerton in Bradford-
dale,

Demise 15 Shillings
per annum out of
lands in Manningham

heretofore demised to the said Willm. Clayton by the said Willm. Northroppe and John his sonne and by John Northroppe Deceased late father of the said Willm or some of them In and by foure severall indentures of lease whereof one of them beareth date the fyve and twentieth day of August in the nine and thirtieth yare of the late Queene of famous memory Elizabeth, another of them beareth Date the three and twentieth day of November in the fourthieth yare of the raigne of our said late Queene, another of them beareth date the seaven and twentieth day of May in the one and fourthieth yare of the raigne of our said late Dread Sovereigne, and the fourth and last beareth date the ninth day of August in the three and fourthieth yare of the raigne of our said late Queene Elizabeth. So VERELY that neither we the said Willm. Northroppe nor John Northroppe his sonne nor eyther of us our heirs assignes nor any of us nor the heirs or assigns of eyther of us nor any other psons or pson for us or any of us or in the name or names of us or any of us any manner of rente or rentes reserved in and by the said foure severall indentures of lease or any of them can at any tyme or tymes hereafter clayme challenge or demande nor ought in tyme to so come. BUT of and from all and everie action or actions distresse or distresses and other remedy and remedies to be had and taken of and for the said rentes or any of them we are utterly excluded and debarred for ever by those pre-ents. IN WITNESSE whereof we the said Willm. Northroppe and John Northroppe his sonne have set our handes and sealles the seaven and twentieth day of July in the first yare of the raigne of our sovereigne lorde James by the grace of God kinge of Englande, fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc., and of Sco:lande the six and thirtieth.

(Sealed) WILL^m. NORTHROP (Sealed) JOHN NORTHROP.

Witnesses :

G. Midgley.
Thomas Golds-
borough.
John Drake.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of us :

G. MIDGLEY.
THOMAS GOULDSBROUGHE. JOHN DRAKE.
his mark. 1603

XI.

Manningham. 9 September, 1615.

THIS INDENTURE made the ninth day of September in the thirteenth year of the raigne of our sovereigne lorde JAMES by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith,

etc., and of Scotland, the nine and fortieth BETWEEN William Northroppe of Manningham in the county of York, yeoman, and John Northroppe of the same, son and heir apparent of the said Will^m., of th' one pte, and William Clayton of Allerton in Bradfordale in the said county of tn' other pte, WITNESSETH that the said William Northroppe and John Northroppe for and in consideration of a certain sum of lawful English money to them in hand at or before th' ensealing and deliverie of these psents by the said Will^m. Clayton well and truly contended and paid for, and in the name of a fine or gressome, whereof and wherewith they the said W^m. Northroppe and John Northroppe do hereby acknowledge themselves and either of them to be fully satisfied and paid, and thereof and of every pte and pcell thereof do clearly acquitt and discharge the said W^m. Clayton his executors, adm and assigns and every of them for ever by these psents, and for divers other good causes and considerations them the said W^m. Northroppe and John Northroppe thereto movinge HAVE demised, granted, leased, and to farm letten, and by this indenture for and from them, their heirs and assigns and every of them do demise, grant, lease, and to farm lett unto the said W^m. Clayton his execs adms assigns. ALL THAT close of land and pasture commonly called the Roundhill close with th' appces. lying and being in Manningham aforesaid in the said county of York now in the tenure or occupation of the said W^m. Clayton or his assigns, as the same close does contain by estimation three acres and doth adjoyn to the land of one Nicholas Wilkinson on the east pte, and to the land of the said W^m. Clayton on the west pte. AND ALSO all that close of arable land and meadow commonly called Strythorneacre with th' appces lying and being in Manningham aforesd. in the said cy. of York, now or late in the tenure or occupation of one W^m. Smith or his assigns AND ALSO one half acre of land by estimation with th' appurtences. lying and being enclosed in the east side or pte of one close of land in Manningham aforesd. commonly called the Lambclose now in the tenure or occupⁿ. of the said W^m. Clayton or his assigns. And also all those three roods of land by estimacion with the appces. being now also enclosed in the west syde or pte of the said close called the Lambclose, as the said half acre and three roods of land by estimacion do lye on both sydes of one pcell of copyhold land being th' inheritance of the said W^m. Clayton and lying in or about the midst or middle pte of the said close called the Lambe close AND ALSO all those two acres and a half of land by estimacion with their appces. lying and being in the Westfield in Manningham aforesd. in the said county of York, and now in the tenure or occupation of one William Lister or his assigns AND ALSO all and singular, wayes, passage, waters, water-courses, liberties, and pfittes, comodities, easements, and appces. whatsoever to the said several closes, pcells of land, and premises hereby demised or to

William Northrop and his son John Northrop of Manningham,

Lease to William Clayton of Allerton.

The following lands:

Roundhill Close, adjoining the property of Nicholas Wilkinson,

Strythorne Acre, tenanted by William Smith,

Pieces of Land near Lamb Close, and Lamb Close itself,

Two and a half acres in Westfield tenanted by William Lister.

any of them in anywise belonging or apptayning, or to or with the same or any of them now or comonly demised, used, enjoyed, or occupied as pte, pcell, member, or belonging of or to the same or any of them or any pte or pcell thereof To HAVE AND To HOULDE the said two closes called by the several names of the Roundhillclose and Strythorneacre, the said land, tenem^{ts}, and pcells of land, and all and singular other the pmisses before by these psents mentioned to be demised and granted and every pte and pcell thereof with all and singular their appurten^{ces} (except the said two acres and a half of land by estimacion in the said Westfield unto the said W^m Clayton his ex^{ts} adm^s and assigns to his and their own uses from and immediately after the thirtieth day of August last past before the date hereof, for, during, and until the full end and term of Twenty-one years from thence next following, and fully to be complete and ended clearly and absolutely without any manner or condition of mortgage AND TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said two acres and a half of land by estimation with th' appurten^{ces} lying in the Westfield afore-said unto the said W^m Clayton his ex^{ts} adm^s and assigns from and immediately after the said thirtieth day of August last past before the date hereof for, during, and until the full end and term of Twenty-one years from thence next following, and fully to be complete and ended under the proviso or condition hereafter in these presents expressed : YEILDINGE and paying for the pmisses hereby demised yearly during eight years first of the said term of Twenty-one years unto the said W^m Northroppe and John Northroppe, their heirs or assigns, the yearly rent of one penny of lawful English money at the feast of St. Martin the bishop in winter, only, for all other rent service or demand whatsoever (if the same be lawfully demanded) AND ALSO yeilding and paying therefore yearly during thirteen years, being last and residue of the said term of Twenty-one years unto the said W^m Northroppe and John Northroppe their heir or assigns the yearly rent of Seven Shillings and Sevenpence of lawful money of England at the feast of St. Martin the bishop in winter and Pentecost by even portions AND IF it shall fortune the said several yearly rente of One penny, and Seven shillings and Seven pence, or either of them, or any pte or pcell thereof to be arreared and unpaid by the space of Twenty days next after any of the said feasts are above, in, and by these psents severally and respectively limited and appointed payable (the same being lawfully demanded) that then and as often as it shall so happen, it shall and may be well, lawful, to and for the said W^m Northroppe and John Northroppe, their heirs and assigns and every of them into the said closes, lands, ten^{ts}, and pmisses hereby demised with th' appurten^{ces} and into every or any pte thereof to enter and distrayn, and the distress and distresses then and there found lawfully to take, lead, drive, carry, and convey away, and the same to imparke, impound or otherwise detayn and keep until such time as the said two severall yearly rents of one penny, and seven shillings and seven pence with th' arrearage of the same or either of them (if any such be) shalbe fully satisfied, contented and paid AND THE SAID William Northroppe

For twenty-one years

Rent : One penny per annum for eight years and 7/7 per annum for the last 13 years.

and **John Northroppe** for themselves and either of them, and for their and either of their heirs, exec^s, adm^s, and for every of them do covenant, promise and grant to and with the said W^m. Clayton, his ex^s, adm^s and ass^s, and to and with every of them by the p^sents in manner and form following (that is to say) that he the s^d William Clayton, his ex^s, adm^s and assigns and every of them to his and their own uses shall or may lawfully peaceably and quietly at all times from and after the s^d Thirtieth day of August last past before the date hereof for and during all the said term of 21 years have, hold, occupy, possess, and enjoy all and every the s^d closes, lands, ten^{ts}, and pcells of land, and all and singular other the pmisses hereinbefore mentioned to be hereby demised and granted and every pte and pcell thereof withall and singular their appur^s, for and under the yearly rent aforesaid and in manner and forme aforesaid, and according to the tenour and purpose and true intent and meaning of these p^sents, without any manner of lawful let, suit, trouble, eviction, disturbance, recovery, interruption, or encumbrance of or by the said W^m. Northroppe and John Northroppe, or either of them, or either of their heirs or assigns or any of them, or by any other person or persons whatsoever, AND FREE and clearly discharged or otherwise well and sufficiently from time to time and at all times hereafter upon reasonable request to be made for the same by the said W^m. Clayton, his ex^s, adm^s, or assigns, or any of them, saved or kept harmless and indemnified by the s^d. W^m. Northroppe and John Northroppe, or th' one of them or by their or the one of their heirs, ex^s, adm^s and ass^s, or some or one of them of and from all and all manner of bargains, sales, gifts, grants, estates, uses, wills, intayles, lease, and leases, mortgages, jointures, dowers, and titles of dower, statutes, marchants, and of the staple, bonds, recognisances, annuities, rents, average of rent, extent, judgments, executions, intrusions, issues, fynes, amerciaments, condemns, and of and from all other acts, charges, titles, troubles, and encumbrances whatsoever heretofore had, made, committed, done, knowledged, suffered, or executed, or hereafter to be had, made, committed, done, knowledged, suffered, or executed by the said W^m. Northroppe and John Northroppe or either of them or by their or by either of their heirs, or assigns, or any of them, or by any other person or persons whatsoever, and especially of and from all lays, taxes, gualds, assessm^{ts}, and impositions whatsoever wherewith the s^d. predemised pmisses or any pte or pcell thereof or is or shall be charged or chargeable either to the church or to the said sovereign lord the king's majesty, his heirs or successors during the said term (the said several yearly rents of one penny, and seven shillings and seven pence above hereby severally reserved as aforesaid only accepted) AND MOREOVER that they the s^d. W^m. Northroppe and John Northroppe and their heirs and every of them shall and wil from time to time and at all times during the space of ten years next ensuing the date hereof at the reasonable request and at the proper cost and charge in the law of the s^d. W^m. Clayton his ex^s, adm^s or assigns, do, make, suffer, knowledge, and executed, and cause and suffer to be done, made, knowledged, and executed all and every such further lawful and reasonable act and acts, thing and things devises and assurances in the law whatsoever for the better and more pfect demising, granting, and assuring of the said

several closes, lands, tenements and parcels of land, and all and singular other the premises hereinbefore mentioned to be hereby demised and granted and every part thereof with all their appurtenances unto the said W^m. Clayton, his executors and assigns, to his and their own uses for and during all the said term of 21 years under the yearly rents aforesaid, and in manner and forme aforesaid, and according to the tenor and true intent and meaning of these presents be it by fine or fines with proclamations, confirmations, or otherwise howsoever, be it by matter of record or matter in fact, with warrants against all men, and by all and every or any of these ways and means or otherwise, and so often, as by the said William Clayton his executors or assigns, or any of them or his or their counsel learned in the laws of this realm shall be reasonably revised or advised and required with warrant as aforesaid or without warranty so always as the said W^m. Northroppe and John Northroppe or their heirs or any of them be not compelled to travel forth of the county of York (except it be the city of York) for making doing knowledging or executing of any of the said assurances, AND THE SAID W^m. Clayton for him, his executors and assigns, doth covenant and grant to and with the said William Northroppe and John Northroppe their heirs and assigns by these presents that he the same William Clayton and his assigns shall and will well and sufficiently repair maintain and uphold the premises demised closes and grounds with hedges walls ditches or other defences tenantable from time to time when and so often as need shall require during the said term, and at the end thereof so sufficiently repaired and maintained tenantable shall leave and yield up the same; PROVIDED always and it is nevertheless covenanted granted and fully agreed by and between the said parties to these presents, and the said William Northroppe and John Northroppe for them and either of them, and for their and either of their heirs, executors and assigns and for every of them do covenant, promise, agree, and grant to and with the said W^m. Clayton his executors and assigns, and to and with every of them by these presents that if any suit or suits, action or actions in law shall happen to be commenced, had, or taken by any person or persons against the said W^m. Clayton, his executors or assigns, or any of them, of, for, or concerning the possession or occupation of the premises hereby demised or of any part or parcel thereof at any time or times during the said term, that then they the said W^m. Northroppe and John Northroppe, their heirs, executors or assigns, or some of them (upon reasonable request to them or any of them to be made for the same) shall and will not only pay, bear, and discharge all the cost, charge, and expense in law which the same W^m. Clayton, his executors or assigns, shall sustain or be put for or by reason of the said suit and actions or any of them, but also if that the premises or any part thereof shall by any such action or suit be lawfully evicted from the said William Clayton, his executors and assigns, that then they the said W^m. Northroppe and John Northroppe, their heirs or assigns, shall and will yearly from and after such lawful eviction to be had for and during all the residue of the said term which shall be then to come and expire in the premises by force of these presents deduct and allow unto the said W^m. Clayton, his executors and assigns such rateable and proportionable part of the said yearly rent of seven shillings and seven

pence hereby reserved as the quantity of ground so to be evicted shall extend and amount unto, in respect of the residue of the premises, and that the same shalbe apportioned and diminished accordingly without denial or contradiction, any thing above said to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding; AND FURTHER it is covenanted granted, concluded, and fully agreed by and between the said parties, and the said W^m. Northroppe and John Northroppe, for them their heirs, ex^{ts}. adm^{ts}. and ass^{ts}. and for every of them, do covenant, promise, and grant to and with the said W^m. Clayton, his ex^{ts}. adm^{ts}. and assigns, and to and with every of them by these psents, that he the said W^m. Clayton, his ex^{ts}. adm^{ts}. and assigns and every of them, to his and their own uses shall or may lawfully, peacefully and quietly at all times from henceforth for and during the full end and term of Fourteen years from thence next following and fully to be complete, have hold, procure, take and enjoy all and singular the tithes of corn and grain which shall yearly during the same term of 14 years shall come grow renew and increase within and upon the said several closes lands tenem^{ts}. and pmisses hereby demised and every or any pte thereof except the saidlands in the Westfield aforesaid without any manner of lawful let, suit, trouble, eviction, disturbance, recovery, or encumbrance of or by the said William, Northroppe and John Northroppe or either of them or of their several heirs or assigns or any of them or of or by any other pson or psons whatsoever, he the said W^m. Clayton and his assigns yielding and paying therefore yearly during the said term of fourteen years unto the said John Northroppe or his assigns after the rate of three shillings an acre for every acre of the pmisses (except before excepted) which shall be sown with corn or grain at the feast of St. Martyn the Bishop in winter only for all the year (if the same be lawfully demanded) PROVIDED also and it is nevertheless the true intent and meaning of these psents and of the pties to the same and it is accordingly covenanted, granted, concluded, and fully agreed by and between the said pties to these psents, that if the said William Clayton, his exec^{ts}. adm^{ts}. and assigns and every of them to his and their own uses shall or may lawfully, peaceably, and quietly at all times from and immediately after the Thirtieth day of August last past before the date hereof for and during all the said term of twenty-one years absolutely without any manner of condition or mortgage, have, hold, occupy, possess, and enjoy all and singular the said several closes, lands, tenem^{ts}. hereditaments, and pmisses hereinbefore mentioned to be hereby demised and granted and every pte thereof with all and singular their appurten^{ces}. (except the said two acres and a half of land by estimation lying in the Westfield aforesaid) for and under the said several yearly rents above hereby reserved as aforesaid, without any manner of lawful let, suit, trouble, eviction, disturbance, recovery or encumbrance of or by the said William Northroppe and John Northroppe or either of them or their or either of their heirs or assigns or any of them or of or by any other pson or psons whatsoever, that then this psent indenture, demise, and lease, and every grant, clause, word, sentence, and covenant, herein contained, shall as to the said two acres and a half of land by estimation lying in the said Westfield with th' appurtenan^{ces}. shall cease, determine, and be utterly void, frustrate, and of none effect in the law to all

intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever, and that at all times from thenceforth in the mean season (to witte) until disturbance shall be made to the said William Clayton, his exec^s. adm^s. or assigns, or any of them in his or their, or any of their quiet possession and occupation of the said closes, lands, tenem^{ts} and pmisses hereby demised with th' apptenc^{es} or of any pte or pcell thereof (except the said land in the said Westfield) by any pson or psons whatsoever, it shall and may be well lawful to and for the said William Northroppe and John Northroppe, their heirs and assigns and every of them to their own uses peaceably and quietly to have, hold, occupy and enjoy the said two acres and a half of land by estimation with th' apptenc^{es} lying in the said Westfield, and without any manner of let, suit, trouble, eviction, or encumbrance of or by the said William Clayton, his ex^s adm^s or assigns or any of them, any joint demise made of all the said pmisses as aforesaid or any covenant herein contained or other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding: AND FINALLY it is covenanted, granted, concluded, condescended, and fully agreed by and between the said pties, and the said Will^m. Northroppe and John Northroppe for themselves and either of them and for their and either of their heirs, exec^s and adm^s and for every of them do covenant, promise, agree and grant to and with the said William Clayton, his exec^s adm^s and assigns, and to and with every of them by these psents, that if they the said William Northroppe and John Northroppe or their heirs or any of them shall at any time hereafter procure any grant or lease to be made to them or either of them or their or either of their heirs or to any other pson or psons for or to the use of them or either of them or their or either of their heirs by or from the king's majesty, his heirs or successors or by or from any other pson or psons which do or shall claim by, from, or under him or them or any of them, of and upon two acres of moor-ground by estimation with their apptenc^{es} in Manningham aforesaid, adjoining to the south-end of the aforesaid close called the Roundhill close and late in the tenure or occupation of the said William Clayton or his assigns, that then they the said William Northroppe and John Northroppe or their heirs shall and will within the space of two months next after such grant or lease to be procured and made as aforesaid, at the reasonable request and at the proper cost and charge in the law of the said William Clayton or his assigns, lawfully and sufficiently demise, grant, lease, and to farms, let the said two acres of moor ground by estimation with th' apptenc^{es} to the said William Clayton and his assigns To HAVE and to hold the same unto the said William Clayton and his assigns from the making of the said new lease for, during, and until the full end and term of twenty-one years from thence next following, and fully to be complete and ended, for one red rose at the time of roses to be thereby reserved to the said Lessees, their heirs or assigns during the eight years, first of the same terme of Twenty-one years for all other rents, services, and demands, and for and under the yearly rent of Five shillings of lawful English money to be hereby reserved unto the said lessees their heirs and assigns during thirteen years being last and residue of the said term of Twenty-one years, payable yearly at the feast of Pentecost and St.

Also two acres of moor in Manningham for which a further lease is to be made.

Martin the bishop in winter, or St. Martin and Pentecost as the same shall happen to come and fall next after the making of such new lease to the said William Clayton as aforesaid by even pcious and with such like covenant on the pte and behalf of the William Northroppe and John Northroppe, their heirs, ex^s. and adm^s. to be contained in the said new lease, as are and be above in these psents mentioned and expressed, and on their part and behalf to be performed and kept **IN WITNESS** whereof the pties above-named to the pte of these indentures interchangeably have set their hands and seals the day and year first above expressed.

WILLIAM NORTHROP.

JOHN NORTHROP.

(Endorsed)

Sealed, Signed, and Delivered the day of the date hereof in the presence of us:

JO. MIDGLEY.

ROBERT ILLINGWORTH.
1615.

Witnesses:

John Midgley
Robert Illingworth
John Clayton
George Wharledale

JO. CLAYTON.

GEORGE WHARLEDALE.
1615.

(Other Endorsements)

John Northrop

Ancient Writings for Lands purchased of Jeremy Northrop.
William Clayton lease.

XII.

Manningham. 6 February 1622-3.

THE CONDITION of this obligation is such, that whereas the within bound John Northroppe by his deed poll under his hand and sealle with livery and seizure thereupon executed bearing date with the obligation within written, hath (for the considerations therein expressed) gyven graunted barganed sould, enfeoffed and confirmed unto the within named William Clayton his heires and assignes for ever; ONE half acre of land by estimation now lying inclosed in the east side or pte of one close of land with th' appurtenances in Manningham within said, commonly called the Lamb close now in the tenure or occupation of the said William Clayton or his assignes, and also all those three roods of land by estimation with th' appurtenances beinge now also enclosed in the west side or pte of the said close called the Lambe close, as the said half acre and three roods of land by

Reversion of one close and three roods of land in Lamb Close, Manningham, from John Northrop and his wife Mary Northrop of Manningham to William Clayton, of Allerton.

estimation doe lye on both sides of one pcell of copyhoulde land beinge th' inheritance of the said William Clayton lyinge in or about the middest or middle pte of the said close called the Lambe close, and also all other the lands, grounds, and pcells of land whatsoever of the said John Northroppe beinge houlden by deed, with their appurtenances lyinge and beinge within the said close called the Lambe close in Manningham aforesaid in whose tenures or occupations soever the same now are or be, and the reversion and reversions of the pmisses graunted by the said deed with th' appurtenances and of everie pte and pcell thereof, and all rents and yearly pftts whatsoever reserved upon any demyse or demyses leases or graunts heretofore made of the same pmisses or of any pte or pcell thereof; TO HAVE and to hould the same unto the said William Clayton and to his heires and assignes to his and their owne uses for ever, As by the same deed poll (to which reference be had) more playnly may appeare; If therefore the said William Clayton his heires and assignes and everie of them to his and their owne uses shall or may lawfully peaceably and quietly at all tymes from henceforth for ever have hould occupy possess and enjoy the said half acre and three roods of land by estimation lyinge in the said close called the Lambe close as aforesaid and all other the pmisses above mentioned to be graunted barganed or sould in and by the said deed poll in pte above recyted and everie pte and pcell thereof with all their appurtenances according to the tenor purpouse and true intent and meaninge of the same deed poll, without any manner of lett suite trouble eviction disturbance recovery or encumbrance of or by the said John Northroppe his heires or assignes or any of them, and without any manner of lawfull lett suite trouble eviction disturbance recovery or encumbrance of or by any other pson or psons whatsoever; HAD FREE and clearly discharged or otherwise well and sufficiently from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter (upon reasonable request to be made for the same by the said William Clayton his heires or assignes or any of them saved or kept harmless and indemnified by the said John Northroppe his heires executors adm or assignes or by some or one of them, of and from all and all manner of fomer and other bargances sales gifts graunts estates uses willes intayles lease and leases mortgages joyntures dowers and titles of dower statutes marchant and of the staple bonds recognisances annuyties rents averages of rents extents judgements executions intrusions, seizures, issues, fynes, amercem^{ts}, condemnations and of and from all other acts charges titles troubles and encombrances whatsoever heretofore had made committed knowledged suffered executed or done or hereafter to be had made committed knowledged suffered executed or done by the said John Northroppe his heires or assignes or by Mary now his wyfe or her assignes or any of them or by any other pson or psons whatsoever; such interest and tearme of years as the said William Clayton or his assignes have or hath in the pmisses and the rents and service to be from henceforth due and payable for the pmisses to the chiefe lord or lords of the Fee or Fees thereof onely excepted and surprysed. AND moreover if the said John Northroppe and his heires and the said Mary his wife and everie of them shall and will from tyme to tyme and at all tymes duringe the space of seaven years next ensuinge the date of the obligation within written, at the reasonable request and at the pper coste and charge

in the lawe of the said William Clayton his heires or assignes or any of them make doe suffer knowledge and execute or cause and suffer to be made done knowledged executed all and every such further lawful and reasonable acte and actes, thinge and things devises coveyances and assurances the lawe whatsoever for the better and more pfect assuringe surety sure making and coveying of the said half acre and three roods of land by estimation and all other the pmisses above mentioned to be graunted barganed or sould by the said deed poll as aforesaid will all theyr appurtenances unto the said William Clayton his heires and assignes to his and theyr owne uses for ever ; Bee it by fyne or fynes with pclamations or by any other matt of record or matter in fact with warranty against all men and but all and everie or any of those wayes and meanes or otherwise and so often as by the said W^m. Clayton his heires or assignes or any of them or his or theyr or any of theyr counsell learned in the lawes of this realme shalbe reasonably devised or revised and required, so alwaies as the said John Northroppe or his heires or the said Mary his wife or any of them be not compelled to travel forth of the county of Yorke (except it be to the city of Yorke) for making doeinge knowledging or executinge of the said assurances any of them ; that then this psent obligation to be voyd and of none effect or else to stand be or remayne in full power strength and vertue :

(Endorsement).

Noverint universi per præsentes me Johannem Northoppe, junior^m de Manningham in comit. Ebor, yeom., teneri et firmiter obligari Will^m. Clayton de Allerton in Bradforddale in d^{no} com., yeom., in quadraginta libris bonae et legalis monetae Angliae solvendis eidem W^{mo} Clayton aut suo attorney, heredes, exec^{es}, et adm^s suis, ad quam quidem solutionem bene et fideliter faciendum obligo me, heredes, et adm^s meos firmiter per psentes sigillo meo sigillatas. Datum sexto die mensis Februarii et anno regni domini Jacobi Dei gratia Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae regis, fidei defen^s et decimo nono, et Scotiae quadragesimo quinto, annoque Domini 1622. Sigillatur et Delib^r in psentia n^{um} :

Consideration £40.

Witnesses :
John Midgley,
Robert Clayton,
John Clayton,
John Scott.

J. MIDGLEY, ROBERT CLAYTON, JOHN CLAYTON,
JOHN SCOTT.

(Second Endorsement.)

Ancient Writings belonging the land purchased by Mr. Gregson of Jeremy Northrop and his wife.

Reference to Mr. Gregson and Jeremy Northrop.

XIII.

Horton. 14 May 1697.

THIS INDENTURE MADE the foureteenth daye of May in the nynth yeare of the reigne of king William the third *Anno Dom* 1697.

BETWEENE Isaace Hollinges of Horton within the pish of Bradford, and county of Yorke, yeom, and Thomas Pighelle of the same, yeom, of the one pty, and Robert Swayne, of Horton aforesaid, yeom, of the other pty, **WHEREAS** Robert Sugden formerly of Horton aforesaid, deceased, did by last his will and testament bearing date the eight and twentyth day of Jeneuary in the second yeare of the reigne of the late kinge James the second and in the yeare of our Lorde one thousand six hundred eighty and six amongst other gifts and devises did give and devise unto the said Isaace Hollinges and Thomas Pighelle their heirs and assignes for ever all that cottage or dwellinge house and all easmts. to the same belonginge scituate in Horton aforesaid formerly in the occupation of one Edward Smithes of intent the said Isaace Hollinges and Thomes Pighelle or their heires heirof shall sell the said cottage or dwellinge house for and towardes the paym of the debte and the mantayneinge and

Isaac Hollings of Horton, and Thomas Pighills of Horton,

As executors of the will of Robert Sugden, of Horton, who left wife and children (will dated 28 January 1686.)

Sell to Robert Swaine a cottage and appurts. in Horton for £9 10s. ; previous occupier of the premises being Martin Fielding.

bringinge upp of the then wife and children of the said Robert Sugden as by the said will unto which reservance beinge had more playnly and att large itt may appeare **NOW THIS** indenture wittneseth that the said Isaace Hollinges and Thomas Pighelle in discharge of their trust and in pformance of the said will for and in consideration of the some of nyne pounds and tenn shillings of lawfull money of England to them in hand paid by the said Robert Swayne before the sealling and delivery of these psents whereof and wherewith they the said Isaace Hollinges and Thomas Pighelle doth here by acknowledge full paym and sattisfaction, and thereof and of every pte thereof doth clearly acquitt and discharge the said Robert Swayne his heirs exec adm and assignes and every of them for ever by these psentes **HATHE** graunted, barganed and sould alyened, enfeoffed, released and confirmed, and by this Indenture for and from them their heires and assignes doth fully and absolutely grant bargane, sell, alyane and release enfeoffe and confirme unto the said Robert Swayne now in his actuall possession by virtue of one Indenture of bargaine and sale to him allready made from the said Isaace Hollinges and Thomas Pighells for one whole yeare from the daye before the date of these psents and by vertue of the statute for transferringe of use into possession and to his heirs and assignes forever **ALL** the above said cottage or dwelling-house mentioned in the said will and one little pcell of lund to the same belonging with all and singular their appurtenances scituate lyinge and beinge in Horton aforesaid late in the tenure or occupation of Martin Fieldinge or his assigns and all buildings to the same belonginge or builded, and the reversion and reversions of the said granted pmises and alsoe all the estate, right, title, claim and

demande whatsoever of them the said Isaace Hollinges and Thomas Pighelles of and to the same, and all the deeds and evidences touching or concerning the said granted pmisses now in the possession of the said Isaace Hollinges and Thomas Pighelle or either of them or under their pcurers. TO HAVE and to hould the said cottag: or dwelling-house with all buildinges there builded the said pcell of land to the same belonging and all other the pmisses herein before mentioned or intended to bee granted with all their appurtenances unto the said Robert Swayne his heires and assignes to the onely use and behoofe of the said Robert Swayne his heires and assignes for ever to bee houlden of the cheefe lord or lordes of the fee or fees by services therefore due and of right accustomed AND the said Isaace Hollinges and Thomas Pighells and their heires the said cottage or dwellinghouse, buildings, pcell of land and all other the pmisses before mentioned or intended to be sould with th' appurtenances unto the said Robert Swayne his heires and assignes to his and their owne uses in manner and forme aforesaid as them the said Isaace Hollings and Thomas Pighells their heires and assignes shall and will warrant and defend for ever by these psents AND alsoe the said Isaace Hollinges and Thomas Pighells doth for themselves their heires, exec., and adm., covenant, pmise, and grant to and with the said Robert Swayne his heires and assignes by these psentes in manner and forme affollowinge to witt, that they the said Isaace Hollinges and Thomas Pighells by vertue of the said will now is the day of the date hereof notwithstanding any acte or thinge done by them or either of them to the contrary the very true and undoubted owner of the said cottage or dwelling-house and other the granted pmises and thereof is seased of an indefeazable estate of inheritance in fee simple and hath good right and lawfull athority to sell and convey the same in manner and forme aforesaid AND further that the said Robert Swayne his heires and assignes and every of them to his and their owne uses shall or may lawfully peaceably and quietly at all tymes from henceforth have hold possess and enjoy the said cottage or dwelling house and all other the pmisses before mentioned or intended to bee graunted with their appurtenances according to true intent of these psent without any lett suite trouble eviction or encombrance whatsoever of or by the said Isaac Hollings and Thomas Pighells or either of them their severall heires or assignes or of or by any other pson or psons whatsoever lawfully claiminge from or under them or any of them or by or through their or any of their means or pcurers AND free and clearly discharged or otherwise well and sufficiently at all tymes hereafter upon reasonable request to be made for the same saved and kept harmless and indemnified by the said Isaac Hollinges and Thomas Pighells their heires or assignes or by some of them of and from all and all manner of former and other barganes sailes giftes grants mortgages titles troubles and encombrances whatsoever heretofore had made suffered executed or done or hereafter to be had made suffered executed or done afor by the said Isaac Hollinges and Thomas Pighells or either of them their severall heires or assignes or any of them or for by any pson or psons whatsoever by or through their or any of their meanes consents or pcurers, the rents and services to be hereafter due and payable for the said pmisses to the cheefe lorde or lordes of the fee or fees only excepted AND moreover that they the said

Isaac Hollinges and Thomas Pighells and their heires and all and every other pson or psons lawfully clayming any right in the abovesaid pmisses from or under them or any of them shall and will at all tymes hereafter upon reasonable request and all the costes and charges of him the said Robert Swayne his heires or assignes make and execute or cause and suffer to bee made and executed suche further and assurances and conveyances in the law for the better and sure grantinge of the above said pmisses bee the to bee done by fyne or any other assurance with warrantyes above said as by the said Robert Swayne his heires or assignes or counsell shall be reasonably advised and required, AND lastly it is covenanted and agreed betwixt the said pties and itt is herein mentioned and declared that all fynes and assurances here before made or hereafter to bee made touchinge or conserninge the above granted pmisses onely or of them withother or only joyntly shall for the consideration above said bee adjudged and taken to be and shall bee to the onely use and bee feofe of the said Robert Swayne his heires and assignes forever and to no other use or uses, In witness whereof the said Isaac Hollinges and Thomas Pighells have hereunto sett their handes and seales the day and yeare first above written.

Witnesses:
Robert Swaine,
Samuel Swaine.

This is a true copy examined by us :
ROBERT SWAINE,
SAMUEL SWAINE.

XIV.

Manningham. 27 June 1674.

THIS INDENTURE MADE the seven and twentieth day of June, in the six and twentieth yeave of the reigne of our sovereigne Lord CHARLES the Second by the grace of God of England, Scotland, ffrance, and Ireland, King, Defender of the ffaith, *Anno Domini*: 1674: Jeremie Northropp of Maningham in the Countie of Yorke, yeom., and Grace now his wife, late wife of John Hammond late of the same, yeom., deceased, and sole daughter and heire of William Clayton late of Allerton, within the pish of Bradford, in the said Countie, yeom., deceased, of th' one ptie: And John Greggson of Maningham afore-said, gentl., of the other ptie; WITNESSETH that the said Jeremie Northropp and Grace his wife, ffor and in consideration of the sum of one hundred and fiftiene pounds of lawfull money of England to them or th' one of them in hand all well and trulie paid by the said John Greggson att or befor the tyme of then sealling and deliverie of these psents, whereof they the said Jeremy Northropp and Grace his wife do hereby acknowledge the Receipt and themselves to bee fullie satisfied and thereof and of everie pte and pcell of the same do clearly acquit, exonerate, and discharge the said John Greggson his heirs, executors, adm. and assignes, and everie of them for ever by these psents, And for divers other good causes and considerations them the said Jeremy Northroppe and Grace his wife thereunto moving: HAVE given graunted, barganed, sold, alyened, enfeoffed and confirmed, and by this

indenture for and from them their severall heirs and assignes do fullie freele and absolutelie give, graunt, bargane, sell, alyene, enffeff, release and confirme unto the said John Greggson his heirs and assignes for ever: ALL that messuage or tenement with th' appurtenances situate and being in Maningham aforesaid near a place called Chellow Height now in the tenure or occupation of one John Hoile his assignee or assignes together with one barne thereto adjoining, one garden, one croft or backside on the north side of the said messuage and barne and fower Closes of land thereto belonging and lyeing alltogether on the southside thereof and late occupied in three Closes or ptes and comonlie called or knowne by the severall names of the Long Close (now occupied in two ptes), the Upper field, and the Lower field or by what other name or names soever the same Closes of land or any of them are or bee called or knowne, with their appurtenances in Maningham aforesaid, now in the tenure or occupation of the said John Greggson, his assignee or assignes, and abutting or adjoining upon the highway leading from Theevesfoore to Bingley upon the west pte, upon the highway leading from Allerton to Maningham on the south pte, upon the lands of John Fournes on the east pte, and upon the said Messuage or barne on the north pte. AND also all that one other Close of land or pasture, comonlie called the Lamb Close, or by what other name soever the same be called, with th'appurtenances in Maningham aforesaid, and now also in the tenure or occupation of the said John Greggson, his assignee or assignes, and abutting upon the said highway or lane leading from Theevesfoore to Bingley on the west pte, upon the said other lane leading from Allerton to Maningham on the north pte, upon the lands of the heirs of John Horrocks on the south and east ptes. AND also all that one other Close of land comonlie called the Cliff Fold, or by what other name soever the same bee called, with th'appurtenances in Maningham aforesaid, now also in the tenure or occupation of the said John Greggson, his assignee or assignes, and adjoining upon the lands of Samuell Sunderland, Esq., on the west pte, upon the lane leading from Allerton to Maningham on the south pte, upon the lands belonging to the poore of the pish of Bradford on the east pte, and upon the lands of Rebecca Hoile on the north pte; AND also all those two other Closes of land or pasture comonlie called Upper Whettley and Nether Whettley, or by what other name or names soever the same or either of them bee called or knowne, with their appurtenances in Maningham aforesaid, now also in the tenure or occupation of the said John Greggson, his assignee or assignes, and abutting upon the lands of John Sowell on the east pte, upon the lands of John Hartley on the south pte, upon the lands of John Crabtree on the west pte, and upon Whettley Green on the north pte; and also all and further ways, passages, waters, watercourses, hedges, fences, comons, libtyes, easmts and hereditmts whatsoever to the said messuage, barne, garden, severall closes of land or any of them in any wise belonging or appteyning: AND the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, of all and singler the above graunted pmisses with their appurtancs: AND also all the estate, right, title, interest, inheritance, condition, clayme and demand whatsoever of the said Jeremy Northropp and Grace his wife, and of either of them, of, in and to the said messuage, buildings, lands and pmisses: And all the deedes,

evidences and writings whatsoever touching or concerning the same or any pte thereof with th'appurtances: To HAVE AND TO HOLD the said messuage or tent, buildings, closes, lands, libtyes and all other the above graunted psmises with all their appurtances unto the said John Greggson, his heirs and assignes; To the onelie and pper use and behoofe of the said John Greggson, and of his heires and assignes for ever: To bee holden of the chieff Lord or Lords of the fee or fees thereof by services therefour due and of right accustomed: AND the said Jeremy Northropp and Grace his wife and their heirs, the said messuage, buildings, closes, lands, and pmisses above graunted with their appurtances unto the said John Greggson, his heirs and assignes to his and their owners and for ever in manner and forme aforesaid against them the said Jeremy Northropp and Grace his wife, their severall assignes and against all and everie other pson and psons whatsoever shall and will warrant and defend for ever by the aforesaid psnts: AND ALSO the said Jeremy Northropp doth for himselfe and the said Grace his wife, their severall heirs, executors and adm., covenant, pmise, and graunt to and with the said John Greggson, his heirs and assignes, by these psents in manner and forme following, viz.: That they the said Jeremy Northropp and Grace his wife now are, or th' one of them is, the day of the date hereof and att the verie tyme of the sealing and deliverie of the aforesaide psnts, the verie, true, lawfull and undoubted owners or owner, inheritor or inheritors of the said messuage, lands, tents, and graunted pmisses with their appurtances And thereof now are and stand, or th' one of them now is and standeth rightfullie and lawfully seised of a pfect absolute and indefeasable estate of inheritece in fee simple by meare right without any manner of condition, redemption or mortgage AND further that the said John Greggson, his heirs and assignes and everie of them, to his, and their owne uses shall or may peaceable and quietlie att all tymes hereafter have, hold, occupy, possesse and enjoy the said messuage or tent, buildings, closes, lands, tmtes, hereditaments and pmisses above graunted with their appurtances according to the tenor and true, intent of the said psente. DISCHARGED cleare and free or otherwise well and sufficiently att all tyme and hereafter upon reasonable request to bee made for the same saved or kept harmless and indemnified by the said Jeremy Northropp, his heirs, executors, adm. or some of them, of and from all former and other barganes, sales, gifts, graunts, estates, uses, wills, intayles, lease and leases, mortgages, jointures, dowers and titles of dower, statutes-merchant, and of the staple bonds, recognisances, issues, fynes, amercliements, annuyties, rents, averrages of rents, extents, judgments, ousterlemaines forfeitures And of and from all other acts, charges, titles, troubles, incumbrances whatsoever heretofore had made and comitted, suffered, executed, or done or hereafter to bee had made and comitted, suffered, executed, or done by the said Jeremy Northropp and Grace his wife, their lawful heirs or assigns or any of them, or by any other pson or psons whatsoever, the rents and services to be hereafter due and payable for the pmisses to the chieff Lord or Lords of the fee or fees thereof onelie excepted: AND moreover that the said Jeremy Northropp and Grace his wife, their severall heirs and assignes, shall

and will during the space of seaven years next ensuing th' date hereof, att the reasonable request and att the pper costs and charges of the said John Greggson, his heirs or assignes, make, do, knowledge and execute or cause and suffer to be made, done, knowledged and executed all and everie such further lawfull and reasonable acte and thing, devise, conveyance, and assurance in the Law whatsoever for the better, further and more pfect granting, conveying and assuring of the said messuage, buildings, closes, lands, ten^{ts} and pmisses above graunted with their appurtances according to the tenor and true intent of these p^{se}nts: Bee the same to bee done by ffyne or ffynes with pclamations, recoverie, or recoveries, deed or deeds indented or enrolled or not enrolled, enrollment of these p^{se}nts, release and confirmation with warrantie according to the tenor of these p^{se}nts or by any other lawful ways or meanes whatsoever and so often as by the said John Greggson his heirs or assignes or his or their counsell learned in the lawes of this realme shalbee reasonable devised and required: AND lastlie it is covennted, graunted, concluded, and agreed by and between the said pties to these p^{se}nts, and itt is hereby limytted, expressed, and declared that all and everie ffyne and ffynes, fee or fees, recoveries, estates, and assurances whatsoever heretofore had, made, knowledged, or executed, or hereafter to be had, made, knowledged, suffered or executed of the said messuage, lands, tents, and pmisses, or any pte thereof either onely or amongst any other lands or tents jointly, shall (for the considerations aforesaid) att all times hereafter be and enure and shalbee construed, adjudged, expounded, and taken to bee and shalbee (as touching the pmisses hereby graunted to the onely and pper use and behoofe of the said John Greggson, his heirs and assignes for ever: IN wittesse thereof the pties above named to the ptes of these indentures have interchangably sett their hands and sealls the day and yeare above said.

JER. NORTHROPP. GRACE × NORTHROPP,
her mark.

Endorsement.

Sealled and Delivered, and also that peaceable possession and seizin of and in the within sayd messuage or ten^t (in the name of all other the within graunted lands and ten^{ts}.) was given and delivered the day and yeare within written by the within named Jeremy Northropp and Grace his wife, with their owne handes unto the within named John Greggson, to hold to him, his heirs and assignes, according to the tenour and effect of this deed indented in the sight and presence of us :

JNO. SAGAR.

ROBERT WILKINSON.

JOHN COCKROFT.

JOHN × HOLLINGS,

his mark.

ROGER BUTLER.

RICH^d. MURGATROYD.

Jeremy Northrop, or Manningham, and his wife Grace, late the wife of John Hammond, of Manningham, deceased, and sole daughter and heiress of William Clayton, of Allerton, deceased,

Demise to John Greggson, of Manningham,

A messuage at Chellow Heights with garden and croft, tenanted by John Hoyle, and various closes of land named Long Close, Upper Field, Lower Field, Lamb Close, Cliff Fold, Upper Whetley Nether Whetley, tenanted by John Greggson, and bounded by the lands of John Furness, John Horrocks, Samuel Sunderland, Rebecca Hoyle, John Jowett, John Hartley, and John Crabtree,

Consideration paid: £. 15.

BRITISH DIPLOMACY DURING THE REIGN
OF TERROR IN FRANCE:

WILLIAM WICKHAM OF COTTINGLEY.

BY

CHARLES A. FEDERER, L.C.P.

THE fragment of 18th century history with which I propose to deal in this paper, is practically comprised within the period of seven years, commencing in January, 1793, and terminating with the close of the century; it is coincident therefore with the Reign of Terror in France and falls entirely within Lord Grenville's tenure of the Foreign Office in Pitt's administration.

A few short remarks must suffice to outline the remarkable career of Lord Grenville, that typical statesman-diplomatist of the old school who thought it the most natural thing in the world to combine the strictest personal integrity with extremely lax notions as to the honesty required in diplomatic intercourse and in dealing with public bodies such as the Houses of Parliament.

William Wyndham, Lord Grenville, was the youngest of the three sons of George Grenville who was Prime Minister from 1761 to 1765, and on whose character and times the well known "Grenville Papers" shed a striking light. Born in 1759, and educated at Eton and Oxford, he entered Parliament in 1782, and soon gained a remarkable ascendancy in that assembly, due

on the one hand to his undeniable talents and force of character, on the other to the powerful influence of his cousin, William Pitt. The first office he held was that of Paymaster General of the Forces, and in 1789, at the age of barely 30 years, he was elected speaker of the House of Commons. He only held this honourable position, however, for a few months, and abandoned it to take charge of the Home Office, and the following year, 1790, was raised to the peerage.

William Pitt who was then at the head of the administration, clearly foresaw the overmastering importance which foreign affairs must necessarily assume at a time when nearly all the existing state-systems of the continent of Europe were seen tottering to a fall. He as clearly perceived the necessity at that juncture of perfect unity of aim and purpose in the men at the helm of affairs, and by entrusting (in 1791) the Foreign Office to Lord Grenville he felt the certitude of having secured the faithful co-operation of a powerful and skilful and, what was still more important, a safe man.

Pitt and Grenville had in common an intense hatred of France; the former hated it instinctively as the hereditary enemy of this country, the antipathy of the latter was not so much against France as a country as against the revolution and the political system which was the outcome of it. Grenville's attitude towards the French officials with whom his position brought him into contact, was from first to last one of uncompromising hostility. When Talleyrand who was at the head of the ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris, instructed Chauvelin, who at that time was French Ambassador in London, to make friendly overtures to the Court of St. James in order to secure England's neutrality in the impending continental struggle, Grenville haughtily rejected the overtures made to him, and little time elapsed before he recalled the British ambassador from Paris, and curtly informed Chauvelin that he could only be permitted to remain in London as a private individual. Even this qualified permission was with-

drawn when public opinion in this country was profoundly stirred by the news of the trial and execution of the French king in January 1793, and a peremptory order was sent to Chauvelin to quit England within a week.

As this particular juncture is the starting point of the series of transactions detailed in this paper, I will only add prospectively that the Pitt and Grenville ministry came to grief in February 1801 over the Catholic Emancipation Question which it was sought somewhat prematurely to graft upon the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

The recall of the British ambassador from France was a momentous step. Whilst on the one hand it gave forcible expression to the abhorrence felt on this side of the Channel against the excesses of the French revolutionists, it had on the other hand the serious effect of still further isolating this country, which from its insular position was already precluded from any close and intimate connection with continental politics. British armies had, it is true, been seen at various times on continental battlefields; but they had always fought under British commanders and under direct orders from the British government, and in the furtherance of purely British interests. The English were outsiders who had apparently unlimited resources at command and whose energy and power were fully acknowledged, but still they were only outsiders whose interests and influence in any part of the continent were purely military or commercial, not social.

Another circumstance must have added not a little to the weighty responsibility resting upon the shoulders of the men at the head of affairs in this country. Former wars had been waged between government and government, with comparatively small injury to the private citizen: they were prize fights in which the farmer's grass might be trampled down and his hedge-stakes pulled up, but at all events the farmer himself escaped without personal injury: but now everything pointed to the probability that the coming struggle was

to be between people and people, between race and race, in which private and public interests were inseparably bound up together.

Now after the recall of the ambassador and his *personnel*, how was British influence to be exerted? how were dangerous measures to be counteracted? how were the multitudinous commercial interests which this nation more than any other possessed in every part of Europe to be safeguarded? In our own time the friendly offices of some neutral great power would in such a case be invoked; but at the period of which we speak, there were but two powerful states in Europe in a position to do more than only just protect themselves, viz: Austria and Russia, and to name them is to say how futile it would have been to intrust British interests to either of them.

The only course seemingly open to the British government was to make its influence felt on the continent by independent and unofficial action, which action would probably be all the more efficacious for not being trammelled by court-officialism abroad and hampered by parliamentary inquisitiveness at home. Lord Grenville decided upon this course and set himself the task of planning under English guidance a combination of all the various elements of disaffection scattered in France and Central Europe into one vast and powerful organisation which, by simultaneous risings in the West, Centre, and South of France, seconded by a well equipped German invasion from the North and East, was to overturn the revolutionary government of France and restore the monarchy.

An enterprise of such vast proportions and such momentous import, whose stage and actors might almost instantaneously change as events altered the aspect of affairs, could naturally not be worked from London, and it would become necessary to employ a trusty and intelligent agent, resident upon the spot, familiar with persons, places, and circumstances, and capable of acting promptly as well as cautiously, if need be on his own responsibility, without compromising the government at home.

No foreigner could, of course, be employed on such a mission; for, honourable and trustworthy as he might be, the unconscious bent of his mind must of necessity lead him to appreciate and interpret facts and events in their bearing upon his own country rather than upon the interests of another.

Not many Englishmen were to be found either, who were fully conversant with continental matters, familiar with continental ways and thoughts, and at the same time of such social standing and personal character and intelligence as to be entrusted with such a responsible as well as difficult mission. It was Lord Grenville's good fortune to put his hand upon the right man in the person of a former fellow student at Oxford, William Wickham, a native of the immediate neighbourhood of Bradford.

I proceed to state a few details respecting the ancestry of this Yorkshire gentleman. Descended from the ancient family of Wickham, of Swacliffe, county Oxford, and counting among his direct ancestors a bishop of Winchester and three successive generations of Archdeacons and Deans of York, his grandfather was Henry Wickham, D.D.,* rector of Guiseley and chaplain to the Princess of Wales, whose son Henry, after a most adventurous though strictly honourable career in Germany, French Switzerland, Savoy, and Piedmont, entered the First Regiment of Foot, of which he became Lieutenant-Colonel. Having married Elizabeth, daughter of William Lamplough, of Cottingley, vicar of Dewsbury, he

* A curious sidelight is thrown upon the magisterial activity of this dignitary by the following extract from the Journal of the Rev. John Wesley :—

“Just now, on the 4th of this instant December, 1745, the Rev. Mr. Henry Wickham, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire, writes an order to the Constable of Keighley, commanding him to convey the body of Jonathan Reeves (whose real crime is the calling sinners to repentance) to His Majesty's gaol and castle of York; suspected (says the precept) of being a spy among us, and a dangerous man to the person and government of His Majesty, King George.”

received the Cottingley estate as his wife's marriage portion, retired from the army, and settled down at Cottingley Hall.

It may not be uninteresting to peruse the brief account of the adventurous life of Colonel Henry Wickham written by his son William, the subject of our paper (see Confidential Letters by the Hon. William Wickham, Esq.).

"My father," he writes, "was tall and well made, a very manly beauty, though fair. He looked so like a youth of full growth even at the early age of fifteen, that having escaped from school at Heath in the year 1745, when General Wade's army was encamped on Bramham Moor, he was enlisted as a young man of eighteen, in one of the infantry regiments. His discharge was easily procured, but not until he had marched sometime with the corps. His passion for a military life and his aversion to Greek and Latin being alike unsurmountable, his father, the rector of Guiseley, in the hope of weaning him from the former, and substituting German and French for the latter, sent him in good company to Leipzig where he remained a year, during which time he acquired a thorough practical knowledge of German. Whilst at Leipzig he lived very much with Mr. Stanhope, son of Lord Chesterfield, and Mr. Eliot, father to Lord St. Germans. He removed from thence to Neuchâtel where he was placed with a clergyman of the name of Lardy, for the sake of learning French. But his passion for the army increasing with his father's aversion to it, at last in utter despair of obtaining his object by fair means, he left Neuchâtel in company with two Bernese officers in the service of Piedmont and entered as a volunteer in the regiment to which they belonged, where he remained nearly two years performing all the duties of a common soldier but messing with the officers. He was engaged in the bloody battle of Exilles. If he could have obtained a commission in that regiment he would never have quitted it; but it was a Swiss regiment in which, by treaty with the King of Sardinia, none but

Bernese officers could hold commissions. In the hope of eventually overcoming the difficulty, he concealed his position from his father and would probably have continued in it some time longer, had he not been discovered standing sentinel at the gates of Alessandria by Sir Charles Turner and Sir Thomas Gascoign, then young men of about his own age. Whilst their passports were being examined at the gate, Henry Wickham who had been at school with Sir Charles Turner, and of course knew him perfectly well, could not resist the temptation of saluting him by way of a joke. This unmilitary proceeding arrested attention, and Sir Charles immediately recognised him, and remained some time longer in Alessandria for the sole purpose of inducing Henry to communicate with his father. In this object he succeeded, though not without difficulty. Henry's father, finding all further resistance vain, purchased a commission in the first regiment of Foot Guards for him, and he remained in that corps—in which he acquired the rank of Lieutenant Colonel—till the death of his father when he sold out, and his father-in-law, the Rev. William Lamplugh, giving up Cottingley to him, he became an active Justice of the Peace and a resident country gentleman."

At Cottingley Hall was born to him, in October, 1761, as the eldest of seven children, William, the chief agent in the transactions with which we are dealing. After studying at Harrow and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he formed life-long friendships with Charles Abbot, afterwards Lord Colchester, and William Wyndham Grenville, afterwards Lord Grenville, he proceeded to the continent in order to study civil law at the University of Geneva, in which town he became acquainted with a number of eminent Frenchmen, Swiss, and Germans.

Some of his father's roving spirit had descended to him, and his travels and sojourns in various parts of the continent familiarised him to a remarkable degree with the home life and political aspirations of Central Europe.

In 1788 he married, at Geneva, Mademoiselle Bertrand, daughter of one of the Professors at the University of that town, with whom he spent a happy married life of forty-eight years, finding in her a tender and thoughtful helpmeet who shared all his travels, dangers, and difficulties.

It will perhaps be best at this point to give a short résumé of that diplomatic career of Mr. Wickham, and the work is done ready to hand by Mr. Wickham himself, in a letter written from Switzerland and dated 27th March, 1831, on the subject of a return required by Government of all the circumstances connected with pensions granted for diplomatic services:—

“The last return of pensions called for, with the dates of services, set me down as having served ten years. This would be saying too little if applied to the whole of my public services, too much if confined to diplomatic services only, publicly acknowledged as such. I was secretly employed by Lord Grenville, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in a foreign correspondence as early as August, 1793. This correspondence continued till I was appointed Superintendent of Aliens, in the summer of 1794, and I have reason to know that there is no trace of that correspondence in the office, nor was it known, though of considerable importance, to any one but the late Lord Rosslyn, then Lord Chancellor, through whose hands it passed to avoid observation by any of the messengers, &c., of the Foreign Office. This correspondence continued during the short time that I acted as Superintendent of Aliens to which place I was appointed (*inter alia*) with the express view of enabling me to extend and enlarge my foreign communications and correspondence for which that office furnished singular facilities and advantages that could have been obtained in no other way. I was promised the Under-Secretaryship of State at that time, with the Alien Department under my direction, in case Mr. Broderick, then Under-Secretary and very ill, should not survive. In the month of October, however, of that same year

circumstances occurred that made it desirable or rather necessary that some person of confidence should be sent over on a special mission to Switzerland where Lord Robert Fitzgerald was at that time Minister Plenipotentiary. The nature and object of this mission was considered so secret and confidential that I never appeared at the Foreign Office at all, and my instructions were drawn up in Lord Grenville's own handwriting, were copied by me at my own house and, I think, never signed. A dispatch sent home by me by a servant of Lord Fitzgerald's, whom I had borrowed for that occasion, gave the first intimation at the Foreign Office (about Christmas, 1794) that I had been employed on a diplomatic mission. I need not say that this circumstance was the cause of much jealousy, the effects of which I could not but occasionally feel. Lord Fitzgerald's servant brought back a leave of absence to the minister with direction to leave me Chargé d'Affaires during such absence. This is probably the first trace that will be found of my having been employed on diplomatic service though I had been so employed secretly for more than a year and a half. In July, 1795, when Lord Fitzgerald was appointed to the Court of Copenhagen, I was myself appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons and the Grisons, having in the meantime had a separate mission to the armies and the conduct of a secret correspondence of which I doubt whether there is any trace in the Foreign Office; it related to the Royalists in the West, to which country I sent off, so that they all arrived safe, Bourmont, Sapinaud, Philippeau, and seven or eight more, who all became more or less distinguished commanders in the Vendée; they were all selected by me from the *chevaliers nobles* after the strictest enquiry into their respective characters and conduct, and several weeks' residence at the headquarters of the army of Condé.

The unbounded confidence reposed in me by Lord Grenville on this as well as every other occasion enabled me to perform much essential service of this

kind without the fear of committing any one, as it was never expected from me that any names should be mentioned. It is, indeed, owing to this confidence that the secret respecting the persons of importance who had committed themselves to support General Pichegru is at this moment, I believe, locked up in my own breast.

“In January, 1798, I returned home and was soon after appointed Under-Secretary of State, which place had been kept open for me from the time that I was first appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons, the Duke of Portland having appointed his son-in-law as *locum tenens* during my absence. In June, 1799, I was again sent out as Minister Plenipotentiary to Switzerland, keeping my office of Under-Secretary, with a mission also of great importance to the armies, and subsequently with powers and instructions to make subsidiary treaties and to concert measures against the common enemy under one of the largest commissions ever given. I continued to act under this commission until March, 1802, when I was appointed Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which office I resigned in February, 1804. In the meantime I had been nominated successively to the missions of Berlin and Vienna, both which courts in succession objected to me, as being personally obnoxious to the French Government with which they were both desirous of keeping on good terms if possible. However, I desired to retire from the public service as a Foreign Minister out of employment on whatever pension Government might think right to give me, including Mrs. Wickham's. This was fixed by Lord Liverpool and Lord Sidmouth at £1,800 a year, but as the portion assigned to Mrs. Wickham was paid from the Civil List, a fractional sum was added to cover the land tax which Foreign Ministers' pensions do not pay. When Lord Grenville went out of office in the spring of 1801, it was his intention to have sent me Ambassador to St. Petersburg, in which case his nephew Henry Williams would have gone with me.”

From this interesting document it is easy to gather the motives which guided Lord Grenville in his action. The Swiss Cantons, wedged in between the contending nations, and in uninterrupted social, commercial, and political intercourse with each one of them, were an admirable basis for a secret agent who was to hold in his hand all the threads of the royalist conspiracy and be eyes and ears to the British Government. Strong and self-confident enough at that period to beard any foreign power, the aristocratic republic of Berne was yet sufficiently conscious of its relative unimportance to be flattered by the attentions of a power like Great Britain. The representative of England, avowed and unavowed, would be perfectly safe from French unscrupulousness, and withal possessed of a status which would give him a powerful influence not only over the disseminated royalist partisans, but also in the armies which were incircling France and at the courts which dreaded the French propaganda. From such an active centre, too, the lavish subsidies which England was prepared to pay in the furtherance of her political aims, could be distributed intelligently and to the best advantage.

The private and unsigned instructions given to Mr. Wickham by Lord Grenville read as follows:—

LORD GRENVILLE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. WICKHAM.

“ Mr. Wickham will endeavour to learn from Messrs. Mounier* and Mallet Du Pan† the names of the persons from whom the overtures now made have proceeded, and also the origin of the proposal, whether it came first from Paris to these gentlemen, or whether it originated with them. This point being ascertained,

* Jean Joseph Mounier, born 1758, one of the most distinguished members of the States General, Préfet and Councillor of State under Napoleon, died 1806, author of several works.

† Mallet Du Pan, a native of Geneva, born 1749, greatly distinguished as an able political writer, died in England, 1800, where his family settled. The late Right Hon. Sir Louis Mallet, C.B., was his grandson.

if it should appear that the overture merits attention and really proceeds from persons of weight at Paris, he may enter with Mr. Mounier and Mr. Mallet Du Pan into the discussion of the different points of Mr. Mounier's *mémoire*, requiring of them the strictest secrecy. Mr. Wickham is acquainted with the reasons which seem to make such an injunction particularly necessary. He will take as the ground of his discussion the paper called "Notes sur le mémoire remis à Lord Robert Fitz-Gerald," which Mr. Wickham may deliver to Messrs. Mounier and Mallet Du Pan in order to be shown to the persons treated with, supposing the business should appear to rest on such grounds as make it fit to be proceeded in. With respect to the amnesty, the word "Assassin" is understood to include the authors and principal actors of the massacres at Paris, Lyons, Avignon, and other places—and the words which extend the exception to the case of those who have in any marked or ostensible manner, besides that of voting in the convention, taken part in the murders of the King or Queen or Madame Elizabeth, are meant to apply to such cases as those of Santerre, who commanded the Guards at the King's execution, of the then executive council who gave the orders for the execution, and of their secretary who read the sentence to the King, and generally to such persons respectively in power at the time as were the real promoters of that and the two other murders. But even with respect to all these, the general words at the end of the paragraph are meant to hold out pardon even for these offences to any man without exception who may now render distinguished service. On the second part it is necessary to observe that the words in the *mémoire* are so general as to make such an agreement as is there proposed inadmissible without further explanation. The engagement there stated is indefinite as to time, and does not specify in what situation the armies of the convention are to be placed during the period of this suspense. In the case of places besieged the allies could not suspend the measures for their relief in the uncertain hope of a

revolution at Paris. If, while the party with whom we treat are taking their measures at Paris, the armies on the frontiers are not favourably disposed to them, it cannot be expected that we should engage for any suspension of arms on one side which would not be observed on the other. But if that party has influence enough either through the channels of the generals of their armies or by means of orders to be given by the committees of government at Paris, to withdraw the troops into winter quarters within their own country, or even within the Austrian Netherlands, holding only such towns as they may actually have reduced on the Dutch frontier, in that case an understanding might with more facility be established which should lead either to a virtual or to an avowed suspension of arms in that quarter, and Mr. Wickham may express his knowledge of the disposition of this government to consent to any such arrangement supposing the concurrence of Austria can be obtained as seems most likely.

“Mr. Wickham will be very careful to confine his discussions on this point to the armies in Flanders, Holland, and on the Rhine, and to say nothing that may apply to any Royalists acting in concert or in conjunction with us in the interior of France. With respect to such a suspension on the side of Spain, it is evident that this cannot be engaged for by this country which has no troops there, and the same observation applies to the King of Sardinia. If therefore such a suspension in those quarters is judged necessary for the success of the plan, application must be made to those powers. But in case of any understanding with this country relative to such a suspension it must be stipulated that the same should be offered to Spain and Sardinia, supposing those powers willing to accede to it. With respect to the third point, Mr. Wickham knows that M. Mounier, the principal agent in this business, is still strongly tinctured with all the prejudices of that party with whom he acted in the commencement of the Revolution. It may therefore be justly

suspected that even without designing it, he may give to any negotiation passing through his hands a turn favourable to those principles, and Mr. Wickham is therefore to observe a particular degree of caution upon all points connected with this subject.

“ In the discussions on this third head the leading ideas which Mr. Wickham is to keep in view are :

“ 1st. That the King has never desired to interfere for the purpose of giving to France any particular form of government further than became necessary for his own security and that of the rest of Europe, but having been attacked by the convention and seeing in the principles which all the Republican parties in France have uniformly professed, certain ruin of all civil society in Europe if these principles should be suffered ultimately to establish themselves in so powerful a country as France, he is naturally led to seek as the means of peace some legitimate principle of government in that country, which can, as it appears, only be looked to from the restoration of a monarchy in the person of the undoubted heir of that throne.

“ The constitution of 1789-90 has always been considered as vicious and destructive, containing in itself the seeds of its own ruin, and having led by a natural progression to all that has since happened. No approbation can therefore ever be expressed from hence of any government founded on that basis. But if on that ground, or on any other, a just security can be held out to foreign nations against the attempts to destroy their governments, they could have no reason to desire the overthrow of that of France, though such as they might think ill calculated to promote the happiness of that country. These principles led to the acceptance of the surrender of Toulon on the terms then held out, and they are stated in more detail in the King's declaration of October last.

“ 2nd. It should, however, be observed that even to hold out such security as is above-mentioned there must be a prospect of permanence in the form of the government to be established. If by the restoration of

Royalty nothing more is meant than the proclaiming the young King, keeping him still in a virtual prison and putting the exercise of his authority into the hands of the convention or its committees, such a system would differ from the present in name only, and all the causes which produce the present instability of power in that country would continue to operate with the same force. The restoration of monarchy, if really intended, must necessarily imply the recall of the Princes, and the vesting the powers meant to be left to the King in the hands of some person intended to maintain and support them. No personal objection can justly be made to Monsieur and any other plan is full of insurmountable difficulties. What is so much dwelt on in the paper of Mallet du Pan as to the disposition of the Princes towards systems of revenge and proscription does not appear to rest on any proof. They have evidently an interest directly contrary to such a line of conduct, and they could not be blind to it, but have in fact uniformly given to this government the most express assurances of their entertaining views of conciliation and moderation conformable to the representations which have been made from hence. Sufficient securities might, however, easily be provided against the exercise of any such disposition if it could be supposed to exist. But no permanent tranquillity for France can be procured by a system which should exclude the Royal Family of that country from their just share in the exercise of the Royal authority during the minority of the King. In one of the papers which Mr. Wickham has seen, an idea is held out as by way of menace of calling to the throne the son of the late Duke of Orleans. If this is anything more than an idle menace, it seems to require no other comment than that such a measure could only lead to perpetuate in France the horrors of civil war. But it is difficult to believe that this idea can have been seriously entertained, or that any number of people could be found to act in support of it. On the subject of religion and public worship it is conceived that whatever party

really wishes to restore public peace in France must see that the bulk of the people there can never be brought back to the habits of industry and subordination but by the aid of religion, and that therefore is an indispensable part of any plan for the re-establishment of a quiet and well ordered government there. The words used in this respect in the "Notes sur le Mémoire" do not decide the question as to the mode of supporting the ecclesiastical establishment, or the amount of the expense to be allotted for that purpose. But every reasoning man must see the necessity both of the established religion, and also of giving to that profession such encouragement by the prospect of more considerable rewards, as may induce men of rank and liberal education to engage in it.

"The repeal of all laws of banishment, proscription, and confiscation is too obviously necessary to require any argument, and seems to be taken for granted in all that is thrown out on the subject. The future arrangement with respect to assignats, and to that part of the property of the crown, the church, and the emigrants, which has been sold, is a point too difficult to make it possible that the British Government should hope now to propose any satisfactory expedient with respect to it, and the most advantageous measure that could be adopted on that subject by any party wishing the re-establishment of order, would be to reserve the details of that point for future decision under more favourable circumstances, settling only such general outlines as may be necessary in order to remove the alarm which the idea of a counter revolution might give in France for the safety of all property of whatever kind now possessed there, and this government would readily make itself the channel of conveyance of any propositions or plans on that subject to which the consent of the Princes and the great body of emigrants might be necessary. The present object is first to ascertain the existence of such a disposition as is represented to exist among leading persons of Paris for producing a restoration of monarchy by the means

of the interior parties in France, and with no other stipulation on the part of foreign nations than that of a suspension of arms and a readiness to recommend systems of moderation and prudence, abstaining themselves from taking any direct part in the details consequent upon such an event. If such a disposition should be found to exist, the next main point is to endeavour to direct it to such mode of accomplishing that object as may be most likely to ensure its permanence, giving for that purpose the necessary assurances of a disposition on the part of the British Government to facilitate its attainment by such means as are pointed at in the paper transmitted to us, and particularly undertaking for the King's consent and influence to promise a suspension of arms on the part of the allies in the Low Countries and on the Rhine during the attempt, if such a suspension can be made reciprocal."

Mr. Wickham accordingly proceeded to Berne where he had several interviews with Mounier, Mallet Du Pan, and Dumas. Their plans, which at first seemed plausible, when thoroughly inquired into and sifted by Mr. Wickham, proved to rest on so slight a basis, that he not only refused to make any pecuniary advances to them, but informed them that the whole had taken a turn so very different from what he had expected, that they must excuse him if he proceeded no further in the business. This momentarily put an end to the sanguine hopes which misleading reports had induced Lord Grenville to entertain and which led him to send out Mr. Wickham, as we gather from the memorandum of instructions. Lord Grenville wisely determined, however, not to recall Mr. Wickham but to avail himself of all the advantages which the latter's unique position was certain to yield to the British Government, especially as there were undeniable signs of a reaction of public feeling in France after the disappearance of Danton and Robespierre from the scene (April and July, 1794).

The active correspondence which ensued between Lord Grenville and Mr. Wickham consisted of a

certain number of official letters, but of a far greater number of private communications, sometimes enclosed in the official one as in the case of the letter I am about to read, more often sent privately. On the 9th December, 1794, Lord Grenville writes :—

“ Dear Sir,

I cannot let this messenger go without adding to my public despatch a few words to express to you how completely all the King's Servants have been satisfied with the manner in which you have executed the very delicate transaction with which you were intrusted. I hope it will be no inconvenience to you to remain a few months where you are, as your presence may on various occasions be of the greatest use. We receive little intelligence from France on which much reliance can be placed, respecting the general disposition of the country or the events in the inland and southern provinces except what comes through Switzerland. It would therefore be extremely material that you should exert yourself to the utmost to procure constant and detailed information from thence; and it will generally be as early as any other that we should receive (at least of a nature to be depended on) respecting the general situation of the country. It is hardly necessary to add that expence for that purpose will be considered as very well employed.

It will be necessary now to be more than ever upon your guard respecting Mounier and Mallet Du Pan, and yet with attention a communication with them may be rendered useful, and I know I can trust to your making it so without incurring the danger of suffering them to make use of that intercourse for their purposes, &c.”

The conquest of Holland by the French in the winter of 1794, which closed the Scheldt as a highway between Germany and Great Britain, rendered the presence of Mr. Wickham in the centre of Europe more than ever necessary. In June, 1794, he was appointed

Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons; but as has been already stated, the conduct of the ordinary diplomatic relations with the Cantons was the least of his duties. It was necessary for carrying into effect the instructions from time to time received from Lord Grenville, that Mr. Wickham should maintain a very extensive correspondence, not only with the English ambassadors and ministers on the continent, and with the ministers of other courts accredited to Switzerland, but also with the Prince de Condé, the royal family of France, the Comte de Precy, Mallet du Pan, and many others, especially with a very large number of agents in every part of France, for the purpose of obtaining information respecting the state of parties, the dispositions of their leaders, and the prospects of a reaction or counter-revolution in that country. Many of the memoirs and publications relating to that period testify to the remarkable skill with which this correspondence was organised and to the accuracy of the information obtained by Mr. Wickham. One of his bitter enemies, Montgaillard, states in his "Mémoires concernant la Trahison de Pichegru, Paris, An XII," that it is difficult to form an idea of the order and regularity with which the correspondence with the interior of France was carried on, and other writers bear the highest testimony to the ability of Mr. Wickham, the importance of his mission, and the very great services he rendered his country by counteracting the hostile schemes of the French Convention and Directory, against which he was enabled to warn the government at home by means of the timely and accurate information received from his agents.

The position of Mr. Wickham was certainly unique. Placed apart from, and practically above, the Ministers "Plenipotentiary" of Great Britain accredited to the Courts of Vienna, Berlin, Turin, the Southern States of Germany, and the Swiss Cantons, the influence wielded by him was enormous. No restriction whatever was put upon him in the disposal at his discretion of the enormous sums remitted by the home government

for the purpose of subsidising the open enemies of France and fostering conspiracy and rebellion among the subjects of that country. On the 22nd of May, 1795, Lord Grenville writes to him:—

“Most Secret.”

“In consequence of your reports respecting the situation of the Prince de Condé, immediate measures were taken for advancing to His Serene Highness ten thousand pounds in addition to the sum which had been furnished to him by yourself. His Majesty has since been pleased to direct that Colonel Crauford should proceed to His Serene Highness’ Headquarters, with power to advance money to him to the extent of £140,000, in proportion as that sum or any part of it can be usefully employed in the great objects of completing or augmenting the Prince’s army.” The same letter informs Mr. Wickham that £30,000 will be paid to him by Colonel Crauford as “Secret Service Money.” Is it to be wondered at that Mr. Wickham’s vast correspondence (which the writer of this article has had the privilege of perusing) contains a disproportionate number of “begging letters” addressed to him by Serene Highnesses, Princes, Dukes, Generals, Ecclesiastical Dignitaries, &c., from the Field Marshal commanding the armies of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, down to the Sovereign Prince-Abbot of St. Gallen?

Nor, whilst lavishness characterized the dealings of Great Britain with her continental helpers, avowed and unavowed, was any parsimony shown in the treatment of the agent who was entrusted with the distribution of her bounty. The ox that trod out the corn was not by any means muzzled. On the 22nd February, 1795, Lord Grenville writes:—“I hope that what respects your allowances is settled to your satisfaction. It would have been the height of absurdity to employ you on such a mission as that in which you are engaged, if I had not confidence enough in you to beg, as I now do, that if you find the allowance insufficient to enable

you to do justice to the objects of your mission, you will tell me so without reserve. We have not sent you there to ruin you, nor to starve the service by an ill-judged parsimony."

That Mr. Wickham on his part amply fulfilled every expectation that had been formed of him, is shown by expressions of commendation constantly recurring in the dispatches from Lord Grenville to Mr. Wickham, and which are of a kind not usual in state papers:— "Nothing can be more interesting than the information you have transmitted in your different dispatches." "His Majesty's Ministers felt no hesitation in continuing to you that confidence which your conduct has so well deserved." "I have the greatest pleasure in being able to inform you of the entire satisfaction which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to express in the continued proofs which your dispatches have afforded of your diligence and zeal in His Majesty's service, and of the ability with which you discharge the important commission which you have undertaken."

The difficulties, indeed, which Mr. Wickham encountered in the pursuance of his mission were of no common order. On the one hand French revolutionary emissaries and sympathizers, who swarmed over the whole continent of Europe and most of all in the Swiss Cantons which were the headquarters of Mr. Wickham's activity, carried on an unintermittent *espionnage* about his every movement, and every effort was put forth on the part of the French Government agents to render his position untenable. On the other hand the exiled Princes of the Royal Family of France, who were so lavishly aided by the British Government through the medium of Mr. Wickham, having learnt nothing and forgotten nothing, constantly thwarted the intelligent steps taken by him for the furtherance of their interests, and the failure of the counter-revolution in Franche Comté, and the dreadful bloodshed consequent upon the miscarried insurrection at Lyons, must be almost entirely attributed to the supercilious disregard by the Prince de Condé of the counsels

and measures of Mr. Wickham. Besides all this, the not unnatural jealousy of the officials of the Foreign Office in London, and of the British embassies abroad, against a government agent entirely independent of them, threw serious hindrances in the way of a harmonious co-operation of the different British envoys abroad.

The nature of Mr. Wickham's correspondence, which was invariably laid before the King, may be judged from a few extracts.

“January, 1795.

I have certain intelligence that the Sardinian Minister at Berne, sent a *mémoire* to Mr. Barthelemy* on the subject of the restitution of Savoy. He received no answer. I entreat that you will never appear to have known this, as the source by which I obtain my information would certainly be discovered It appears to me that with the best intentions to continue the alliance (*i.e.*, with Great Britain), the Court of Turin wish to keep the door open for a reconciliation (with France). Many things lead me to suspect that the Austrians are more occupied by the affairs of Germany than by those of France.”

“12th May, 1795.

Mr. Bayard left Lyons the day after the massacre^s and brings me a very full and curious account of everything that he observed during his stay. I kept him concealed in my house till he was recovered from his fatigue, and till I had obtained every possible information from him and given him all the necessary instructions for his future conduct. I have sent him off again to Lyons this afternoon My own idea is to make Lyons the great point to which all others should be considered as secondary.”

At this time French Minister in Switzerland.

“15th June, 1795.

The priests are to the last degree imprudent. Even the elder ones and those upon whom I thought I had good reason to rely are almost as bad as the rest. There was a plan formed for securing the Château de Joux (near Pontarlier), which the Grand Vicaire of Besançon—a cautious and prudent person in general—had certainly not discouraged, to say no more. I sent off an express immediately to stop the project, and fortunately it arrived in time. This attempt will probably do a great deal of mischief, as it may cause the garrison to be changed or augmented; and one of the present officers had actually engaged to deliver the fort to a representative of the Prince de Condé whenever the proper moment should be arrived.”

“I sent a very confidential peasant of the country to Besançon, to procure for the Prince de Condé an exact statement of the number of the Swiss established there. He was stopped on the frontiers by the Comte de Montesson, a gentleman stationed there by the Prince himself, who put the man into a post chaise and drove off with him to the Prince The Prince, I am sorry to say, had not the courage to scold the gentleman as he deserved.”

“The tone and manner of the Prince’s army is very different from what it ought to be at this moment. It must be entirely changed before they enter into France, or it will produce the most serious mischief. The Prince is well aware of this, but has not the courage to attempt to check it.”

During the year 1795, Mr. Wickham was also engaged in raising a body of Swiss troops in British pay for service with the armies which were to invade France. He entered into negotiations with the Baron de Roll, a Swiss officer in the Dutch service, who succeeded in raising a regiment of 1,200 men which went to join the army of the Prince de Condé on the Lower Rhine. This year too saw the commencement of the negotiations with General Pichegru, which for

a time looked very promising, but ultimately ended in disaster to himself and to his friends. The close of the year showed the power of France more firmly established than ever, peace having been signed with Spain and Prussia, and a general amnesty proclaimed.

On the 9th February, 1796, Lord Grenville instructs Mr. Wickham to sound the French Government respecting negotiations for peace, but no acceptable basis for treating was found. As the year wore on, Mr. Barthelemy, French Minister at Berne, feeling his strength, became more exacting and aggressive; he insisted on the expulsion of the French emigrants, and the Bernese Government, in spite of the efforts of Mr. Wickham, consented to take that step, which for a time rendered Mr. Wickham's position very critical. However, the military successes of the Austrians in September and October of this year once more foiled French ascendancy at Berne and inspired the royalist party with renewed confidence.

In the spring of 1795, Mrs. Wickham joined her husband in Switzerland, and thenceforth remained with him to share his dangers and aid him in his difficulties until his return to England. In the midst of his engrossing state affairs, he yet found opportunities for rendering kindly services altogether outside his official duties. On the 17th January, 1796, the Duke of Portland acknowledges "your letter and a large box of plants for which I am obliged to you, as I am also for several sorts of Alpine seeds which were transmitted to me a few days before; both, as proofs of your remembrance of me, I very truly value and hold in esteem." However, political and military events of the utmost importance now crowded upon each other in such rapid succession that it would be impossible to give a record of Mr. Wickham's activity without writing a detailed history of the Wars of the French Revolution. I must content myself with giving a rough list of the contents of the more important dispatches transmitted by him to Lord Grenville.

- 1796.
- 21 July. Alliance of the Directory with Prussia and Spain. General Hoche. Deplorable State of Holland. Designs of the Directoire on the Duchy of Milan. Pichegru's message to Louis XVIII.
- 23 „ Pichegru's behaviour. Faction of the Duke of Orleans, Carnot his partisan. Prince Henry of Prussia. Pichegru's wishes and opinions respecting Louis XVIII. and his restoration.
- 30 „ The Directory meditate a descent on the Channel Islands and Ireland.
- 3 August. Belief in the French Army that the English had betrayed Pichegru.
- 6 „ Pichegru forming a large party at Besançon.
- 20 „ Plan for a French descent on England.
- 2 Sept. Agreement with the Count de Grandpré, commander of the French East-India Fleet, by which the Count promises (conditionally) to deliver up to the English the naval forces under his command, consisting of two 74 gun ships and four 40 gun frigates, at a suitable moment.
- 7 „ Treaty between France and Spain. Connection of the Royalists with the Jacobins.
- 1 Oct. Demand for French troops to pass over Swiss territory. Interview with the Avoyer of Berne.
- 5 „ Meditated descent of Hoche upon Ireland Plans of the Directory.
- 5 „ Projects of Prussia to obtain Swiss regiments.
- 22 „ Interview between Pichegru and Moreau.
- 21 Nov. Disposition of the Court of Vienna towards the Prince de Condé. Bad effects of the Disputes between the Austrian generals.
- 27 „ Projects of the French in the East. Finances of the Directory.
- 11 Dec. Account of the different political Clubs in Paris.
- 14 „ Notes from Pichegru; his popularity; desertion in the French armies.
- 18 „ Dissatisfaction of the Directory with the Court of Berlin. Correspondence between Prussia and Russia.
- 22 „ Mission of M. Léger to Tippoo Saib.
- 28 „ Naval projects of the Directory. Affairs in Portugal.

- 1797.
- 9 Jan. Supply of Funds to Pichegru. Disgust at the distrust of England shown by the French Royalists.
- 14 „ Intrigues of La Harpe.
- 17 „ Indiscretion of the French princes. Public feeling in France.
- 8 March. Illusions of the Court of France ; method of dealing with it.
- 8 „ Mischiefs produced by the Royalist Plot. Jealousy between the King of France and the Prince de Condé.
- 22 „ Not advisable to advance money to Moreau.
- 1 April. Interviews with General Mack, the Austrian general.
- 13 „ Indiscretions of the King of France and his agents.

If Mr. Wickham's restless and productive activity was fully appreciated by the British Government at home, it of necessity troubled the reigning powers in France to a corresponding degree. Whatever transpired in Committees of the Directory in Paris, in French Military Councils, in Political Clubs, whatever secret instructions were given to French envoys, generals, admirals, all was certain to reach the ears of the ubiquitous British agent in Switzerland and was promptly transmitted by him to London. Official and personal pressure was brought to bear upon the Government of Berne, to cause this thorn in the side of a "powerful and friendly" nation to be removed; but all diplomatic steps had hitherto proved unavailing. Mr. Wickham was a skilful antagonist and was better versed in diplomatic mining and counter-mining than even the agents of the French Directory. He was fully alive, also, to the by no means imaginary risk of being kidnapped by French emissaries, and took good care not to be found in too great proximity to the frontier of France. The kidnapping of the Duke d'Enghien which took place a short time afterwards upon German territory, was an object lesson which showed unmistakably to what lengths French unscrupulousness was prepared to go. Things came to a crisis, however, when Mr. Wickham was able to send to Lord

Grenville, in a "most secret and confidential" despatch, dated 7th July, 1797, all the details of an expedition planned for the invasion of Ireland under the command of General Hoche. The fate of that expedition is a matter of history; but to Mr. Wickham must be attributed a great share of the merit of having ensured its ultimate failure. The rage of the French Directory knew no bounds; discarding all diplomatic usage, it fulminated the following mandate to a friendly and independent people:—

(TRANSLATION.)

"Paris, 29th Fructidor, 5th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The Executive Directory, convinced that the mission of "Wickam" to the Helvetic Cantons has no reference whatever to the respective interests of England and Switzerland; and that his sole object is to excite and encourage plots against the internal and external security of the French Republic, charge the citizen Mengaud to invite and require the government of the Canton of Berne, and also the other Helvetic Cantons if necessary, to give directions for Wickam's immediate departure from the territories of Switzerland.

T. M. Revellière-Lepeaux.
La Garde, Secrétaire Général."

Mr. Mengaud, commissary of the French Directory, arrived at Berne on the 7th October, and immediately, without either credentials or introduction, presented the above communication to the Avoyer or President of the Republic of Berne. The Avoyer feebly hinted that the Directory seemed to have considered itself as writing to a French municipality rather than to a free and independent state, but promised that the communication should be laid before the competent authorities. This was done at a specially summoned meeting of the Sovereign Council (consisting of 200

members), which after a long debate resolved to send two deputies to Paris, with instructions to state that neither the Canton of Berne nor the Helvetic body at large could accede to the demand of the Directory, unless some of the charges should be made out and some specific proof produced tending directly to criminate the British Minister.

In a despatch dated 13th October, Mr. Wickham informs Lord Grenville that "whilst the French armies occupy their present positions, the Governments of the Cantons must necessarily yield to anything that the French Republic may require provided the Directory furnishes them wherewithal to save appearances." A cypher despatch annexed to the same letter reads as follows:—

"As to the proofs that the Directory can produce, I am afraid, and I feel it my duty to say at once, that they are of a nature to give me very serious uneasiness. I have frequently mentioned to your Lordship my apprehension, not only of the indiscretion, but of the perfidy of the persons with whom I have had unavoidable communication. The declaration of Mr. Dumas is in no respect so fatal as in what regards this country (Berne) where he resided for some time, protected at my request by some of the first families of the state and receiving pecuniary supplies for General Charette through the hand of bankers, who will inevitably come forward as the only means of saving themselves and their correspondents at Paris from proscription. The papers of General Klinglin are also singularly important, and though the Directory has not yet discovered the key of the cypher, which I had the precaution to change on Mr. Montgaillard's return from Italy, yet I fear that it must at last fall into their hands, and in that case I should be to the last degree apprehensive, lest it should lead to a suspicion of the person through whom my most confidential correspondence with General Pichegru was carried on and who is now actually in Paris on a mission from this state. Under these circumstances your Lordship will not be sur-

prised to hear that I have already been strongly pressed by the best friends of the British Government to withdraw from hence, as the only means of saving them and their country."

The political outlook in Central Europe was certainly very gloomy. The defeat of the Austrian armies in Italy and the subsequent peace concluded at Udine set at liberty a formidable French army, flushed with victory, which was ready to throw itself upon distracted Switzerland if a plausible pretext for attack were given. The situation was clearly apprehended in London, and on the 3rd November instructions were sent to Mr. Wickham to withdraw from Swiss territory. The two letters written on that occasion by Lord Grenville, the one official, the other private, show such a true appreciation of Mr. Wickham's work, that I need not apologize for making the following extracts from them.

"The first duty which I feel it incumbent on me to discharge on this occasion, is that of expressing to you the full approbation with which His Majesty has been pleased to honour the judicious, temperate, and dignified conduct which you have held in this, as in every other instance of difficulty with which you have had to contend in the very arduous and critical post which you have filled so much to His Majesty's satisfaction and to the advantage of your country. It is, I am persuaded, unnecessary for me to assure you of the gratification which I derive from having to convey to you these expressions of His Majesty's approbation. I can say with the most perfect truth, that there is but one opinion among those who are acquainted with the details of your conduct, which has fully justified all the expectations with which I was induced to submit your name to His Majesty for so critical and important a situation."

"Although I have absolutely nothing to add to my despatch, I write these few lines of private letter, merely to repeat to you in another form the sense which I entertain of your conduct, and the satisfaction with which I recommended you to His Majesty to fill

one of the most important situations that could be assigned to any public man."

The departure of Mr. Wickham from Switzerland was not by any means hurried. November and December were taken up in making arrangements to keep open the channels of intercourse with Switzerland and France, his headquarters being temporarily transferred to Frankfort. Only on the 25th December, 1797, did he again set foot in England, sending his last despatch to Lord Grenville from Yarmouth.

On his return he entered at once upon the duties of Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, an office which the Duke of Portland had kept open for him two years and a half, by putting in Mr. Charles Greville, his son-in-law, as *locum tenens*. The troubles in Ireland during 1798, intensified by the landing of General Humbert at Killala, in August of that year, rendered his office anything but a sinecure, and his correspondence with the Chief Secretary for Ireland, which fills nearly the whole of the first two volumes of the "Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh," testify to his unceasing and intelligent activity at that period. At the same time his close connection and correspondence with the royalists in France and their sympathizers in the other continental states was never intermitted, so that when the rupture between Austria and France took place in May, 1799, he was prepared at once to resume his activity in Central Europe.

Instructions, signed by the King and dated 6th June, 1799, commanded Mr. Wickham to proceed to the headquarters of the allied Russian and Austrian armies which were then on the point of entering Switzerland. In case he should find that country still occupied by the French, he should collect all the information he could, relating to Switzerland and France; but if that country, or a material part of it, were clear of French troops, he should proceed to Zurich and there present his credentials to the federal authorities. As for his mode of action and full powers, he was to consider the

instructions given to him during his former mission as being revived to their full extent.

Mr. Wickham, accompanied by Mrs. Wickham, embarked at Yarmouth on board H.M.S. Kite, one of the best sailing vessels of the navy, on the 7th June, and landed at Cuxhaven on the 13th. He travelled as expeditiously as circumstances permitted, by Hanover, Cassel, and Ulm, not without difficulty. The wild moors in the north of Hanover were then roadless, the track being marked only by deep ruts; at some places it was difficult to procure horses, and after leaving the town of Hanover the postilions lost their road and went out of the way to Pymont. Mr. Wickham reached Schaffhausen on the 27th, thus taking three weeks for a journey which can now be performed in less than twenty-four hours. Regarded from a distance, the prospects of an overthrow of French power had never before looked so promising: the French armies were driven out of Germany and out of Italy; and Suwarow from the south, and Korsakoff and the Archduke Charles from the north and east, were rapidly advancing to crush the small French army under Masséna which still held the centre of Switzerland. Mr. Wickham's penetration, however, quickly discovered the fatal inherent weakness of this mighty host. The Russian General, Korsakoff, an utterly incapable man, was animated by most unreasoning and unreasonable jealousy of the Austrian Archduke Charles, and anything like harmonious co-operation between the two generals was out of the question. Mr. Wickham used every effort to remedy this state of things, but was quite unable to overcome the stupid arrogance of Korsakoff. He was more successful in rousing the anti-French spirit of the older Cantons in Switzerland, so much so that he soon came to be regarded as the *bête noire* of the French party: the Austrian General followed him to Schwyz and besought him to leave that town, the probability being that "his presence there would induce the French to make an attack in the course of the night." On the 14th August

took place the first battle of Zürich, which demonstrated the real weakness of the Austrian army and during which Mrs. Wickham and General Pichegru who was riding in her carriage narrowly escaped capture by the French. At the second battle of Zürich, fought six weeks after, the Russians were utterly defeated, Mr. Wickham's carriage was taken by the French, though he succeeded in saving his baggage, and the allied armies were once more driven out of Switzerland.

The events which transpired during the French Consulate and which culminated in the establishment of French ascendancy over the whole of Europe, necessarily put a termination to Mr. Wickham's mission on the Continent. He was recalled in 1801, and soon after his return was sworn in as Chief Secretary of State for Ireland. This responsible post he held until 1804, and in 1806 was made a Lord of the Treasury; after which he gradually retired from public affairs, in order to spend the evening of his eventful life at his seat at Binstead-Wyck, near Southampton, in the peaceful pursuits of a country gentleman. He died at Brighton in 1840, and a monument to his memory was erected in York Minster.

In concluding this brief account of the eventful career of an eminent Yorkshireman, the writer cannot but congratulate his readers that the century elapsed since the events detailed in the foregoing paper, amongst other tokens of substantial progress in humanitarian principles, has brought the European nations to entertain sounder views as to their relative duties to each other, and that methods of action such as were then regarded as unexceptionable and necessary would now meet with universal reprobation.

PEDIGREE OF THE WICKHAM FAMILY.

The Pedigree will be found in the Books of the College of Arms, Norfolk x, and 18th D, 14, p. 266.

JOHN* WICKHAM
of the ancient family of Wickham of Swaciffe,
co: Oxon: Rented the manor house of Hony-
lands, co: Middlesex, of the Crown temp. Henry
VIII.

— Barbara daughter of William Parker,†
of Norton Lees, co: Derby.

WILLIAM* WICKHAM, D.D.,
Fellow of Eton and King's College, Prebendary
of Windsor, Dean of Lincoln, Bishop of Lincoln,
Bishop of Winchester, Prelate of the most noble
Order of the Garter. Died 1696.

— Anthonina, daughter of Willam Barlow, D.D.,‡
Bishop of Chichester. Died 1668.

HENRY* WICKHAM, D.D.,
Archdeacon of York, and Prebendary of that
Cathedral, Rector of Bolton Percy and Hesle, co:
York, and Chaplain to King Charles I. Died 1641.

— Annabell,§ daughter of Sir Henry Cholmeley,
of Thornton, co: York, died 1625: and
secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of John Brown,
of Filders, co: Essex.

TOBIAS* WICKHAM, D.D.,
Dean and Prebendary of the Cathedral Church
of York, and Rector of Bolton Percy. Died
1697, aged 76.

— Elizabeth, daughter of William Wye, of Ipswich
Died 1697.

— Margaret Archer of
Harbadoes. Died
1751; buried in York
Minster.

TOBIAS WICKHAM — Amy, daughter of — Charles Palmer,
barrister-at-law, Sir Stephen Simpson D.D., buried 17 Jan-
born 1661, died uary, 1704/6.1691.

William Wickham, clerk
of the peace to the West
Riding, born 1668, died
1738.

HENRY WICKHAM,
Died November 1736,
aged 70; buried in York
Minster.

TOBIAS WICKHAM,
Rector of Keighley.
Died 1726, a.p.

other issue.

Annæ, daughter of William Calverley. Died 1786, aged 57.

HENRY WICKHAM, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Rector of Guiseley, co. York; Chaplain to Princess of Wales. Died 1779, aged 73; buried in Abbey Church, Bath.

— Anne Gibson. Died 1744.

Elizabeth. Died unmarried at York.

Annabella — James Scott, Clerk *Issue.*

HENRY WICKHAM, of Cottingley, co. York; born September 7, 1731; died October 9, 1804.

— Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Lamplugh, of Cottingley, Clerk, Vicar of Dewsbury; by Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Thomas Dobson of Cottingley. Died April 23, 1815.

Mary — Jeremiah Dixon, of Gledhow, co. York. *Issue.*

WILLIAM WICKHAM

— Eleonore Madeleine, daughter of M. Louis Bertrand, by Isabelle Sara Maillet; born, 1763; died, 1836.

Sarah Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Hind. *Issue.*

— Hannah Frances, daughter of Rev. L. S. Lascelles. *Issue.*

Annæ, born 1764, died unmarried at York, 1867. *Issue.*

HENRY LOUIS WICKHAM, — Lucy, youngest daughter of William Markham, of Becca Hall, and granddaughter of the Archbishop of York, born 12 May, 1805, died 11 June, 1883.

Annabella, died unmarried, 1800. Elizabeth, died in infancy. Henry, died in infancy.

WILLIAM WICKHAM born 10 July, 1831, High Sheriff for the County of Southampton, died 1887.

— Sophia Emma, youngest daughter of H. F. Shaw Lefevre.

Lenora Emma — Herbert Herries, eldest son of Lieut.-Gen. Sir W. L. Herries. *Issue.*

Henry Lamplugh Wickham, Captain in the Rifle Brigade.

— Hon. Theresa Mary, widow of Sir A. J. Tichborne, Bart., and eldest daughter of the 11th Baron Arundel of Wardour, died September, 1885.

* Each of these persons had other children, but their issue male (except as shown in this pedigree) has become extinct.

† This is the same family as the Parkers, Earls of Macclesfield.

‡ Dr. Barlow lived in exile during the Marian Prosecution; he had five daughters, who all married bishops or archbishops.

§ This lady was, through her grandmother, descended from the Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland.

|| Mrs. Scott was mother of James Scott, D.D., well-known as Anti-sejanus.

¶ The late Henry Wickham Wickham, M.P. for Bradford, and Chairman of the West Riding Quarter Sessions, born 1800 and died 1867, was his son.

BAILDON MOOR AND ITS ANTIQUITIES.

PRIMITIVE IRON AND POTTERY WORKS.

BY

W. CUDWORTH.

(*With Illustration.*)

DURING the year 1891 a large quantity of broken pottery and iron scorixæ was turned up on ground which was being excavated on Hope Hill, Baildon, by the Yorkshire Gannister Company, who were in search of calliard or gannister stone for the purposes of their business as fire-brick makers at Baildon Green Works. The fact was very early taken advantage of by Mr. John Emanuel Preston, artist and antiquary, of Littlebeck Hall, Gilstead, his son, Mr. W. E. Preston, and the writer of this paper, who received much courtesy and assistance from Mr. Jos. Moulson, the managing director of the company, in following up the research. Hope Hill, it may be added, is some 900 feet above sea level, and is within a score feet of the summit of Baildon Hill, or as locally named, the High Plain of Baildon Moor. The whole of the surrounding district is full of interest to the archæologist, and abounds in tumuli and cup and ring marked stones, but for the present these features, interesting though they be, must pass without further comment, the chief object of this paper being a description of the nature of the "finds" already alluded to. In passing, however, the reader

will please note the high altitude at which the "finds" were discovered, this being a somewhat important feature for consideration.

PRIMITIVE BAILDON POTTERY.

The field in question yielded a large quantity of fragments of well baked pottery, some of which had evidently been formed on the wheel, from clay which had acquired in baking colours varying from brick red to dark grey and cream colour. The appearance of the pottery differs from that generally found in British barrows and tumuli, along with flint and stone implements, and other indications of the Early Britons. It bears evident signs of hard baking, which was not the case with the earlier pottery. It differs too in some of it having been turned upon the wheel, while the earlier style of pottery was always modelled by the hand. The paste is coarse in texture, the clay having evidently undergone little if any tempering, and it was probably that found upon the spot. There is an entire absence of ornamentation of any kind on the fragments. Many of the latter appear to be portions of vessels modelled after the pattern of the globular-shaped cinerary urn of Roman type, but they are evidently not vessels of that character.

The pottery in question is not Roman, although it may be that a few moulded ruins among the fragments are not unlike those turned out by Roman potters. They, however, lack the finish and smoothness which usually attaches to Roman pottery. It might, however, be expected, from the near proximity of Roman soldiery, if not of Roman potters at Ilkley (the *Olicana* of the Roman period) that lessons in the fictile art would be learned by the rude people of the locality, hitherto untutored in such subjects. Neither is the Baildon pottery Saxon. The absence of ornamentation upon every single specimen found almost

settles that point. The high altitude of Hope Hill affords another indication. The Saxons generally chose the valleys for their settlements, preferring the good and sheltered lands, while the ancient Britons chose the higher grounds for security.

In any attempt to determine the date of origin of the Baildon pottery something must be left for conjecture. No doubt Hope Hill was occupied as a British settlement from very early times. It possesses all the advantages of the situation usually chosen for such positions. It would also in all probability continue to be so occupied even after the Roman occupation of Ilkley, and not improbably after the invasions of the Saxons. The pottery, however, is not Saxon, and the portions of Norman ware found in the same field only tend to show that the Hope Hill pottery, by whatever other name it might be known, had its origin in very early times, and continued to turn out its wares until a period now deemed comparatively recent. The fractures upon many of the specimens appear to be old, as if broken by the first users and then thrown away. This is no uncommon feature. The immediate locality of all primitive potteries nearly always present the same appearance.

The next and most interesting inquiry which occurred to the trio of investigators, Messrs. Preston and Cudworth, was as to where the kiln was situate, through which had passed the vast number of fragments and the perfect vessels which at some period must have existed. The pottery field had been trenched for a distance of fifty or sixty yards and about an equal breadth, without the least trace of anything approaching the appearance of a kiln or furnace being in evidence. Meanwhile *debris* were found to a depth of eight or ten feet, containing fragments of pottery of the type described, along with a considerable quantity of iron slag or scoriæ, to be afterwards referred to. By continued excavation of the field, however, following the calliard stone, the search was in some measure rewarded. At a somewhat higher

elevation than the ordinary level of the field, the excavators came upon a quantity of calcined earthy material and slabs of stone which were burnt through-out, insomuch that they might have been crumbled to dust between the fingers. The exigencies of the situation did not permit of the actual kiln (assuming that the site of it had been reached) being thoroughly explored, but sufficient was apparent to satisfy the inquirers that the search had not been in vain.

Assuming the fragments of the earliest pottery exhumed to have been Romano-British, that is to say, the work of Baildon people living during and after the Roman occupation of Britain, the kiln would in all probability take the shape of Romano-British kilns unearthed in various parts of England. This description of kiln differed only to a small extent from the pottery kiln of the Romans, of which almost perfect examples have been found at Caistor, Northamptonshire, and in other places. As a rule, a circular hole was dug out of the ground from three to four feet deep and about four feet in diameter, which was walled round to the height of two feet. A furnace, one third of the diameter of the kiln in length, communicated with the side. In the centre of the circle so formed was an oval pedestal, the height of the sides, with the end pointing towards the furnace mouth. Upon this pedestal and side wall the kiln rested. It was formed of perforated bricks, meeting at one point in the centre. The furnace was arched with bricks moulded for the purpose, and the side of the kiln was constructed with curved bricks, set edgeways to the height of about two feet.

Whether or not the above is an approximate description of the kiln which in the early centuries of the Christian era supplied crockery ware for Baildon and district is, of course, matter for conjecture. Suffice it to say that the Hope Hill Pottery was no transient workshop, but survived to Norman times. Evidence of this is manifest in a large number of pieces of pottery corresponding to the latter period having been

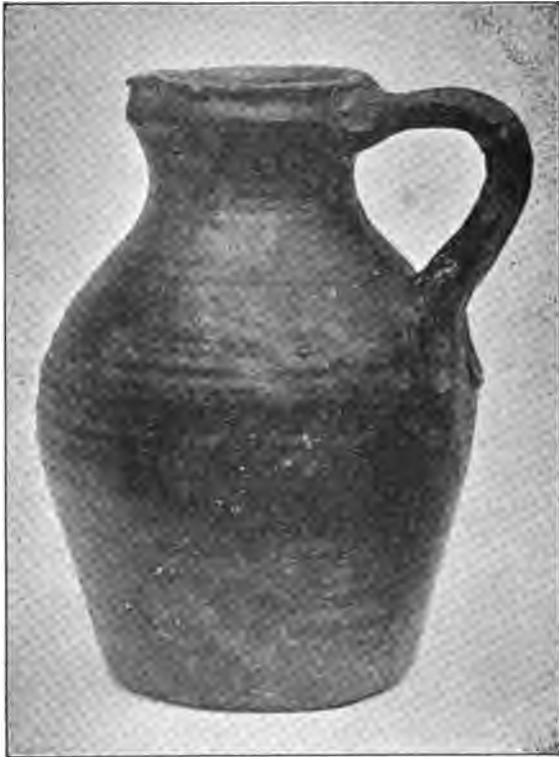
unearthed, the most notable example being the almost perfect vessel now in the possession of the writer, and of which a drawing is given. This vessel stands nearly 12 inches in height, the paste being similar to that of numerous fragments which have been found upon the same ground. It is the best specimen of late Norman pottery known to the writer as having been made in the immediate neighbourhood of Bradford.

PRIMITIVE IRONWORKS AT BAILDON.

In accounting for the presence of iron slag or scoria upon Hope Hill, as well as at other places in the locality, we have no difficulty in assuming the presence of the raw material, or of the fuel needful for smelting it. Ironstone crops, out at the face of Hope Hill and there are two seams of coal—the Halifax hard and soft beds—in the Hill. The better-bed coal is seated upon a peculiarly hard siliceous sandstone named calliard (or gannister), which is similar to the Crow Stone of the Craven limestone, and contains abundance of *Stigmaria*—an extinct genus of plant well known to geologists. Plenty of small coal is found on the gannister, sufficiently hot for smelting purposes. If the fuel employed was charcoal, there would in early times be abundance of timber on and in the vicinity of Baildon Hill. In primitive times iron ore and coal were generally extracted by means of shallow pits, although the Romans sank shafts and drove adits from them in following the ore. The presence of these pits about Baildon as elsewhere has created some misapprehension, inasmuch as they have often been confounded with the sites of British pit dwellings. A knowledge of the strata, or better still, excavation of any supposed pit dwelling, would dispel many erroneous ideas on the subject.

With regard to the probability of a primitive air bloomery for smelting iron on Baildon Hill, the position itself is all in favour of such an assumption.

The High Plain is at an elevation sufficient to command the western breezes in an uninterrupted degree; indeed no better position could be found anywhere. Granting this, we have the raw material, fuel, and facilities for smelting, sufficiently present to account



Norman Jug, Found at Hope Hill, Baildon.

for the large quantity of iron slag which abounds in the locality. The assumption of an air bloomery is also confirmed by the existence of similar appliances in places like Borneo, in Mashonaland, and other remote parts of the earth. This primitive structure

was always placed upon high ground, the opening being generally towards the west or south-west, in order to catch the breezes which came from that quarter. When those winds blew, a feeble sort of blast was obtained, and the ore was sufficiently reduced to be capable of manipulation between heavy stones. The next improvement seems to have been in the employment of bellows for creating an artificial blast, which was a great step in advance. This was a very simple contrivance, consisting of a couple of skins sewed together, and pressed under the arm. It need scarcely be added, that at these primitive stages of iron-making, the iron produced was malleable or wrought iron, mixed with cinder, dirt, and unreduced oxide, and was not what is known as "cast" iron.

Any one who takes in hand a piece of slag or ancient cinder will be convinced at once by its weight how imperfect must have been the process of smelting in primitive times. Much metal remains in the scorizæ, varying a few degrees per cent., but the amount of iron ore left behind is in all cases considerable. Mr. Louis C. Miall, who has reported on the slag heap at Hunsworth (said to be Roman refuse), says that it retained 22 per cent. of iron (taking an average from 20 lbs. in weight), and adds that a fair sample of Low Moor ironstone contains about 30 per cent. of ore. Thus in the case of the Hunsworth slag only about eight per cent. of the ore was extracted by the process then existing. From numerous blocks of Baildon and other local specimens of ancient slag in the writer's possession, it is quite evident that only a very small proportion of metal could have been extracted, and this remark also refers to the refuse from primitive smeltings in any part of Yorkshire with which the writer is acquainted.

BURIAL REGISTER
OF
BRADFORD PARISH CHURCH.

TRANSCRIBED BY THE LATE
T. T. EMPSELL, Esq.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 168.

*Explanation of contraction in the second column: w. wife;
s. sonne; d. daughter; ch. childe.*

1651.

Jan.	7 Margt.	w and child of Humphrey Stead, Horton
	13 Grace	w John Earnshaw, Bd.
	20	Richard Thornton, Gt. H.
	21 Hester	d Samuel Horsley
	23	Alice Walker, Thornton
	31	Mathew Scott, Bd.
	John	s Abraham Kellett, Horton
Feb.	3 William	s Jeremy Bond, Bowling
	4	Joseph Greenhough, Bd.
	7	Jeremy Bower, Bd., Mercer
	8	Jonas Chippendale, Bd.
	Dinah	w William Kitchen, Bd. William Gledhill, Gt. H.
	13 Mary	w Jonas Briggs, Gt. H.
	15	Tristram Horton, Bd.
	16	George Kendall, Bowling
	22	James Hill, Bd., Butcher
	Ann	d Thomas Hollins, Clayton
	23	w Richard Wilkinson, Horton
	24 Mary	d Michael Bairstow, Clayton
	25	Michael Dawson, Clayton
	29	Mary Sagar, Clayton Clayton, B.l.
	24	a child of Alice Watson, Bd.
March	4	John Milnes, Bd.
	7 Mary	d Abraham Swift, Clayton
	9	John Pollard, Bowling
	11	Stephen Hollingrake, Mann.

	24		Catherine Webster, Bd.
May	3	John	s Abm. Wilkes, Bd.
		Ann	w Wm. Manningham
	6		James Garth, Heaton
	14		Jonas Naylor, Bowling Francis Cowburne, Allerton
	22		Ann Hill, Mann.
		Hester	d William Newby, Wibsey
	28		Samuel Stancliffe, Clayton
		Elizabeth	w Christopher Croislaile, Bd.
	30	Sara	w George Clarkson, Bd.
	31	Elizabeth	d James Marshall, Bd.
June	1	Obedience	w James Hilyard, Bd.
	8	Jennet	w James Burnesley, Mann.
	9	Sara	w Samuel Eshton, Bd.
	11		Sarah Walker, Bolton
	12		Samuell Bynns, Wilsden
	15		Gregory Cooke, Horton
July	7	Mary	w William Fairebank, Bd.
	14	Martha	d Roger Pullan, Bd.
			a child of Robert Jacksons, Bd.
Aug.	3	George	s Jonas Craven, Heaton
	4		Edward Lange, Bd.
	5	Susan	w John Beane, Bd.
	6	Ann	w William Dixon, Bowling
	27		Susan Richardson, Lt. II.
	29		Grace Walker, Wibsey
Sep.	2	a child of	John Boothes, Wilsden
	3	John	s Anthony Hirst, Allerton Abm. Horton, Bd.
	8		John Walker, Gt. II.
	13	Sara	d Bernard Ellis, Bowling
	16		Robert Greene, Bd., Tayler
	18	William	s John Lister, Mann.
	22		Joseph Vicars, Clayton
		Margrit	w John Ellis, Bd.
Oct.	2	Margrit	w Richard Sugden, Bowling
	5	Susanna	w John Thornton, Bd.
	12	a child of	Robert Pearson, Bd. Grace Cawerd, Eccleshill
	22	Ann	w Matthew Kidd, Bd.
Nov.	7	Mary	d John Sheffield, Bowling
	8		Josias Holdsworth, Bierley
	17	Susan	d John Ellis, Bd.
	22		Ann Firth, Bd.
	27		Joseph Milner, Horton
Dec.	28	a child of	Robert Wilson, Heaton
	1		Joseph Sharpe, Bowling
	3		Joseph Turner, Mann.
	9		Grace Metcalf, Heaton
	10		Elizabeth Firth, Bd. John Smithies, Horton

		a child of John Balmforths, Btl.
	17	Richard s John Collinson, Bowling
	18	a child of Robert Rookes, Bd.
	19	William s Robert Greene, Bd.
	23	Hellen w Robert Greene, Bowling
	24	William Bartles, Bd.
	26	Ann w William Pearson, Bd.
		Mary Illingworth, Thornton
		Susanna d John Thornton, Bd.
	28	Mary d Ronald Hindle, Bd.
	31	Isabell Lee, Bd.
Jan.	4	Robert Dawson, Horton
	7	Jane w William Atkinson, Bd.
	9	Thomas Balme, Bowling
	12	Alice w William Thornton, Bd.
	16	Judith w James Bowker, Bd.
	20	Francis Currer, Bowling
	22	Margrit w George Ingham, Bd.
	26	Sarah d Isaac Ellison, Mann.
	28	2 children of Isaac Balme, Horton
	30	Nathaniell s Jonas Waterhouse, Bfd.
		s John Hoile, Bd.
Feb.	2	Jonas Daren, Horton
	6	Alice w Gabriell Cowand, Eccleshill
	8	Thomas Ogden, Bowling
	10	Michael Asmael, a stranger from Lancashire.
	12	Susan Iredaile, Mann.
		Elizabeth d John Wilson, Bd.
	14	Martha Dobson, Bd., died at Heaton
	19	Samuell Milner, Claton
	20	John s John Woodhead, Bd.
Mch.	2	Elizabeth d Richard Wilson, of Settle, a stranger
		John s William Robertshay, Bd.
		a child of George Westerman, Horton
		Mercy d James Knowles, Bd.
	8	Jane Coultas, Bd.
	9	Thomas Stead, Bd.
		Hellin Milnes, Eccleshill
	10	Agnes w Robert Jobson, Bowling
	11	Susana w William Metcalfe, Horton
	12	Margrit Crowther, Horton
	20	William s William Akeham, Bd.
		Hester d John Claton, Allerton
	22	Simeon s Simeon Bower, Bd.
		Total Burials during 1653—98.
1654.		
March	29	Mary d Jonas Daren, Horton
April	1	Mary d Richard Warde, Bd.
	10	Lewis Watson, Bd.
	12	Ann w Thomas Smithes, Horton
	25	a child of John Maud, Horton

		a child of Richard Veritee, Byerley	
	William	s Michael Hargraves, Horton	
	Jane	d Edward Brewer, Bd.	
April	26	John Sutcliffe, Horton	
	Margere	w Nicholas Allerton, Allerton	
	29	Jeremiah Aked, Bd.	
	30	Hellin d Thomas Holmes, Bd.	
May	7	Edward Preston, Thornton	
	12	Mary Bamforth, Thornton	
	13	Grace d James Jowett, Thornton	
	14	Barbara d Christopher Foster, Bd.	
	19	Abm. Thornton, Horton	
	21	a child of Joseph Armytage, Claton	
		a child of Samuella Midgley, Bd.	
	26	Sarah w John Hollings, Mann.	
	28	Edom Nichols, Horton	
		Chrstr. Eastburne, Mann.	
June	4	William Bell, Bowling	
	Ann	d Miles Wallis, Horton	
	7	William s Richard Feild, Bd.	
	12	Mary d Thomas Ibateson, late of Bd.	
	15	Mary d William Drake, Thornton	
	24	Abm. s James Bell, Horton	
		Grace Robinson, Bd.	
	26	Sara w Samuella Midgley, Bd.	
	28	William Walker, Bd.	
	Susana	d Richard Jackson, Mann.	
July	1	Mary d John Wilson, Kildweeke	
	5	William s Abm. Swaine, Horton	
	6	Mary w Thomas Hamand, late of Bowling	
	8	Susana w John Kitchin, Wilsden	
	9	Grace d Aron Metcalfe, Claton	
	11	Hana d Jonathan Holdworth, Bolton	
	Ann	d James Hillyard, Bd.	
	19	Elizabeth w John Rooe, Bowling	
	21	Robert s James Fletcher, Eccleshill	
	22	Hellin d John Hollings, Mann	
	23	William Pasley, Shipley	
	24	Abm. Metcalf, Horton	
	31	William s James Thornton, Horton	
		a child of Nathan Hustler, Horton	
Aug.	4	Susana w William Sugden, Horton	
	7	Susana w William Hey, Bd.	
	21	Agnes w Jasper Pickard, Shipley	
	24	Ann w Thomas Thornton, Bradford	
	27	John Wilson, Bd.	
	28	Mary w Jeremiah Clegg, Horton	
Sept.	1	William s Henry Penington, Fournisfells	
	4	Samuella Caps, Heaton	
		Ann Bruer, Bd.	
	Mercy	d Jasper Drake, Bowling	
	6	Grace Lang, Bd.	

	7	Margret	w	Jeremiah Clough, Horton
	8	Elizabeth	w	Richard Cordingley, Bd.
	22	Mary	d	Matthew Claton, Horton
	23	Mary	d	John Sugden, Horton
	28	William	s	Henry Alverley, Bd. Mary Greenwood, Calverley
Oct.	3	Ann	d	Samuell Tayler, Bd.
	9	John	s	Richard Feild, Bd.
	14	James Lydia	s	Thomas Langster, Bierley d John Tayler, Horton
	24	William	s	John Newell, Bd.
Nov.	3			Elizabeth Robinson, Heaton
	6	John	s	John Stephenson, Eccleshill
	7	Susana	d	Edward Cozen, Allerton
	12	George	s	Matthew Holdsworth Thomas Harrison, Bd.
	11			Thomas Harrison, Bd.
	19	Andrew	s	John Shiers, Bd.
	24	Elizabeth	w	Thomas Langster, Bierley
	26	Nicholas	s	John Crabtree, Frizinghall
	30			William Barker, Bd.
		Ann	d	Michael Milner, Claton
Dec.	8	Jane	w	Joseph Barren, late dec., Bd.
	9	Elizabeth	w	William Hey, Eccleshill
	11	a child of		William Hey, Bd.
	15	a child of		Samuell Smallpage, Allerton
		John	s	Rodger Radcliffe, Bd.
	19	a child of		John Dickinson, Bd.
	20	Mary	w	William Britton, Bd.
	21	Martha	d	James Sager, Allerton
	22			Sarah Alleson, Bolton
	24	Mary	w	George Kent, Bd.
Jan.	1			William Horton, Bd. Samuell Ashton, Bd.
		Ann	w	Walter Holdsworth, Horton
		Rose	w	Edward Tias, Bowling
	4			John Medley, Claton
	6			Samuel Fletcher, Thornton
	10	Susana	w	Thomas Gleadall, Claton
	12	Richard	s	Thomas Wilkinson, Mann.
	16	Sarah	d	James Bowker, Bd. Abm. Morehouse, Mann.
		Hannah	d	John Booth, Claton
	20			William Boothman, Eccleshill
	22	Susana	d	John Claton, Allerton
	24			Thomas Craven, Bd.
	25	Hannah	d	Isaac Balme, Horton
	26	Mary	d	Thomas Faucit, Bowling
	27			Robert Whitehead, Eccleshill
Feb.	2			Alice Tankersley, Claton
	4			John Wilson, Bd.
	10	Alice	w	Edward Walker, Byerley
	12			Widdow Jowet, Bowling

	17	Jonathan	s	Joseph Metcalf, Bd.
	21	Ann	d	Thomas Ashton, Horton Isabell Walker, Bd.
March	7	John	s	Lawrence Hutton, Bd.
	9	Alice	w	Thomas Walker, Bd.
	11	Michael	s	Michael Carter, Claton
	16	Robert	s	John Booth, Horton

116 burials for the year.

1855.

March	28		d	Isaac Balme, Horton
April	8			Judith Hill, Heaton Royds
	9	Martha	d	Michael Bairstow, Thornton
	12	Mary	w	William Sharp, Bowling
	13	Martha	d	William Booth, Clayton
		Jeremiah	s	William Hodgson, Bowling
		John	s	Matthew Oates, Brownroyd George Shiers, Bd.
	20	Sarah	d	Thomas Wilkes, Mann. William Holms, Claton
	23	Mercie	d	Joshua Holdin, Wibsey
	27			John Crowshey, Wilsden
		Hannah	d	John Ellis, Bd.
May	1			Thomas Balme, Bd.
	3			John Roodes, Bd.
	7			James Smith, Bolton John Butler, Bd.
	11			Simeon Bower, Bd.
	23	Elizabeth	w	John Mitchell, Bd.
	26	Ann	w	John Gaunt, Pudsey
June	6	Martha	w	Thomas Swaine, Horton
	11	Bernard	s	Bernard Parkinson, Bd.
		3 children	of	Jonas Hillhouse, Bd.
July	1			Joseph Fearnside, Bd. John Gargrave, Pudsey a child of Isaac Sharpe, Horton
	8	Ann	w	William Fournis, Heaton
	10			Robert Wilson, Bd.
	12	a child	of	Jeremy Jowet, Bowling
		Richard	s	Richard Feild, Bd.
	13	Ann	d	Abm. Wilkes, Mann.
	16			Agnes Cowlestone, Bd.
		John	s	Joshua Booth
		Thomas	s	Thomas Bower
	20	William	s	William Sharpe
	30	William	s	William Hey, Bd.
Aug	6	John	s	William Hill, Claton
	7	John	s	John Hezleden, Allerton
	13			Henry Brigg, Horton
		Hester	w	Samuell Bower, Bowling
	17	Judith	w	Adam Hillhouse, Horton
	18	Hester	w	Wm. Nubie, Wibsey
	19	Mary		Ricd. Eastwood, Bd.

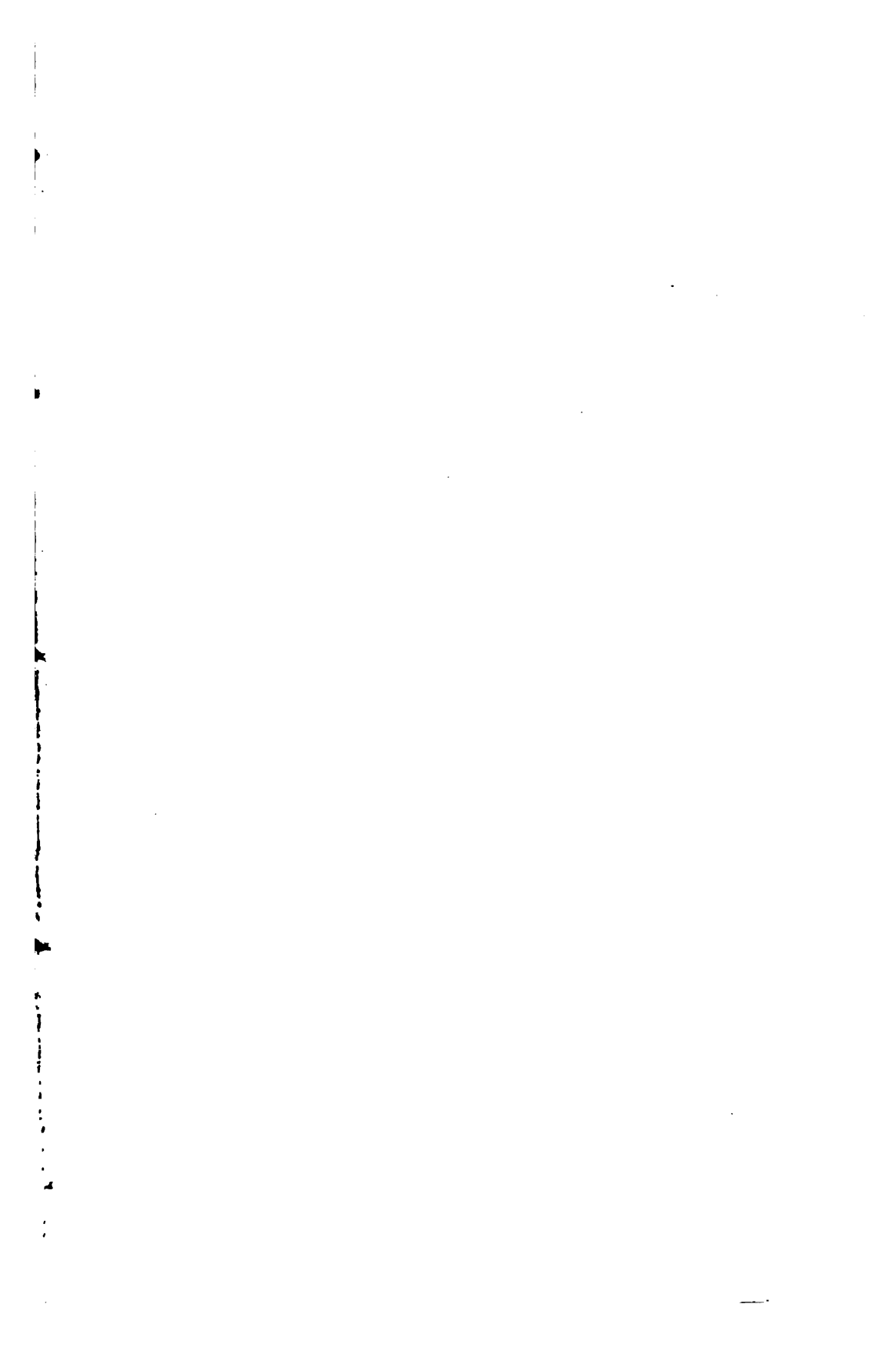
		a child of	Edward Akeroyd, Horton
	22	Ann	w James Whitar, Claton
	23	a child of	Isaac Balme, Horton Grace Booth, Bk.
	25	a child of	Thomas Jowet, Clayton
	28		William Midgley, Bk.
Sept.	1		Ralph Stringer, Bd.
	6	Hannah	d Thomas Hollins, Bd.
	7	Wm.	s Nicholas Crosbie, a stranger
	15	Mary	d John Jackson, Bd.
	19	Tobias	s Lawrence Hinton, Bd.
	22	Alice	w John Booth, Bd. Joseph Booth, Gt. H.
	29	Hellin	w James Hilyard, Bd.
Oct.	8	Jonas	s Robert Wilson, late of Bd. Nathan Dickson, Shipley
	9	Judith	d Walker Dowglesse, Claton
		David	s Thomas Thornton, Thornton
	12	Timothy	s Edward Fletcher, Thornton
		Grace	w Thomas Fearnley, Bd.
	15	John	s John Eastwood, Shipley
	20	a child of	Robert Whittingham, Bk.
	22	Samuel	s John Waterhouse, Bd.
	25	Elizabeth	d John Turner, Bd.
	29	Isabell	w Wm. Hollingdrake, Horton
	30		Alice Naylor, Clayton Susana Hage, Bd.
Nov.	3		
Dec.	2	Martha	d William Hustler, Wibsey
	5	Alice	w Wm. Hopkinson, Bd.
	6		Widdow Freckleton, Bk.
	10		Jonathan Robertshey, Bowling
	20		Wm. Hey, Bd., Bayliff
	22	Rachael	d Wm. Hodgson
	29	Elizth.	d James Bowker, Bd.
	30	Joshua	s Isaac Lumbee, Bd.
Jan.	1	Hester	w Abm. Brunall, Mann. Richard Cordingley, Bowling
	4		
	6	Susanna	d Joseph Field, Halyfax
		Grace	w John Shires, Bd.
	7	Hester	d Christopher Burnett, Bd.
	10	Mary	w Joseph Starkey, Bd.
	12	Mercie	w John Turner, Bd.
	15	Jane	w Humphrey Baumforth, Bd.
	23	Susan	w Thomas Clarkson, Bd.
	28	Hester	w John White, Thornton
	30	Rd.	s John Stead, Bd.
		William	s William Jowett, Heaton
Feb.	6		Thos. Hodgson, Bd.
	15		Wm. Kitchin, Wilsden
	19		Widdow Gleadhill, Tong
	20	Wm.	s Wm. Brooksbank, Allerton
		John	s Mathew Hollings, Bd.

	21		Elizabeth Haley, Horton
	22	Mary	d Ronald Hindle, Bd.
	29	Mary	w Chrstr. Fawcitt, Bd.
March	3	Elizabeth	w Michael Balme, Wilsey
	3	Agnes	w Wm. Hey, Bd.
	15	John	s Jonas Ashton, late of Horton Ellen Gleadhill, Allerton
	17	Nicholas	s John Kitchin, Eccleshill
	19	Frances	w Mathew Roodes, Clayton
	22	Elizabeth	w Wm. Hemsworth, Bd.
			105 burials for the year.
1856.			
	25		John Hodgson, Allerton
	28		Joseph Starkie, Bd.
		Mary	w Robert Brewer, Horton a child of Henry Simpson, Bd.
April	2	Elizabeth	d Thomas Stead, late of Bd.
	5	Sara	d Thomas Richardson, Bierley, died at Pudsey
	6		a child of John Craven, Frizinghall
	15	Ellen	w Mathew Clough, Horton
	19		John Crowther, Horton a child of John Burnitt, Bfd. a child of Jonas Greave, Bd.
	24		John Longstaff, Allerton
	25		Richard Richardson, Bierley, Gent.
	26	Mary	w Jeremiah Bower, late of Bd.
May	3		Henry Smith, Horton Michael Pearson, Thornton
	4	Bridgett	w ———Robertshay, Clayton
		Hannah	d Abm. Boardall, Bd.
	8		Walter Holdsworth, Gt. H. a child of Mathew Drake, Bd.
	12	Grace	w William Jowett, Clayton
	20	Bridgett	w John Sugden, Horton
	24	Grace	w George Warde, Horton
	29	James	s James Knowles, Bd. Elizabeth Roper, Shipley
	30	Mary	d Michael Pearson, Thornton
June	1	Martha	d James Knowles, Bd.
	2		a child of John Brigg, Horton
	4	Mary	d George Mortimer
	9	Mathew	s Mathew Thornton, Bowling
	10		a child of Abm. Jowett, Bolton
	11	Ann	d Walter Jobson, Bd.
		Lydia	w James Wilkinson, Wilsden
		John	s Thomas Mortimer, late of Horton
	14	Ann	d Thomas Walker, junr., Bd.
	16	Barbara	w Wm. Walker, late of Bd.
	21		Wm. Thornton, Horton Hester Jowett, Clayton
	29		Widow Sowden, Mann.

	30	a child of	Wm. Rawson, Shipley
July	4		Margritt Braffitt, Tong
	6	a child of	Lawrence Hunton, Bd.
	12	a child of	William Sugden, Horton
	16	Hellin	d William Bairstow, Wibsey
	18	Thomas	s Thomas Hodgson, Bowling
Aug.	2	John	s Thomas Hollins, Clayton
	8	Mary	d Matthew Farrer, Bd.
	10	a child of	Abm. Brunall, Mann.
		Grace	d Ambrose Firth, Wibsey
	22	John	s Abm. Akeroyd, Wibsey Thomas Bunnie, Bierley
	24	Joseph	s Joseph Booth, late of Horton
	29	a child of	Richard Scott, Bd.
Sept.	7	a child of	Thomas English, Bd.
	8		Mary Jowett, Bd.
	10		Richard Smith, Bd.
		a child of	Robert Killerbee, Bd.
	11	a child of	James Brown, Bd.
		a child of	Henry Atkinson, Bd.
	21	Sara	d Leonard Killerbee, Bd.
	23	Grace	w Samuel Sugden, Horton
		Mary	d Thomas Sugden, Horton
	27	Mary	w John Lister, Bolton
	30	John	s Daniel Knight, Bd.
			Abm. Wilkinson, Wilsden
		a child of	c Michael Drake, Thornton
Oct.	2		Christr. Gascoyne, Bd.
	3	Thomas	s John Hodgson, Bolton
	7	Alice	d John Pearson, Bd.
	8		James Margetson, Bd.
		Wm.	s Robert Bell, Bd.
	21	Joseph	s Wm. Patterson, Addle Samuel Widdhopp, Wibsey
Nov.	3	Frances	w Matthew Clough, Horton
	4	a child of	William Wilkinson, Mann.
	6		George Dodgson, Bd.
	8	Hellin	w John Crabtree, Mann.
	9	a child of	Thomas Walker, Bd.
	10	John	s John Hoyle, Bolton
	11	Mary	d Isaac Broadley, Bd.
	15	Mary	w Sampson Baynes, Calverley
	16	Grace	w John Stevenson, Bowling
	17	Richard	s Thomas Richardson, late of Bierley
	23	John	s John Stevenson, Bowling
	24	Jane	w James Brown, Bd.
	25	a child of	Joshua Booth, Bradford
	28		Martha Exley, Bradford
	29		Michael Metcalfe, Bd.
Dec.	6	Isaac	s John Batchler, Mann.
		a child of	Robert Pearson, Bd.
	7	a child of	Samuel Wadsworth, Thornton

	8	Richard	s	Richard Walsh, late of Mann.
	10			Elizabeth Benson, Gt. H.
	11			James Barnsley, Mann.
	14	David	s	David Parkinson, Bd.
	26	Joseph	s	Hugh Sawnderson, Bowling.
	28			Widdow Mitchell, Bowling
	31	Martha	w	Jeremiah Dixon, Heaton
		a child of		John Dickinson, Bd.
Jan.	2			a child of Isaac Balme, Horton
	7			John Crabtree, Mann.
	9			John Kitchen, Wilsden
		a child of		Christopher Fawcitt, Bd.
	10			James Dawson, Bd.
	18	Mary	w	Jonas Hillhouse, Bd.
	19	Mary	w	George Kedropp, Bd.
		Martha	d	Edward Fletcher, Horton
		John	s	Joseph Metcalfe, Bd.
	20	Mary	d	John Webster, Bd.
				Elizabeth Saxton, Chella
		a child of		Jeremiah Rooks, Horton
	21	William	s	Christopher Eastburn, Mann.
	22	Pabee	w	Robert Barren, Bd.
		Ellen	d	Richard Jepson, Bd.
	26	William	s	William Pattricke, Horton
Feb.	1			a child of Jeremiah Holmes, Heaton
	2	Susanna	d	William Hill, Heaton
	5	Sara	d	Thomas Wilks, Heaton
	6	Richard	s	William Allerton, Allerton
	16			Elizabeth Pinder, Eccleshill
		William	s	Abraham Wilkinson, Bd.
	19			a child of John Ellis, Bd.
	20	Susana	w	Isaac Glover, Bd.
	25	Rebecca	w	John Midgley, Clayton
March.	1			Robert Holdsworth, Horton
		Elizabeth	w	Nicholas Stead, Bd.
	5	Thomas	s	James Skarr, Bd.
	6			William Ashton, Horton
		Susanna	d	Joseph Midgley, Bolton
				Elizabeth Holdsworth, Horton
	7	June	d	John Bayly, Bd.
	16			James Illingworth, Frizinghall
	18			Thomas Booth, Wilsden
		a child of		John Smithers, Horton
	20			Richard Hodgson, Bd.
	21			Mary Pollard, Bierley
	22			John Wilkinson, Bd.
	23			John Clarkson, Bd.
				Mathew Clough, Horton
	24	Ann	w	Martin Hodgson, late of Horton

140 burials for the year.





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BRAMHOPE HALL

From a Photo by J. J. Stead, Esq.

BRAMHOPE CHAPEL.

BY

BRYAN DALE, M.A.

With three Illustrations.

THE old chapel, which stands near Bramhope Hall, three miles from Otley, was built about 250 years ago. It is noteworthy, not for its antiquity or beauty, but on account of its being one of the few religious edifices erected in England during the Puritan Revolution of the middle of the seventeenth century. There was at that time no lack of religious edifices; but there was a serious difference among Englishmen concerning their proper use, and still more concerning the proper limits of Royal and Episcopal authority, which plunged the nation into a disastrous civil war. From the calling of the Long Parliament in 1640 to the Restoration in 1660, men had other matters to think about more important than even the building of churches.

The year 1649, when the chapel was founded, was a notable one. The Parliamentary army had triumphed; on the 30th of January in that year the King was executed; and on the 19th of May England was proclaimed a Commonwealth. Already Episcopacy had been abolished, the Book of Common Prayer removed from the parish churches, and service conducted therein according to the Presbyterian manner. But the government of the National Church remained in an unsettled condition. It was at such a time that Robert Dyneley, Esquire, lord of the manor of

Bramhope, being a zealous Puritan, and desirous of promoting the spiritual welfare of his neighbours, erected this chapel on his own ground, and with the co-operation of others endowed it with lands for the maintenance of its minister.

He was "a branch of a considerable and worthy family," whose pedigree is given by Thoresby, and at greater length by Whitaker. The first of the name was Adam de Dyneley, of Clitheroe, living in the time of Edward II., and holding lands in Dyneley, Lancashire. After several generations William Dyneley, of Bramhope, purchased the manor from Henry, Earl of Cumberland, 38 Henry VIII. His grandson, Robert, was knighted by James I. on his coming from Scotland in 1603; and he married Olave, daughter of Sir Robert Stapleton, of Wighill, who was said to be in Queen Elizabeth's days "the finest gentleman in England next to Sir Philip Sydney." Three or four years after he received the honour of knighthood, his son, Robert Dyneley, with whom we are here more especially concerned, was born at Bramhope; and soon after attaining his majority he married Margaret, the eldest daughter of Sir John Stanhope, of Melford, Kent. Thoresby says: "She was one of the twenty-two children Sir John and his lady had before either of them was forty years of age." She was herself the mother of three sons and eight daughters, and "lived about sixty years in the happy state of matrimony." Her husband seems to have been a man who loved peace and quietness, and took no active part in the civil strife of the time. He lived on good terms with his neighbours, and was well esteemed for his piety and sound judgment in practical matters. When Parliament granted Lord Fairfax the seigniorship of the Isle of Man in 1651 he appointed Robert Dyneley as a commissioner, along with James Chaloner, M.P., and Joshua Witton, M.A. (the learned Puritan Rector of Thornhill) to settle the affairs of the island. His eldest daughter, Margaret, was married to Robert Leaver, of Bolham, in Northumberland, a minister of

great sincerity and ability, and like Witton, a Non-conformist. One of Mr. Dyneley's sons died in infancy (1642). Another, William, died of consumption at Bramhope, in 1666. He himself attained a good old age; saw four generations of the neighbouring gentry; outlived the Stuart dynasty; and died the year in which William of Orange was proclaimed.

Bramhope Hall occupies an elevated position, commanding extensive prospects of the surrounding country, and affording on a clear day a distant view of York Minster. But only the western portion of the old Hall in which Robert Dyneley resided now remains. Having made up his mind to build a chapel near the Hall he was desirous of providing an endowment for it by enclosing a part of the common or waste land of the manor, and sought the assistance of the freeholders for this purpose. Some of these were at first much opposed to the project, but "with pains and patience all consented at last." In this endeavour he was zealously supported by Robert Todd, M.A., an eminent puritan minister and the first incumbent of St. John's Church, Leeds; of whom the story is told, that being silenced by the Act of Uniformity and asked, in his last sickness, for permission to send for a physician, he replied: "No, there is but one in England who can do me good, and that is King Charles, by giving me liberty to preach." In 1649 the lord and the freeholders surrendered 130 acres of the waste grounds of the Manor (valued at a yearly rent of 6s. 8d. per acre) to the following gentlemen: Sir George Wentworth, of Woolley, Knight; Charles Fairfax, of Menston, Esquire (Colonel in the Parliamentary Army, and uncle of "the great Lord Fairfax"), Henry Arthington, of Arthington, Esquire (whose wife was Mary, sister of Lord Fairfax), Walter Hawksworth, of Hawksworth, Esquire, and John Stanhope, of Horsforth, Esquire. The terms of the trust were declared to be: for the use of a chapel to be erected, and the maintenance of an able and godly minister; 10 acres to be appropriated for a messuage for the minister's residence, and £40 a year

to be raised from the rest for his stipend ; full power being given to Mr. Dyneley, together with the trustees, and with the assent of Mr. Todd and four of the most honest, godly and conscientious inhabitants of the chapelry of their nomination, to appoint a godly, discreet and fit person to be preacher or minister ; if they should neglect to do so within three months, to the ministers of Leeds, Addle (Adel), Guiseley, and Otley, with the assistance of any three or four of the said feoffees, and of four of the honest and godly inhabitants to make the appointment ; and to Mr. Dyneley and the feoffees with the approbation of the four ministers mentioned, to suspend and deprive the minister.

Referring to these terms Hunter remarks : " This shows what appeared to a body of Puritans of those times the most judicious means of settling that very difficult point in ecclesiastics, the mode of appointing to a cure."* At a later period the power of appointing a minister among Nonconformists was sometimes vested entirely in the trustees, but more commonly it rested with the church or the congregation. Nothing whatever is said in the trust of this chapel concerning " the doctrine and discipline " to be maintained therein. There was no Episcopal Church at the time ; and of the views and intentions of the founder there can hardly be any doubt.

In appearance the chapel is probably at the present time not very different from what it was when first erected. It is a plain, oblong building of stone, rough-cast and whitewashed, with a belfry and one bell. Its interior contains nothing suggestive of the ceremonial worship to which the Puritans had so strong an aversion. In addition to several square pews and a number of benches, the most conspicuous object is a high and roomy pulpit, with desk below and sounding board above, close to the ceiling, " looking not unlike a huge extinguisher made ready to drop upon the head of any

* Life of Oliver Heywood, p. 164.



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NORTH-EAST CORNER, DYNELEY CHAPEL.



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DYNELEY CHAPEL, BRAMHOPE.

preacher who should be unfaithful to his trust." In this building the Squire of Bramhope and his household, and numerous sturdy yeoman and farm servants, with their wives and children, assembled every sabbath morning and afternoon, the men taking their seats on one side and the women on the other. Having entered the pulpit the minister (usually arrayed in black gown and bands, and wearing a skull-cap) offered extempore prayer, and proceeded to read one or more portions of scripture, expounding or "giving the sense" of the same at the close; he then announced line by line a metrical psalm, which the congregation sang, without instrumental music or quoir; and again he prayed at somewhat greater length than at first. Then came the sermon, measured by the hour-glass, standing by the preacher's side; followed by a prayer of thanksgiving; the singing of another psalm; and a solemn dismissal of the people with the Benediction. Sometimes a part of the service was occupied with the public catechising of the young people in the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly. On fast-days or days of special solemnity the service lasted several hours. "On a public fast-day" (says Joseph Lister, in his "Autobiography") I have known that holy Mr. Wales [Elkanah Wales, minister of Pudsey] spend six or seven hours in praying and preaching, and rarely go out of the pulpit; but sometimes he would intermit for one quarter of an hour, while a few verses of a psalm were sung, and then pray and preach again."

The first minister of the chapel of whom there is any mention was Zechariah Crossley. But little is known concerning him. He was probably ordained to the ministry after the Presbyterian manner; was doubtless appointed according to the terms of the trust "as a godly, discreet and fit person to be preacher or minister"; and received the stipend provided so long as he continued in his office.

After the Restoration the chapel and its endowment were claimed by the ecclesiastical authorities for the Church of England. This claim involved the intro-

duction of the revised Prayer Book, and the episcopal ordination of the minister. But it was repudiated by Mr. Dyneley on the ground of the nature of the foundation, and more especially because the land on which the chapel stood was his private property. Nor does he appear ever to have admitted the claim; although at his death, and probably for some years previously (during which very severe laws for the suppression of nonconformity were in operation) the chapel was appropriated to a use not contemplated in the original trust. Zechariah Crossley did not comply with the requirements of the Act of Uniformity (1662); but, under the protection of Mr. Dyneley, he continued to minister therein, and was often visited by Oliver Heywood, who had been ejected by that Act from the chapelry of Coley in the parish of Halifax. Heywood's first visit was paid in 1664, when the Conventicle Act came into force and he was under sentence of excommunication, being forbidden to attend church, and at the same time fined for his absence. As this visit introduced him to Mr. Dyneley, his account of it may be quoted in full.

(1664, Nov. 5.) Because I could not peaceably go to my own chapel to hear him (Mr. Hoole, "a very late conformist") I went to hear Mr. Crossley at Bramhope, who by the good providence of God yet holds up the work of public preaching without conforming. I did hear him in the morning; but at noon, after dinner, Mr. Dyneley, the gentleman of the place, moved me to preach in the afternoon. I told him I was willing, if Mr. Crossley was content, and if it might not prejudice them. They all unanimously desired it, and referred the consequence thereof to God's providence. That I took as a call from God, and adventured to preach; and the Lord was graciously seen in giving me unwonted liberty of speech and spirit, both in prayer and preaching, and affected the hearts of his people. Blessed be God. Such a season is worth a prison. (Diar. I. 192.)

The account of his next visit is as follows:—

(1664-5, Jan. 30.) I went on Saturday last to spend a Sabbath at Bramhope with Mr. Crossley, and heard one Mr. Ord, a north country minister [ejected from Norham, Northumberland], that was lately in prison at York, for preaching in a public church in the city, but was released at three weeks' end, upon a flaw in the *significavit*; and it was a precious Sabbath to me. The day after being the 30th of January, we



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DYNELEY CHAPEL, LOOKING EAST.



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DYNELEY CHAPEL, LOOKING WEST.

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took the advantage of a public fast; a great congregation came from all parts; the Lord helped me to carry on the work of the day (after Mr. Crossley had made an expository beginning) with abundance of enlargement, from 11 o'clock till half-an-hour past 3. Blessed, Blessed be our gracious God for that precious and unexpected opportunity (I. 194).

Mr. Crossley died in 1665, and from that time forward Heywood's visits to Bramhope became frequent. About the same time Mr. Dyneley's son-in-law, Robert Leaver, often preached here; and a little later, Robert Pickering (another nonconformist, and subsequently minister at Morley) acted as chaplain. But the part which Mr. Dyneley took in holding these meetings caused him no little trouble. Although he was not, like many others, fined and imprisoned, yet he was informed against and indicted for a "conventicle" at Pontefract sessions (1666). His accuser was a Mr. Waddington; whose man said "his master sent him to watch, and there came five or six persons out of Mr. Dyneley's house; but he knew not what they did there." The Bench dismissed the case; but "Waddington grumbled much and cried: 'Alas! poor King, that his friends are no more regarded,' and said if that took not effect he would serve the King no more" (Diar. iii. 96).

The meetings continued. On one occasion Heywood "rode to Bramhope, spent the Lord's day following, and had a large assembly in Mr. Dineley's Hall" (Diar. i. 244). On another he "preached publicly in the chapel on the Lord's day, being Dec. 8 (1667), and had a large auditory and a good opportunity of doing good." During these journeys he sometimes spent the night with Col. Charles Fairfax, at Menston, where he was "kindly entertained"; visited "an afflicted gentlewoman at Arthington, who is my lord Fairfax's sister" (the widow of Henry Arthington, one of the trustees of the chapel); and "had a large auditory at old Mr. Rawden's, of Rawden" (who died April 28, 1668, and was the father of Sir George Rawden, Bart.). Heywood's diaries, it may be remarked, not only bear witness to his own devout zeal and untiring energy,

but also afford a graphic picture of the troublous times in which he lived and laboured.

Robert Dyneley, junior (1632-1700), was residing at Flansile Hall, Flanshaw, near Wakefield in 1667.* He was of the same sentiments as his father; frequently entertained Heywood when visiting the neighbourhood; and was associated with the Presbyterians at Alverthorpe. In 1674 (Nov. 13) he was summoned to a session of the Justices at Wakefield, with "about forty of Alverthorp meeting," with a view to their conviction for holding a conventicle; but "the court broke up before the accused came there," and they were not further molested.

The references to Bramhope contained in Heywood's Diaries in succeeding years are numerous. He "kept a solemn fast" there and "continued above an hour together in prayer; administered the Lord's Supper"; and was assisted by Mr. Root (Timothy Root, son of Henry Root, the old Independent minister of Sowerby), Thomas Johnson (another ejected minister, of Painthorp, near Wakefield) and others. It is not stated whether these services were held in the chapel or the Hall. One entry of a somewhat different character is worth quoting :

Dec. 14, 1672, Mr. Dyneley sent me some 30 young trees from Bramhope to set up—many sycamore trees, elms, ashes, apple-trees, black-cherry trees, &c. They were set in my lower croft (Northowram), on Monday, Dec. 16. Though I may not live so long, yet future generations may see them flourish (Diar. III. 213).

Heywood's visits were greatly interrupted after 1683, when more severe measures than at any previous period were taken against nonconformists, and he was confined in York Castle for nearly a whole year (1685); but they took place occasionally up almost to the decease of the old lord of the manor; and then he wrote the

* He married Dorcas Mauleverer, a descendant of the celebrated Toby Matthew, Archbishop of York, and his mother-in-law appears to have resided near him. Among the curiosities in Thoresby's Museum was "A thin slice of the *Sea Unicorn's Horn*, white and solid; the present of Mrs. Dorcas Dyneley, to whose great-grand-mother Frances, then daughter-in-law to Archbishop Parker, and after the wife of Archbishop Matthews, Queen Elizabeth gave this very piece."

following entry in his Register : " Robert Dineley of Bramhope Hall in Otley parish, buried Nov. 14, 1689, aged 83 ; kept up meetings in his hall."

The chapel had now evidently come into the possession of the Established Church, though it does not appear to have been "consecrated." In a letter to Thoresby, dated Bramhope, April 27, 1691, John Hepworth, the curate, wrote :—

I preached the funeral sermon of the old Esquire. What I said of him was only this: Having done with my text probably it may be expected that I should say something concerning the party deceased. You all know his extraction, that he was a branch of a considerable and worthy family ; you all know what he hath done as to the setting up of the worship of God amongst us. *He loveth our nation and hath built us a synagogue*, was the fair commendation which the Jews gave of a certain Centurion, Luke vii. 5. By the care and diligence of this worthy person we have a chapel erected and endowed with a competent maintenance for a preaching minister. I wish that the gentry and those that have good estates would follow the example, and give something to pious uses ; that they would augment ministers' maintenance when it is poor and inconsiderable (Cor. I. 109).

The following statement also is made concerning the endowment in the MS. of Archbishop Sharp (quoted by Lawton) :

This land is settled by deed for the use of the chapel. By this settlement Mr. Dyneley is to pay a curate (minister) who is nominated by the Trustees, £17 and a noble per annum, or to let him have the land. It is said that he did pay this sum for several years to Mr. Hepworth ; but after he went off he paid to Mr. Biggs, the next curate, but £40 per annum.

In 1699 William Wilson was admitted curate upon the nomination of Sir Walter Hawksworth, Cyril Arthington, Thomas Fairfax, and Robert Dyneley, Esquires, trustees.

Robert Dyneley, the son of the founder, died at Leeds in 1700, leaving two sons, viz : John of Bramhope and Robert of Castley ; and the son of the former, Robert Dyneley, M.A., was curate from 1728 to 1740. The Hall was sold in 1792 to Christopher Smith, a merchant of Leeds, and now belongs to the family of Rhodes. Since the erection of a new church the old chapel has not been used.

Since writing the preceding pages I have met with a copy of the certificate of a Presbyterian ordination, which was signed, among others, by *George Crosley*. This was probably the name of the first minister at Bramhope, and not *Zechariah* Crosley, as stated by Calamy. The certificate is of some interest and worth preservation. It runs as follows :

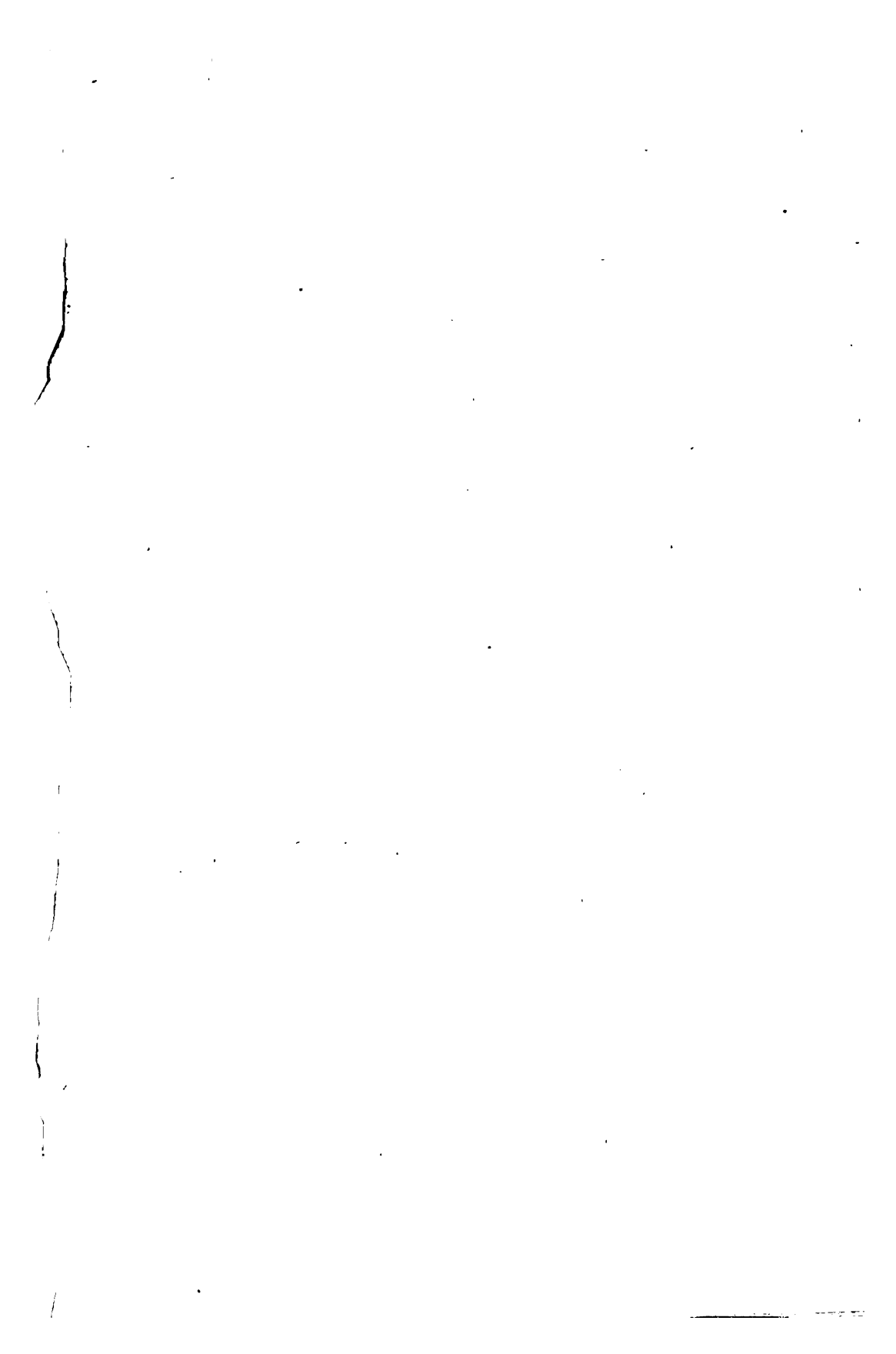
Forasmuch as Thomas Johnson, Bachelor of Arts, hath addressed himself to the Classical Presbytery at Adle in the County of York, desiring to be ordained, for that he is called to the work of the ministry within the parish of Darfield, to the Chappel at Houghton in the County of York, and hath exhibited to the Presbytery sufficient testimonial of his competent age, unblameable life and conversation, diligence and proficiency in his studys, and of his fair and direct calling unto the aforementioned congregation of Houghton WE the Presbytery, having first examined him and finding that he is duly qualified and gifted for that holy office and employment (no just exception being made against his ordination) have approved him; and in the church of Adle aforesaid upon the day and year hereafter expressed we have proceeded solemnly to set him apart to the office of preaching Presbyter and work of the ministry, with fasting, prayer, and imposition of hands; and in witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names this 31st of October in the year of the Lord God 1655.

THOMAS HAWKESWORTH, Moderator.

ELK. WALES, ROB. TODD, GEO. CROSLY,
JA. DALE, Scribe.

N.B. Mr. Cornelius Todd, son of Robert Todd, was ordained at Adle the same day.

The date of this certificate, it will be observed, is the year after the appointment of Commissioners or Tryers under the Protectorate "for the approbation of Public Preachers." Although the Presbyterian discipline was not generally set up in Yorkshire, as in London and Lancashire, yet here and there neighbouring Presbyterian ministers associated themselves in a "Classical Presbytery" for the ordination of candidates for the ministry and other purposes; and the Commissioners had respect to their testimony to the character and efficiency of such candidates (as well as to the rights of patrons and the choice of congregations) in admitting them as public preachers or teachers in parochial churches and chapels.



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The Session commences on the 1st of October in every year. During the winter months, a series of lectures on antiquarian and historical subjects are delivered in the Society's Rooms, Free Library, Bradford, the lecture night being the second Tuesday in every month; whilst during the summer months, excursions are organised to places of interest under the guidance of competent ciceroni.

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The

Bradford

Antiquary.



THE JOURNAL OF THE
Bradford Historical & Antiquarian
SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES. PART IV. JULY, 1899.

Editorial Secretary:—

PROFESSOR FEDERER, L.C.P., 8, HALLFIELD ROAD, BRADFORD.

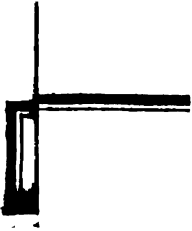
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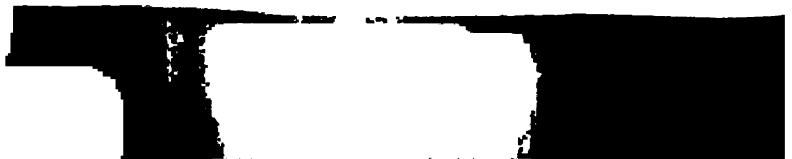
BRADFORD:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY H. GASKARTH
11, SUNBRIDGE ROAD.

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ROMAN YORKSHIRE,

BY

J. NORTON DICKONS.

(The substance of a Paper read before the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society on 15th April, 1898.)

IT is a pity that no one has done for Roman Yorkshire what Mr. W. T. Watkin has done for Roman Lancashire and Cheshire. Mr. Newton read a Memoir on "Roman Yorkshire" at the Meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute at York in 1846; and Mr. F. Haverfield read another at the Scarborough Meeting of the Institute in 1895; but neither paper has been printed, though the Institute published the map which was prepared by Mr. Newton to illustrate his paper, and which is still the best and most reliable map of Roman Yorkshire.

I have endeavoured to gather together in this paper some notices of Roman remains still existing in Yorkshire, and as from the nature of the case nothing new can be said on the subject, I have not scrupled to use the language of any writer who throws any light on the subject matter, and in the foot note I mention some of the authorities upon whose statements this paper is based.

-
- Gough's "Camden's Britannia." Vol. 3, 1789.
Warburton's Map of Yorkshire, 1720.
Horsley's "Britannia Romana," 1732.
Drake's "History of York," 1736.
Stukeley's "Itinerarium Curiosum," 1776.
Stukeley's "Life & Correspondence" (Surtees Society Vols. 73, 76 & 80.)
Whitaker's "History of Manchester," 1771.
Watson's "History of Halifax," 1775.
Newton's "Map of Roman and British Yorkshire."
Wellbeloved's "Eboracum," 1842.
"Lapidarium Septentrionale," 1875.
Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 1891.

I do not intend to speak to you upon the History of the Roman occupation, but it is perhaps necessary to refer briefly to the pre-Roman inhabitants of Yorkshire.

At the time of the Roman Invasion of Britain, Yorkshire formed part of the territory occupied by the Brigantes, or rather by the confederation of tribes known by that name, including the Parisoi who were located in Holderness-shire.

Our knowledge of the geography of the Brigantian territory is derived in the main from the geography of Claudius Ptolemy, written some time in the reign of Antoninus Pius, which began in A.D. 138. Ptolemy has left us an account of the position of the Brigantes and the names of their chief towns. His words are:

“ And south from the Elgovæ* and the Otadeni, and reaching from sea to sea, are the Brigantes whose towns are :

	Long.	..	Lat.
Epiacum	18.30	..	58.30
Vinnovium	17.30	..	58.00
Catarractonium	20.00	..	58.00
Calatum	19.00	..	57.30
Isurium	20.00	..	57.40
Rigodunum	18.00	..	57.30
Olicana	19.00	..	57.30
Eboracum (Legio Sexta Victrix)	20.00	..	57.20
Camuulodunum	18.15	..	57.00

Beside these about the well havened bay are the Parisoi and the City Petuaria.”

We ascertain from other parts of Ptolemy that the Selgovæ inhabited the north bank of Solway Firth, and that the Otadeni were settled in Northumberland. The southern boundary of the Brigantes apparently stretched across England from the Dee to the Humber and possibly included some part of Derbyshire. Of the towns named, Epiacum has not been identified, Vinnovium has been identified with Binchester near Bishop Auckland in Durham; all the other towns are in Yorkshire, with the exception of Rigodunum which

* “ Selgovæ ” in earlier part of Ptolemy.

is commonly assigned to Ribchester. Catarractonium, Isurium, Olicana, Eboracum, and Cambodunum (spelt Camuulodunum by Ptolemy in error) are represented by the Roman Stations at Thornborough near Catterick, Aldborough, Ilkley, York, and Slack near Halifax. Calatum may be Overborough in North Lancashire. Petuaria is undetermined but has been assigned to Beverley. Ptolemy, however, does not give us anything approaching a complete number of towns, but probably only those which were British sites prior to the coming of the Romans and afterwards adopted by the latter.

In describing the east coast of England, within the same limits of latitude and longitude, Ptolemy gives the following points :

	Long.		Lat.
Vedræ fluv. ostia	20.10	..	58.30
Dunum Sinus	20.15	..	57.30
Gabrantvicorum Sinus	21.00	..	57.40
Oceli Promontorium	21.15	..	56.40
Abi fluv. ostia	21.00	..	56.30

It is agreed that the Humber Estuary is meant by Abus. North of this is a projecting part of land called "Ocelum Promontorium," which may be the Spurn or Flamborough Head, most probably the latter. Still further north was Gabrantvicorum Sinus, the bay of the Gabrantvici (also "the well havened bay"), which Camden placed at Bridlington, others at Filey Bay. Still further north is Dunum Sinus, which is agreed to be Dunsley Bay near Whitby.

The period when the Romans first appeared in Yorkshire cannot be accurately determined. The better opinion seems to be that the first and real conqueror of the Brigantes was Petilius Cerialis who was Imperial Legate from A.D. 71 to 75, and who was with the second Legion at Lincoln (Lindum).

Tacitus speaks of Cerialis and his work in Britain :—

" At length, when Vespasian received the possession of Britain, together with the rest of the world, the great commanders and well appointed armies which were sent over, abated the confidence

of the enemy, and Petilius Cerialis struck terror by an attack upon the Brigantes, who are reputed to compose the most populous state in the whole province. Many battles were fought, some of them attended by much bloodshed, and the greater part of the Brigantes were either brought into subjection or involved in the ravages of war." (*Agricola ch. 17.*)

The eastern portion of Yorkshire was first attacked by Cerialis advancing from Lincoln northwards into Yorkshire, avoiding by a western detour the Humber and the marshes of South-East Yorkshire.

"As the account of Tacitus speaks of many battles being fought, Cerialis was probably occupied during the whole (or nearly so) of his tenure of office in subduing the Brigantes, and we have no record of his attacking any other British tribe. The general opinion seems to be that he entirely subdued the Brigantes, adding their territory to the empire. Certain it is that, when a few years later Agricola marched from North Wales to the Solway, we hear of no opposition from this tribe." (*Watkin's "Roman Lancashire" p. 18.*)

Julius Agricola succeeded to the office of legate in A.D. 78, and his work in Yorkshire was that of consolidating the Roman power. The head quarters of Agricola appear to have been at Chester from which station he advanced north-wards through Lancashire into Scotland. Tacitus says :

"On the approach of summer (A.D. 79) he re-assembled his army, and in advancing failed not to excite a proper spirit of emulation among the troops, praising those who had best observed their several duties and checking such as were remiss. He himself chose the ground for encamping, the estuaries and woods he always examined first, and allowing the enemy no respite, he continually harassed them with sudden incursions and ravages. Having alarmed and terrified them sufficiently, he next tried the effects of good usage and the allurements of peace. By this wise and prudent conduct, several communities, which till then had maintained their independence, submitted to the Romans, gave hostages, and suffered garrisons and fortresses to be placed among them. Those strongholds he established with such judgment, as effectually secured all those parts of Britain which had then been visited by the Romans." (*Agricola c. 20.*)

Tacitus further informs us that Agricola instructed

the conquered tribes in the art of building houses, temples, and places of public resort. The sons of their chiefs were taught the liberal sciences and learnt the Roman language, and by degrees the customs, manners, and dress of their conquerors became familiar to them.

We cannot speak with certainty as to what strongholds Agricola erected in Yorkshire, but we may reasonably infer that Eboracum was one of them. After the conquest of Yorkshire we hear little further of the Brigantes who gradually became incorporated with the rest of Britons under the rule of the Romans.

Can we picture to ourselves the physical appearance of Brigantian Yorkshire? There is little trustworthy account of the ancient condition of the inland districts of Britain.

“It is certain that the island when it fell under the Roman power, was little better in most parts than a cold and watery desert. According to all the accounts of the early travellers the sky was stormy and obscured by continual rain, the air chilly even in summer, and the sun during the finest weather had little power to disperse the steaming mists. The trees gathered and condensed the rain; the crops grew rankly, but ripened slowly, for the ground and the atmosphere were alike overloaded with moisture. The fallen timber obstructed the streams, the rivers were squandered in the reedy morasses, and only the downs and hill tops rose above the perpetual tracts of weed.” (*Elton's Origins, Second Edition, p. 218.*)

Yorkshire formed no exception to this picture. The great central plain of York lying between the eastern wolds and the hills and dales of the western and north-eastern moors and extending to the borders of Derbyshire, was covered with a dense forest which even in modern times under the name of the Forest of Galtres extended to the walls of York. The district around Leeds, afterwards known as the kingdom of Elmete, was a vast forest stretching to the head waters of the rivers on the west and filling all the valley bottoms with a dense scrub. The south eastern portion of the county, into which the Don, Idle and Trent poured their unregulated waters, was almost an impassable morass, along the

western side of which ran a line of British entrenchments from Wincobank to Mexbro. The western moors and dales on the slopes of the Pennine Chain of hills which under the names of Blackstone Edge and Stanedge form the boundary of Yorkshire and Lancashire, were so bleak and desolate that they were in after ages known as "Desert." Here and there on the banks of the rivers were clearings where the settlements of the inhabitants were placed, communicating with each other by narrow and devious tracks. The bulk of the population was not as in modern times gathered in the West Riding, but was mainly settled around Malton at the foot of the Eastern Wolds where the streams break out and run into the vales below.

The work of conquest was done by Cerialis but the work of reclaiming the wilderness and opening up the country began under Agricola. The Romans felled the forests, laid out roads, embanked rivers, and constructed causeways across the morasses, using for that purpose the ill clad and half starved Britons who groaned under the burden of felling trees, opening quarries and carrying stones, and complained that their lives were worn out in the service of their rigorous task masters.

"The soldiers were pioneers and colonists. A Roman camp was "a city in arms" and most of the British towns grew out of the stationary quarters of the soldiery. The ramparts and pathways developed into walls and streets, the square of the tribunal into the market place, and every gateway was the beginning of a suburb, where straggling rows of shops, temples, rose gardens, and cemeteries, were sheltered from all danger by the presence of a permanent garrison. In course of time the important positions were surrounded with lofty walls, protected by turrets set apart at the distance of a bow shot, and built of such solid strength as to resist the shock of a battering ram. In the centre of the town stood a group of public buildings, containing the court house, baths, and barracks, and it seems likely that every important place had a theatre or a circus for races and shows. The humble beginnings of our cities are seen in the ancient sketch of a visit to Central Britain, in which a poet (Statius) pictured the arrival

of the son of a former governor (Vettius Bolanus),* and imagined a white haired old man pointing out the changes of the province. 'Here your father,' he says, 'sat in judgment and on that bank he stood and addressed his troops. Those watch towers and distant forts are his, and these walls were built and entrenched by him. This trophy of arms he offered to the gods of war, with the inscription that you may see; that cuirass he donned at the call to arms, this corselet he took from the body of a British king.' (*Elton's Origins*, p. 310.)

Under Constantine Britain was governed by the Gallic Prefect, through a "Vicar" or deputy at York, and was divided into five provinces to each of which a governor was assigned. One of these districts, *Maxima Cæsariensis*, included the district between the Humber and the Tweed. The army was under the orders of the "Count of Britain" assisted by two subordinate officers, the "Duke of Britain" and the "Count of the Saxon Shore." To facilitate the movements of the troops from the coast to "the Wall," the Romans constructed three several lines of roads, corresponding to some extent to the East and West Coast and Midland lines of our modern railroad system. Our chief authorities for these military routes are "The Itinerary of Antoninus" for the early period of the Roman conquest, and "the Notitia" for the period shortly before the final departure of the Romans.

The "Itinerary" (compiled about A.D. 210) contains an account of the several stations situate on the several Roman military ways and the several itinera seem to be so many marching routes for the soldiers. The routes are far from being direct, for they sometimes fetch a very wide compass, as appears from the second iter which crosses Britain three times. Dr. Plot says: "The stations seem to have been the extent of the daily marches of the soldiers, the length whereof, as they were seldom under ten miles, they as rarely exceeded thirty Roman miles." Roughly speaking thirteen Roman miles are equal to fourteen computed English miles.

* Bolanus governed Britain during the Civil Wars which preceded the reign of Vespasian.

Neither the numbers of miles nor the names of the various stations are altogether correct. A station is sometimes passed over in one iter and mentioned in another, *e.g.*, Calcaria (Tadcaster) is mentioned in the second iter but omitted in the fifth and eighth, though they must have passed through Tadcaster. Some places are called by different names in different itinera *e.g.*, in the eighth iter "Lagecium" is substituted for "Legeolium" (Castleford) and "Agelocum" for "Segelocum" (Littlebro'). Sometimes the sum total of miles set before the iter disagrees with the amount of the particulars in the iter, *e.g.*, the total length of the second iter is stated at the head of the iter to be 481 miles, but the distances from station to station sum up to 504 miles. Sometimes the distance between station and station differs from the real distance; a well known difficulty occurring in the second iter in the distance between Calcaria (Tadcaster) and Cambodunum (Slack). Where the direction of the iter and the identification of the stations are pretty sure, but cannot be reconciled to the distances, we may safely presume an error in transmission. If we can adopt the suggestion that "M.P." signifies "milia plus minus" (miles more or less) we should be able to explain several discrepancies.*

It is most likely that the Romans erected stations and constructed their roads as they carried on their conquests and probably they followed in many instances the lines of the ancient British pathways.

Several degrees or kinds of roads appear to have been made. There were first the great military thoroughfares mentioned in the Itinerary. Then there were subsidiary military ways on which an iter proceeded and which are not always mentioned in the Itinerary, *e.g.*, the road over Blackstone Edge, between Manchester and Ilkley, and Wade's Causeway between Malton and Dunsley; also cross or vicinal ways between various stations. The cross ways were lines of communications between the grand ways and generally

* "Royal Archeological Journal," vol. 37, p. 316.

the shortest line that can be drawn. It has been suggested that some of these cross ways and vicinal branches were not intended for military but for commercial purposes, inasmuch as they were not constructed in so durable a manner as the principal ways and for that reason have been more generally ruined and lost.

The movements of troops to and from "the wall" through Yorkshire followed one of three lines. The western line was the famous road known as Watling Street and hereafter described under the head of the second iter. The eastern line was the western branch of the road commonly called the Ermine Street, from Lindum (Lincoln) to York by way of Danum (Doncaster). A third military route proceeded from Lincoln to near Wintringham and crossing the Humber to Brough, proceeded by an ancient British way to Malton and the Tees and thence to the wall, throwing off a branch to York by Kexby or Stamford Bridge. But all the military forces for the north passed along the road from Isurium (Aldbrough) to Catarractonium. Here the road forked, one branch proceeding by Lavatær (Bowes) to the western, and the other by Pierce Bridge to the eastern part of the wall.

The Roman Roads have in some cases been continued as public roads or incorporated into modern turnpikes. The road from Castleford to Aberford is an example of the former, and the road from Aldborough to Catterick, called Leeming Lane, of the other. 150 years ago the roads were much better preserved than now, as appears from the accounts of Horsley, Drake, Stukeley, and Whitaker. Many of the roads mentioned by them have ceased to exist and with the exception of the road over Blackstone Edge it may be safely asserted that little of the Roman Roads not incorporated in public roads now remains. It is a mistake to suppose that the roads "shewn" on modern maps can be traced. If you carefully examine the six-inch ordnance map it is surprising how little of the roads still exist, and a

great number of roads boldly marked on Sayer's and other maps are only indicated on the six-inch map as "supposed site of Roman Road." Even Warburton who tramped over a considerable part of Yorkshire lays down lines of road which in fact are conjectural only.

A few words as to the "Notitia." It is a sort of military return of the troops stationed in Britain shortly before the departure of the Romans. The second legion was then concentrated at Richborough prior to embarkation, and the only legion left in Northern Britain was the sixth, with its headquarters at York. According to Horsley there remained at York itself only the prefect of the sixth legion. The prefect of Crispian horse was at Doncaster, the prefect of a body of Cuirassiers at Templeborough (assuming Templeborough to be "Morbio"), the prefect of a detachment of scouts at Bowes, the prefect of a detachment of "Solenses" at Greta Bridge, and the prefect of a detachment of "Pacenses" at Pierce Bridge.

In noticing what remains exist of the Roman occupation of Yorkshire it will be best to follow the route of the itinera Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 8, and note what can be ascertained of the stations in each iter, and then give some short notice of some other roads not mentioned in the Itinerary and of what remains are to be found at York and Aldbro.' There are many other points connected with the Roman occupation which cannot be dealt with in the present paper, such as tessellated pavements, Roman British coins, pottery, interments, and domestic remains. The selection of inscriptions includes only those which are best known and most instructive.

ITER I.

Taking the itinera as they appear in the Itinerary, so far as they relate to Yorkshire, the first iter is entitled "from the limit (*i.e.*, the Roman wall) to the Prætorium 156 miles."

		now
From Bremenium		High Rochester.
To Corstopitum	M.P. 20	Corbridge.
„ Vindomora	„ 9	Ebchester.
„ Vinnovium	„ 19	Binchester.

(The route here enters Yorkshire.)

To Catarractonium	M.P. 22	Catterick.
„ Isurium	„ 24	Aldborough.
„ Eburacum	„ 14	York.
„ Derventio	„ 7	On Derwent River.
„ Delgovitia	„ 13	} The exact place of these stations is not settled.
„ Prætorium	„ 22 or 25	

The sum of the distances usually given is 150 M.P., but it will be noticed it does not agree with the total of miles at the head of the iter. The iter forms the eastern branch of Watling Street from near the east end of "the wall" to York. It enters Yorkshire at Pierce Bridge on the Tees where on the Durham side of the river Mr. Maclaughlan located a camp. The road does not appear to have passed through the camp, but to have continued along a hollow way straight down to the river which it crossed by a ford. No station at Pierce Bridge is named in the Itinerary, but from the "Notitia" we find that a detachment of "Pacenses" was stationed at Pierce Bridge. Various antiquities have been found on the site, and in particular a Roman Bronze figured in *Wright's Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, (p. 256), representing a plough of primitive construction, drawn by oxen; the figure of the ploughman probably gives a correct picture of the costume of a Romano-British peasant. The Roman Road after crossing the river continued in a straight line to a place now called Scotch Corner, where the western branch of Watling Street from Carlisle, forming the second iter, fell into the road, and the joint itinera proceeded to Catterick. For the greater portion of the distance the Roman and modern road coincide, though

the stones have been nearly all taken to mend the modern road.* Stukeley who personally travelled over the road in 1722, says :

“ From Pierce Bridge we entered immediately upon the Roman Road which comes to the river a little lower down than the present bridge ; it is a broad, very straight, and hard road at this day, the great ridge of stone originally laid being not worn through so many ages, though it is broken in many places and in great need of repairs. Several mile stones by the way. Upon a moor we saw a branch run from it north-west which goes to Bowes (Lavatræ) and other stations towards Carlisle.”

(*Itinerarium Curiosum*, vol. 2, p. 72.)

The next station on the iter was Catarractonium mentioned by Ptolemy as one of the towns of the Brigantes. The name occurs in the 1st, 2nd, and 5th iter. The site of the station has been ascertained to be Thornborough, about half a mile west of Catterick Bridge. All that now remains of the station above ground is a portion of a wall about ninety yards long and five feet high, but recent excavations have shown that the station was a walled camp like that at York, about 240 by 175 yards, and including a site of about nine acres. Within or near this enclosure various sculptured stones and a remarkable bronze vessel containing a large quantity of Roman coins have been found. The vessel was at one time fixed in a brewing furnace and was capable of containing about twenty-four gallons of water. A statera or steelyard was also found a few years ago.† Numerous coins have been found at Thornborough, but there does not seem to be any foundation for the statement attributed to Bede that the Romans had a mint at Catarractonium, indeed it is very doubtful if any Roman mint existed in Britain, though moulds for forging coins have been found.

Camden's Continuator states that in 1620 an inscription was found here narrating the restoration of an altar to the tutelary deity of roads and paths, A.D. 191.

* * Royal Archaeological Institute, " vol. 6, p. 217.

† A figure of one found at Ribchester is figured in *Watkin's Roman Lancashire*, p. 156.

DEO QVI VIAS
 ET SEMITAS COM
 MENTVS EST T.IR.
 DAS. SC. F.V.L.I.M.
 Q. VARIVS VITA
 LIS ET E COS ARAM
 SACRAM RESTI
 TVIT
 APRONIANO ET BRA
 DVA COS.

Stukeley says :

“ Thornborough, the old city, stands a little above the bridge and road ; it is a farm house only, on a high ground and on the edge of the river being steep Foundations of the old walls left and much antiquity dug up. The Hermine Street (*i.e.* Watling Street) continues southward by the British name of Leeming Street, all composed of stone and paved with large coggles which the neighbouring inhabitants take away to build withall and pave their yards . . . ” (*Itin. Cur.*, vol. 2, p. 72.

The Roman Road from Catterick does not coincide altogether with the modern road, as will appear from an inspection of Warburton's Map and Mr. Maclaughlan's survey. It follows in the main the line of Leeming Lane. Horsley who was a north countryman and travelled over the road in 1732 says :

“ After leaving Thornborough and getting out of the enclosures it (the road) presents a grand and distinct appearance for several miles together. The sight of it has often been an entertainment to me as I travelled that road. Not far from Wath it receives another military way coming from Brugh near Bainbridge viâ Nosterfield. Before we come to the Salutation, the Roman way and the present high road part, the Roman Road or “High Street” lying west of the common road leaves the highway and keeping on the east enters some enclosures pointing direct to Aldborough and is visible afterwards as it crosses a lane.”

Where the Roman Road crossed the Ure to Aldborough is not certain.

In 1692, the Rev. Ed. Morris, Vicar of Aldbrough, writing to Dr. Gale, says :

“Your Roman way from York to this place (Aldbrough) admits of conjectures only; I will trouble you with three . . . by Calcaria to Isurium, if this seems too wide a reach, let me (second) conjecture that the way lay through Marston up to Tockwith and so near Catall where there seems yet a great way (though not much used) to *Stanck* on the great Watling Street and this way we now use when the waters are impassable over Nidd at Skip Bridge, and this way may suit with Antonine’s sixteen miles distant, if that be his computation, and not improbably with my last supposal which perhaps might be out of Boutham Barr and so through the forest of Galtree to the passage of Ure at Aldwark (which is your last guess) from thence leads a *cast up* way and strikes upon the great road near Ouseburn and there doubtless the Romans had some little station, as grounds about the banks on each side testify (though there be now no other memorials of them there); from Ouseburn the way is visible within a little mile of this place. The passage over the river I conjecture might be about 100 yards above the present passage at Borrowbridge, and so the way on this side leads over *the present three, the late four, but anciently five monuments or arrows* (as now called), and fully to the way that leads north on the other side (as is presently visible at Kirkby Moor) towards Cataract.”

“Horsley could not find the road, but Drake says Horsley did not look in the right place for it and thinks it went from Aldbro’ to York over Aldwark Ferry and that some vestiges of it may be observed in the villages leading to this place, particularly a great quantity of the pebble in the buildings which formed in all probability the strata of the road, but from the Ferry to York the agger was quite sunk and not the least footsteps remaining. Warburton in his map marks two roads one leading over Aldwark Ferry to York and the other through Whixley and Cattal, and which probably fell into the road from Ilkley to Tadcaster and so on to York. The latter road still exists and is known as the Rud or Road Gate. Stukeley travelled this road and says: ‘We went upon a Roman way till we came to the River Nidd half way to York where moor begins.’”

“From Isurium the road proceeded to the north over the river at Moltby a short distance below the present stone bridge at Boroughbridge, and where in Gale’s time some piles of wood and other remains of a bridge were to be seen. (*Stukeley’s Correspondence, vol. 3, p. 253.*)

From York the first iter is said to have proceeded *Derventione Delgovitia et Prætorio*. The sites of these places are lost. The military way must have

gone out of York towards the east or south-east, but whether by way of Monk Bar or Walmgate Bar cannot be ascertained, no traces of it are now to be found and all we can say is with Horsley that "the first station *Derventio* must have been somewhere on the *Derwent*." *Prætorium* has been placed at Whitby, Dunsley, Bridlington, Patrington, and Brough Ferry on the Humber, and by Horsley at Ebberstow in Lincolnshire. A road has been traced to Stamford Bridge, climbing the Wold at Garrowby Street, from whence it has been traced through Fimber and Sledmere in the direction of Filey, and another road in the direction of Bridlington (a candidate for the "*Gabrantvicorum Sinus*," the "well havened bay" of Ptolemy), leaving the former road near Fridaythorp and pointing to Rudstone where a Roman pavement has been found. If the latter route is the first *iter*, then Stamford Bridge is *Derventio* and Bridlington or Filey *Prætorium*. Filey may as well be the terminus of the *iter* as Bridlington, and there are traditions of a Roman harbour at Filey.

But the weight of authority is in favour of Brough on Humber being *Prætorium*, and some authorities have also placed the *Petuaria* of Ptolemy there. Roman remains have been found at Brough opposite to Wintringham where the great Roman Road from Lincoln *viâ* Broughton (Ebberstow) descended to cross the Humber on its way to York. There are traces of two routes from Brough to York, one *viâ* South Cave and Drewton (where the road has been dug up), Godmanham, Londesbro Park, Wartre, Millington, to Garrowby Road and thence *viâ* Stamford Bridge to York, and the other running from the first near Market Weighton, by Thorp in Street, Barnby Moor,*

* Since writing the above the Rev. E. Maude Cole, in a paper "On Roman Roads in the East Riding," read before the East Riding Antiquarian Society, says that in 1892 he explored this road and took a section of it on Barnby Moor Common "and at a foot below the surface a layer of mortar was met with fifteen feet wide, nearly a foot thick and raised in the centre. The trail was followed to a little west of Peacock House, about half way between Bolton Hall and Wilberfoss, thence after passing to the west of Whinberry Hill Farm it crossed High Catton Common, marked all the way by boulders strewed in a straight line on the fields, which showed that the old road had been paved above the cement." Mr. Cole is of opinion that the Roman Road to York crossed the *Derwent* at Stamford Bridge and not at Kexby.

Kexby Bridge, Scoresby, and Heslington to York. Roman remains have been found at each of the places named.

Drake thinks Lonsbro near Market Weighton to be Derwentio, and in a letter (no date) to Stukeley (*Correspondence, vol. 3, p. 359*) he says :

“Being at Lonsborough last week I prevailed with Lord Burlington to dig for the Roman causeway in his Park mentioned page 32 of my York. At about nineteen inches deep through a very fine soil, by the side of the canal, the workmen came to the stratum and bared the whole breadth of it which measures twenty-four feet. This is the broadest Roman Road I ever met with, and on it is plainly to be seen the impressions of wheel carriages. Most certainly this was the great military way mentioned in the first *iter*, from York to Prætorium, one way, and crosses the Humber to Lincoln the other.”

Recent excavations at Lonsbro described by H. Sill in the *Gentns. Mag. 1853, p. 269*, have confirmed Drake's information. *Gough, vol. 3, p. 313, says :*

“The Roman road from York to Weighton lies across the Derwent over Kexby Bridge, leaving to the left Wilburfoss Nunnery, thence to Barnby Moor, near an inn, on which the Roman Road appears very plain, and may be traced most part of the way on the present road. This leads through Stamford Bridge to the north east of Barnby Moor and Pocklington, through Millington, through Lonsbro Park, Weighton to Brough; I saw it on the left between York and Barnby Moor, and travelled on it on this side the inn; at the latter place particularly visible at a mile from the inn by the side of inclosures having moorish ground on the left and raised considerably as you go on, sometimes serving as the present road, and sometimes left on one side of it.”

At Brough a lead plate seven inches by three and a half was found with the word BREXARUM cast on it from a mould and given by Warburton to Professor Ward who read it “Bretonum Exarchus.”

In 1890 a pig of lead weighing 135 pounds, 22 inches long, 42 wide, 5½ deep, was found at South Cave near Brough inscribed: “G(aii) IVL PROTI BRIT (annicum LUT (udense) EX ARG (ento).”

Lutudæ was somewhere in South Derbyshire. (*British Archæological Journal, vol. 47, p. 257.*)

ITER II.

The second iter in the Itinerary is entitled "From (beyond) the wall to Rutupæ (Richborough in Kent) 481 miles."

From Blatum Belgium to Castra

Fxpulatorum	M.P.	15	
To Luguvallium	"	12	Carlisle
" Voreda	"	14	Old Penrith
" Brovonacæ	"	13	Kirby Thure
" Verteræ	"	13	} Brough in Westmorland

(The road enters Yorkshire,)

" Lavatræ	"	14	Bowes
" Catarractonium	"	13	Catterick
" Isurium	"	24	Aldborough
" Calcaria	"	9	Tadcaster
" Cambodunum	"	20	Slack
" Manutium or Mancunium	"	18	Manchester

(And on to Chester and London.)

The sum of the particulars exceeds the sum total at the head of the route by twenty-three or twenty-four miles.

This iter both begins and ends with a boundary, and is best known by its mediæval name of Watling Street, one of the four royal highways called in the Norman Laws "Quatuor Chimini" and placed under the special protection or guardianship of the King's Peace. Whether Watling Street in its origin is a British or Roman Road is not easy to determine and the better opinion seems to be that it is a continuation of the old Roman Road which the Anglo-Saxons adopted and kept in repair. Watling Street crosses and recrosses the kingdom and represents the old zig zag route from Kent to Chester, Manchester, York, and Newcastle with a branch from Catterick to Carlisle. The term "Watling Street" is misapplied to other roads than the above, *e.g.*, to the Roman Road from Ilkley to York.

The second iter entered Yorkshire at Rey Cross where there is a large camp, probably British in its origin and adopted by the Romans. General Ray thinks it was at one time occupied by the sixth legion. Part of the rampart has subsided into the peat, the other part has been injured by excavations, but it still remains in size the third largest Roman camp in the Yorkshire district. The first station in Yorkshire was Lavatræ (Bowes). Horsley says of the road between Brough on Stainmoor and Bowes: "The course of the road is absolutely certain, so grand and so rarely interrupted that there is no difficulty" (in finding it). The "Notitia" states that at Bowes the prefect of the "Scouts" with his detachment was stationed.

The present castle and church of Bowes stand on the north part of the Roman camp near its western boundary. The ditches of the camp may be traced to the north and west and partly on the east, and its area is about 130 by 140 yards. The Roman occupation is testified by the remains of a bath at the south-east angle and by numerous inscriptions and altars found here. Camden records one to the honour of the emperor Hadrian,

IMP CÆSARI DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI
 DIVI NERVAE NEPOTI TRAIANO . . .
 NO AVG PONT MAXM
 COS I . . . P.P. COH IIII. F . . .
 IO. SEV . . .

and another by the proprætor or governor of Britain, Virius Lupus, commemorating the repair of a bath for the first Thracian Cohort in the time of the emperor Severus.

DEAE FORTVNÆ
 VIRIVS LVPIVS
 LEG AVG PRPR
 BALINEVM VI
 IGNIS EXVST
 VM COH I THR

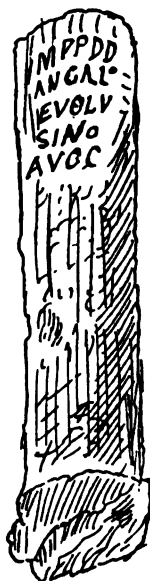
To the goddess Fortune
 Virius Lupus
 Legate of Augustus, proprætor,
 The bath, by force
 of fire burnt,
 of the first cohort of the

ACVM REST	Thracians, restored
ITVIT CVRANTE	under the care
VAL FRON	of Valerius Fronto
TONE PRAEF	Præfect
EQ ALAE VETTO	of the wing of horse of Vettones

Camden has preserved another inscription at Ilkley relating to this same Virius Lupus.

The next camp on the road is at Greta Bridge. Greta is not mentioned in the Itinerary, from which circumstance it is inferred it is of late Roman origin. From the Notitia it appears that a detachment of "Solenses" was stationed here, where on a tongue of land between the Greta and Tutta Beck is a small square camp triple trenched, enclosing about five acres and surveyed by Maclaughlan.* The George Inn at Greta

Bridge stands on one side of it. Numerous inscriptions have been found in the vicinity of Greta; one altar found on the banks of the river in 1702 appears to have been a votive offering of two females dedicated to a nymph "Elaune," and a milestone was found by the side of the Roman Road inscribed:



Milestone found at Greta Bridge. Height 6 ft 8 in. diameter of middle 1 foot 6 inch.

IMP DD
 NN GALLO
 ET VOLV
 SIANO
 AVGG

(To the Emperors, our Lords, Gallus and Volusianus.)†

The date of the altar is probably about A.D. 253, and should be compared with the milestone dug up at Castleford. Four other inscriptions belonging to the Emperors Gallus

* Royal Archæological Institute, vol. 6, p. 217.

† Gough's Camden, vol. 2, p. 339.

and Volusianus have been found in England, two of them in Yorkshire, Dr. Bruce thinks that Watling Street was probably provided with milestones throughout its course. From Greta Bridge the road went over Gatherby Moor and fell into the first iter at Scotch Corner. It coincides, with a few slight deviations, with the modern road.

From Scotch Corner to York the route of the first and second itinera is the same. From York the second iter passed out of the Westgate and crossing the river near the present Guild Hall proceeded by way of Micklegate Bar to Tadcaster. The road for some distance passed through the suburbs of York, and forms the present highway from Dringhouses to Streethouses. Numerous sepulchral remains have been found by the sides of the road, and in particular a tomb under one of the houses in the mount still contains the remains of its original occupant. The line of road can be distinctly traced to Tadcaster, which is no doubt the ancient "Calcaria," though some authorities persist in placing it at St. Helen's Ford near Newton Kyme. At Tadcaster the road crossed the Wharfe, and ran in the direction of Hazzlewood, where near Bramham it is to be found in evidence and marked on the last six-inch ordnance map as "Roman Ridge." The road probably continued to Aberford, but from there to the next station on the iter, "Cambodunum," nothing determinate can be said. No portion of the iter has given rise to more discussion than the position of Cambodunum. The difficulties are two-fold: first, where was Cambodunum? second, which way did the iter take between Calcaria and Cambodunum? With regard to the first difficulty, the shortest distance between Tadcaster and Manchester (assuming as I do that these places represent Calcaria and Mancunium) is fifty-eight computed English miles, whereas the numbers given in the Itinerary are only thirty-eight Roman miles. The most reasonable conclusion is that some intermediate station has been omitted by the transcriber from the Itinerary. The late Mr. Haigh

in a learned paper in the *Yorkshire A. and T. Society*, vol. 4, p. 57. argues strongly in favour of Legeolium (Castleford) being the omitted station.

Cambodunum has been fixed at a variety of places; Camden, Burton, Gale, and Warburton fixed it at Almondbury, Horsley near Greetland, Whitaker and Watson at Slack, Hunter at Clay House. The result of the various excavations made from time to time fixes the station at Slack. The position of Slack is high and bleak but sheltered to some extent by a high ridge north and south. A sloping piece of ground of about twelve acres is divided into inclosures formerly called the "eald" or "old fields," and here Whitaker, writing in 1771, says a Roman hypocaust and altar were found which he figures,* and he read the inscription on the altar: "Caius Antonius Modestus, Centurion of the Sixth victorious, pious, and faithful legion, consecrated this altar to Fortune, and with pleasure discharged the vow which he owed." In 1824 another hypocaust or as the writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that year styles it "a Roman brick and tile kiln," was unearthed and carted away to Greenhead, Huddersfield, where it was re-erected. In 1840 Mr. J. K. Walker discovered another hypocaust and gave an account of it in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1840, pages 521-3, and in 1866 the site was again explored by the *Yorkshire A. and T. Society*, who published an account of their examinations in the first volume of their journal. On the strength of certain inscriptions on tiles found here, "COH. IIII. BRE," it has been assumed that a cohort of the Breuci was stationed at Slack.† Mr. Fairless Barber and others think that the name of an adjoining township, "Scammonden," spelt in the old court rolls of the manor of Wakefield as "Scamoden," is an echo of the Roman "Cambodunum."

Another scarcely less vexed question is: what was the direction of the second iter from Calcaria to Cam-

* "History of Manchester," vol. 1, p. 8.

† The Breuci are also mentioned upon an inscription found at High Rochester.

bodunum? In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to say. Three conjectural routes at least have been advocated. One through Leeds and Cleckheaton, but although this is the most direct route I think there is not sufficient evidence to support that view. Indeed Dr. Gale in a letter to R. Thoresby, date 28th March, 1696, when the roads were far more distinct than now, says Leeds never was a Roman Station, and suggests that the road, if it crossed the Aire any where, crossed at Kirkstall Bridge. There are indications (but very slight) of a "street" in the neighbourhood of Hawcaster Rig, and it is just possible the iter may have gone along the Roman Road from Tadcaster to Ilkey, leaving it near Thorner and striking across the country *via* Kirkstall and Cleckheaton. But Watson,* writing in 1775, says that though he searched for traces of the road he could find none between Kirkstall and Leeds. Another route would be *via* "Pampocalia" outside Bramham Park to a point near Woodlesford, where both Newton and Horsley mark a Roman Road called "The Street," crossing the Aire and pointing in the direction of Alverthorpe, near which it fell into another vicinal way coming from Pontefract and still known as "High Street" which crossed the Calder between Sandal and Wakefield and ran in the direction of Dewsbury, then pointing to Fixby Park, from whence a road to Slack has been traced, and on the whole this is the more probable course. The third route suggested is from Tadcaster to Castleford, joining the "street" from Pontefract. Against these routes must be set the plain statement of Drake (*Eboracum* p. 19) who argued that the road from Cambodunum left the 5th and 8th itinera near Aberford, and adds "this way may yet be traced but is not very visible,"

From Slack to Mancunium the direction of the road was traced in Whitaker's time over Holestone Moor and Slaithwaite Hill to Castleshaw where there are the remains of a camp, and on to Manchester, but the

* History of Halifax, p.

traces now are few and indistinct. Whitaker speaks of "the Roman Road from York coursing fourteen yards over Lindley Moor," but this wide visible road has become on the six-inch ordnance map "line of supposed Roman Road."

We must not forget that for some distance parallel to Watling Street on the west and crossing the bleak ridge of Blackstone Edge on its way to Ilkley, are the remains of the finest existing Roman Road in situ in England and which has been described at some length in a former paper. Leyland says this latter road was connected with the second iter by a branch road striking out from Causeway Foot, between Halifax and Denholme, and crossing the Aire somewhere near Brighouse and so on to Slack, and that he had talked with the persons who had removed the stone pavement for some distance from Causeway Foot. It is just possible that the second iter may have gone by Tadcaster to Ilkley, thence over Rumbalds Moor to Causeway Foot and so on by Slack. This suggested route is still called "Watling Street" where it crosses from Ilkley to Aldborough. May Adel or Ilkley be the missing station supposed to have dropped out of the iter? But the distances cannot be reconciled.

ITER V.

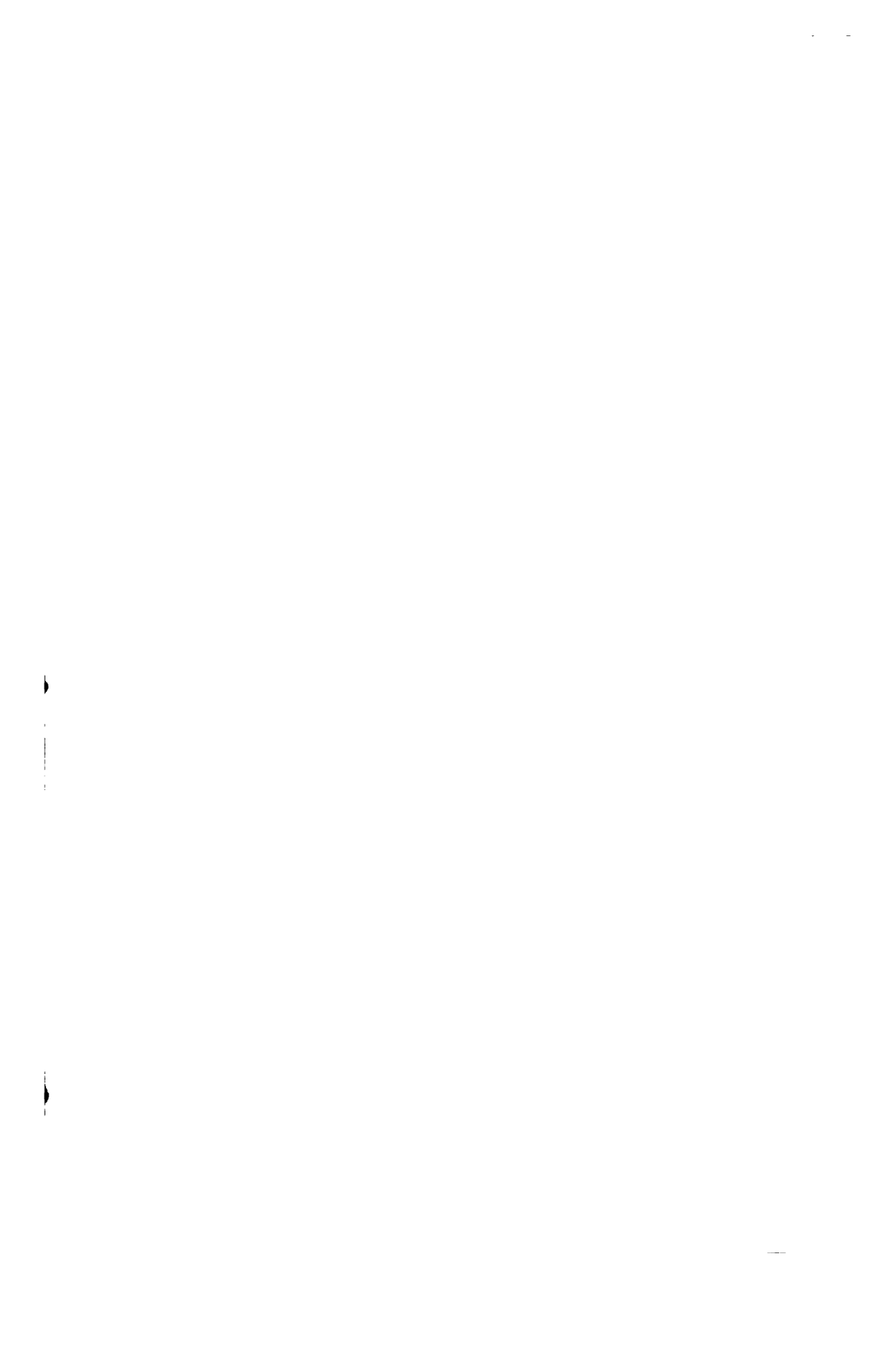
The third and fourth itinera do not touch Yorkshire, but the fifth iter traversed the county from south to north. It is entitled "from Londinium (London) to Luguvallium (Carlisle)." The route runs through Cambridge to Lincoln. From Lincoln to Carlisle the stations were as follows:

From Lindum to Segelocum	M.P. 14	{ Littleborough on Trent.
To Danum	„ 21	Doncaster.
„ Legeolium	„ 16	Castleford.
„ Eburacum	„ 21	York.
„ Isu Brigantum	„ 17	Aldborough.

To Catarractonium	M.P. 24	Catterick.
„ Lavatræ	„ 18	Bowes.
(The iter now leaves Yorkshire.)		
„ Verteræ	„ 14	Brough.
„ Brocavum	„ 20	Brougham.
„ Luvavallium	„ 22	Carlisle.

The total length from London to Carlisle is 443 Roman miles, and the particulars of distances agree with the total. This iter is the medieval "Ermine Street" which ran from London to Lincoln. From Lincoln two routes ran to York, one the military road to Wintringham, which after crossing the Humber went to York, and from thence forms part of the first iter. The other route left the military road to Wintringham at a place about five miles from Lincoln, and crossed the Trent at Littleborough. From Littleborough to Doncaster the road seems to have been a raised causeway of gravel. Littleborough occurs in this under the name of Segelocum between Lindum (Lincoln) and Danum (Doncaster) at fourteen miles from the former and twenty-one from the latter. It also occurs in the eighth iter under the name of Agelocum. The Roman Road from Lincoln to Littleborough is still on the Lincolnshire side of the road very perfect, being known as "Till Bridge Lane." It was carried across the Trent by a ford and its descent to the river was very entire on each side in the last century. The bank was purposely cut away and sloped, and a causeway eighteen feet wide held up by strong piles and paved with rough square stones was raised in the bed of the river. It probably dated from the time of Hadrian and remained entire until 1820 when it was destroyed under the pretence that when the river was low it impeded the navigation. The greater part of the paving stones were used to fill up a hole in the river at "Dunham Dobbs."* Some traces of the wall and fosse surrounding the station still remain, and the camp has been very prolific of coins. In 1772 a Roman oculist's

* "Roman Nottinghamshire" by W. T. Walker "Royal Archæological Society," vol. 43, p. 3.





ROMAN ALTAR FOUND AT DONCASTER.
(York Museum, No. 14).

ROMAN ALTAR FOUND AT YORK.
(York Museum, No. 2)

stamp was dug up. Some fourteen or fifteen of these stamps have been found in Britain.

The line of way from Littleborough to Doncaster is lost. Horsley could not trace anything certain; but Stukeley says:

“Coming out of the town, (*i.e.*, Doncaster to the south) is another cross upon the road where they fable a Roman Emperor was buried. The Roman Road a little further is very apparent, going over a fine heath, so to Bawtry upon the River Idle . . . Probably here was a camp formerly . . . Hither comes the Hermen Street, which I call the new branch from Agelocum.”

Doncaster was a station and in late Roman times head quarters of the prefect of the Crispian Horse. All traces of the camp have disappeared, but the lines of it were ascertained by Sheardown and laid down on a plan shewn in his *Roman Doncaster*. Few remains have been found at Doncaster. In 1781 there was found six feet underground an altar two feet six inches in height, inscribed to the Deæ Matres by M. Nantonius Orbitalis, which is now in the York Museum, No. 14 (see plate opposite).

The iter crossed the Don at Doncaster, and the Aire at Castleford sixteen Roman miles from Doncaster. Horsley says:

“From Doncaster half-a-mile, road soon becomes very grand and conspicuous, but seems mostly to consist of earth and gravel without much stone or any certain appearance of a regular pavement. At three miles from Doncaster it falls in with the post road and maintains its exalted ridge for a long way together with little or no interruption. Three furlongs from Robin Hood’s Well, or about four miles from Doncaster, at the top of a hill it makes a considerable turn and leaves the post road again, passing through some thickets on the west side. It points thence to Pontefract and near this town it has a grand and most elevated ridge, indeed, but it is sunk and lost when it comes near Pontefract. It is visible in Pontefract Park but scarce anywhere else near to Castleford.”

Since Horsley’s time much of the road has disappeared, the road in Pontefract Park was dug up by the farmers who complained that it broke their plough shares.

The iter crossed the Aire at Castleford where there was a castrum. The station was where the church now stands and the paved road (visible in Stukeley's time) to the ford went down the bank by the east side of the church. No trace of the Roman camp is now visible, but coins and other antiquities have been dug up from time to time.

In 1890 an altar of gritty sandstone (now in the Leeds Museum), fifteen inches high by eighteen inches broad, was dug up in the River Calder near Wood Nook, Castleford, inscribed :



DEAE VIC
TORIAE
BRIGANT
A.D.AURS
ENOPIANU

The altar may possibly date as early as 205. For similar inscriptions "*Deae Victoriae Brigant*," compare the Roman altars found at Slack and Adel (*Royal Archaeological Journal*, vol. 49, p. 192).

In 1880, close by the Roman road, at a depth of three feet, a Roman milestone four and a half feet high and one foot in diameter was found, now deposited in the Leeds Museum. Mr. W. T. Watkins (*Royal Archaeological Journal*, vol. 42, p. 154) says :

"It was first erected in the reign of the Emperor Decius, A.D. 249—251, and after his death appears to have been inverted, and an inscription to his successors, the joint Emperors Gallus and Volusianus cut on the other end. This last inscription is much more perfect than the other, and what I have so far made out of it is :

IMPP.
 . . . C . . . VIBIO
 GALL. ET. C. V
 VOLVSI
 No . . . P . . . F
 AVGG. E.B.

.
 XXI.

“I should expand this (supplying doubtful portions) as
Imp (eratoribus Cæsaribus) C. Vibio Gallo et C. V. Volusiano
P(rius) F(elicibus) Aug(ustis) Eb(uraco) (millia passuum) XXI.

“In the fifth iter Castleford is *Legeolium* and in the eighth
Lagecium, in each being named as twenty-one Roman miles from
 York, the distance thus agreeing with the numerals upon the
 stone. The inscription on the other end of the stone is more
 worn and obscure. All that I can make out is:

IMP. . . C.	<i>i.e., Imp (eratori) C(aio) M(essio)</i>
C.M.Q.	<i>Q(uinto) Decio.”</i>
DECIO	

The military way is lost near Castleford, but it becomes large and conspicuous in some parts between Castleford and Tadcaster. Horsley says:

“It is called the Roman Ridge and near Aberford it is very grand and the ridge very high. From Aberford to Tadcaster the road is very conspicuous being in some parts six, eight or even nine feet high, but seems to consist mostly of earth with little or no regular pavement appearing.”

Roy in *Military Antiquities*, p. 110, says:

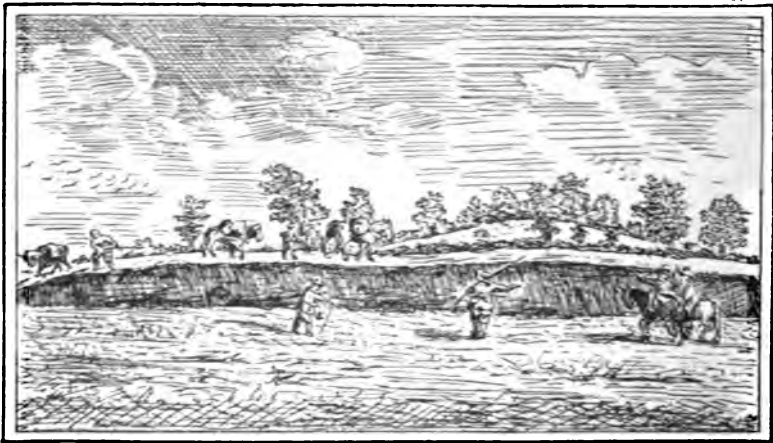
“There was on the edge of the road north from Aberford a military pedestal with part of the pillar still remaining on it.”

Drake, who argued that *Legeolium* was at Pontefract or Tanshelf, adds (p. 19):

“On Bramham Moor the road is in many places exceedingly perfect. Leland writes that in all his travels he never saw so noble and perfect a Roman Road as this which shows—adds he—that there went more than ordinary care and labour to the making of it. The stratum is still so firm and good, that, in travelling over it, we may say with the poet, in a description of another such road in the West of England:

' Now o'er true Roman way our horses sound,
Grævins would kneel and kiss the sacred ground.'

That the reader may have an idea of what appearance these venerable remains of Roman Art and industry make at this day (1736), I have bestowed a draught of it. From Bramham Moor this grand road points directly for Tadcaster, which it enters on the site of the castle. But the ford over which the North Road went was at St. Helen's Ford, from which it begins again, and though on this side of the river the country is marshy and deep, so that there appears but faint traces of it, yet the course of the road is called Rudgate, quasi Roadgate, by the country people at this day. We follow it over the River Nid to Whixley, where it is very apparent. From Whixley the road is easily traced to Aldborough."



Roman Road over Bramham Moor in 1736 (from Drake's Eboracum).

From Aldborough the fifth iter is the same as the second iter. In this iter Aldborough is called "Isu Brigantum."

In connection with the fifth iter another Roman Road leads from Tadcaster to Ilkley and thence to Ribchester, and according to Rev. John Whitaker to Overbury. It can be still traced in places between Bramhope and Adel (the supposed Burgodunum) where there are

remains of a camp and where many Roman remains have been found, some of which can be seen in the little Museum near to Adel Church. From Adel the road ran direct to Ilkley and can still be seen in various places between Adel and Carlton. At Ilkley there is a camp which it is proposed to excavate if sufficient funds can be raised. Beyond Ilkley the road cannot be traced, though in Whitaker's time traces of it were to be seen on Addingham Moor.

At Ilkley as at York the Roman town seems to have extended beyond the walls of the camp, and numerous remains have been discovered, some of which are to be seen in the Museum at Ilkley and have been described by Mr. Cudworth.

Some inscriptions formerly found at Ilkley have entirely disappeared. Camden visited Ilkley in 1582 and described several which are now lost. Horsley also gives an account of some sculptures as he saw them. The first inscription which, Camden states, had then lately been dug up, was as follows :

IM. SEVERVS
AVG. ET ANTONINVS
CAES. DESTINATVS
RESTITVERVNT CVRAN
TE VIRIO LVPO LEG E
ORVM PR PR

“ The Emperors Severus, Augustus, and Antoninus, Cæsar elect, restored under the care of Virius Lupus, their Legate and Pro-Prætor.”

From this inscription we may conjecture that Virius Lupus repaired or fortified the camp at Ilkley between 198—210 A.D. The stone cannot now be traced.

Camden proceeds :

“The following altar which I saw there under the steps of an house shews that the second cohort of the ‘Lingones’ was stationed here, by its inscription made by their prefect in honour of Verbeia, probably the nymph or goddess of the River Wharf, which runs by and which I suspect, from the close resemblance of names they called Verbeia.

VERBEIAE
SACRVM
CLODIVS
FRONTO
PRAEF COH
II LINGON

*To Verbeia, Sacred, Clodius Fronto, Prefect of the Cohort, Second Lingones.**

“It was almost entirely effaced. However, what remains is sufficient to shew that the copy upon a stone at Ilkley has imitated the original as to the shape and size both of the stone and letters with sufficient exactness, only the last line must certainly have been a little mistaken and is most probably as others have read it, *cohortis secundæ Lingonum*.”

This altar is preserved at Myddleton Lodge, but the inscription is now illegible.

Camden says further: “In the church wall is also this broken inscription :

RVM CAES
AVGG
ANTONINI
ET VERI
IOVI DILECTI
CÆCILIVS
PRAEF COH

“Emperors Cæsar, Augustus, Antoninus and Verus, of Jupiter beloved. Cæcilius, Prefect of the Cohort.”

Horsley, p. 311, says :

“Camden’s copy varied from the original ; his copy of this inscription inserts ‘LVCAN . S’ between the two last lines. He adds ‘The compliment paid to Verus is remarkable and curious. It may seem a little strange that this compliment should be paid only to Verus, and not to both the Emperors, but

* According to the “Notitia” the second cohort of Lingones had its head-quarters at Congavata, the station [on the wall] which follows next in order to Aballaba, which as we have hinted, may possibly be Papcastle. The second cohort of Lingones is mentioned in the Rivingling Diploma, A.D. 124, and perhaps also in the Sydenham A.D. 106; possibly, as Professor Hübner conjectures, the cohort may have come from Yorkshire to Cumberland at the time the emperor Hadrian carried on his extensive building operations in the North of England.—“Lapidarium Septentrionale,” p. 458.

the TI in the belly of the C is certain and will admit of no other reading. What Cohort Cæcilius Lucanus commanded, the inscription does not inform us. It might be the Cohors Secunda Lingonum mentioned in the (preceding) inscription. This stone is now lost.' ”

In the north wall of the church tower, but now concealed by the raised wooden floor, is a sculptured stone commonly called “ Hercules and the Serpents,” which has often been figured in various publications.

In 1867 a tablet five feet eight inches long three feet four inches wide was unearthed. It is figured in *Turner and Collier's Ilkley*, p. 28, where it is said to represent a family group, father, mother and child, but the space for the names is left blank.

In 1884, in making some grounds at the rear of the Rose and Crown Inn, the workmen found a tablet six feet long two feet six inches wide. The upper portion of the slab bore the representation of a female sitting in a chair within a recess. The figure was three feet in height and underneath it an inscription which Mr. Watkin* reads :

“ DIS MANIBVS . . . VE * IC . . . NCONIS
FILIA ANNORVM. XXX. CCORNOVIA. H. S. E. .
(*To the divine shades of . . . daughter of . . . thirty years
of age, a Cornovian citizen. Here she is laid*)”

This, says Mr. Watkin, is the first allusion to a Cornovian citizen which has occurred in a Britanno-Roman inscription.

A Roman Road also connected Ilkley with Aldborough and Manchester.

Besides the main roads mentioned in the Itinerary, Roman Yorkshire was intersected in all directions by branch or vicinal roads, some of considerable importance. These are most numerous in the eastern part of Yorkshire. Some may be of British origin, but the road across the moors to Dunsley is certainly Roman

* “ Royal Archæological Journal,” vol 42, p 153.

and one of the most clearly defined in the whole county. It points to Dunsley Bay near Whitby (the *Dunus Sinus* of Ptolemy). Some years ago the road could be seen in the woods near Mulgrave Castle and it can still be traced under the name of Wade's Causeway, with more or less distinctness, to Newholme Bridge, where it crossed the Rye. Though mostly buried in the ling it can be traced in riding over the moors by the horses' hoofs striking upon it, as mentioned by Drake, page 31, who says he found "the road to be twelve feet wide paved with a flint pebble, some of them very large, and in many places as firm as it was the first day. In some places the agger is three feet above the surface." Since Drake's time a good deal of the road has been broken up to repair roads and buildings and it is by no means so easy to trace. At Cawthorne about four miles from Pickering at the very edge of the moors, are four camps placed close together.* The camps are in reality double camps, the two most westerly being united together, and the two eastern also side by side. The three westerly camps have only a single agger, but the most easterly camp is square with a double ditch and vallum. The Roman Road runs through it east and west and then turning north descends the hill through Mr. Priestman's property where a portion of the paving remains. From certain peculiarities in the entrances to the camp, also noticed by Roy at the Roman camp at Dealgrin Ross, Strathern, occupied by the ninth legion, it has been conjectured that the Cawthorne Camps are the work of that legion. The same peculiarity existed in the defences to the Roman Camp at Malton.† The Cawthorne Camps are now overgrown with heath and furze.

From Cawthorne the road disappears, but Drake traced it to Barugh (camp) and Newholme Bridge (where he found a milestone of grit standing) and on to

* For a plan see "Roy's Military Antiquities"; "Drake's Eboracum," p. 36; and "Young's Whitby," vol. 2, p. 694.

† "Murray's Yorkshire," p. 176, Ed. 1874.

Aimanderly. All trace of the road beyond Aimanderly is lost but the general direction of it is to Hutton on Derwent (Gateskeugh Camp), Weston Church, Gally-gap, Stamford Bridge, and thence to York.

Several roads appear to have radiated from Malton. Drake traced one from Bridlington Bay, the "Sinus Portuosus" of Ptolemy, to Settrington, by way of Sledmere and Wharram-en-le-Street. Another road is laid down in Newton's map of Roman Yorkshire, by Appleton-le-Street, Barton-le-Street, and Hovingham, in the direction of Thirsk, and Northallerton to Catterick.

Although Malton is not mentioned in any of the Roman documents, it was the site of a considerable camp probably occupied by the ninth legion. "It (the camp) extended south of Malton Lodge, which is built on its vallum, towards the river, and formed a large quadrangle, with a smaller enclosure at the south-east angle outside the Prætorian Gate. The double vallum on the east side was formerly very distinct, as were the defences south of the Prætorian Camp resembling those at Cawthorne. A road leaving the camp by the Prætorian Gate crossed the river at a ford, by the island, to a small square camp constructed for the defence of the ford, but this camp has been built over and is no longer traceable. The road passed southward towards Londesborough where it fell into another Roman Road." (*Murray's Yorks. p. 175*). In 1861 and 1862 the road to the ford was cut through and exposed in several places in making drains. At Old Malton a monument of somewhat remarkable character was found, probably the sign of a Roman Goldsmith named Servulus. (*No. 6 York Museum Catalogue.*)

The inscription is within a tablet or label, roughly cut, and reads as follows:—

FELICITER SIT
GENIO LOCI
SERVYLE VTERE
FELIX TABERN
AM AVRIFI
CINAM.

We gather from it that it is a votive inscription to the *genius loci*, and was probably affixed to the goldsmith's house to which it alludes.



There is another line of road which quitted the fifth and eighth itinera near Pontefract and proceeded by Darfield and Templeborough to Chesterfield and Derby, and by the long Causeway through Sheffield and the north part of Derbyshire. The only existing remains of this road in Yorkshire is the camp at Templeborough about a mile from Rotherham. "Before the Don reaches Rotherham "it passes by Templeborough a fair Roman camp, "the north-east worn away by the river, the area, about "200 paces by 120, the ditch 37 paces deep from the "middle of the vallum to the bottom. The outer bank "is covered by large trees and on the side of the road "was a barkless chesnut tree scarce fathomable by three "men." The trees have long since vanished and the site laid down to grass until recently rediscovered and unearthed. A full description of the camp has been published by Mr. Leader. The Notitia places the prefect of a body of "cuirassiers" (so Horsley *B. R.* p. 419, reads the word) at Templeborough. The road above mentioned is sometimes called Reyknild Street, but according to Newton's Map, this last road left the fifth iter near Trent Bridge and on to Chesterfield and thence to Gloucester, but it is very difficult to trace either of them now.

Near this road at a place called Riveling near Stannington, in the parish of Ecclesfield, was found in 1761 a bronze tablet, one of the military diplomas of the Emperor Hadrian :

“ These inscriptions which are sometimes called ‘ rescripts ’ are copies of decrees, promulgated in Rome, conferring upon the soldiery, as a reward for distinguished services, the privilege of Roman citizenship and the right of marriage. They seem to have been usually inscribed on two sheets of metal which being united by thongs folded together like a book ; on the back of these plates there was a copy of a whole or part of the inscription running lengthwise. From these tablets we learn the names of many of the alæ and auxiliary cohorts which were serving in Britain at the time of their issue.” (*Lapidarium Septentrionale* p. 3)

Three of these military diplomas have been found in Britain, one at Malpas in Cheshire, one at Sydenham, and the above mentioned one at Riveling. All these are now in the British Museum.

The Riveling diploma is about a foot square. It bears date A.D. 124, in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian. The plates when discovered were a good deal corroded ; one is figured in *Gough's Camden, 1806, vol. 3, p. 263*, and more accurately in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*. In this Riveling diploma twenty-seven bodies of troops (six alæ and twenty-one cohorts) are mentioned, among them being the second cohort of Lingones who have left a record of their presence at Ilkley.

EBORACUM (YORK).

Eboracum was one of the chief towns of the Brigantes, and its situation at the junction of the Ouse, and Foss marked it out as a suitable place for the establishment of the capital of Roman Britain.

York was a “ colonia ” and a “ municipium, ” but when it was founded is uncertain. It is evident from an inscription of the time of the Emperor Trajan,

circa A. D. 108, that it was then a walled town, and the probability is that Roman York owes its foundation to Agricola some thirty years earlier. York appears to have grown up around a military camp and to have soon superseded Isurium as the chief seat of the Romans in Britain.

Until recently it was assumed that the Roman station of York was of a rectangular form of about 536 yards by about 470, "having four principal gates or entrances, four principal angle towers, and a series of minor towers or turrets," but recent excavations have thrown doubts upon the correctness of this assumption, and the learned curator of the York Museum thinks it more probable that the camp was five-sided and had a larger area.

Little of the wall is to be found above ground, but from discoveries made during the progress of excavations for sewers and other purposes, the general direction of the walls may be ascertained on three sides with tolerable accuracy. The south eastern side ran almost parallel with and about 100 yards distant from the Ouse, from Market Street to the Multangular tower in the grounds of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society; the north western side ran along the line of the present city wall to the corner of Gillygate and Lord Mayor's Walk, and is buried under the present earthworks upon which the city wall rests; the north eastern wall runs under the city wall through Mr. Gray's garden (where it was unearthed in 1861) and past Monk Bar (where a considerable portion of it may be seen in the inner rampart) to a point near the site of the old church of St. Helen-on-the-Walls. The direction of the south eastern wall cannot be satisfactorily ascertained. If a straight line be drawn parallel to the north western wall from the site of St. Helen's Church to the supposed terminus of the south western wall in Market Street, the wall would pass through Church Street and Parliament Street as shown on Skaife's plan, but in excavating in Aldwark the portion of the wall then discovered crossed the street at so sharp an angle that, if

prolonged, the greater part of the Shambles and Parliament Street would be included in the camp. Roman York only occupied a small part of the site of modern York, as appears by the plan, but in process of time when Britain became settled the Romans crossed the river and built extensively on the road leading from Eboracum to Tadcaster. Remains of baths, temples and villas were found on constructing the old railway station within the walls of mediæval York on the south side of the river, and the site of the new station and hotel which partly stand upon a Roman cemetery has yielded many inscriptions and other mementos of burial. Of the Bars, Bootham Bar stands on the site of a gate of the Roman city, and Monk Bar near the supposed site of another. York was intersected by Roman roads, the road to Isurium passed through Bootham Bar, and a road from the direction of Tadcaster has been traced from Micklegate Bar, crossing the river about the present Guildhall and passing along the course of Stonegate and under the site of the choir of the minster. The direction of the road to Derwentio cannot be ascertained but it must have passed out at either Monk Bar or Walmgate Bar, probably the latter.

York cannot boast of such extensive masses of Roman work as are found at Richborough and at Burgh near Yarmouth. The principal fragment of masonry above ground is the Multangular Tower and a small portion of the wall adjoining the tower on the easterly side situate in the grounds of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. Mr. G. T. Clark* says:

“The tower is a shell of masonry, presenting nine faces, forty-five feet in exterior diameter, and twenty-four feet wide at the gorge, which is open. It is not placed, as in mediæval works, so as merely to cap the junction of two walls which would have met at a right angle, but the whole angle is superseded, as in Roman camps, by a curve of about fifty feet radius, and the tower stands in the centre of this curve, three quarters of it presenting its nine faces, being disengaged. The tower and its

* On the Defences of York. (Journal of Yorks. A. and T. Society, vol. 4, p. 7.)

contiguous wall are five feet thick. The Roman part of the wall is about fifteen feet high. It is of rubble, faced on either front with ashlar, the blocks being from four to five inches cube. There is one band of five courses of bricks, each brick seventeen inches by eleven inches by two and a half inches, that may be traced along both tower and wall, although the surface of both has been much patched and injured. Upon the Roman work has been placed an ashlar upper story, composed of larger stones, and about three feet thick and twelve feet high, pierced by nine cruciform loops, one in each face, and each set in a pointed recess. This addition is of early English or early Decorated date. The wall extending south-east from the tower for fifty-three yards is of the same date, material, and workmanship. Both having escaped destruction in the post-Roman period, were incorporated into the defences of the later city. The wall on the other side of the tower, running eastwards, has been partially destroyed, and is now only four feet high, and at a short distance becomes buried in the later bank. This part of the wall was evidently destroyed before the earthwork was thrown up, for not only is it buried within the bank, but the wall of the mediæval city is here founded four feet in front of it, and in other places many feet above it."

The Roman walls have been found in many places between the Multangular Tower and Bootham Bar, and a considerable portion of it was removed to make the present entrance near Bootham Bar. It was then seen that the wall stood upon piles of oak two feet six inches in length, and on these was raised a mass of concrete two feet three inches in depth, then an ashlar wall of stone with courses of brick near its centre. The wall was about four feet ten inches thick, diminishing gradually to four feet at the height of sixteen feet. It was furnished internally with guard rooms and turrets and strengthened by angle towers.

Although little of Roman masonry remains above ground, no site in Britain has been more prolific in evidences of Roman civilisation. Numerous inscriptions have been unearthed. It is impossible to do more than refer to some of the more important, preserved in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.

The earliest in point of date, *circa* A.D. 108-109, is the one numbered 32 in the Museum Catalogue (eighth edition), of which I give an engraving.



It was discovered in 1854 in King's Square, the site of the old Curia Regis, twenty-eight feet below the ground, and when perfect the inscription probably ran as follows :

IMP CAESAR DIVI
 NERVÆ. FIL NERVA TRA
 IANUS. AVG. GERM. DAC.
 PONTIFEX MAXIMVS TRIBVN.
 POTESTATIS XII. IMP. VI. COS. V. P. P.
 PER. LEG. VIIIHI. HISP.

which may be thus rendered :

“ The Emperor Cæsar Nerva Trajan, son of the deified Nerva, Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, chief Pontiff, invested the twelfth time with the Tribunitian Powers, consul the fifth time, father of his country, caused this to be performed by the ninth legion, the Spanish.”

Another stone (No. 35 in Catalogue), also preserved in the Museum, is a monumental stone six feet two

two inches high by two feet two inches wide, on which is the figure of a standard bearer in an arched recess.



In his right hand he holds the standard or signum of his cohort, in his left an object about which there has been some doubt.* This stone was found about 1686 in Trinity Gardens, Micklegate, and the following is the inscription :

L. DVCCIVS
L. VOLTRVFI
NVS. VIEN
SIGNIF. LEG. VIII
AN. XXIIIX
H. S. E.

which may be read :

“ Lucius Duccius Rufinus, son of Lucius, of the Voltinian tribe of Vienna, standard bearer of the ninth legion, aged 28, is buried here.

The ninth legion, the Spanish, to which the above memorials relate, came into Britain about A.D. 43, and was almost entirely destroyed by Queen Boadicea, in con-

flict with the Iceni, and afterwards suffered severely in the campaign against the Caledonians. It was subsequently stationed at York and probably at Aldbro and Malton, and by some writers it is thought to have been incorporated with the sixth legion, but the inscriptions

* A similar monumental slab found at High Rochester is figured in “Lapidarium Septentrionale,” p. 294, and the learned editors add the following note :—“ Although destitute of an inscription it seems to possess peculiar interest, as giving a key to the meaning of the small rectangular bag which is so often met with in Roman funeral slabs. The figure on this stone probably represents the deceased with staff in hand as setting out upon his last long journey. May we not suppose that the small basket in his left hand contains the *viaticum* or provision for the way? (Horsley No. VIII. Yorkshire) represents a soldier having a standard in his right hand, a basket like the one here figured in his left: in No. XI. Scotland, a shield is shown in the right hand, and the basket in the left. In both of these cases the bodies are covered with a simple garment and not the dress of war.”



ROMAN MEMORIAL TABLET.

(York Museum, No. 39).

seem to negative that supposition. The sixth legion arrived in England about A.D. 117, and remained at York until the Roman legions were finally withdrawn from Britain about 417. Inscriptions of the sixth legion have been found on the line of the Roman wall and at Slack. Numerous inscriptions belong to this legion, of which the following are the most interesting: No. 39 in the Museum Catalogue, a large tablet five feet eight inches high and three feet broad, found in use as a cover to the sarcophagus of Ælia Severa.* (See plate opposite). The upper part of the slab shows the figures of a father and mother and two children. The inscription so far as it can be read is as follows:

D. M. FLAVIÆ AVGVSTINÆ
 VIXIT. AN. XXXVIII. M. VII. D. XI. FILIVS
 . . VS. AVGSTINVS. VIXIT. AN. I. D III
 . . . VIXIT. AN. I. M. VIII. D. V. C. ÆRESIVS
 . . MIL. LEG. VI. VIC. CONVVI. CAR
 FILIIS. ET. SIBI. F.C.

From which it appears that C. Æresius . . . , a soldier of the sixth legion victorious, raised this memorial to his wife, Flavia Augustina, who lived thirty-nine years, seven months, and eleven days; . . . to his son Augustinus, who lived one year and three days; and to a daughter, who lived one year nine months and five days, providing at the same time a memorial for himself.

No. 40, a finely wrought coffin, 4 feet by 2 feet, found in the excavation for the North Eastern Railway Station.



* No. 47 in Catalogue.

D.M. SIMPLICIÆ FLORENTINE
 ANIME INNOCENTISSIME
 QVE VIXIT MENSES DECEM
 FELICIVS. SIMPLEX. PATER. FECIT.
 I. LEG. VI. V.

To the Gods, the Manes. To Simplicia Florentina, a most innocent being, who lived ten months, Felicius Simplex, her father, of the sixth legion victorious, dedicated this.

The words "anime innocentissime" are also found on the Christian tombs in the Catacombs of Rome.

No. 41, a large coffin of coarse grit, seven and a half feet long by two feet eleven inches, found in the Castle Yard in 1835, and inscribed on a panel :

D. M.
 AVR. SVPERO. CENT
 LEG. VI. QUI VIXIT ANIS
 XXXVIII. MIIII. DXIII. AVRE
 LIA CENSORINA. CONIVNX
 MEMORIAM POSSVIT

To the Gods, the Manes. To Aurelius Superus, a centurion of the sixth legion, who lived thirty-eight years four months and thirteen days, Aurelia Censorina, his wife, set up this memorial.

In the Museum is a part of a monument, No. 45, three feet high by two feet three inches wide, in commemoration of a child. The father and mother are represented sitting in an alcove. A young girl stands at one end of the couch, and a tripod table, with a cake or loaf of bread upon it, is in front, she holds a wine cup in her hand, and a small hooped wine cask lies on the floor; the husband holds in his hand something like a roll. Below is this inscription :

AELLE ELIANÆ
 VIX. ANN.

The rest of the inscription is destroyed. This stone also was found on the site of the New Railway Station at York in 1872.

Of these monumental stones two are of more than ordinary interest. In 1579-80 a stone coffin was found not far to the west of the city walls, where Camden saw it. In the following century it was carried to Hull and used as a horse trough at an Inn called the "Coach and Horses," where it was seen by De La Pryme in 1699, who wrote an account of it to Dr. Gale (*Stukeley's Correspondence, vol. 3, p. 300*). Stukeley had a drawing of this stone and read the inscription. "Marcus Verecundus Diogenes, sevir of the colonia of Eburacum, and who died there, a citizen of Biturix Cubus, caused these to be made for him during his lifetime." This was the first inscription from which it became known that York was a "colonia." The Seviri formed a legal corporation whose duties are imperfectly known. Horsley made a special journey to Hull about 1732 to see this stone and found it removed to "Mr. Bailiff's house," and broken into several pieces. The stone has since been lost. It will be noticed that the inscription points to more than one coffin having been made by Diogenes. In 1877, the other coffin, that of his wife, Julia Fortunata, was found in the course of excavation for the new station at York, in an excellent state of preservation. (York Museum, No. 44).

The inscription is as follows :

IVL. FORTVNATE. DOMO
SARDINIA. VEREC. DIO
GENI FIDA CONIVNCTA
MARITO

"Julia Fortunata was, it appears, a native of Sardinia, and it is extremely probable from the inscription itself, that this memorial was prepared for her by her husband during her life. The tomb contained the perfect skeleton of a somewhat tall person. This is the finest and in some respects the most interesting sepulchral memorial that the museum possesses." (*Museum Catalogue, p. 56.*)

We cannot pass over two other tablets as they illustrate the religious worship of the Romans.

In 1770 a dedicatory tablet, three feet one inch wide by two feet one inch high, was found in a cellar on the south side of the river, with the following inscription :

DEO SANCTO
SERAPI
TEMPLVM ASO
LO FECIT
CL. HIERONY
MIANVS LEG.
LEG. VI VIC.

On each side of the inscription are two *caducei*, a moon shaped shield, and a star.*

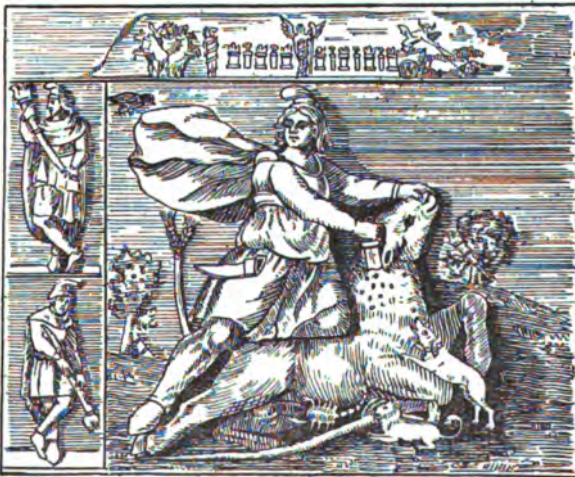


The temple of Serapis is supposed to have stood near the old North Eastern Railway Hotel (see Skaife's map) and a portion of a pavement from that site is in the Museum. From this inscription it appears that the temple was erected from its foundation by Claudius Hieronymianus, legate of the sixth legion victorious. The name Hieronymianus also occurs upon an inscription found at Northallerton.

Perhaps the most interesting sculpture yet discovered in York is the one numbered 19 in the Catalogue, a tablet two feet three inches high by twenty-two inches wide, representing the sacrifice and mysteries of Mithras, found in 1747 in Micklegate, opposite to St. Martin's Church. Mithras was the Persian God of created light and of all earthly wisdom. In the course of time he became identified with the Sun God, who

* Figured in Wellbeloved's "Eboracum," p. 75, who gives a sketch of the worship of Serapis.

conquers all demons of darkness . In the first half of the first century, B.C., his worship is said to have been introduced into the Roman provinces of the west, and by the beginning of the second century, A.C., it had become common throughout the Roman Empire. Mithras was a special favourite of the Roman soldiers. Being born from the rocks, he was worshipped in natural or artificial caves. He is represented as a young man in oriental dress and as an invincible hero, stabbing a bull with his dagger, or standing on a bull he has thrown down. In the York tablet, above the principal figure, are three busts, one on the left wearing a radiated crown, two on the right much mutilated. On each side of the principal group is an attendant bearing a torch, one inverted, with the flame downwards, the torch of the other (not seen in the York tablet in consequence of its mutilated condition, but shewn on the other tablet in the illustration) with the flame upwards: the former denoting the descent of the souls of men from the lunar region to the earth, the other their ascent, when regenerated and purified, to their celestial and eternal home.



For a full description of Mithraic Worship and of this tablet see Wellbeloved's "Eboracum," p. 75. The

stone of the York tablet being much decayed, the foregoing illustration is given of a perfect slab copied from a very fine tablet, "The Sacrifice of Mithras," in the Louvre, Paris, which is figured in Nettleship & Sandys' "Classical Antiquities, p. 96."

Another interesting statue in the York Museum, is No. 12 (see the plate opposite). It is carved on light coloured grit, probably by a local artist. The figure is five feet ten inches high, but unfortunately defective in the feet and right arm, and is supposed to represent Ares or Mars. This statue with three others, Nos. 11, 15 and 24 in the Museum Catalogue, were found buried, probably for concealment when their owner left Eboracum, in the garden of St. Mary's Convent.

ISURIUM.*

Aldborough on the Ure is no doubt the ancient Isurium. Isurium is mentioned by Ptolemy as one of the towns of the Brigantes, and by other writers as their capital and the seat of Queen Cartismandua. It is twice mentioned in the Itinerary, where in one place it is called "Isu Brigantium." There seem to be indications that Isurium was originally a more important place than York, and that the second and fifth itinera originally ran direct to Aldborough, leaving York to the right, and that it was only when York became the head-quarters of the Romans that the routes of the troops to the North were directed to pass through York.

But be that as it may, Isurium was at all events the second place of importance in Yorkshire under the Romans, and in no other place except York have so many extensive remains of Roman civilisation been found as at Isurium. After the Romans withdrew

* Smith's "Reliquiæ Isurianæ," and "A Survey of Isurium" by Dr. Alex. D. H. Leadman (1893), in the Journal of the Yorkshire Archæological Society, vol. 12, p. 413.



STATUE OF MARS.
(York Museum, No. 12).



from Britain, Isurium continued to flourish until about 766, when Higden (*Polychronica*) asserts that Isurium was burnt by the Danes, and it is said that traces of fire are visible upon parts of the walls.

The Roman camp was walled like that at York but without angle towers. It formed an oblong parallelogram, irregular in shape on the north, the length being about 1,940 feet, and the breadth about 1,320, and enclosing an area of about 60 acres. The best plan of the camp is that in the *Yorkshire Archæological Society's Journal*, which was prepared by the Ordnance Surveyors with Dr. Leadmen's assistance, and it will be noted that it differs on the north from Mr. Smith's plan in excluding certain fields known as "under the walls," from the area of the camp.

The walls can still be traced and vary from eleven to sixteen feet in thickness. They are built of red sandstone, mixed with magnesian limestone. Some of the bared portions in Mr. Lawson's grounds are in perfect preservation. Gough describes the walls as "four yards thick, founded on large pebbles laid on a bed of blue clay, and most visible on the side next Studforth Hill. To the foundations on this clay is in many places four or five yards deep. Almost in the centre is a hill called Borough Hill, which seems to have been a sort of citadel where mosaic pavements have been found, and foundations of a large building with bases." This seems to be the great building in the street before the church yard described by Stukeley.*

Outside the walls near the south-east angle is an artificial hill called "Studforth," which by some is thought to be Roman, Isurium was intersected by two Roman Roads, Watling Street and Ermine Street, and appears to have had no gate to the north. A mile from the east gate is a piece of Roman road about 500 yards in length, which Dr. Leadman says is "the sole remaining bit in the district," and about two miles further on this road stood the "Duel or Devil's Cross

* The mound was removed many years ago.

Tumulus," near which in 1766* was found a cylindrical military stone about seven feet high.

The church at Aldboro stands in the very centre of the camp and is partly built with Roman material, and has built into the walls a figure of Mercury.

Numerous tessellated pavements (in all about 25) have been discovered at Aldborough, but only seven now remain in situ; five are preserved, but not in situ, three others have been sold to museums. In the garden of the "Aldeburge Arms" are two very fine ones protected by buildings, one of these, found in 1848 by Mr. H. E. Smith, is one of the most beautiful and probably the most perfect in Yorkshire. The Roman Basilica was discovered in 1846; it is a building fifty-two feet in length and twelve feet in width, and has had an apsidal end. Formerly it was twenty-four feet, but only half the building remains.

In Mr. Lawson's grounds is a museum where Roman remains discovered at Aldborough are preserved. Among them is a tile marked "LEG IX HISP" from which it has been conjectured that Isurium was at one time garrisoned by the Ninth Legion.

CAMPS.

Some notice should be taken of the Roman Camps. The Roman soldiers on march never spent a single night outside a camp fortified with a rampart and ditch. It was marked out on a place selected by the general or by officers detached for that purpose, generally on the spur of a hill. The same plan was always observed and the divisions indicated by coloured flags and lances, so that the divisions of the army as they came in, could find their places at once. The construction of the fortifications always began before the general's tent was pitched. The legionaries constructed the rampart and ditch in front and rear, while the allies did the same on either side. The stakes required for the formation of an abatis on the outer side of the rampart

* See "Gentleman's Magazine," 1767, p. 610, and also 1811, part 2, p. 312.

were carried by the soldiers themselves on the march, and the whole work was carried on under arms. When the camp was to break up three signals were given: at the first, the tents were taken down and packed up, at the second, they were put upon beasts of burden and in wagons, and at the third, the army began to march. Some of these temporary camps became permanent when the county became conquered. The form of the camps was originally rectangular, but later in the Roman occupation they were made square, round, or triangular to suit the nature of the ground, the most approved form being the oblong, with the length one third greater than the breadth.

The temporary entrenchments thrown up at the end of a day's march (*castra mansiones*) had one ditch and one bank, but permanent military stations (*castra stativa*) sometimes more, *e.g.*, the permanent camp at Cawthorne has two ditches and two banks. Several permanent stations in Yorkshire are now represented by towns where neither banks nor ditches, nor the word "*castra*" indicate a guarded camp. Such is the case at Castleford, Stamford Bridge, and Brough Ferry. They have been destroyed by time and change, as the old fortifications of Doncaster and Tadcaster have been, unless they were never fortified, but merely villages where small bodies of soldiers on a march might encamp.

Professor Phillips gives the following list of Roman camps, stations, and towns in Yorkshire:

(a) Temporary Camps: Rey Cross (just outside the border), Kirkless, three of the Cawthorne Camps, Barugh, Lease Rigs,

(b) Purely Military Stations, or permanent camps, distinct from towns and large villages: one of the Cawthorne Camps, Templeborough, Greta Bridge.

(c) Stations which became or were placed close to old towns and villages: York, Doncaster, Aldborough, Bowes, Thornborough (Catterick), Malton, Tadcaster, Castleford, Ilkley, Slack, Adel, Prætorium (place uncertain), Derventio (somewhere on the Derwent), Brough below Bainbridge.

WEST RIDING CARTULARY.

A COLLECTION OF

ANCIENT DOCUMENTS, CHIEFLY FROM THE HEMINGWAY MSS.,

TRANSCRIBED AND ABSTRACTED BY

CHARLES A. FEDERER, L.C.P.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 271.)

XV.

Pudsey. 8 June 1592.

THIS INDENTURE MADE the eighth day of June in the four and thirtieth year of the raigne of our sovreigne ladye Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Irelande, defender of the faith, etc. **BETWENE** Henry Smithe of Pudsay in the county of York, yeoman, on th'one ptie, and George Haldsworthe of the Byrks within the townshippe of Horton in Bradforddale in the said county, clothier, on th'other ptie, **WITNESSITH** that the saide Henry Smithe for and in consideration of the some of a hundreth and nyntie pounds of lawfull English money to him well and truelie contented and paide by the said George Haldsworthe at and before the sealing and delivering hereof, whereof and wherewith the said Henry acknowledgeth himself to be satisfied and paide, and thereof and of every pte thereof acquitteth and dischargeth the saide George Haldsworthe, his heires, executors and administrators and every of them by these psents **HATHE** given, graunted, bargained, and solde, and by these psents dothe securely and absolutely give, graunte, bargain, and sell to the saide George Haldsworthe his heirs and assigns all that messuage or tenement with th'appertenances comonly called and known by the name of Bankehouse, situate, lying, and being in Pudsay aforesaid in the saide county of York, now in the tenure or occupation of the said Henry Smithe, his assignes or assign, and all the houses, edifices, barnes, buildings, folds, orchards, backsides, and gardens thereunto belonging or to or with the same used or occupied, and also one close of meadow there called the Ynge under the House, one other close there called the Wheate Pighell, foure other closes there lying together called Howle Scoles, two other closes there called Marled Roide, one other close of meadow there called Nether Ynge; two other closes of lande and pasture there called Cowe closes, one other close there called Middle Feilde joyning of Howle Scoles loyne on the west side; one other close of medowe there called the Falle Ynge, and one other close there called the Falle Necke; and also all other the lande,

Henry Smith of Pudsey

demises to

George Holdsworth, of the Birks, in the township of Horton,

the estate of Bank House at Pudsey, then in the occupation of Henry Smith;

also various closes called: Wheat Pighill, Owl Scholes, Marled Royd, Nether Ing, Cow Closes, Middle Field (near Owl Scholes Lane), Fall Ing, Fall Neck, Ing under th' house,

consideration paid, £190.

tenem^t. closes, medowes, fedinge, pastures, woddes, under woddes, waies, waters, water-courses, waste, commons of pasture, and turbarie, rents, rendition and service, comodities, proffettes, easements, and hereditaments whatsoever, to the said Messuage, or tenement in any wise belonginge or appteinge, or to or with the same commonlye demised, used, or occupied, or reputed, accepted, taken, or knowne as the pte, pcell, or member of the same or any pte therof in Pudsay aforesaide in the saide countie of Yorke AND the saide Henry Smithe for the consideration aforesaide hathe also bargained and solde and by these psente dothe bargane and sell to the saide George Haldsworth and his heires, all and all maner of dedes, evidences, charters, boundaries, muniments, escripts and writings whatsoever concerninge the barganed premisses or any pte therof, all the which or so many therof as concerne only the saide messuage or ten^{mt}. and barganed premisses or only any pte therof, which he the saide Henry Smithe hathe in his custodie or possession, or any other by his delivrie or to his use, which he may lawfully come by without sute in the lawe, together with true copies of all suche dedes, evidences and writings as concerne the saide premisses or any pte therof and any other lande jointly, the saide Henry Smithe for him and his heires dothe covenant and pmise to and with the saide George Haldsworthe, to deliver or cause to be delivered to the saide George his heires or assignes requiring the same, at all time and times during the space of one whole yeare nowe nexte ensuinge, he the saide George Haldsworthe his heires or assignes bearing the charge of the writinge out of the saide copies I'O HAVE AND TO HOLDE the saide messuage or tenement, howses, barnes, buildings, closes, lands, ten^{mts}. and hereditaments, and all other the premisses before by these psents mentioned to be barganed and solde with all and singuler their apptennc to the saide George Haldsworthe his heires and assignes to th' only and proper use and behoofe of the saide George Haldsworthe his heires and assignes for ever AND THE SAIDE Henry Smithe for him his heires executors administrators and assignes and every of them dothe covenant agree and graunt to and with the saide George Haldsworthe his heires executors administrators and assignes and to and with every of them by these presents that he the saide Henry Smithe, at the time of the sealinge and delivrie herof is the true and lawfull owner of the saide messuage or tenement, howses, buildings, land^t, tenements, and hereditaments and of all other the barganed premisses with th' apptennc and is and standeth sole seized therof of a good pfecte and absolute estate of inheritance in the lawe in fee simple, and hathe full power and good and lawfull authoritie in his owne righte to give graunte bargan and sell the saide barganed premisses and every pte therof to the saide George Haldsworthe his heires and assignes to his and their only uses for ever according to the tenor and true meanninge herof AND THAT as well the saide George Haldsworthe his heires and assignes and any of them as the saide messuage or ten^{ment}. houses, buildings, lands, ten^{ts}. and hereditaments, and all other the barganed pmisses with th' apptennces and every pte therof, nowe are and so shall or may be and continue at all times hereafter for ever free and clearly acquitted and discharged or otherwise sufficiently from time to time and at all times saved and kept

harmeless and indemnified by the saide Henry Smithe his heires or assignes of and frome all other barganes, sceyles, gifts, graunts, jrinters, dowers, feoffments, intayles, wills, leases, statutes marchante and of the staple, recognizances, bondes, rentes, annuities, average of rentes, fines, issues, forfeitures, extents, judgements, executions and of and frome all other acts, charges, troubles, and encombraunces whatsoever, had, made, knowledged, comitted and done, or to be done by the saide Henry Smithe his heires or assignes or any of them or of any other person or persons whatsoever, the rente and service frome henceforthe to be therfore due to the chefe lorde or lordes of the fee or fees therof, and one

Reserving a lease of the closes called—
Over Middlefield,
The Fall, Fall Neck,
to Peter Gibson.

and a rent of 8/- to
Thomas Smith.

lease heretofore made of the said two closes called Over Middlefeld and the Falle and Fallneck to Peter Gibson for the terme of 21 yeares wheareupon is preserved the yearlye rente of VIIIs. during and for the saide tearme of yeares to be paid to Thomas Smith or his executors or assignes. AND THE SAIDE Henry Smith for him, his heires, executors, administrators and assignes and every of them dothe coven't agree and graunte to and wth. the saide George Haldsworthe his heires, executors, administrators and assignes and to and wth. every of them by these psente, That he the saide Henry Smithe

Jane Smith, wife of
Henry Smith.

and Jane, nowe his wife, and the heires of the saide Henry, and every of them, shall and will at all and every time and times hereafter during the space of seven yeares nowe nexte cominge at the reasonable request coste and charge in the lawe of the saide George Haldsworthe his heires or assignes make, do, suffer, knowledge, execute, and cause to be made, done, knowledged and executed all and every suche further acte and actes, thing and things, devises, assurance and conveyance in the lawe whatsoever for the further better and more pfecte assuringe and conveying of the said messuage or tenement howses, barnes, buildings, lands, tents, and hereditaments and all other the barganed premisses wth. th' appertenances and every pte thereof to the saide George Haldsworthe his heirs and assignes to his and their only uses for ever, be it by fine, feoffement, recouerie or recoueries with single or double vowcher or vouchers, release and confirmation with warrant against all men, dede or dedes indented and inrolled, inrollemente of these psente or by any other waies or meanes whatsoever or by any or so many of them and in suche maner and forme as shall be reasonable devised or advised by the said George Haldsworthe his heires or assignes or any of them or by his or their counsell learned in the lawe; so all waies that the saide Henry Smith and Jane nowe his wife and the heires of the saide Henry or any of them be not compelled to travell for the makinge, doinge, knowledginge and executinge of the saide conveyance and assurance or any of them forthe of the saide countie of Yorke excepte it be to the cite of Yorke: AND MOREOVER that he the saide George Haldsworthe his heires and assignes and every of them shall or may and any time and times hereafter peaceably and quietly have, holde, occupie, and enjoye the saide messuage or tenement howses barnes buildings land tenements and hereditaments and all other

the premisses before by these psente mentioned to be barganed and solde with all and singler their appertennances and every pte thereof in maner and forme aforsaide according to the tenour and true meaning of these psente without any lawfull lett sute trouble eviction interruption or encombraunce of the saide Henry Smithe his heires or assignes or anye of them or of anye other psone or psones whatsoever AND FURTHERMORE the saide Henry Smithe hathe also barganed and solde and by these psentes dothe clearlye and absolutely bargane and sell to the saide George Haldsworthe all the corne and grayne now psently growinge and beinge on or upon the saide barganed pmisses with th' appertennances or in or upon anye pte or pcell therof TO HAVE AND TO HOLDE the saide corne and grayne with th' appertennances to the saide George Haldsworthe his executors, administrators and assignes to his and their owne pper uses for ever. IN WITNESS whereof the pties above-named to these indentures interchangeably have sett their seales the daie and yeare first above written.

HENRY SMITH.

(Endorsement.)

Sealed, subscribed, and delivered in the presence of Richard Tempest, of Tonge, esquire, John Clayton, of Crosley Halle, John Hunter, of Pudsey, John Hunter, of Calverley, Thomas Bower, John Holdsworth, Thomas Sharpe of Scholemoor, and of me

JOHN THOS. TAYLER.

XVI.

Horton. 10 February 1599.

THIS INDENTURE MADE the tenth day of Februarie in the fortieth yeare of the raigne of our sovrigne Ladye Elizabeth by the grace of god of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, Quene, defender of the Faith, etc. BETWENE John Feilde of Horton in Bradford dale in the countye of Yorke, yeom. of th'one ptye, and Thomas Todd of Horton aforesaid in the said countye, clothier of th'other ptye WITNESSETH that the said John Feilde for diverse good causes and considerations him thereunto moveinge Hath graunted demised and to farme letten, and by those presente doth graunte demise and to farme lett unto the said Thomas Todd and his assignes all those seaven closes of land, meadows, and pasture with th'apptennce, scituate, lyinge, and beinge in Horton aforesaid comonlye called More Closes, as the same doe lye and abutt there upon one feilde called South Feilde on the north pte, and upon the landes of one Xofer Thornton of the south-east pte, which weare late in the tenure or occupation of one Jennet Feilde late of

John Field, yeoman,
of Horton,

leases to

Thomas Todd, clothier,
of Horton,

seven closes, called
The Moor Closes, at
Horton, adjoining the
lands of Christopher
Thornton, lately tenanted
by the late
Jannet Field and now
by Thomas Todd.

Horton aforesaid, deceased, or of her assign, and now in the tenure or occupation of the said Thomas Todd or his assignes, together with all and singular wayes, waters, water-courses, profite, comodities and easements whatsoever, to the said closes of land, meadows, and pasture and to everye or anye of them in any wise belongeinge or appteyninge, or to or with them, or anye of them commonlye demised, used or occupied, or reputed, taken, or knowne as pte, pcell, or member of the same, or anye pte thereof TO HAVE AND TO HOULDE the said seaven closes of land, meadows, and pasture, and all other the demised pmisses, with all and singular th'apptennces unto the said Thomas Todd

For twenty-one years

twentye and one yeares from thence next followinge fullye to be complete, finished and ended YELDINGE and payeing thearefore yearelye

the annual rent being
£3 6s. 8d.,

payable at Whitsun-
tide and Martinmas,

a house to be built upon this ground, at the joint expense of Thomas Todd and John Fielde, to be surrendered by Thomas Todd at the termination of the lease.

and his assignes imediatlye from the daye of the date thereof, for and dureinge the full ende and tearme of the said John Felde his heire or assignes the Annuall or year-lye rente of three poundes, sixe skillinge and eighte pence of lawfull Engelische money at the Feaste of Pentecost and Saint Martyn the Bishoppe in winter by even portions. And also yeilding and payeing yearelye during the said Tearme all the out rente which shalbe due and payable out of the said pmisses to the Cheife lord of the Fee theareof, And also all layes impositions and assessments whearewith the said pmisses shalbe and stand charged to paye to the Churche and our Sovrigne Ladye the Quene her heire or Successor yearelye dureinge the said tearms AND ALSO it is conveyed, concluded, consended and agreed by and betwixt the said pyes to these psente And either of them for themselves their heire executor adm. and Assignes and everye of them, doth covenant and pmise

to and with the other by those psente That he the said Thomas Todd his executor his adm. or assign shall and will within the space of one whoole yeare next ensueinge the date heareof erecte and builde or cause to be erected and builded one house of in and upon the said pmisses by these psente demised in such mann. and forme as is pre-mised and appointed att the equall coste and charge of both the said pyes. And also that he the said John Felde his heire or assign shall and will at the reasonable request of the said Thomas Todd or his assign beare and paye. or cause to be borne and paid the one moytie or halfe pte of the coste and charge of erecteing and buildinge of the said house, AND THE said Thomas Todd for him his executor adm. and assign and every of them doth covenante pmise agree and graunte to and with the said John Felde his heire executor adm. and assign and to and with eache of them by these psente That he the said Thomas Todd his executor adm. and assign shall and will within the said tearme sett or cause to be sett all the fense belongeinge to the said demised pmisse suffycientlye with quick wood, or make or cause to be made the same with sufficient walls att his and their proper coste and charge, And

also that he the said Thomas Todd his executor adm. and assign shall and will at all tyme and tymes after the said house shall be erected and builded att his and their pper coste and charge, mayntain and uphoulde the same with thatch mosse and mortar and the said fense after then shallbe sett with quickwood or made with walls well and suffycientlye for and dureinge all the said tearme, And in th' ende theareof so suffycientlye repayred and mainteyned shall leave and yelde upp the same PROVIDED all wayes and upon Condition that if the said Thomas Todd his executor, adm. or assign shall and doe not eate spende bestowe and employe of in and upon the said pmisses by those psente demised all the haye, strawe, fodder, compost, dunge, and ashes which shall come growe renewe and be bredd of in and upon the same pmisses att all tyme and tymes dureinge the said Tearme; Or shall and doe burne or waste with burneing the said demised pmisses or anye pte theareof or anye fayle of in and upon the same pmisses or of anye pte thearof at any tyme or tymes dureinge the said tearme, That then this psente Indenture and every clause article sentence and agrement thearin conteyned shall cease, and be utterlye voide, frustrated and of none effecte in the lawe to all intente and purposes whatsoever Anye thinge to the contrarye hereof in anywise notwithstandinge IN WITNESS whereof the said ptyes abovesaid to those Indentures interchangeablye have sett to their hande and seale the daye and yeare first above writen. JOHN FEILDE.

(Endorsement.)

Sealed and Delivered the day and year within written in the presence of us:

DAVID FLETCHER,
his x mark.

ABRAHAM LISTER.

WILLIAM BEAMONT,
his x mark.

XVII.

Idle. 1 November 1644.

THIS INDENTURE MADE the first day of November, in the twentieth year of the reign of our sovereign lord CHARLES by the grace of God, now kinge of England &c Betwene Tristram Kitson of Calverly in the county of Yorke, yeoman, of th' one party, and Moses Hobson of Idle in the said county, clothier, and John Hobson of the same, brother of the said Moses of th' other party; WHEREAS George Savile of Thornhill, in the said county, knight and baronet, and Dame Elizabeth, then his wife, by their indenture of bargain and sale, or deeds indented, bearing date the third day of February in the fifteenth yeare of the reign of the late king James over England etc. did in considera-

Commutation of tithes
in Idle.

The deed recites
that

Sir George Savile,
knt. and bart., of

Thornhill, and Dame Elizabeth, his wife, by deed dated 3rd February, 1617/8, sold to William Rawson, of Shipley, John Midgley, the elder, of Headley, and Tristram Kitson, of Calverley, the tithes in Idle, Idle Thorpe, Wrose, and Windhill, belonging to the rectory of Calverley, for £850; excepted are such tithes in Idle as belong to Christopher Thompson, Esq., or William Thompson, his father.

Tristram Kitson, being by survivance the sole owner of these tithes, grants unto Moses Hobson, clothier, of Idle, and his brother John Hobson, a commutation of the tithes on their lands in Idle called Birkbatts and Crocketroyds, for the sum of £3 10s., and an annual charge of 3¼d. to the Crown.

Subject to a charge of £3 6s. 8d. per annum payable to the crown, being part of the £76 16s. 6d. per annum, reserved to the crown in the first grant of tithes made, 4th August, 1606, by the crown to William Vernon, of Soothill, and Christopher Naylor of Wakefield.

assigns to their owne uses for ever, YELDING paying and discharging heretofore yearly from thenceforth unto our said sovereign lord, the king's majesty, his heirs and successors for ever the yearly rent or sum of three pounds, six shillings, eight pence of lawful money of England parcel of the yearly rent or ffeefarme of lxxvi £—xvi s.—vi d., reserved in and by certain letters patent made and granted of the said tithes (amongst other things) by the king's most excellent majesty, unto William Vernon of Soothill, and Xofer Naylor of Wakefield gent. and their heirs bearing test at Westminster the fourth day of August in the fourth yeare of his said late majesty's reign at the times therein mentioned as in and by the said Indenture of bargain and sale, or deeds indented and fine thereof levied by and between the said parties to which reference be had may more plainly appear; and whereas the said William Rawson, and John Midgley are both of them sithence deceased and their estate in the pmisses is come and accrued to the said Tristram

tion of the sum of eight hundred and fifty pounds of lawful money of England, grant, bargain, sell, aliene and confirm unto William Rawson of Shipley, and John Midgley elder of Headley in the said county, gent, now deceased, and the said Tristram Kitson, their heirs and assignes for ever, ALL and singular the tithes of sheaves, corn, grain, hay, grass, and woods, yearly coming, growing, renewing, and increasing and which at all times hereafter shall yearly come, grow, happen, renew and increase of, within, and upon, all and singular the lands, tenements, closes, fields, meadows, pastures, intacks, improvements, inclosures, commons, moors, wastes, wastegrounds, woods, and hereditaments whatsoever with their appurtenances, lying and being in Idle aforesaid, and in Thorpe, Wrose, and Windell, alias Windhill, within the parish of Calverly aforesaid in the said county of Yorke or elsewhere within the lordship town, townfields, pcincts, town-ship and hamlet of Idle, Thorpe, Wrose, Windell alias Windhill, aforesaid, and in every or any of them in the said county of Yorke being parte, parcel, or member of the rectory of Calverly aforesaid, or so knowne, accepted, or reputed or to the same rectory in any wise belonging, appertaining, incident, happening or appendant, or to or with the same rectory or any part or parcel thereof heretofore used, occuppied, or enjoyed as pte, pcell, or member thereof in whose tenure or occupations soever the same or any of them then were; (except the tithes of the lands and grounds within Idle aforesaid of Xofer Thompson, esq., or William Thompson his father) TO HAVE hold, pceive, take, and enjoy, all and singular the said tithes of sheaves, corne, grain, hay, grass, and woods, and other the pmisses except before excepted, unto the said William Rawson, John Midgley, and Tristram Kitson, their heires and

Kitson by way of survivo. THIS INDENTURE now therefore witnesseth that the said Tristram Kitson for and in consideration of the sum of three pounds and ten shillings of lawful English money to him in hand paid before the ensealling hereof by the said Moses Hobson, and John Hobson; and for divers other good causes and considerations him thereunto moving HATH betaken granted aliened sold and confirmed and by this indenture for and from him his heirs and assigns and each of them doth fully, clearly and absolutely betake, grant, alien, sell, and confirm unto the said Moses Hobson and John Hobson their heirs and assigns for ever ALL and singular the tithes of sheaves, corne, grain, hay, grass, and woods, yearly coming, growing, renewing, and increasing, and which at all and every time and times hereafter shall yearly come, grow, happen, renew, and increase, of, within, and upon all those several closes of land, meadow, and pasture commonly called or knowne by the several names of Birkebattes, and Crockettroides, with their appurtenances, lying and being within the lordship or township of Idle aforesaid in the said county of York containing by estimation seven acres be the same more or less now in the tenure or occupation of the said Moses Hobson and John Hobson or the one of them or their assigns (which said tithes above hereby granted with the appurtenances are pte and pcell of the aforesaid tithes above mentioned to be bargained and sold by the said Sir George Savile, and dame Elizabeth his wife, unto the said William Rawson, John Midgley, and Tristram Kitson as aforesaid, TO HAVE, hold, pceive, take and enjoy, all and singular the said tithes of sheaves, corne, grain, hay, grass, and woods herein before mentioned to be hereby granted, with the appurtenances unto the said Moses Hobson and John Hobson their heirs and assigns for ever. To the only and pper use and behoof of the said Moses Hobson and John Hobson and of their heirs and assigns for ever, THEY, THE SAID Moses Hobson and John Hobson their heirs or assigns, yielding, paying, and discharging therefore yearly from henceforth, unto our said sovereign lord, the king's majesty his heirs and successors for ever the yearly rent of threepence halfpenny of lawful money of England, being pcell of the foresaid yearly rent or sum of iii £—vi s.—viii d. above mentioned to be referred or agreed to be paid and discharged to his majesty his heirs and successors for the above granted tithes and the tithes of other lands and tenements mentioned in and by the said Indenture of bargain and sale in pte above recited and at such feasts and times, and in such manner and form as the same ought in and by the true intent and meaning of the said Indenture of bargain and sale and letters patente to be yearly paid and discharged AND THE SAID Moses Hobson and John Hobson do for them, their heirs, executors, and adm and every of them covenant pmise and graunt to and with the said Tristram Kitson his heirs and assigns by these prents, that they the said Moses Hobson and John Hobson their heirs or assigns or some of them shall and will yearly and every year from henceforth for and in respect of the tithes above hereby granted, well and truly yield, pay, and discharge unto our said sovereign lord the king's majesty his heirs and successors for ever, the said yearly rent or sum of iii d. ii f. pcell of the foresaid yearly rent or sum of iii £—vi s.—viii d. att such feasts and times in such manner and form as the same ought in and by the true intent

and meaning of the said Indenture of bargain and sale, and letters patente to be yearly paid and discharged, and of the same yearly rent or sum of iii £ odd, and of every pte thereof and of and from all distresses, losses, damage, surrenders, issues, seizure, amerciements, impositions, and impeachments whatsoever to be had, taken, levied, sustained, born, or suffered, for or by reason of the nonpayment of the said yearly rent or sum of iii £ odd. or of any pte thereof at such times as the same ought to have been paid, shall and will acquit and discharge or otherwise well and sufficiently, upon reasonable request made safe or kept harmless and indemnified, the said Tristram Kitson, his heirs, exec^{ts}. adm. and assignes, and every of them at all times from henceforth for ever; against our said sovereign lord, the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, and against the said Sir George Savile and Dame Elizabeth, his wife, their heirs and assignes and every of them, AND THE SAID Tristram Kitson, doth for him his heirs, exec^{ts}. adm., and every of them, covenant, promise, and grant to and with the said Moses Hobson and John Hobson, their heirs, and assigns, and to and with every of them by these p^{es}ents, that they the said Moses Hobson and John Hobson their heirs and assignes and every of them to their own uses, shall or may lawfully, peaceably, and quietly at all times from henceforth for ever have, hold, receive, take and enjoy all and singular the said tithes of sheaves, corn, grain, hay, grass, and woods, above hereby granted with the appurtenances for and under the said yearly rent of iii £ odd above herein mentioned, and covenanted and agreed to be paid and discharged for the same as aforesaid; according to the tenour and true intent and meaning of these p^{es}ent without the lawfull lett, suite, trouble, eviction, disturbance, recovery, or encumbrance, whatsoever, of or by the said Tristram Kitson his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or of or by any other p^{er}son or p^{er}sons whatsoever, lawfully claiming or that shall lawfully claim, by, from, or under him or them or any of them, or by or through, his or their means, consents, privities, or p^{er}curement, AND FREE and clearly discharged or otherwise well and sufficiently from time to time and all times hereafter upon reasonable request to be therefore made, saved, or kept harmless and indemnified by the said Tristram Kitson, his heirs, exec^{ts}. adm., or assignes or some of them, of and from all form and other bargains, sales, gifts, grants, estates, uses, wills, intayles, leases, mortgages, jointures, dowers, and titles of dower, statutes marchant and of the staple, bonds, recognizances, annuities, rents, ffeeffarme, and arrearages of rents, and ffeeffarmes, extents, judgments, executions, intrusions, seizures, issues, fines, amerciements, condemnations, acts, charges, titles, troubles and encumbrances whatsoever, heretofore had, made, committed, suffered, or done, or hereafter to be had, made, committed, suffered, or done by the said Tristram Kitson his heirs, exec^{ts}. or adm. or any of them, or by any other p^{er}son or p^{er}sons whatsoever by or through his, or their, or any of their means, consent, privity or p^{er}curement (the said yearly rent or sum of £3 vis. viiid. above herein mentioned only excepted) PROVIDED always and upon condition, and it is the true intent and meaning of the p^{es}ents, and of the p^{er}ties to the same and it is accordingly covenanted, granted, concluded, and fully agreed by and between the said p^{er}ties for them their several heirs and assigns by these p^{es}ents, that if it shall fortune the said

yearly rent or sum of iii£ odd, or any pte thereof to be in arrear and unpaid by the space of twenty days next after any feast or time in which the same ought to have been paid, that then and so often as it shall so happen, it shall and may be well lawful, to and for the said Tristram Kitson his heires and assignes for every such default to enter, to have again, and enjoy, all and singular the said tithes of sheaves, corn, grain, hay, grass and woods above hereby granted, and the same tithes, and every of them and every pte thereof to have, pceive, gather and take, to his and their owne uses from henceforth for and during the term of ten years next following after every such default *noie pæne*, in lieu and satisfaction, of and for every such rent or sum of iii£ odd so behind and unpaid This pnt Indenture or any grant, clause, word, sentence, or covenant hereinbefore mentioned or contained, or any other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding AND MOREOVER the said Tristram Kitson and his heirs the said tithes of sheaves, corn, grain, hay, grass and woods, above in and by these psents menticed to be granted with the appurtenances unto the said Moses Hobson and John Hobson their heirs and assigns to their owne uses for ever for and under the said yearly rent or sum of iii£ odd, and under the priso or cond tion aforesaid and in manner and forme aforesaid, against him the said Tristram Kitson his heirs and assignes shall and will warrant and defend for ever by these psents, PROVIDED ALSO and it is nevertheless the true intent and meaning of these psents and of the ptie to the same, and it is accordingly covenanted granted, concluded, and fully agreed, by and between the said pties for them their several heirs and assignes by these psents, that this pnt Indenture or any grant, clause, word, sentence or covenant cherein contained or any clause, sentence, matter, or thing to be contained in any other assurance or assurances, to be hereafter made of the above granted tithes or of any part thereof to the said Moses Hobson and John Hobson their heirs or assignes shall not in any wise extend nor be construed, adjudged or expounded, to tie, bind, vouch, or charge the said Tristram Kitson, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or their, or any of their lands or tenements, or any pte thereof to or with any further or other warranty or warranties of the said tithes or any pte thereof, but only against him the said Tristram Kitson, his heirs and assigns severally and respectively for his and their owne several and respective acts, only, and no further nor otherwise, this pnt Indenture or any grant, clause, word, sentence, or covenant therein contained or any other assurance or assurances whatsoever, to be thereupon hereafter had, made, executed or any other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. IN WITNESS whereof the pties above-named have to these Indentures interchangeably set their hands and seals the day and year first above expressed.

(Signed: TRISTRAM KITSON.)

Sealed and Delivered in the presence of us :

JOHN STANHOPE.
THOMAS LEDGERD.
LAWRENCE BUCK.

JAMES SAGAR.
JOHN ILLINGWORTH.

XVIII.

Bradford. 4 December 1686.

THIS INDENTURE MADE the fourth day of December in the second year of the ruigne of our soveraigne lord James the second by the grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland king, defender of the

John Lambert, of
Manningham, yeo-
man, and Mary
Lambert, his wife,

demise to Joseph
Lambert, of Hors-
forth, and William
Rawson, of Bolling,
the following prop-
erty:

faith, etc. Annoque domini 1686, BETWEENE John Lambert of Manningham in the parish of Bradford in the county of Yorke yeoman and Mary his wife of th' one parte; and Joseph Lambert of Horsforth in the said county yeoman and William Rawson of Bolling in the sayd county yeoman of th' other parte WITNESSETH that the said John Lambert and Mary his wife as well to the intent and purpose to settle establish convey and assure the severall messuages houses buildings crofts or parcells of land tenants and and other the hereditam^{ts} hereafter in and by these psents mentioned and expressed to such use or uses as are hereafter in and by these psents mentioned expressed or declared as for divers other good causes and considerations them the said John Lambert and Mary his wife thereunto especially moveing HEE the said John Lambert doth for himself and his heires covenant pmise and graunte, and the said Mary his wife doth agree to and with the said Joseph Lambert and William Rawson theire heires and assignes by these psents that they the said John Lambert and Mary his wife shall and will before the end of Easter Term next after the date hereof in due form of lawe and at the costs and charges of him the said John Lambert acknowledge and levey unto them the said Joseph Lambert and William Rawson and the heires of the said Joseph one fine sur cognizance de droit tour come too with pclamations thereupon to bee had and made according to the forme of the statute in that case provided (with and among other messuages lands tenan^{ts}. and hereditam^{ts}. in the same fine to be mentioned for and in respect of other psons to be joyned and named therein)

One message in
Goodmanend, Brad-
ford, formerly occu-
pied by Mary Mus-
grave, and now by
John Lambert, to-
gether with one lathe
and two crofts of
meadow belonging
thereto;

also two dwellings
in Goodmanend, ten-
anted by Cuthbert
Rogers and Martha
Harper;

OF and upon all that messuage or tenem^t with th'appurtenences scituate standing and being in Godmannend in Bradford in the sayd county of Yorke wherein one Mary Musgrave did formerly dwell, and now in the tenure or occupation of the said John Lambert or his assignes and one laithe or barne and two crofts or closes of land, meadow and pasture to the same messuage belong- ing, containing by estimation foure days worke, bee the same more or less, and now in the tenure or occupation of the sayd John Lambert or his assignes And also of and upon all those two other dwelling- houses cottages or tents with there appurtenences situate and being in Godmannend in Bradford afore- sayd in the said county now in the severall tenures or occupations of Cuthbert Rogers and Martha Harper or one of them, theire heires or one of theire assignee or

assignes and also of and upon one other messuage cottage or dwelling-house, one laith or barne, and one croft or pcell of land containing two dayes worke or thereabouts to the same belonging, with th'appurtenances in Godmannend in Bradford aforesayd now in the tenure or occupation of Joseph Booth his assignee or assignes and of and upon all the out-houses, edifices, buildings, gardens, commons, liberties, wayes, profitts, comodities, easem^{ts} hereditam^{ts} and appurtenances whatsoever to the sayd messuages, cottages, houses, crofts, closes, and pcells of land or any of them belonging or in any wise appertaining and the revercion and revercions remainder and remainders of the pmisses and of every parte thereof, and all rents and yearly profitts whatsoever reserved, upon any demise or demises of the same or any parte thereof THE same fine to be acknowledged and levyed by such name or names quantities qualities contents and numbers of acres and in such manner and forme as shall bee sufficient and pper for the settling passing and conveying the said pmisses to the use or uses hereafter mentioned and declared THIS Indenture now further witnesseth that to the intent the uses of the sayd fine may not hereafter bee left to aver^{mt} and bare proof without any expresse declaration thereof in writeinge and for the clearing and avoydeing all such questions and doubts which in future time might arise and grow about the same, ITT is covenanted, graunted, concluded and agreed by and betwene the sayd parties to these psents and it is hereby permitted, expressed and declared and the sayd John Lambert and Mary his wife doe by these psents express, declare and agree that the sayd fine soe to bee acknowledged and levyed as aforesaid or in any other manner (as to, for, touching and concerning, the pmisses herein before mentioned) shall be and enure and shall be construed adjudged expounded and taken to bee and enure, and the sayd Joseph Lambert and William Rawson and their heires or the heires of one of them shall by virtue thereof stand and be seized of and in all and singular the said pmisses with their and every of their appurtenances to the use or uses hereafter mentioned and declared (That is to say) To the onely use and behoofe of the said John Lambert and of his heires and assignes for ever and to none other use or uses. IN WITNESS whereof the parties above named to the parties of these Indentures have interchangeably sett their handes and seales the day and yeare first above expressed.

Also a cottage, lathe and croft, in Godmannend, tenanted by Joseph Booth.

JOHN LAMBERT.

MARY LAMBERT.

(Endorsement).

Sealed and Delivered in the presence of

JERE. BOWER,


WILL. RAWSON, Junr.,

THOMAS GILL.

ALMONDBURY,

BY

MRS. E. ARMITAGE.

 ON the top of a hill immediately to the south of Huddersfield stands the ancient stronghold known as the Castle Hill of Almondbury, one of the finest earthworks in Yorkshire. The situation which it occupies is eminently defensible by nature, three sides of the hill on which it stands being exceedingly steep, while the east side, where the slope offers a more practicable approach, is exceedingly narrow. It commands a magnificent view of the surrounding country, and its ramparts and ditches are on the whole in very good preservation. The area which it covers is rather more than eleven acres in extent, and in shape an elongated oval; it is divided across the centre by a cross ditch and banks, while the western end, which was originally the highest part of the hill, has also been cut off by a ditch of its own, and by the addition of about eight feet of artificial soil has been formed into one of those *mottes* or artificial hillocks which are so familiar as part of the ground plan of most Norman castles.

This *motte* was selected by the townspeople of Huddersfield as a suitable site for a tower to commemorate the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. In digging the foundations for this tower, the workmen, as soon as they had reached the rock, came upon the shaft of a well, about five feet three inches square, cut through the sandstone. It was excavated to the depth of thirty-three feet, and a quantity of bones were found, which have been pronounced to be those of domestic animals.

A number of dressed stones, some of which appeared to belong to a doorway and window, and one which looked like part of an arch, were found. The diagonal tooling of these stones showed that they did not belong to modern times. It was also found that the ground around the well had been covered with a sort of platform of loose undressed stone, probably the stone which had been quarried from the well. Over one portion there were three courses of this stone, and two over the whole area, arranged in a sort of rude herringbone pattern, but separated by a few inches of soil. Above this platform had been placed the artificial soil which forms the *motte*, and which probably was taken from the ditch which separates it from the middle ward.

As only ordinary navvies were employed on the work, it was not surprising to hear that nothing whatever had been found in the excavations except the bones and stones above mentioned. But a large section of the artificial part of the *motte*, as well as of the natural soil below it, had been exposed, and seemed to call for a little amateur investigation. This was applied, and after some labour a few shards of coarse pottery, evidently wheel-made, were found embedded in the clay, mixed with rubble, of which the *motte* is composed, and an iron nail, about two inches long, with a flat head, was found lying on the original surface of the ground, which was very clearly marked in the section of the *motte*. Another piece of pottery, with the glaze which marks the mediæval period, was found amongst the outlying rubbish, but there was no means of proving whether it had come from the filling of the well or from the substance of the *motte*. A great number of iron nails were found as well, but as these were near the surface, they may have belonged to the framework of a beacon which is known to have been erected here about a hundred years ago, when a French invasion was expected. It is unfortunate that the well was not excavated to the bottom, as this would probably have supplied some

more direct evidence concerning the first occupants of this citadel. But as this would probably have necessitated digging down to a very considerable depth, it did not lie within the province of the builders of the tower.

Before considering the evidence supplied by the relics above described as to the age of the "camp" at Almondbury, it may be convenient to see what we can learn about it from other sources. The manor of *Almaneberie* (such is its name in Domesday) was held before the Norman Conquest by two persons bearing the very Scandinavian names of Ketel and Sweyn. At the Conquest, it passed into the hands of Ilbert de Lacy, the great Norman Lord of Pontefract. At the time of the Survey it was held under Ilbert by one Leusin, and it was waste, that is, uncultivated. Nothing is said in Domesday Book about any castle there. The only historical notice bearing on the origin of the castle is a statement of Camden that a castle arose here after the Norman Conquest, and was "confirmed by King Stephen to Henry Lacy."* Though the first castle was probably of wood, it seems certain that a stone castle was subsequently erected, since the remains of stone walls are mentioned both by Camden and Whitaker as being visible at their respective epochs. Whitaker states that in digging for the foundations of a house within the precinct of the castle, a winding subterraneous staircase was discovered, "but not pursued as it ought to have been."* A Huddersfield writer, in the year 1848, states that sixty years previously part of the old wall of the castle was still standing.† It is evident that this castle was ruined at an early period, for an inquest was held in the reign of Edward II. on the body of a murdered man which had been thrown into *the dungeon of*

* Camden appears to refer to some charter which he has seen; his words are "a castle arose here afterwards (*i.e.*, after Saxon times) which I find confirmed by King Stephen to Henry Lacy." *Britannia* III., 5. But, as usual, he gives no reference.

* Whitaker *Loidis in Elmote*, 328.

† Walks round Huddersfield, p. 27.

the former castle of *Almondbury*, where it had been attacked by dogs and birds; † the castle must, therefore, have been a deserted ruin at that time. Dr. Walker, in his paper on *Almondbury*, § quotes an inquisition of the reign of Edward III., which mentions the hill "where the castle formerly stood"; and the subsequent returns from the manor of *Almondbury* use the same language.

This early desertion of the castle of *Almondbury* probably explains the entire disappearance of any remains of stone masonry, except what has been found in the well; for the wall on top of the earthwork, the foundations of which are to be seen on the south side of the middle ward, is probably modern. The first agent in the destruction of the castle was evidently fire; Camden noticed "the adust and brown colour of the stones" in his day, and some of the stones found in the well bore marks of fire. And it is not only on the *motte* that the signs of fire are to be traced; along the north embankment of the first or outer ward lumps of burnt soil may be easily dug up by the trowel, and suggest that a palisade or hedge on top of the rampart was destroyed by fire.

It will be seen that all the historical notices which we have point to a Norman origin for the castle of *Almondbury*. The existing remains bespeak the same conclusion; the *motte* with its accompanying bailey-court or courts was the usual type of the Norman castle of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, whether the defences which crowned the earthworks were of wood or of stone. It is worthy of notice that the ground plan of *Almondbury* resembles almost exactly that of *Aulnay* in Normandy, as given by Caumont in his *Abécédaire d'Archéologie*. Now the *Lacy* family, the original possessors of *Almondbury* castle, came from the immediate neighbourhood *Aulnay*.*

† Whitaker, *ib.* This passage has been strangely misread, being quoted as an instance of feudal barbarity, whereas it is really an instance of mediæval judicial supervision.

§ *Yorkshire Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. II.

* *Yorks. Archæological Journal*, part 53, page 16.

It is of course well known that the late Mr. G. T. Clark, the author of *Mediæval and Military Architecture*, maintained that castles of the motte-and-bailey type were a peculiarly English invention, and even went so far as to assert that the word *burh* was the English name for this particular kind of fortification. There is not the slightest evidence for this theory, which is sufficiently refuted by the history of the word. A *burh*, from the root *bergan*, to shelter, originally meant an embankment or wall.* It might be round a private house, and doubtless this was its original sense; but as the most recent authority states, "unequivocal instances of its use in this sense are rare."† From the time of Alfred we find it more frequently used in the sense of a town-wall or bulwark. There can be little doubt that the *burhs* built by Edward the Elder and Ethelfleda were town-walls, whether of earth, wood or stone.‡ In course of time, by a very common transition, the name of the enclosure was transferred to the thing enclosed, and the *burh* became the *borough*. In this sense we find it used as early as Alfred's translation of Orosius. The *burh-gemot* or towns-meeting, and the *burh-warū* or towns-men, are fully developed long before the Norman conquest. And the difference between a *burh* and a castle could not be better marked than it is in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (1092), when we are told of the city of Carlisle that William Rufus "repaired the *burh* (which of course had Roman walls), and built the *castle*."

Nevertheless, we readily admit that there are three features at Almondbury which suggest an older origin for the camp than the Norman time. First, the name Almondbury, which is certainly older than Domesday

* The dative form *byrig* is the origin of place-names ending in *bury*. See New English Dictionary.

† New English Dictionary, Borough. See also Schmid's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, art. *Burh* in glossary.

‡ Florence of Worcester, or more strictly speaking Marianus Scotus, the translator of the Saxon Chronicle, translates *burh* by *urbs*.

Survey, as it is found in that document, seems to suggest the *burh* or fortress of someone with the unmistakably Saxon name of Ealchmund.* Secondly, the area of the camp, which, as already stated, covers about eleven acres, is very much larger than that usually occupied by Norman castles which seldom exceed three and a half acres in extent. The Normans were few in number, and the fortifications which they built were calculated for defence by a small body of men. Even so great a lord as Ilbert de Lacy could scarcely have spared from his personal followers a sufficient force of trusty men to defend a circuit so large as that of Almondbury. Thirdly, the situation of Almondbury, on the top of a high isolated hill, difficult of access, is not that usually chosen for Norman castles, which except in special circumstances were always built in the immediate neighbourhood of towns or villages, often on quite low ground.

All these difficulties may be met by the hypothesis that what the Normans did at Almondbury was to transform a pre-historic or Saxon "camp" into a Norman castle. Saxon and prehistoric forts resemble one another in the large extent of their area, because they were intended not as the personal defences of a single chieftain, but as places of refuge for the whole country side. Thus the *burh* which Ethelfleda built at Eddisbury in Cheshire, and which she doubtless intended to be the enclosure of a small town, covers more than eleven acres. Ealchmund may have originally built the *burh* we are discussing for a place of refuge for the "Elmetsetas" during the incursions of the Danes. The Norman lord of Elmete found a fortress made to his hand, which only needed cutting in half to make into a defensible castle, with the addition of a *motte*, properly defended by its own ditch, as a site for the invariable Norman Donjon or

* There seems to be a further trace of this Ealchmund in the ancient name of the adjoining portion of Lancashire, Agmunderness, which is called Almunderness in an early charter, Dugdale VI. p. 997. There was a Northumbrian saint named Alchmund.

Keep, which in the first instance would probably be of wood, as a stone keep could not be built on freshly heaped soil. It may be conjectured, then, that the *traverse* which separates the middle ward from the outer one was the work of the Norman Lacies; * and some support to this conjecture is furnished by the fact that the banks surrounding the middle ward are much higher and stronger than those of the first or eastern ward. The hypothesis might easily be tested by a little excavation, as if the *traverse* was constructed at a subsequent date to the outer rampart, the originally grassy surface of that rampart would be found underneath the point of junction.

As for the third objection, the character of the site, it does not present any serious difficulty, because at Almondbury we have exactly the special circumstances which caused the Normans to deviate from their usual rule, and to build castles in lofty situations. Almondbury lies in a district which at the time of the conquest was peculiarly wild and turbulent. North Lancashire was an almost uninhabited waste, but the defiles which led into it may at any time have been over-run by hordes of Scots, especially in the reign of Stephen, when Cumberland and Westmoreland were held by the king of Scots. The road from Manchester to York lay through the valley below Almondbury, and doubtless needed watching, for it was the route by which Scandinavian pirates from the Isle of Man and elsewhere could find their way into the plains of Yorkshire. In places where special danger threatened we find the Normans placing their castles in lofty situations. Thus the so-called Cæsar's Camp near Folkestone, shewn by General Pitt-Rivers' excavations to be a Norman castle, † was placed on the ridge of the chalk hills to watch over that portion of the coast; and there is strong reason for supposing that the forti-

* Or possibly of King Stephen, as the Lacies lost their lands under Henry I., because they sided with Duke Robert, but received them back from Stephen.

† Excavations at Cæsar's Camp, Folkestone, *Archæologia*, Vol. XLVII.

fication on the summit of the Herefordshire Beacon is also a Norman castle. De Lacy may well have thought that the top of a commanding hill was the safest place for his castle in so wild a region as the Yorkshire and Lancashire border.

Leaving this hypothesis until it can be tested by further research, we now return to the excavations at Almondbury, to inquire what the net result of them may be said to be. The discovery of the well in the *motte* is by no means exceptional. General Pitt Rivers found a similar well shaft in the mound of Cæsar's Camp, above mentioned. There is one in the mound of Oxford castle, with a remarkable well-chamber of Norman character. The iron nail found on the original surface is sufficient to prove that the *motte* does not belong to the stone or bronze ages—if any one were inclined to urge such an hypothesis. The pieces of pottery found in the soil of the *motte* have been submitted to General Pitt-Rivers, and are pronounced by him to be certainly Norman. Of course, objects found embedded in the soil of an embankment do not furnish a date for the work, as they may have been lying in the soil before the earthwork was thrown up. They only furnish a *terminus a quo* for the date of the bank. A Roman coin found in the centre of an embankment does not prove that it is Roman; it only proves that it was built at some period after the Romans came to Britain. The scraps of pottery found at Almondbury only prove that the *motte* was thrown up after the Normans came to England. But this is sufficient to form an important contribution to the question as to the origin of these curious *mottes*, which stud England from end to end. So little interest is taken by the general public in English archæology, that probably few people are aware that there is any question here to decide. It is to be hoped that further excavations will be undertaken in a site so promising as Almondbury, for any light thrown on one ancient earthwork sheds a measure of light on others.

BURIAL REGISTER
OF
BRADFORD PARISH CHURCH.

TRANSCRIBED BY THE LATE
T. T. EMPSALL, Esq.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 324.

*Explanation of contraction in the second column: w. wife;
s. sonne; d. daughter; ch. childe.*

1657.

March	25		John Wadsworth, Horton
	30		Widdow Cunliffe, Bradford
April.	-1		Samuell Bayly, Allerton
	2	Alice	w William Bairstow. Claton
	4	Mary	w John Whaley, late of Bd.
	13		Dorothy Braffit, Horton
	14	Thomas	s Thomas Booth, Halyfax
	15		Katherine Elsworth, Calverley pish.
	16	Ellin Susana	w Jonas Ashton late of Horton w Joseph Jonson, Horton
	17	William	s William Ramsdin, Heaton
	18	Mary	w Thomas Ashton, Bd. Hannah Hill, Ratchdayle
	19		ch William Farrer, Bd.
	20	Grace	w John Claton, Allerton
	21		Elizabeth Allerton, Bowling
	27	Elizabeth	w William Procter, Bowling
May.	1	Sarah	w Jeremiah Collyer, late Minister at Bd.
	2	Martha	w Thomas Kellet, Horton
	5	Ann Dorothy	d John Hollings, late of Bd. d Richard Cordingley, Tong lordshipp
	6	Rebecka	w Joseph Metcalfe, Bd.
	11	James	s Joseph Furth, Horton
	15	Mary	d Robert Gill, Tong lordshipp
	16	John	s Abraham Bell, Heaton
	17		ch William Hodgson, Bd. Martha Pighles, Gt. H.
	18		John Booth, Gt. H.

		w	John Horton, Horton William Wright, Claton
	25		
	26	w	Michaell Sunderland, Bd.
		d	Edward Lister, late of Bd.
	29		Elizabeth Roberd, Bd.
		ch	John Booth
June.	4	s	Jonas Whitwham, Claton
	14	d	Christopher Smith, Bd.
	15	s	Christopher Lambe, Bd.
	21	s	Margritt Pickard, Bd.
	25	ch	Mr. Jonas Waterhouse, Minister at Bd.
	26	w and ch	Richard Pearson, Bd.
July.	6	d	Nicholas Walker, Bd.
	11	ch	Richard Rawden, Bowling
	14	d	James Sagar, Allerton
	15		Christopher Clarke, Bd.
	25	w	Rodger Pullan, Bd.
	28		Michaell Heminworth, Claton
	31	s	Richard Birkhead, Bd.
		ch	Robert Wilkinson, Bd.
Aug.	1	s	Jonas Ashton, late of Horton
	8	w	Edmond Akeroyde, Bowling
	12	s	Christopher Swaine, Bowling
		ch	James Smith, Horton
	15	ch	Christopher Smith, Horton
	18	w	Christopher Pearson, Calverley pish.
	20	s	Isaac Hollings, Claton
	21		Christopher Pickard, Horton
	23	w	Samuel Hudson, Bd.
	30		Peeter Drake, Bowling Dorothy Hornebee, Calverley pish.
Sept.	3		Richard Pighles, Bd.
	10	w	Jas. Bowker, Bd.
	11	w	Thos. Wilkinson, late of Bd.
	13		Henry Whearter, Bd.
		ch	John Bayly, Bd.
		ch	Francis Drake, Bowling
	18	d	Richard Oddie, Heaton
	20	w	Peeter Jowet, late of Thornton
	22	w	William Kitchen, Bd.
	23	d	Thomas Hodgson, Horton
	24	s	Jonas Smith, Bd.
	26	d	Robert Franke, Bd. Gent.
	27	ch	Hugh Andrew, Bd.
Oct.	1	s	Isaac Murgitroyde, Tireshall
	4		Matthew Hurst, Byerley
	8		John Lumbe, Maningham Mary Pighles, Man.
		ch	Jesper Hardy, Man.
	9	ch	John Higson, Horton
	13	w	Jonathan Jowet, Man.
	15	d	William Rawson, Shipley, Gent.

		Michaell Wormall, Heaton
	20 Margritt	John Hill, late of Bd.
	Alice	w Michaell Metcalfe, late of Bd.
	21 Thomas	s Mathew Milner, Horton
	22 Mary	d John Sharpe, Gt. H.
	28 Timothy	s William Jowet, Man.
	29	William Sowden, Bd.
	Ann	d William Roodes, late of Bd.
Nov.	2 William	s Henry Lilly, Bd.
	5 Sarah	w John Hawkswell, Tong lordshippe
	10	Richard Farrer, Bowleton in Calverley pish.
	12	John Balmeforth, Mann.
	13 James	s Josias Booth, Heaton
	18	Agnes Hodgson, Bd.
	18 John	s John Wilson, late of Bd.
	19	ch Samuel Smalepage, Allerton
	24	William Pullan, Bd.
	Ann	w John Roodes, Horton
	26 The w of	Robert Slator and two children
	29	William Rodley, Bd.
Dec.	3 Martha	w Thomas Marsden, Man.
	4 Grace	w William Wood, Bd.
		William Booth, Shipley
	7	Robert Hill, Bd.
		Abraham Balme, Bowling
		Steephen Hollindrake, Man.
	8	Thomas Watkin, Master of the Free [School], Bd.
	9	Mary Rishforth, Allerton
	Martha	d Jeremiah Smith, Horton
	11	William Jackson, Horton
	12 Frances	d William Greene, late of Bd.
	13 Mary	d Jeremiah Smith, Horton
	21 Joseph	s Francis Pratt, Bd.
	26	William Freeman, Bd.
		Mary Vickars, Bd.
	27 Susana	d John Jowet, Man.
Jan.	6 Margrit	w Thos. Craven, Man.
	10	Abraham Watson, Bd. Saxton
	11	ch Thomas Clough. Horton
	19	James Booth, Bd.
	Mary	w Richard Richardson, Bowling, Gent.
		John Tys, Bowling
	21 Judeth	d John Jackson, Bd.
		ch Richard Birch, Bowling
	22	Richard Riddlesden, Bd.
	24	ch William Pollard, Bd.
	26	Daniell Smith, Bierley
	28	Nathan Binns, Wilsden
	30	ch John Roodes, Bd.
Feb.	1 Jonas	s John Sugden, Horton
	Sarah	d Nicholas Wilkinson, Man.

	2	Hellin	d	John Hollings, late of Bd.
	3	Elizabeth	d	Isaac Sharpe, Lt. H.
		Alice	w	John Cawthera, Bowling
	10		ch	John Longcaster, Bd.
	13	Hester	d	Samuell Akeroyde, Thornton
	15	Sarah	w	Thomas Wilkes, Heaton
	16		ch	Abraham Parkin, Horton
	17			John Jackson, Bd.
	18	Elizabeth	w	John Longcaster, Bd.
			ch	Richard Birch, Horton
		Phabee	d	Abraham Hainworth, Thornton
	19			Judeth Waterhouse, Bd.
			ch	Abraham Jowet, Claton
	20			Richard Jobson, Bowling
	22			Sybell Sugden, Bowling
	23			Martha Bairstow, Bowling
	27	Martha	d	William Jowet, Man.
				Bernard Parkinson, Bd.
March	5	Ruth	w	William Lupton, Bowletton
		William	s	John Mathews, Eccleshell
	11			Ellin Marshall, Heaton
	12		ch	John Bayly, Bd.
	14			John Bairstow, Claiton
	15	Hester	d	Joseph Booth, Bd.
	16		ch	Robert Smith, Bd.
	20	Sarah	w	Thomas Swaine, Horton
1658.	25		ch	Joshua Starkee, late of Bd.
	26			Matthew Dishforth, Bd.
	27	Tobias	s	John Turner, Bd.
April	3		ch	William Brooksbanke, Shipley
	5	Henry	s	William Prockter, Bd.
				Jennit Murgitroyd, Bd.
	8		ch	John Swift, Bd.
			ch	Henry Burnemore, Thornton
	11	Mary	w	Abraham Swaine, late of Horton
	12		ch	Robert Dinison, Bowling
	13		ch	Christopher Swaine, Bowling
	14	Mary	w	John Greave, late of Allerton
		Elizabeth	d	Joseph Nichols, Horton
	18		ch	Robert Sugden, Horton
	19			Katherine Kitchin, Bd.
		Mary	w	John Webster, late of Bd.
	23	Ann	w	Oswell Tennant, Thornton
			ch	Jonas Walker, Bd.
	27	Mary	w	Peeter Pickard, late of Shipley
	30			Robert Sugden, Gt. H.
		Sarah	w	William Burnley, Horton
May	2			Grace Bunie, Bowling
	3	Mary	d	Hugh Sawnderson, Bowling
	5	Sarah	d	Richard Holyday, Bd.
	6	bastard child	of	Richard Tayler, Bd.
	7		ch	John Turner, Bd.

	11	Abraham	s	Abraham Bell, Heaton
	12	Mary	w	Joshua H. King, Wibsey
		Jeremiah	s	Jeremiah Booth, Man.
	13		ch	Lawrence Rawson, Shipley
		Isaac	s	James Whitmar, Claton
	17	Ann	w	Jeremiah Jowet, Bowling
	18	Thomas	s	Richard Holyday, Bd.
	20		ch	John Edickson, Bd.
	22			Lawrence Booth, Bd.
	26	Hellen	w	John Kitchin, Bd.
	28			William Hollings, Claton
June.	2			John Sharpe, Horton, Senior
	16			William Pearson, Man.
	17			William Hey, Senr., Bd.
		Mary	w	Gilbert Deane, Allerton
	23			John Mortimer, Horton
				John Waterhouse, Man.
	24		ch	Isaac Baime, Horton
	28		ch	William Brooksbank, Shipley
July.	2			John Walker, Horton
	4	John	s	William Walker, Bd.
	11	Mary	w	James Clough, Bd.
	12		ch	Thomas Sugden, Horton
	13			Judeth Baits, Bd.
				Jonas Holdsworth, Horton
	18			Josias Holdsworth, Bd.
		Robert	s	Robert Wilson, late of Bd.
	23	Isaac	s	Isaac Kitchin, Bd.
	24	Sarah	d	Richard Holmes, Bd.
				Sarah Nichols, Bowling
	28	Mary	w	James Mitchell, Bd.
Aug.	4		ch	William Smith, Bd.
	6		w	Gilbert Deane, Allerton
	10			Mary Smalepage, Claton
	17			Thomas Greene, Wibsey
	20	Susanah	w	William Swift, Bierley
		Mary	d	Jeremiah Jowet, Bowling
	24			Peeter Gleadhill, Claton
	27	Margrit	w	Christopher Bell, Horton
	28			Nicholas Allerton, Allerton
	29	Barbera	w	Walther Jobson, Bd.
				James Pollard, Frizinghall
Sep.	1			Hellen Moxon, Bd.
	3			John Claton, Crosley Hall, dyed at Bd.
	4		ch	William Pullan, late of Bd.
	6	Ann	w	Richard Booth, late of Claton
				Ann Hindle, Rushton in Langkinshire
	8			Thomas Padgett, Cayton, a Lankinshire man
	11			Thomas Seizer, Tong lordshippe
	13			Richard Pearson, Allerton

	18		Robert Parker, Heaton
Oct.	1	Mary	w William Crabtree, Heaton
	4		John Gleadhill, Horton
	8		John Maud, Bd.
	8		Margritt Norton, Bd.
	9	Susana	d William Pullan, late of Bd. ch John Smithces, Bowling
	15	William	s M. Hill, late of Wilsden
	16	Elizabeth	d George Shackleton
	18		Jane Mitchell, Allerton
	22		William Shackleton, Allerton
	24		William Jepson, Bd.
	28		ch Joseph Shaw, Bd., unbaptised
Nov.	9		ch Jeremiah Bend, Bowling
	11	Isabell	w Isaac Halmond, late of Man.
	11		ch Richard Ellis, Bd.
	23	Joseph Daniell	s Jeremiah Wood, Bd. s Moses Sykes, Bd.
	24		Mary Barraclough, Bd.
	25		Hellin Booth, Wilsden
Dec.	1		ch John Brigg, Man.
	6	Richard Grace	s Richard Milnes, Eccleshill d Abraham Wilsden, Claton
	8	Judith	w Michaell Carter, Claton
	29	Mary	w Peeter Sunderland, Allerton, Gent.
	30		ch John Miers, Horton
Jan.	2		Samuell Midgley, a stranger
	4		ch Abraham Wilson, Claton
	10		Robert Brewer, Horton
	16		Edward Lang, Claton
	18		George Skale, Shipley
	19		Susanna Rayner, Bd.
	20		Thomas Kitchin, Bd. ch James Roodes, Bd.
	23		ch Thomas Walker, Bd., unbaptised
	26	Grace	w George Dogson, Bd.
	30		ch Abraham Sutcliffe, Horton
Feb.	5		Joshua Watkinson, Bd.
	7		Abraham Sharpe, Calverley pish. John Mitchill, Man.
	10	Samuell	s William Law, Tong lordshippe
	11		ch Lawrence Rawson, Shipley
	18	Ann	w Humphrey Kellit, Eccleshill
	23	Sarah	d Mr. Richard Stanhop, Eccleshill
March	8		Abraham Walker, Bd.
	9	Mary Ann	d William Feild, Bd. w Thomas Swaine, Horton Sarah Mortimer, Claton
	11	Martha	d Mathew Clough, Horton
	16	Martha	w Richard Stankecliffe, Claton
	17		Elizabeth Swaine, Gt. H.
	23		William Green, Frizingall

1659.	25	Susana	d John Walker, Bd.
	26		William Fletcher, Eccleshill Hester Cooke, Horton
April	5		ch Michael Bairstow, Wike
	16		Elizabeth Lillee, Thornton ch Jeremiah Northropp, Man. ch William Rendall, Man.
	23	Margrett	w Richard Thornton, Tong lordshippe
	24	Barbera	John Eastwood, Shipley
	27		Robert Franke, Bd., Gent.
May.	30	Mary	d John Jowet, Heaton
	1	Ann	d Averah Smith, Bd. Nathaniell Tayler, Bd. John Hanson, Wibsey
	13		Thomas Booth, Wilsden
	18		d William Steephenson, Bd.
	22	Elizabeth	Jeremiah Dickson, Heaton
	24		John Eastwood, Shipley John Granger, Bowling Thomas Furth, Gt. H.
	29		w John Wilson, late of Bd.
June	30	Grace	ch Mathew Askwith, Bd.
	2		Thomas Gleadhill, Claton
	3		ch David Parkinson, Bd.
	4	Susana	d Thos. Holdsworth, Bowling
		Agnes	w Edward Brookesbanke, Shipley
	7	Mary	d William Fairebancke, Shipley
	7		ch Michael Clegg, Bd.
	16		Isabell Williamson, Bd.
	20	Sarah	w Mathew Procter, Bowling
		Sarah	w Francis Atkinson, Bd.
	28		ch Nicholas Walker, Bd.
July	1	Ann	w Mathew Hollings, Bd.
	2	Jane	w John Bayly, Bd.
	4	Mary	d Abraham More, Claton
	15	Mary	d Edward Brookesbank, Shipley
		Grace	w Isaac Nichols, Bowling ch Jasper Hardie, Man.
	26	Judeth	w Thomas Brooke, Claton
Aug.	4		ch William Akeham, Bd.
	11		Isaac Wormall, Eccleshill
	17		w John Mathewes, of Eccleshill
	19		ch William Jowett, Heaton Mary Whitwham, Heaton
	20		ch Samuel Smalepage, Allerton
	22	Joshua	s John Hill, Claton
	25		ch Jeremiah Kellit, Horton
	27	Mary	d Mathias Milner, Bd.
	29		Sara Wright, Man. John Thornton, Bd.
	30		d Peeter Metcalfe, Bd.
Sept.	1	Hannah	d John Nichols, Otley pish.
	2	Mary	s Thomas Bower, late of Bd.
	7	Edward	

	Elizabeth	w	Isaac Sharpe, Thornton
	8 Abraham	s	John Burnit, Bd.
	16	ch	Edmond Couper, Allerton
	18	ch	William Fairbancke
	25 John	s	Henry Atkinson, Bd. Prisilla Wilson, Man.
	26 Martha	w	John Smithees, Bowling
		ch	John Hodgson, Bowleton
	30 Margrit	w	Michael Northrop
Oct.	9	w	James Tomis, Horton
	13 Mary	w	John Bairstow, Heaton
	15		Robert Hemmworth, Bd.
	30	ch	Robert Pollard, Bowling
		ch	John Tidswell, Calverley pish.
Nov.	8 Hester	w	Thos. Goldsbrough, Man.
	17 Mary	w	Isaac Wormall, Eccleshill Hugh Holdsworth, Claton
			Peter Garnit, Frizingall
Dec.	29		
	2	ch	Joshua Howleden, Wibsey
	7 Margrit	d	John Booth, Bd.
	8	ch	Samuel Hudson, Bd.
	14 Elizabeth	w	Richard Smith, Bd.
	Isabell	w	Samuel Holmes, Heaton
	22		Leah Craven, Frizingall
	31	ch	George Mortimer, Mann.
Jan.	2 Mary	w	Robert Garnit, Horton
	6		Samuel Holmes, Heaton Alice Stockdayle, Horton
	9		John Pearson, Thornton
	10 Agnes	w	Richard Ragge, Bd.
	14 Elizabeth	w	William Booth, Shipley
	Sarah	w	Robert Vickars, Bd.
	16	ch	John Roodes, Horton Jeremiah Hamond, Horton
	20		James Hillyard, Bd.
	21		John Hillhouse, Bowling
	23 Roose	d	John Hensworth, Bd.
	30	ch	John Hodgson, Bd.
		ch	Robert Shore, Bd. Edward Walker, Bd.
		ch	Leonard Killarbee, Bd.
Feb.	4 John	s	Hugh Saunderson, Bowling
	9		John Jowet, Heaton
	13 Mary	w	William Gleadhill, Horton
	16	w	Elkanah Smith, Bd.
	17 Martha	d	Robert Robinson, Horton
	19	ch	John Balmeforth, Man.
	23 Margrit	w	John Skott, Horton
	25		Richard Stanhope, Eccleshill, Gent. Thomas Chippendayle, Heaton
	26 Grace	w	Godphra Walker, Bd.
	28		Humphrey Sowden, Thornton

	29	John	s John Jackson, Bd. Grace White, Bd.
			ch John Miers, Horton
March	3	Mary	d William Wilkinson, Man.
	7	Bridgit	w Richard Sutcliffe, Man.
	8	John	s Samuel Bower, Bowling
	12		John Craven, Frisingall
	13		John Rayner, Eccleshill
		Susana	d Isaac Sharpe
	18	Thomas	s James Hopkinson, Thornton
	19	John	s William Whitehead, Horton
	22	Mary	d Lawrence Fleemin, Bd.
1660.	26		ch Richard Warde, Bd.
	28	John	s Thos. Squier, Bd.
April	6	Mary	w Isaac Collingson, Bowling
	10		William Woodd, Bd. Jane Metcalfe, Heaton
	11	John	s Richard Greene, Bd.
		Thomas	s William Rawson, Shipley
	12		Mathew Sowden, Horton
	14		ch Thos. Blakeburne, Bd.
	19	Susana	w Stephen Dickson, of Bd.
	20	Margaret	w Christopher Smith, Heaton
	25		Robert Swaine, Bd.
	27		ch Mathew Gelder, Bd.
		David	s George Turner, Bd.
			ch Samuel Holmes, Heaton
	29		ch George Shakleton, Bd.
May	6		ch Mathew Sutcliffe, Claton
			ch John Shiers, Bd.
	7	Grace	w William Emate, Claton
			ch William Cooke, Bd.
	12		ch John Higson, Horton
	13	George	s George Hoppey, Horton
	16		ch Abraham Bell, Heaton
	22		ch Jonas Walker, Bd.
	28	James	s James Sager, Allerton
	29	John	s Thomas Langster, Bierley
	30	Samuel	s Nathaniel Tayler, Bd.
	31		William Brittain, Bd.
June	5	Richard	s Thomas Wilkinson, Man.
	18	Jerimiah	s Humphrey Sugden, Thornton
	22		John Smith, Bd.
		Robert	s Henry Saville, Bowling, Esqir
	23		ch John Lister, Bowling
	26	Thomas	s Humphrey Grainger, Bd.
July	4	Christian	d John Burnit, Bd.
	6		ch John Midgley, Wilsden
	16		John Aked, Halyfax pish.
	20	John	s Abraham More, Claton
	21		Ann Lee, Bd.
	26	John	s Francis Wilkinson, Claton
Aug	1		ch Richard Atkinson, Bd.

	14 James	s John Thornton, late of Bd.
	15	John Wilkinson, Man.
	17	ch James Pearson, Horton
	21	ch William Lister, Junr., Bd.
	22	ch Joseph Metcalfe, Bd.
	25	ch John Tomis, Horton Richard Brathwet, Calverley pish.
	26	ch Samuel Holmes, Heaton
	28	George Hargreaves, Shipley
Sep.	2 Joshua	s Joshua Wilks, Bd.
	James	s James Barnsley, Bd.
	5	John Higson, Gt. Horton
	David	s Edmund Roodes, Wibsey ch James Pearson, Horton
	8 Susanna	w William Brookesbancke, Shipley
	24 Sarah	d Jonas Wood, Bd. ch Robert Pollard, Bowling
Oct.	1 Isaac	s William Hamond, Horton
	8	ch William Wilkinson, Man. ch John Skott, Horton
	11	Elizabeth Horsley, Bd.
	14	ch Joshua Holdin, Wibsey
	18 Steephen	s Richard Tempest, Shipley
	Sara	d John Aked, Halysfax pish.
	23 Two children	John Tayler, Horton
	25	Isabell Illingworth, Man.
	27	ch Joseph Furth, Horton Two children John Tayler, Horton ch Richard Bower, Calverley
	28 Samuel	s John Horsley, Man.
	31 Martha	d William Dawson, Bd.
	Joshua	s John Wilkinson, Man.
Nov.	1	Sisilah Troughton, Bd. ch John Sagar, Bd.
	6	Hellin Booth, Bd.
	7	ch Joshua Shepley, Bd. d Thomas Smith, Bd.
	Sarah	Samuel Horsley, Man.
	11	ch Wm. Parish, Bd.
	13	Hugh Milner, Claton
	15	Mary Stockdayle, Horton
	16 Samuel	s Thos. Sugden, Horton
	18	ch John Burnley, Man. ch Steephen Waterhouse, Bd.
	19 Mary	d Henry Lancaster, Horton
	21	Margrit Darnbrough, Bd. ch Thomas Walmsley, Bd.
	28 Ann	w Joseph Hopkinson, Wilsden
Dec.	3 Mary	w John White, Allerton ch Thomas Bramley, Man. William Iredayle, Man.
	5	Henry
	6	s William Walker, Bd. Elizabeth Tayler, Bd.


	7	Sara	d	Thomas Goldsbrough, Man.
	11	Margrit	w	William Sowden, Eccleshill
	14			James Macham, Bd. Francis Saunderson, Frizingall
	19	Ann	w	Richard Jowett, Bowling
	23	Mary	w	Jonathan Mitchell, Shipley
	26		ch	John Jowett, Heaton John Kirke, Bowling Abraham Tomis, Man.
	27			John Hanson, Horton
	29			Thomas Swain, Junr., Horton
		Mary, late	w	Walther Tayler, Thornton
			ch	Peter Robinson, Man.
			ch	John Collingson, Bowling
	30		ch	John Weddall, Bd., Gent.
Jan.	2		ch	Joshua Nayler, Bowling
	4			Thomas Midgley, Heaton
	5			Edward Robinson, Rowling
		Sara	w	Thomas Dawson, Wibsey
	18		ch	John Craven, Frizingall
	19		ch	William Nayler, Bd.
	26			Jonathan Hardie, Bd.
Feb.	6	Mary	w	John Jowett, Horton
	8	Tobias	s	Joshua Booth, Bd.
	14	Michael	s	Richard Driver, Heaton
			ch	Nicholas Stead, Bd. Richard Ragg, Bd.
	20			Richard Ragg, Bd.
March	5			John Illingworth, Allerton
	9	Grace	w	George Turner, Bd.
	14			Lawrence Rawson, Shipley
			ch	William Kay, Bd. John Jowett, Claton
	15			John Jowett, Claton
	18	Mary	w	John Mortimer, Claton.
1661	25		ch	Mathew Hollings, Bd. Richard Schoolefeild, Bd.
	30			Richard Schoolefeild, Bd.
		Margaret	w	Richard Kent, Bd.
	31	Mercie	d	Richard Driver, Heaton
April	1			John Nichols, Norcroft, Otley parish
		Thomas	s	Hodgson, late of Allerton
			ch	John Woodhead, Bd. Thomas Cordingley, Bowling
	2			Thomas Cordingley, Bowling
	3			Jenit Blakeburn, Bd. Reonald Hindle, Bd.
	4			John Longcaster, Bd.
	6	Ann	w	William Jowitt, Man.
	7		ch	Robert Clark, Bd.
	8			Joshua Craven, Heaton Robert Green, Horton
	9			Sara Lister, Bd.
	16		ch	John Hainworth, Claton
	21	William	s	Abraham Wilks, Man.

CROMWELL IN YORKSHIRE.

BY

BRYAN DALE, M.A.

(Read before the Society, 9th December, 1898.)

 LIVER CROMWELL was born at Huntingdon on the 25th of April, 1599, and died at Whitehall on the 3rd of September, 1658, in the sixtieth year of his age. Notwithstanding the length of time that has elapsed since he ruled the destinies of England, all men are not even yet agreed in their estimate of his character, and cannot heartily join in commemorating his nativity. The proposal made a little while ago for Parliament to set up his statue in Westminster Hall met with so much opposition that it had to be abandoned; but an admirable bust of him by Bernini has been since placed there by the generosity of Mr. Charles Wertheimer. A considerable change in the views largely entertained in former days concerning him has, doubtless, been brought about by the publication of his "Letters and Speeches," by Thomas Carlyle; and the fresh investigations of Professor Gardiner have resulted in what will probably be the final verdict of history. In the introduction to the third volume of his "History of the Great Civil War," he says: "Thus tested, the Cromwell of Lilburn and Wildman shows himself the same man as the Cromwell of the Letters and the Clarke Papers; no divinely inspired hero, indeed, or faultless monster, but a brave, honourable man, striving according to his lights to lead his countrymen into the paths of peace and godliness." In his little book on "Cromwell's Place in History," Professor Gardiner also describes with historical insight and candour the significance of his aims and his permanent influence upon the nation.

It is not the purpose of this paper to attempt a critical estimate of his character, or to review the events of his extraordinary career. My task is the much humbler one of giving some account of the various visits which he paid to Yorkshire in the course of his public activity, adding a few notes that may render this account connected and intelligible.

Oliver was educated at the Grammar School of Huntingdon, of which Dr. Beard, a Puritan, was master; admitted Fellow Commoner to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, April 23rd, 1616, he returned to attend the funeral of his father in the following year, and soon afterwards spent some time in London acquiring a smattering of law for practical purposes. He married in 1620; and two or three years subsequently passed through a peculiar religious experience, of which some conception may be formed from the description given by John Bunyan of his own mental and spiritual struggles at a later date. Thenceforth he became a zealous Puritan, and took an active part in opposition to what he deemed unscriptural doctrines and practices by means of which the work of the Reformation was in imminent danger of being undone, and England restored to the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. Three years afterwards he went to reside at St. Ives; and in 1636 he came into the possession of the estate of his uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, at Ely. In the Parliament of 1628, he was returned member for his native town. The only speech which he is reported to have made in that Parliament struck the keynote of the controversy that ultimately issued in civil war. He said: "He had heard by relation from one Dr. Beard, that Dr. Alabaster had preached flat popery at Paul's Cross, and the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Neile, afterwards Archbishop of York) had commanded him, as his Diocesan, he should preach nothing to the contrary. Mainwaring, so justly censured in this House for his sermons, was by the same Bishop's means preferred to a rich living. If these are the steps to Church preferment, what are we

to expect?" The Parliament was dismissed, and not called again for eleven years. Meanwhile, Laud and Strafford, under Royal sanction, pursued their arbitrary course in Church and State, which had the effect of welding together Puritans and Patriots in determined resistance to religious and civil oppression. The attempt to force the Liturgy upon the people of Scotland roused their Presbyterian zeal; they armed themselves in self-defence, marched across the Tyne and the Tees, and encamped on the borders of Yorkshire. In want of supplies the King at length summoned a Parliament, in which Cromwell sat as member for Cambridge. It was speedily dismissed; but in the following year the celebrated Long Parliament assembled (November 3rd, 1640). Charles' attempt to seize the five members brought him into direct collision with the Parliament, and precipitated the conflict. He left Whitehall, proceeded to York, and on the 18th August, 1642, set up the Royal Standard at Nottingham.

1. Cromwell's first visit to Yorkshire took place at *Hull*, September 26th, 1643. The civil war, it may be remarked, had been practically commenced at the gates of that town. While at York, the King sought to gain possession of the large military stores gathered at Hull in prospect of war with the Scots, and was denied admission; and during the siege that followed the first blood was shed in a sally from the garrison, May, 1642. The Parliamentary forces in Yorkshire were under the command of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, of Denton, near Otley, who with his son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, of Nunappleton, "the hero of the Commonwealth," gained some notable successes. But on the approach of the Royalists in superior numbers under the Earl of Newcastle, the Fairfaxes suffered a disastrous defeat at Adwalton Moor, near Bradford (June 29th, 1643), and were driven to Hull, where they were closely besieged (September 2nd to October 11th). Meanwhile, Cromwell, now over forty years of age, had displayed something of the extraordinary skill and

energy that ultimately placed him at the head of affairs. He was the life and soul of the Eastern Counties' Association, and Colonel of a regiment of cavalry, composed of God-fearing men, trained to the utmost efficiency and forming the nucleus of the famous Ironsides that were never beaten. Having driven the Cavaliers out of his own district he advanced into Lincolnshire, where he stood in urgent need of reinforcements. On the other hand, Sir Thomas Fairfax's horse were worse than useless within the walls of Hull; and on the 26th of September, Cromwell crossed the Humber to consult with Lord Fairfax, the Governor, and the same day returned with Sir Thomas and twenty troops of horse "in a little flotilla, which the besiegers saw with rage carried swiftly beyond the range of their guns." Although his stay was short its result was important, for Lincolnshire was cleared of the enemy and the way prepared for more decisive issues in Yorkshire in the following year.

2. The second visit of Cromwell was in connection with the siege of *York* and the battle of *Marston Moor* (seven miles westward) which took place on the 2nd of July, 1644. In the civil war the Royalists had at first the decided advantage. The Parliament then determined to seek the assistance of the Scots, who were in full sympathy with the English Puritans in their opposition to "Popery and Prelacy." For this purpose five Commissioners (one of whom was Sir Harry Vane, M.P. for Hull) were appointed to visit Edinburgh. On condition of accepting the Solemn League and Covenant "for reformation and defence of religion," they were assured of help; and in the beginning of 1644 an army of 12,000 Scots under the command of the Earl of Leven, marched across the border. The Earl, now Marquis, of Newcastle moved northward to intercept their route: but on hearing of Fairfax's success at Selby, he fell back on York, opening the way for the approach of the Scots. A few months later the two armies stood face to face at

Marston Moor (Tuesday, July 2nd). They were about equally matched, and numbered together 50,000 men. The fight did not begin until seven o'clock in the evening of that summer's day, and by ten o'clock at night it was all over; 4,000 men lay dead upon the field, and a blow was inflicted on the Royalist army which it could never recover. Lieutenant General Cromwell commanded thirty-eight troops of horse on the left wing; and it was chiefly by the onslaught of his Ironsides* that the forces of Prince Rupert were broken and scattered and the victory gained. "We never charged," he wrote, "but we routed the enemy. The left wing which I commanded beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords." York surrendered a fortnight afterwards (July 16th), when the Parliamentary Generals entered the city in solemn procession, and went direct to the Minster where a Psalm was sung, and on the following day a service of thanksgiving was conducted in the Presbyterian manner by Master Robert Douglas, Chaplain of the Earl of Leven. Except in the reduction of several strongly fortified castles, there was no more fighting of any consequence in Yorkshire. The storm of war rolled southward; and Cromwell's victory at Naseby (June 14th, 1645) made the cause of the Parliament triumphant.

There are several traditions of Cromwell's visits to particular places about the time of the battle of Marston Moor. He is, indeed, popularly supposed to have been at places which he certainly never saw, as at Scarborough, where, because an adjacent eminence is called Oliver's Mount, he is believed to have fixed his guns in an attack upon Castle Hill. He is also said to have pursued Sir Richard Graham, who fled wounded from the battle, to his house at Norton Conyers, near Ripon, riding upstairs after him into his bedroom! There is greater probability of his having spent a day

* After his defeat Rupert gave Cromwell the name of Ironside, and about four years afterwards, during the siege of Pontefract, it was applied to his troopers and came into common use.

before the battle at the old Hall at *Menston*, near Denton, then the residence of Colonel Charles Fairfax (brother of Lord Fairfax), who was brought up to the law, and like the rest of his family took the Parliamentary side. Cromwell sought, it is supposed, to gain from him intelligence concerning the nature of the country in which a battle was imminent, and they held a consultation around a stone table in the garden east of the Hall. This table, along with the sword he carried at Marston Moor, the hat he wore, his watch and other relics, were subsequently conveyed to Farnley Hall where they yet remain.

There is also a tradition that before or after the battle, his Ironsides were quartered at Killinghall, in the parish of Ripley (near Knaresborough), and that on his arriving there he sent a message to Sir William Ingilby, expressing his wish to spend the night at *Ripley Castle*; but Lady Ingilby, in the absence of her husband, declined the honour, and declared her readiness to defend the place against all attacks. The officer who brought the message, being a relative of the family, at length prevailed upon her to receive the General; which she did at the gate of the lodge, with a pair of pistols stuck in her apron strings; and, having told him that she expected that neither he nor his soldiers would behave improperly, she led him into the Hall. "There," as the story goes, "sitting or reclining each on a sofa in different parts of the room these two extraordinary personages passed the night, equally jealous of each other's intentions. At his departure in the morning the high-spirited dame caused it to be intimated to the General that it was well he behaved in so peaceable a manner, for had it been otherwise he would not have left the house alive." Cromwell's movements after the surrender of York are somewhat uncertain; but he appears to have gone southward, for he was at *Doncaster* on July 26th, when he rode with a troop of horse from that town to the surrender of *Tickhill Castle* (Markham's *Fairfax*).

3. The next visit of Cromwell was paid about four

years later, just before the battle of Preston, which was fought on the 17th of August, 1648. During the interval many important events occurred. Although the first civil war had been brought to an end the settlement of the kingdom was as far off as ever. The chief obstacle to this was the King himself, who would not consent to a limitation of his royal prerogative or an alteration of the Episcopal government of the Church, and sought to maintain both by the crafty policy of fomenting the differences existing between the Presbyterians and the Independents, the Parliament and the Army. The Parliament, in which Presbyterians formed a majority, was bent on establishing the National Church on a strictly Presbyterian basis, as in Scotland. But Independents, of whom the army was largely composed, demanded a wider religious liberty than the former were disposed to grant. They were (politically considered) the party of Toleration, consisting of men who, whilst holding various opinions, maintained in common the rights of the individual conscience against human authority; and Cromwell was at their head. The King fled to the Scots (1646). He could not, however, be persuaded to take the Covenant, and was delivered up to the Parliamentary Commissioners. It was proposed to disband the army; but the citizen-soldiers were unwilling to disperse until the purposes for which they had taken up arms were accomplished. While negotiating for a settlement with the Parliament, Charles entered into a secret treaty with the Scots, by which he bound himself as the price of their assistance, "to acknowledge the Presbyterian discipline in England for three years, and to suppress the Independents and all other sects." The Duke of Hamilton, accordingly, came southward, at the head of an army of 20,000 men. Major-General Lambert, of Calton Hall in Craven, fell back as he approached; and Capt. Hodgson, of Coley Hall, near Halifax, who was in Lambert's army, tells us how at *Ripon*, "Oliver met us with horse and foot," and inspired the retreating Yorkshiremen with fresh

courage and hope. Cromwell's own account (letter lxiv) is as follows: "After the conjunction of that Party which I brought with me out of Wales with the Northern forces about Knaresborough and Wetherby, hearing that the enemy was advanced with their army into Lancashire, we marched the next day, being the 13th of this instant August, to *Otley*; and on the 14th to *Skipton*; the 15th to *Gisburne*; the 16th to *Hodder Bridge*, over Ribble; where we held a Council of War. That night we quartered the whole army in the field by Stonyhurst Hall, being Mr. Sherburn's house, and very early the next morning we marched towards Preston." On the way they came upon the enemy unexpectedly, and after three days' fighting utterly routed them.

In his letter just quoted Cromwell mentions marching to Gisburn; and a family tradition exists that he and Lambert halted with Sir John Ashton at Gisburn Park, then called the Lower Hall. Whitaker says that he visited Arnoldsbiggin (the Upper Hall), and "to make himself more secure from being taken by the enemy in the night he was secretly conveyed down to the Lower Hall." Sir John Ashton married the widow of Thomas Lister, of Arnoldsbiggin; and the present mansion at Gisburn Park was built in 1724 by another Thomas Lister, the grandfather of the first Lord Ribblesdale. There is now in the mansion a remarkably fine portrait of Cromwell by Sir Peter Lely, and another of Lambert by Walker.

4. Cromwell wrote from Wigan, 23rd August, 1648, to the Committee of York: "I have intelligence even now come to my hands that Duke Hamilton with a wearied body of Horse is drawing towards Pontefract. Major General Lambert, with a very considerable force, pursues him at the heels. I am marching northward with the greatest part of the army." On returning from Lancashire on his way towards the north he spent several days at *Knaresborough* (the castle having been in possession of the Parliamentarians since December 20th, 1644), waiting for Lambert to join the

main army. While here he wrote two of his published letters: one (dated September 1st, 1648) addressed to his "worthy friend," Oliver St. John, Solicitor General; the other (September 2nd) to Philip Lord Wharton (whose Yorkshire seat was at Healaugh, near Tadcaster) with whom he was on intimate terms.

Tradition points to the house immediately opposite the Crown Inn, High Street, as the place where he lodged. It is also believed that he slept at the Manor House, just above the river, in a bed-stead which has been preserved to the present time. He visited the town more than once. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for 1791, appeared the following letter, addressed to the editor:

The late Sir John Goodricke, Bart.,* who died in the year 1789, used to relate an anecdote of Oliver Cromwell, told him when a boy by a very old woman, who had formerly attended his mother, Lady Goodricke, in the capacity of midwife, and who spent most of her latter days at Ribstone Hall. Sir John used to give it thus in her own words:—

"When Cromwell came to lodge at our house in Knaresborough I was then but a young girl. Having heard much talk about the man, I looked at him with wonder. Being ordered to take a pan of coals and air his bed, I could not, during the operation, forbear peeping over my shoulder several times to observe this extraordinary person, who was seated at the far side of the room untying his garters. Having aired the bed, I went out, and shutting the door after me, stopped; and, peeping through the keyhole, I saw him rise from his seat, advance to the bed, and fall on his knees, in which attitude I left him for some time; when, returning again, I found him still at prayer; and this was his custom every night so long as he stayed at our house."

The person who related this to Sir John Goodricke was Ellenor Ellis, whose father owned the house before-mentioned. She was born, as appears by the Parish Register, June 30th, 1632, and was therefore twelve years old at the siege of Knaresborough Castle. She afterwards married a Mr. Fishwick, had several children, and died in the year 1714, aged 82. The house, which stood near the place where the Crown Inn now stands, in the High Street, Knaresborough, was taken down and rebuilt in the year 1764; but care was taken to preserve the floor of the room where Cromwell lay.

*His ancestor, Major-General Goodricke, of Ribstone Park, near Knaresborough, was in the Royalist army, taken prisoner, and confined first at Manchester and then in the Tower, whence he escaped to France, where he resided until the death of Cromwell, when he returned, became M.P. for Thirsk (1659), and died in 1670. Ribstone is noted as the place where the delicious apple called the *Ribstone Pippin* was first cultivated in England; the original tree having been raised there from a pippin brought from France.

In his march northward Cromwell passed through *Northallerton*, where there occurred a little circumstance which is referred to in his letter (lxix) to Sir Thomas, now "Lord Fairfax" (Lord Ferdinando, having died March 14), "General of all the Parliament's Armies," dated Alnwick, September 11th, to the following effect: "Since we lost Lieutenant Colonel Cowell, his wife came to me near Northallerton, much lamenting her loss, and the sad condition she and her children were left in. He was an honest worthy man. He spent himself in your and the kingdom's service. Upon his death-bed he commended this desire to me: That I should befriend his to the Parliament or to your Excellency. His wife will attend you for letters to the Parliament; which I beseech you to take into a tender consideration."

5. On returning from Scotland in October of the same year (1648), Cromwell made a much longer stay in Yorkshire. The occasion of it was the siege of Pontefract Castle, which having been occupied for the Parliament, had been recently surprised by Colonel Morris, and was now held for the king. On the march from Carlisle to Pontefract he wrote a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons from *Boroughbridge*, October 28th, commending a younger son of Lieutenant Colonel Cholmley for appointment to an office which his elder brother had held. On the day after the letter was written (Sunday, October 29th), a small party of Cavaliers sallied forth from the Castle, rode into Doncaster in disguise and murdered Colonel Rainsborough, who had just before been appointed to conduct the siege; so that it was high time for such a source of mischief to be removed.

He arrived at *Byrom Hall* (the seat of Sir John Ramsden*), Ferrybridge, on the 2nd of November. It is stated in an old pamphlet that "Lieutenant General Cromwell is now (November 4th) at Byram House, near Pontefract, and there continues till he hath so

*Sir John was a Royalist, taken prisoner at Selby in 1644, committed to the Tower but subsequently released, and died in Newark Castle, March 27th, 1646.

settled the several posts, as that the enemy may not as they have done break forth plundering and undoing the country." Shortly afterwards he crossed the river and fixed his head-quarters at *Knottingley*; wrote (November 9th) to Colonel Morris, the Governor of Pontefract Castle, summoning him to deliver up his garrison for the use of the Parliament, and on his refusal settled down to consider and employ the necessary means for its reduction. The house in which he stayed was Wildbore Hall, situated a little to the south of St. Botolph's Church, and now demolished, its site being occupied by a row of shops. While at *Knottingley* he wrote several letters (lxxxix—lxxxv), and in one of them (November 20th), addressed to his Excellency the Lord General Fairfax, at St. Albans, he uses these ominous words: "I find in the officers of the regiments a very great sense of the sufferings of this poor kingdom; and in them all a very great zeal to have impartial justice done upon offenders." (See also for letters of a different character *The Two Protectors* by Sir Richard Tangye, page 137.) After a month the Castle still held out; and leaving the siege in the hands of Lambert, Cromwell set out for London where the critical condition of affairs urgently demanded his presence.

The Presbyterian majority of Parliament had entered into fresh negotiations with the King. But "the army was tired of such delusions, seeing clearly that there could be no settled government in England as long as Charles could play fast-and-loose with all parties, and it demanded that he should be brought to justice" (Gardiner). Cromwell arrived at Westminster in the evening of the day on which Pride's Purge of the House of Commons took place (December 6th). He had not taken any direct part in the late political transactions of the army, but he fully concurred in the result. Charles was brought to trial, condemned and executed (January 30th, 1648-9), and England was proclaimed a Commonwealth. The year 1648, said Cromwell in one of his speeches, was "the most

memorable year that this nation ever saw. As the first effect of that memorable year was to lay a foundation by bringing offenders to punishment, so it brought us likewise to a change of Government."

6. His next visit to Yorkshire was in 1650, when on the way to Scotland, before the battle of Dunbar, which occurred on the 3rd of September in that year. Having carried through his terrible campaign in Ireland, he was again in England to meet another threatening danger from the North. The Scots still wanted a Presbyterian King, persuaded the young Prince to take the Covenant, and crowned him at Scone as Charles II. They were evidently bent on asserting by force of arms his claim to the English throne; and as Lord Fairfax could not be induced to lead an army against them and resigned his commission, Cromwell was chosen Commander-in-Chief. On Saturday, the 29th of June, it is recorded: "the Lord General Cromwell went out of London towards the North." At *York* he was hospitably entertained at a public dinner by the Lord Mayor, William Taylor (July 5th): and at the same time the Royal Arms were replaced by those of the Commonwealth. A window on the northern side of the Guildhall commemorates this visit. Nothing further is recorded in connection with it. But the account of Dunbar, given by Capt. Hodgson, may be here quoted: "The General himself comes in the rear of our regiment and commands to incline to the left; that was to take more ground, to be clear of all bodies; and we did so, and horse and foot were engaged all over the field, and the Scots all in confusion: and the sun appearing on the sea, I heard Nol say, 'Now let God arise, and His enemies shall be scattered'; and he, following us as we slowly marched, I heard him say: 'I profess they run'! and then was the Scots' army all in disorder and running, both right wing and left and main battle." The victory was extraordinary and complete.

7. He was again in Yorkshire in the following year, before the battle of Worcester (September 3rd, 1651).

He had remained in Scotland many months to establish order, and reduce to submission the army collected in support of Charles II. At length this army broke up suddenly from Stirling, and with Charles in its midst, marched direct for England, expecting a general Royalist and Presbyterian rising as they came southward. But their expectation was disappointed, and Cromwell advanced steadily in their rear with increasing strength. He marched by way of *York*, *Ripon* (August 18), and *Doncaster*. Some of the ministers in the West Riding were in sympathy with the invaders; and Mr. John Shawe, an eminent minister at Hull, "waiting upon the Lord General Cromwell, then at Doncaster, heard him give express orders to the High Sheriff (Sir Edward Rodes of Great Houghton, ancestor of the late Lord Houghton and the present Earl of Crewe) to look to it; for that he was informed that there was that very day, 20th August, 1651, a meeting of above twenty ministers at or about Leeds, about some consultations against the present Government, and in special to set up the old Cavalier Fast, which the late king had set up, Mr. Wales (of Pudsey) and Mr. Sales (assistant to Mr. Todd at St. John's, Leeds) being to preach; and therefore (said he) I desire you Mr. Sheriff that you would look to it, that as no one should fire houses, so neither the country, &c." "Lord Fairfax, true to his promise that he would defend England against invasion, gathered a force under his own command in Yorkshire. As he passed through Yorkshire by Doncaster and *Rotherham*, his old leader Lord Fairfax met him and rode with him for some miles. At such a time there was no difference between them; and Oliver was cheered by the heartiness with which Fairfax assured him of his co-operation in saving the Commonwealth." (*Cromwelliana*.) At Worcester he overtook the invading army, and extinguished the hope of setting up a Presbyterian king in England. "The dimensions of this mercy" he wrote, "are above my thoughts. It is for aught I know a crowning mercy."

8. It is possible that Cromwell may have been in Yorkshire once more between what he called his "crowning mercy" and his death, exactly seven years later. By an Act of Parliament passed in 1653, marriage was treated as a civil contract (as it had been in the Low Countries since 1590), and required to be performed, after due publication, by a magistrate. And there is preserved in the Parish Church of Kirkby Malham in Craven, a marriage certificate, which states that "the intended marriage between Martin Knowles of Middle House in the parishe of Kirbie-Malhamdale, and Dorothy Hartley of West Marton, was published three several market days in the open markt place att Settle," viz: December 4th, 11th and 18th, 1655, and that the said parties were married the 17th of January, 1656, in the presence of certain witnesses "before me, Oliver Cromwell." The signature appears to be genuine. It is supposed that Cromwell was at the time on a visit to Calton Hall, the seat of Major General Lambert, in the parish of Kirkby Malham. And the date accords with his public activities and his relations with Lambert. When the first Protectorate Parliament was dissolved, the Government was carried on through Major Generals (May, 1655 to September, 1656); and Lambert had charge of the five northern counties. In the second Parliament, of which Lambert was member for the West Riding, the title of King was offered to the Protector and refused (1657); but the course which Lambert pursued in the matter led to an estrangement between him and the Protector, and he was dismissed from the council and the army with a retiring pension of £2,000 a year. The Parliament was dissolved January 20th, 1658; and on the 3rd of September of the same year, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, Cromwell breathed his last.

A terrific tempest raged over England three or four days previously and had scarcely ceased when he expired. Among the preposterous stories which his enemies invented and often gravely related was one to the effect that on condition of obtaining the object of

his ambition, he had sold his soul to the Prince of Darkness, who now came in the raging storm to claim his prey. It is said of Dr. Nettleton, an eminent physician of Halifax, that being in company with several gentlemen, one of them laid great stress on Dean Echard's account of Cromwell selling himself to the devil, affirming that the bargain was intended to be for 21 years, but the devil put a trick upon Oliver by changing the 21 into 12, and then turning suddenly to the Doctor asked him "what could be the devil's motive for so doing?" And the Doctor, without hesitation, replied that "he could not tell, unless the devil was in a hurry to bring about the *Restoration*."

It is believed by many that the remains of Cromwell now rest at Newburgh Priory, near Coxwold, in Yorkshire, formerly the seat of Lord Fauconberg, "a Bellasis, of the Yorkshire kindred so named," who married Lady Mary, a daughter of the Protector; and now the residence of Sir George Orby Wombwell, Bart., whose grandfather succeeded to the Newburgh estates by marriage with Lady Anne Belasysse, daughter of the second Earl of Fauconberg. The account which is usually received, however, is, that a few hours after his death at Whitehall, the body of Cromwell, having been partially embalmed, was wrapped in a sheet of lead and placed in a coffin; that the coffin was removed by night (September 26th) to Somerset House, and conveyed (November 23rd) in a great funeral procession to Westminster Abbey, where it was interred in a vault; and that after the Restoration, by an order of Charles II. (September 12th, 1660) and a Resolution of the House of Commons (December 8th), the coffin was disinterred (January 26th, 1661) in the presence of the Sergeant of the House of Commons, and on the anniversary of the execution of Charles I. (January 30th), drawn upon a hurdle to Tyburn, where the body was pulled out of the coffin, hanged on the gallows till sunset, then taken

down, beheaded, and cast into a deep pit beneath; his head being afterwards set upon a pole on the top of Westminster Hall, whence, after about five and twenty years, it disappeared. In support of the above statement it is said that there was found on the breast of the body exhumed a copper plate, double gilt, inscribed with the name and arms of the Protector, which is now in the possession of the Marquis of Ripon (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1867).

On the other hand, it is asserted that the body of the Protector was (according to a common impression at the time) taken away from Whitehall and buried before the public funeral; and that no satisfactory evidence has ever been afforded of the identity of the body exhumed with that of Cromwell. There is a tradition in the Fauconberg family that Lady Mary, foreseeing that her father's body would not be allowed to rest in peace, obtained possession of it while the coffin remained at Whitehall, or at some subsequent time, and secretly conveyed it to Newburgh. In accordance with this tradition what is called Cromwell's tomb is now shown there. It occupies the end of a narrow chamber at the head of a flight of steep stairs, and consists of an enormous mass of stonework, built and cemented into the walls, apparently with the object of making it impenetrable.

There is also in the long gallery a glass case containing a saddle, holster, pistols, bit and bridle, that belonged to the Protector; and at a short distance from these relics hangs the portrait of his daughter Mary (Wilkinson's *Worthies of Barnsley*; Gill's *History of Easingwold*). The tomb has never been opened, and the present owner of the mansion is not disposed to consent to its being done. There is at least some reason for indulging the persuasion that in this spot not far away from Marston Moor, where his first great victory was achieved, now reposes the dust of one whom Gardiner describes as "the greatest, because the most typical Englishman of all time."

MINISTERS OF
PARISH CHURCHES IN THE WEST RIDING
DURING THE PURITAN REVOLUTION;

WITH NOTES BY

BRYAN DALE, M.A.

A COMPLETE list of the ministers of parish churches and chapels from 1640 to 1662 would be of much interest if it could be obtained. But this is impossible, owing to the great ecclesiastical changes of that period, and deficiencies in the ordinary sources of information. These deficiencies can only be gradually and imperfectly supplied. A small but valuable contribution for this purpose is furnished by a very rare pamphlet, the full title-page of which is as follows :

VINDICIÆ VERITATIS;

or an Unanimous Attestation to God's blessed Truth Revealed in His Word; together with a serious protestation against those Church-desolating and Soul-damning Errors, Heresies and Blasphemies, which of late have come in like a flood upon our Country and Kingdome; Especially against a Toleration of them. Made in pursuance of the Nationall Covenant, By the Ministers of the Gospel within the West Riding of the Countie of York, as a Caution to their flocks and Testimonie to the world of their zeal for and love to Christ's truth and Church. Readily and willingly subscribed, April 6, 1648.

London, Printed by John Macock for Luke Fawne, at the sign of the Parrot in Paul's Church-yard. MDCXLVIII.

The forty-one ministers who appended their signatures to this Unanimous Attestation and Serious Protestation were Puritans in a Presbyterian sense.

Many of them had been episcopally ordained. But they had all taken the Solemn League and Covenant for "the reformation of religion and the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness." They were persuaded (as they here attest) that "the government of the church by Presbyteries and Synods is that particular government which is most agreeable to the Word of God." And they were now looking to Parliament to complete the work of setting up a National Presbyterian Establishment. In addition to other measures, the Parliament had issued (January 29th, 1648, two months before the date of this Attestation) an Order for "the dividing of the several counties into distinct classical Presbyteries." On this order the Yorkshire ministers were "resolved to act, patiently waiting for the full establishment of this Presbyterial Government in all the parts thereof."* Whilst testifying their free and full assent to "the *Confession of Faith* and *Catechism*, presented to both Houses of Parliament for their civil sanction," they now declare :

We abhor and protest against a toleration of all consciences and worship, even Anti-christian, diametrically opposed to the Nationall Covenant; and as we cannot approve or allow of Independency or Erastianism, so we are resolved by the Grace of God never to consent to the toleration of Arrianism, Anti-trinitarianism, Anti-nomianism, Anti-scripturism, Arminianism, Anabaptism, Enthusiasm, Familism, Libertinism, Socinianism, Scepticism, or any other Heresies, Sects, or erroneous opinions whatsoever; but to withstand the same by all lawful ways and means within our places and callings, though to the loss of our liberties, estates, lives, and whatsoever else may be dear unto us, all which we count not too dear to loose for God's Glory, Truth and Gospel."

This is not the place to express approval or disapproval of the claim of these good men to hold "the keys" of discipline within the church, and at the same time to direct "the sword" of the state in smiting down all who did not submit to its authority. But it may be remarked that the Toleration sought by the

* In the margin it is stated "According to a late Ordinance of Parliament the West Riding of Yorkshire, was by the assistance of the Ministers divided into ten Classical Presbyteries, April 6, 1648. But it seems there is yet no return made of them because they have not divided the whole county."

Independents in the Westminster Assembly for their "gathered churches" to meet and govern themselves, and demanded by the citizen-army for every citizen to think and act according to his own judgment without interfering with his neighbours—was the rock on which the National Presbyterian Establishment struck and went to pieces.

We print in italics all the names appended to the *Vindiciæ Veritatis*, and add brief notes concerning them from various sources, chiefly the Parliamentary Survey made under the Commonwealth (about 1650), with a view to identify the men who conformed or did not conform after the Restoration; but of several of them we have little or no information.

1. *Edward Hill, Minister of the Gospel at Creston* (Crofton) near Wakefield, of Christ's College, Cambridge, M.A., vicar of Huddersfield 1619, afterwards rector of Crofton, called in the Parliamentary Survey, "a grave, godly and painfull (painstaking) divine;" ejected by the Act of Uniformity, on the Five Mile Act removed to Shibden near Halifax, being related to the Listers of Shibden Hall. He and his wife died on the same day, January 29th, 1669, "having been married fifty-three years" (tombstone in Halifax Churchyard). "Seven nonconformist ministers laid him in his grave" (O. Heywood). He was uncle to Joseph Lister of the "Autobiography."

2. *Elkanah Wales, Minister of the Gospel at Pudsey*, son of John Wales of Idle, of Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A. 1608; M.A. 1609; at Pudsey 1614, a popular Puritan preacher, much harassed by the Cavaliers in 1643; "a grave and frequent preacher" (Parl. Sur.); ejected in 1662, driven by the Five Mile Act to Leeds, where "this reverend and holy man of God" (Thoresby) died in 1669. He appears to have been the prime mover in the above Attestation, which was subscribed "on the day on which, by the assistance of the ministers, the West Riding was divided into classical presbyteries."

3. *Robert Todd, Minister of the Gospel at Leeds*, born at South Cave, of Jesus College, Cambridge, M.A., ordained by Archbishop Toby Matthew 1621, vicar of Ledsham, lecturer at the Parish Church, Leeds, first incumbent of the new Church, St. John's, "an able and constant preacher" (P.S.); ejected in 1662, and died in 1664. He was father of Cornelius Todd, M.A., vicar of Bilton.

4. *Hu. Everard, Minister of the Gospel at Worsbrough*, near Darfield, son of Sir Richard Everard of Great Waltham, Essex, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, assistant at Sheffield 1645, afterwards minister at Worsbrough, "a constant preacher" (P.S.); when ejected at Hickleton became chaplain to Sir John Jackson of that place; and in his will, proved at York, December 3rd, 1668, recites that he has in the hands of Sir John £500 placed out on the security of the manor of Bolton, and leaves him 20s. to buy a ring as a token of his love.

5. *Richard Calvert, Minister of the Gospel at Selby, M.A.*, vicar of Cawood 1638, died at Selby 1657. Mary Fisher, a Quakeress, late of Selby, spinster, was charged with openly in the Parish Church speaking unto Richard Calvert, clerk, minister there, being in the pulpit and preaching, these words: "Come down. come down, thou painted beast, come down, thou art but a hireling and deludest the people with lies" (York Depositions 1652). He was succeeded by Thomas Burdsall, presented by Richard, Lord Protector, October 27th, 1659, and ejected by the Act of Uniformity.

6. *Edward Richardson, Minister of the Gospel at Rippon, D.D.*, on the dissolution of the collegiate body appointed to preach in the Minster, "a very able and painfull minister" (P.S.); his wife Dorcas (daughter of Julines Hering, lecturer at St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury) was mother of six children, and died August 2nd, 1650, aged twenty-seven (memorial tablet in the

Cathedral). He was displaced at the Restoration, arrested on account of the Farnley Wood Plot (1663) two months before the pretended rising took place, but escaped to Holland, where the agents of the English Government vainly sought to capture him, became pastor of the English Church at Leyden, and died in 1677.

7. *Joshua Witton, Minister of the Gospel at Thornhil*, near Dewsbury, M.A., Cambridge, born at Sowerby, chaplain to Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, by whom he was made rector of Thornhill, "a godly, painfull, preaching minister" (P.S.); a nonconformist in 1662, died at York, June 1st, 1674, aged sixty. He was god-father to Archbishop Tillotson.

8. *William Clarkson, Minister of the Gospel at Addle* (Adel) near Leeds, born at Bradford, chaplain to Lord Fairfax 1644, presented by Henry Arthington to the vicarage of Adel, "a pious and faithful minister" (P.S.), died there in 1660; and was succeeded by Thomas Sharp, M.A., of Bradford. He was uncle to the celebrated David Clarkson, B.D.

9. *Thomas Binkbeck* (Birkbeck) *Minister of the Gospel at Ackworth*, near Pontefract, son of Edward Birkbeck, B.D., rector of Staveley, Derbyshire, assistant minister at Sheffield 1635, vicar 1644 (Edward Browne, a royalist, being displaced on the surrender of the garrison to the Parliamentarians); on the sequestration of Dr. Thomas Bradley he was appointed rector of Ackworth, "a preaching minister" (P.S.); after the Restoration resided among his old friends at Sheffield, where he had license under the King's Declaration of Indulgence (1672) to preach in his own house, as a Presbyterian, and died in 1674.

10. *Jos. (Joseph) Ferret, Minister of the Gospel at Pontefract*, where the Royalist vicar appears to have been displaced at the first siege of the castle by the Parliamentarians, 1644; the Parish Church of All

Saints, situated near the castle, being "ruinated and demolished by the war," he preached at St. Giles' Chapel in the market place (subsequently made the Parish Church); "Mr. Joseph Ferret, a painfull, orthodox and pious minister is Parson there, by confirmation under the great Seal, whose pains have been extraordinary in the work of the ministry" (P.S.); on his removal at the Restoration he was hospitably received by Mr. Ward, at the old mansion called the Court, Tanshelf, where he held religious meetings, and died in 1663, aged sixty-four.

11. *Dan. Clark, Minister of the Gospel at Kirkburton*, previously at Denby; on the removal of Gamaliel Whitaker, the Royalist vicar (who was taken prisoner in the night by a band of Roundhead soldiers, and whose wife was killed in the struggle) he was "appointed to officiate in the church, March 14th, 1643, and to receive the profits of the vicarage for his pains till further orders be taken by Parliament." How long he continued here is unknown.

12. *Christopher Richardson, Minister of the Gospel at Kirk-Heaton*, of Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A. 1637, M.A. 1640, rector of Kirkheaton, 1646 (the preceding rector having refused to sign the Solemn League and Covenant), "a godly well-affected minister" (P.S.); silenced in 1661 (tablet in the Church), subsequently preached in Lassells Hall which he had purchased, chaplain of Mr. William Cotton, of Denby Grange, which was licensed as a Presbyterian meeting, ultimately removed to Liverpool, and died in 1698.

13. *Alexander Robertson, Minister of the Gospel at Sherburn*, where the vicar, Henry Skinne, B.A., was replaced in 1644 by John Denton, whom Robertson "a pious and faithful minister" (P.S.) followed, and was in his turn succeeded by Thomas Johnston, M.A., ejected here.

14. *David Barnes, Minister of the Gospel at Brotherton*, near Ferrybridge, soon afterwards at Birkin on Aire, "a painfull minister" (P.S.), silenced in 1662; no further information.

15. *Hen. Moorehouse, Minister at Castleford*, "an able painfull preaching minister" (P.S.), continued till 1662, a nonconformist eight years, then conformed and became vicar of Rotherham in 1681.

16. *Hen. Horncastle, Minister of the Gospel*, an occasional preacher, possibly the same as Walker, in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, alludes to (after his manner) as "a Lame Sprig one Horncastle who usurped the place" of Mr. Kay at Wragby.

17. *Nath. Rathband, Minister de York, M.A.*, Edinburgh, son of William Rathband, Puritan minister of Blackley Chapel, Lanc., who wrote against the Brownists, at Sowerby 1635, approved by the Westminster Assembly "as fit to be the fourth minister at York" 1645. On the surrender of York, Lord Fairfax appointed four ministers to preach at the Minster and Allhallows-on-the-Pavement. These were Edward Bowles, M.A. (whose name does not appear in this list), Thomas Calvert (No. 19), Nathaniel Rathband, Theodore Hering (No. 20); after Mr. Rathband's removal Peter Williams, and at a later date (March 4th, 1658) Richard Perrot under the seal of Richard, Lord Protector. Rathband was at Prestwich, 1652, rector of Ripley, near Knaresborough, 1655, resigned in 1660. Newcome saw him at York 1665, but he is not named by Calamy among the ejected nonconformists.

18. *St. Charman, Minister of the Gospel at Hims-worth* (Hemsworth) near Pontefract, M.A., presented by the king on a lapse, 1636, "a constant preaching minister" (P.S.); ejected in 1662, died in 1667.

19. *Tho. Calvert, Minister of York*, of Sidney College, Cambridge, M.A., born at York, vicar of Holy Trinity, King's Court, 1638, one of the four preachers

mentioned above; after the Restoration he preached at Allhallows till the Bartholomew Act; after the Five Mile Act he found refuge at Toulston, near Tadcaster (the seat of Lady Barwick), spent his last years at York, and died in 1679. On account of his Hebrew learning he was called Rabbi Calvert, and was the author of many books.

20. *Theod. Hering, Minister of York*, one of the four preachers above named, probably a near relative of Mrs. Richardson (No. 6).

21. *Tho. Hawkesworth, Minister at Hunslet*, of Magdalen College, Cambridge, M.A. 1635; curate at Hunslet 1636, driven away by the Royalist soldiers (Markham's *Fairfax*, p. 92), "a painfull preacher" (P.S.); ejected in 1662, and on the Five Mile Act retired to Alverthorpe Hall, near Wakefield, where he died in 1667. His son Israel Hawkesworth, teacher at the Grammar School, Leeds, was also ejected for his nonconformity.

22. *Joseph Bowde, Minister of the Gospel at Leeds*, lecturer or occasional preacher.

23. *Ric. Foster, Minister at Holbeck*. The chapel was vacant at the time of the Parl. Sur.; but Robert Armitage, curate in 1637, is mentioned by Calamy as ejected here.

24. *Tho. Chapman, Minister at Denton*, a chapel in the parish of Otley, and seat of Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax (who died March 14th, 1648). "He was maintained by the Lord Fairfax, there being no other maintenance" (P.S.). At Newton Kime a Quaker stood up to interrupt him saying: "the prayers of the wicked are an abomination; thou art a hireling and preachest for wages." (York Depositions, 1655.)

25. *J. (James) Fisher, Minister de Sheffield*, vicar 1646 (after Birkbeck No. 9), "an able constant preacher" (P.S.), became "congregational in his

judgment" (Calamy), and while holding his position as vicar was pastor of an Independent Church, which gave rise to "the first society of dissenters in the town of Sheffield" (Hunter). He is the only minister in the list inclined to "the Congregational way." After his ejection (with his three assistants) he was falsely accused of taking part in the Farnley Wood Plot, and frequently imprisoned in York Castle for his nonconformity; worn out by the sufferings he endured he died at Laughton-en-le-Morthing, 1666.

26. *Immanuel Knutton, Minister of Ecclesefield, Sheffield, of Magdalen College, Cambridge, B.A. 1631, at Ecclesefield 1643, "a godly and well deserving minister" (P.S.), buried November 28th, 1655, and succeeded by Rowland Hancock ejected in 1660.*

27. *Samuel Kendal, Minister of Edlington, near Doncaster, M.A., presented by the assigns of Thomas Bosvile, instituted in 1640, "a painfull godly minister" (P.S.).*

28. *Christopher Amgil, Minister of Treeton, near Rotherham. "Mr. Sherland Adams the late parson was cast out of the rectory for delinquency, and allowed £7 per annum, and was replaced by Mr. Amgil, an able preaching minister" (P.S.), who died soon after his ejection "beyond sea" (O. Heywood).*

29. *Luke Clayton, Minister of Rotherham, succeeded the notable John Shawe, M.A., who was driven away by the Royalist army 1643; "a painfull preacher and of good conversation;" after Bartholomew Day he continued to preach till January 1663, no successor having been provided, and was the first minister sent to York Castle for his nonconformity; had license (1672) for his own house at Rotherham as a Presbyterian, died suddenly, June 13th, 1674.*

30. *Thomas Clark, Minister at Rotherham, assistant to Mr. Clayton just named.*

32. *Tim. Ewart, Minister of Broughzel, Conisburgh, M.A. presented 1638, "a constant preacher" P.S. confirmed and died here in 1664.*

33. *John Bridge, Minister at Sheffield, assistant to Mr. Fisher 1646; he went into Lancashire; "Mr. John Bridge brought a testimonial of his holiness of life from the Yorkshire ministers" minutes of the Manchester Classis.*

33. *John Cart, Minister at Hawsorth (Hansworth) near Sheffield, son of the rector whom he succeeded in 1642. "a godly and painfull preacher" (P.S.); after his ejection continued to reside in this obscure parish without molestation, was tutor to the son of Major Taylor of Wallingwells, and died in 1674.*

34. *John Spofford, Minister of the Gospel at Silkston, near Barnsley, "a preaching minister" (P.S.); seventy-four years of age when ejected, Mr. Robert Cotton took him into his house and kept him till his death in 1668.*

35. *Nathaniel Cradock, Minister at Wakefield after the removal of the vicar James Lyster, M.A. (according to Walker "put out for Mr. W.," and restored in 1660). Adam Martindale says (1647) he was proposed as assistant at Wakefield, whereof Mr. Cradock the minister was a man of very good account. In the Parl. Sur. the living is reported as vacant.*

36. *John Noble, Pastor of Kirkesmeaton (Kirk Smeaton), near Pontefract, of Christ's College, Cambridge, M.A., born at Asselby, Howden, at Whitgift 1630, Kirk Smeaton 1646, "an able and painfull preacher" (P.S.), much troubled by disputes with the Quakers; "out on bail for not reading the Book of Common Prayer" (York Depositions); after the death of Mr. Ferret (No. 10) he preached at Pontefract, and had license in 1672 as a Presbyterian teacher in the house of Leonard Ward, Tanshelf, died 1679 aged sixty-eight.*

37. *Timothy Denison, Minister at Normanton*, "a painfull godly preacher" (P.S.).

38. *William Hawden, Minister at Brodsworth*, near Doncaster, born near Leeds, "he faithfully performs the cure" (P.S.); after his ejection he went to Sherburn (No. 13), where he had license in 1672 as a Presbyterian to preach in the White House, in 1685 imprisoned in York Castle, removed to Wakefield; was blind for some years, died in 1699, and was buried at Morley.

39. *John Johnson, Minister at Methley*, "a learned and painfull miuister" (P.S.).

40. *William Meek, Minister of the Gospel*, with no settled place.

41. *Hugh Jennings, Minister of the Gospel at Water-Friston*, near Ferrybridge, "not able for age to discharge the cure" (P.S.).

It may be of interest to notice concerning the above list that three, and doubtless several others, of the number died before the Restoration and the Act of Uniformity; twenty then became Nonconformists; only two conformed, though probably others did so from among those of whom we know nothing.

Of the twenty, more than half had passed away before the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, and only two lived to witness the Act of Toleration in 1689.

DISAPPEARANCE OF ANCIENT BRADFORD LANDMARKS,

BY

CHARLES A. FEDERER, L.C.P.

WITH the completion of the Royal Arcade in Manningham Lane, upon the site immediately in front of *Springfield House*, the disappearance of the latter building has become imminent. Previous to the invasion of the building contractor, in the early part of 1897, the mansion, now completely hidden from sight, occupied a commanding position on the higher part of extensive grounds separated from Manningham Lane by a battlemented wall some sixty yards in length. Its last occupants were the sons and daughter of the late Sir Jacob Behrens, in whose tenancy the estate had been since 1855.

The residence is of some interest historically. In view of the unique financial value of the ground, abutting upon Manningham Lane, as the only open space now available for shop property, the fact is the more significant that about the year 1816, when *Springfield House* was erected, it had not a single companion building upon either side of the road from Piper's Grave (the site of the Yorkshire Penny Bank) onwards in the direction of the Clockhouse. At that period *Springfield House* occupied an isolated position in what would be considered "the country." It was built by John Mann, who, with his brother Thomas, is

said to have been the first stuff merchant in business in Bradford. In the rate-book of the old Lighting and Watching Commissioners for 1804 appears the entry, "Thomas and John Mann, stuff merchants." Their business premises in Kirkgate, which were rated at £31 10s., comprised a retail shop in front—the site of which is now occupied by Goodson's mantle shop—and a warehouse in the rear. The place still bears the name of "Mann Court." The family sprang from Spen Hall, near Cleckheaton. Thomas appears to have been the first to embark in trade in Bradford, and carried on a woollen drapery business in the shop fronting to Kirkgate. He was joined by his brother John in the year 1800, when they commenced the merchandising of worsted stuffs. They also bought an invention for the making of cork legs from one David Haigh, of Silsbridge Lane, and "Mann's legs" were much in requisition. These artificial limbs had a wide reputation, which extended far beyond Bradford, and were in especial demand after the battle of Waterloo. In James' "History of Bradford" it is stated that soon after that famous engagement the Marquis of Anglesey (then Lord Uxbridge) travelled to Bradford from his seat in Staffordshire for the purpose of being supplied with an artificial leg by Mr. Mann. The noble officer was received with many marks of respect, and conducted through the Piece-hall, which nearly adjoined Messrs. Mann's premises. A Russian officer, Colonel Kutusoff, was under Mr. Mann's care at the time, and the two maimed gentlemen had dinner together. The cork-leg business was subsequently disposed of to Mr. Swithenbank, who carried it on for a long while in premises in Toad Lane. In course of time the brothers Mann acquired great wealth. Thomas erected Mannville, in Great Horton Road, where he resided, and was succeeded by his son, Joshua, another son named John residing at Boldshay Hall. John Mann, the elder, built Springfield House, and resided there until his death, in April, 1846. He married, but had no children, and bequeathed the

Springfield House property to his niece, Anne, daughter of his brother, Joseph, of Spen Hall, who married William Masterman Harris, a partner in the Bradford Old Bank, and long a resident in Bradford, the residue of his estate going to three of his nephews. Upon the death of Mr. W. M. Harris, the property passed to his two sons, Rev. Frederick William Harris and Mr. Richard Henry Harris, who in December, 1896, sold the estate to Mr. Destin W. Asman, the present owner. Shortly after Mr. John Mann's death Springfield House became the residence of the late Mr. William Peel, and he continued to occupy it until his removal to Ackworth Park, Pontefract, early in 1854. In 1885 the late Sir Jacob Behrens became the tenant.

The *Piper's Grave* mentioned in the foregoing paragraph comprises the open space in front of the Grammar School and what is now called Manor Row. It may be painful to romantic minds to see the name stripped of every association with murdered and secretly buried Scotch Pipers, but the inexorable facts of history are that in the last century a good Bradford citizen, named Piper, owned and occupied a house and croft on the ground in question, in which he opened a quarry to "grave" out the excellent building stone underlying his property. During the process of digging the foundations of the new Inland Revenue Office, in Manor Row, the workmen were disconcerted on finding that the old building recently pulled down had been built up to the very edge of old Piper's quarry or "grave." The building previously standing on this site was a good old fashioned family dwelling-house, occupied for a great number of years by Mr. John L. Margerison, purchased in 1870 by the trustees of the Bradford Church Literary Institute, let to Her Majesty's Government as Inland Revenue Offices, and finally sold in 1897 to Her Majesty's Government, who last year pulled down the building, and are now engaged in erecting a new and more extensive Revenue Office, covering the site of the old building and of the garden in front.

Bank Bottom Farm, Great Horton, was another old landmark which has recently disappeared. The building is supposed to have been erected about the year 1500. The oldest part of the old farmstead was on the west side, that on the north and east side having been added at a later period. At one time it must have been a residence of some importance in Horton, and was surrounded by a number of noble ash trees. The situation, too, must have been very pleasant prior to the construction of the new road to Halifax in 1807. Previous to that date the means of transit from Leeds and Bradford to Halifax was by the old road close by. This old road still exists, although in a much improved condition to that in which it was when it formed a portion of the highway and coach road from Bradford to Halifax. In olden times, when the coaches were pulled up the steep ascent by four and sometimes six horses, it was in a shocking state, and was so narrow as not to permit of more than one vehicle going along at a time. It was also indented by deep ruts, and horses have been known to fall dead with the exertion required to pull up the coaches. About half-way up the old road there stood an old hostelry called the Three Blue Bells, said to have been the only inn between Bradford and Halifax, and it was the posting-house for the coaches and stage wagons. The next old inn in the district was the King's Arms Inn, High Street, Great Horton, erected by Gilbert Brooksbank in 1739, and now owned by Messrs. M. Stocks & Co. The last landlord of the Three Blue Bells was Robert Fox. The licence was afterwards removed to the house belonging to the Blamires family a little higher up the road, subsequently to Bank Top, to an inn known as the Dog and Gun, and now called the Crown Inn. The old hostelry still stands, but in a very dilapidated condition, and, with the farm adjoining, belongs to Sir Francis Sharp Powell, Bart., M.P. Bank Bottom Farm formerly belonged to the late Mr. John Ramsden, but a few years ago passed into the possession of the Bradford Old Bank, and the buildings were finally pulled down in the early part of 1896.

Another edifice, connected with the educational and social life of the town, was the *Bradford School of Industry*, adjoining the Greyhound Inn in Northgate, nearly opposite John Street, which disappeared a few years ago. The charity was found in 1807 as a school for the instruction of poor children in education, industry, and the doctrine of the Church of England, and was carried on successfully until the passing of the Elementary Education Act of 1891, when the subscriptions practically ceased and the children were attending other free schools in Bradford. As a consequence the trustees had the property thrown upon their hands. A meeting of the last subscribers of the charity was held in October, 1892, when a resolution was passed authorising, with the sanction of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice, a sale of the property, the proceeds of which, with one exception, it was proposed to hand over to the Bradford Orphan Girls' Home. With regard to the mistress of the school, who had served the trustees faithfully for fifteen years, it was resolved to give her £50 out of the proceeds of the sale besides a small sum remaining in the hands of the treasurer. The assent of the Court of Chancery having been obtained to the sale of the estate and to the disposal of the proceeds, the property was purchased by Mr. D. W. Asman, who about the same time became also the possessor of the adjoining Greyhound Inn property. Both buildings were pulled down in 1894, to make room for a row of modern shops, but the stone tablet which surmounted the door of the school and on which was recorded the date of erection and the purposes of the Institution, has been preserved by Mr. Asman, who also caused photographs to be taken of both buildings previous to demolition, which he handsomely presented to the Council of the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.



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The annual subscription for membership is 7s., and includes a free copy of the "Bradford Antiquary" which is published annually in July. Back volumes and parts of the "Bradford Antiquary" may be obtained from the Hon. Librarian or from the printer, at the rate of 2s. 6d. for each part. Intending members are requested to communicate with the Hon. Corresponding Secretary who will supply every information.



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The
Bradford
Antiquary.



THE JOURNAL OF THE
Bradford Historical and Antiquarian
SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES. PART V. JULY, 1900.

Editorial Secretary :—
PROFESSOR FEDDERER, L.C.P., 8, HALLFIELD ROAD, BRADFORD.

Entered at Stationers' Hall.

Price 2/6 net.

BRADFORD:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY G. F. SEWELL,
52, GODWIN STREET.

NON-PAROCHIAL REGISTERS IN YORKSHIRE.

BY
BRYAN DALE, M.A.

(Read before the Society 2nd February, 1900.)

OF Parish Registers it has been remarked: "they are invaluable, not only as legal evidence, but as materials for historical, topographical, genealogical and biographical inquiry."* Although the Registers kept in connection with Places of Public Worship other than Parish Churches and Chapels, can hardly be compared with them in point of antiquity and extent, yet they are of considerable interest and importance.

Between eight and nine thousand Non-Parochial Registers, extending over a period of about two centuries, are in the custody of the Registrar General at Somerset House, London; and a complete List of them is printed (London, 1859, fol.). This List indicates the locality and name of each Place of Worship, the Religious Denomination to which it belonged, the date of its Foundation, and the name of its Minister at the time when the Register was surrendered; also, whether the Register is one of births, baptisms, deaths, burials or marriages, and the period over which it extends. The chief purpose of this paper is to furnish some account of these Non-Parochial Registers, so far as they pertain to Yorkshire.† But before doing so it may be well to refer to the subject

* *The History of Parish Registers in England*, by J. S. Burn, 1862, page 248.

† The List of Yorkshire Registers is reprinted in *The Yorkshire County Magazine*, vol. ii., 1892; vol. iii. (Society of Friends), 1893.

of registration generally, and the means by which these Registers were collected and deposited in their present resting place.

I.

1. Before the Reformation, as need scarcely be stated, England was professedly of one religion. The Roman Catholic Church exercised supreme control over all persons from their entrance into life to their exit from it, and even after. No system of general registration was, however, adopted. Only incidentally or for special purposes were the christenings, weddings or burials of particular persons recorded in the Missals and Psalteries of Churches or in the Obituaries of Monasteries. But soon after the general dissolution of Monasteries, viz., in the year 1538 (September 29), Thomas Lord Cromwell, vicegerent of Henry VIII., "Defensor of the Faith and in earth Supream Head under Christ of the Church of England," issued an Injunction requiring the parson, vicar or curate of every parish to keep a book or register, and record therein every Sunday "all the weddings, christenings and burials made the whole week before," under a penalty of 3s. 4d. for every omission, "to be employed on the reparation of the Church." This was the first step taken towards a system of general registration, which was only fully carried out, under greatly altered conditions, three centuries later,

In consequence of the Injunction referred to, 812 Parochial Registers are known to have been commenced. Forty of these contained entries of an earlier date, but such entries were doubtless taken from memoranda made before the Registers properly began. Few of the original Registers of 1538 are extant, the Registers that bear this date being for the most part later transcripts on parchment from the paper books at first used.* The Injunction was regarded with much popular distrust as an occasion of imposing additional burdens of taxation ;

* The Registers of Burton Fleming printed by the "Yorkshire Parish Register Society" (1899) commence with this year ; the Bradford Registers not until 1596.

and was very reluctantly and partially obeyed by the clergy. Hence many other urgent injunctions of a similar nature followed. At length, in 1597 (Oct. 25th), the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury made a new constitution (canon 20) concerning the proper keeping of Parochial Registers, and also the transmission of transcripts of them to the Bishop's Registry. Another ecclesiastical mandate directed that in every parish a parchment book should be provided, "wherein shall be written the day and year of every christening, wedding and burial, which have been in that parish since the time that the law was first made in that behalf, so far as the ancient books thereof can be procured," and that it should be kept in "one sure coffer with three locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with the minister, and the other two with the churchwardens severally." And by the first year of James I. (1603) over 5000 Parish Registers had been commenced, one half of them being still in existence.

2. Then came the Puritan Revolution, in which the Monarchy was overthrown and the National Church reconstructed. Whilst a great change took place among the clergy and in the form of public worship no alteration was effected for some years in the manner in which the Parochial Registers were kept, except that by an ordinance of the Long Parliament in 1644 the time of *birth*, as well as baptism, and of *death* as well as burial was ordered to be "written in a fair Register Book of velim, to be kept by the minister and other officers of the church." But when Oliver Cromwell became Protector, in 1653, registration was for the first time regulated by Act of Parliament. Owing to the prevalent neglect of baptism (many persons like the Baptists disapproving of the baptism of infants, and others like the Quakers disapproving of baptism altogether) only births, not baptisms, were henceforth to be registered. The tendency to separate ecclesiastical from civil affairs appears in the provision for appointing in each parish a lay Registrar, or as he was called a *Register* or register-man ; and still

more fully in a new law with respect to the marriage ceremony. Heretofore "marriage was regarded as a religious contract which fell within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Church, and the duties of celebrating and registering marriages were strictly reserved to the clergy; but the abolition of the Bishops' Courts, which had the sole cognizance of matrimonial causes, made legislation imperative."* The course now pursued was for the State to deal with marriages as a civil contract, and to put its legal performance in the hands of appointed civil officers. This had been done in the Netherlands long before, and in New England more recently. William Bradford (a native of Austerfield in Yorkshire, one of the "Pilgrim Fathers" who sailed in the *Mayflower* to New England in 1620, and subsequently chosen Governor) has the following passage in his *History of the Plymouth Plantation* :

1621, May 12 was the first marriage in this place; which according to the laudable custom of the Low Countries, in which they had lived was thought most requisite to be performed by the Magistrate; as being a civil thing, upon which many questions about inheritances do depend, with other things most proper to its cognizance; and most consonant to the Scriptures, Ruth iv.; and nowhere found in the gospel to be laid on the ministers as a part of their office. "This decree or law about marriage was published by the States of the Low Countries, anno 1590: that those of any religion (after lawful and open publication) coming before the Magistrates in the Town or Statehouse were to be orderly by them married one to another" (*Petel's Hist.*, fol. 1029).

And this practice hath continued amongst not only them, but hath been followed by all the famous Churches of Christ in these parts to this time (1646).

By an Act of the Little Parliament, usually called Barebone's Parliament, it was enacted (August 24, 1653) that the names of persons intending to be married must be published by the Registrar on three Lord's Days in a Church or Chapel, or on three market-days in the nearest market-place; and on the presentation of a certificate thereof to a Justice of the Peace, such persons must make a brief declaration before him according to a

* *Parish Registers*, by R. E. C. Waters, B.A., 1887.

prescribed form ;* whereupon the Justice was to declare them husband and wife. Nothing is said about the use of the marriage-ring, to which the Puritans commonly objected as a heathenish custom. The Registrar was to be chosen at a meeting of the inhabitants of the parish, and sworn by a local magistrate ; he was to have the custody of former Registers ; to enter in a book of good vellum or parchment, provided by the parish, all banns and marriages, and all births and burials ; and to furnish certificates of the same. On the confirmation of this Act three years later a clause, to the effect that no marriage except such as was performed by a Magistrate should be deemed legal, was omitted. And in deference to the popular sentiment that a religious service should be associated with the civil contract, it was common during the remaining years of the Protectorate for a magistrate and minister to act together in performing the ceremony. It is worthy of note that in this, as in many other matters, the lines laid down during the Protectorate have been largely followed by more recent legislation.

3. At the Restoration of Charles II. the exclusive control of registration again fell into the hands of the clergy of the Anglican Church. In some instances the old Parochial Registers were destroyed or lost during the civil war. In others we often find a note inserted by a restored or newly appointed incumbent, reflecting strongly on the late government, on his predecessor as an unworthy "intruder," or on the incapacity of the lay registrar. In the Register at Castleford, over one entry of the name of Henry Moorehouse, the minister, the word *usurper* is written by a later hand ; and at Thornhill, to the memorandum : "Nov. 8 1662 Dr. Will Lacy inducted into the rectory," is added "and Joshua Witton *overhauled*." The following entry occurs at Aldborough :

* For the man, "I, A. B., do here in the presence of God the Searcher of all hearts take thee C. D. for my wedded wife, and do also in the presence of God and before these witnesses here present promise to be unto thee a loving and faithful husband." The woman in like manner "to be a loving, faithful and obedient wife."

From the year 1653 till 1659 the Registers were made by Cromwell's Justices of the Peace, whom that impious arch Rebill (Oliver Cromwell) appointed out of the basest hypocrites and dissemblers with God and man; the manner of whose Certificates I do here register—one from Thomas Dickenson [Lord Mayor of York] whom Cromwell made believe he had knighted, that is, according to the certificate written and attested by the Parish Registers, with others, as follows: This certificate that William Dove and Elizabeth Clemetshaw, both of the town and parish of Aldborough, came this day before me Mr. S^r Thomas Dickenson, Esq^r! one of the Justices of the Peace; Whereupon the said William Dove did take for his wife the said Elizabeth Clemetshaw, and she did take for her husband the said William Dove.

At the commencement of the Parish Register of Woodchurch (West Ardsley) there is the following note, written by Anthony Cooper, the vicar (1662): "All these I found confusedly registered by Isaac Serjeant, sworn registrar *in diebus Oliver sancti Tyranni*, and have digested them in this manner." Whatever may have been the carelessness or confusion exhibited by Isaac Sergeant in performing his duties, "the Register books from 1653 to 1660 were kept exceptionally well" (Waters.) The ministers who were deprived of their livings by the Act of Uniformity held conventicles or unauthorised religious meetings outside the Parish Churches; and notwithstanding the severe measures adopted for their suppression, such meetings increased, especially after the King's Declaration of Indulgence in 1672. Nonconformist ministers officiated at the baptism of children in private houses; they preached funeral sermons for their hearers, when laid by the vicar or curate in the Parish Churchyard (a separate burial ground being seldom possessed); they even ventured to perform the marriage ceremony, in the absence of express legal prohibition to the contrary. In his Diary Oliver Heywood records (May 17, 1678): "I stayed at home; forenoon, married a couple." This couple, we find from his private Register, were "John Ellis of Morley and Elizabeth Pierson of Tingley," and they "were published at Woodkirk." It may be mentioned that in the year last referred to (1678), for "lessening the importation of linen from beyond sea and encouragement of woollen

and paper manufactures in this kingdom," an Act of Parliament was passed for burying in woollen (instead of linen as had been customary from ancient times), and an entry was to be made in the Parish Register that the enactment had been fulfilled. This measure was not popular and was often evaded. Oliver Heywood tells a story of a shrewd Quaker, named Abraham Hodgson, near Halifax, who buried a daughter in linen, gave 50s. to the poor according to the Act, and then went to Justice Farrar, informed him of it and claimed 50s. for himself as the informer ! (Diary ii., 260). Only a small number of Non-Parochial Registers, however, were kept (or have been preserved) during the long interval of repression and persecution that elapsed between the Restoration and the Revolution of 1688.

4. A few further particulars concerning the general subject must be given. It is a matter of curious interest to observe how, notwithstanding the Act of Toleration recognised Nonconformists, or Protestant Dissenters, as "separate communities in the State," subsequent legislation totally ignored their existence, and proceeded on the fictitious assumption that the whole population was baptised, married, buried and registered at the Parish Church ; and how, whilst upholding the peculiar privileges of the clergy of the Established Church it made use of them as convenient agents for replenishing the national exchequer.

Under William III. (1694) registration was made a basis of a graduated scale of taxation "for a term of five years for carrying on the war against France with vigour." A tax was levied on every person registered, the lowest amount being "for and upon the birth of every person" 2s., which gradually increased according to social status or real and personal estate, until for the birth of the eldest son of a Duke £30 had to be paid to Government. Similarly with respect to Burials and Marriages ; whilst every Bachelor above 25 years old had to pay 1s. yearly, and every Widower the same, the clergy were required to keep a Register of "every

person buried, christened or born in their respective parishes" under a penalty of £100 for every omission; and in consequence of frequent evasions of the law all parents were required (1695) to give notice to the vicar of the parish of the day on which each child was born, and to pay him sixpence for every entry in the Parish Register. In this way the names of great numbers of Dissenters found a place in the Parish Register, though they were strangers to the Parish Church; and even when the ground of the requirement no longer existed they continued to be entered therein, and the fee claimed. In the Diary of Peter Walkden, a nonconformist minister at Newton in Bowland, we find the following statement:

1729 Oct. 25. This afternoon William Dilworth [parish clerk] came to me; he said Mr. Clarkson [vicar of Chipping] had sent him to inquire what children I had baptised within the parish these three years past. I gave him account of 2 of Ralph Ellison's, 2 of James Procter's, 2 of Henry Graves's, one of Richard Parkinson's, and one of mine own, viz., daughter Catherine. I paid him for Catherine's baptism viz. 6d., and he went his way.

As previously mentioned the marriage ceremony was occasionally performed in a nonconformist meeting-house; either because the parish clergyman refused to perform it, or from personal preference. One instance of this nature has been already given, and to this others may be added from the same source:

Mr. Nicholas Kershaw preacher in Craven and Anne daughter of John Wilkinson of Houghton in Craven married May 20, 1690 in Mixenden [where there was no Parochial Church or Chapel, but only a nonconformist meeting house].

Thomas Farrand of Bradford and Judith Scarborough married at my meeting-place, Aug. 25, 1690.

Antony Naylor of Warley and Jane d. James Baumford of Ratchdal at my chappel Dec. 16, 1691 (Diar. 11. 135).

But much more serious irregularities took place in the clandestine marriages performed within the precincts of the Fleet Prison, and elsewhere. And these led to the passing of an Act known as *Lord Hardwicke's Act* in 1753, by which all marriages, except those of Jews and Quakers, were made illegal, unless solemnised in a Church or

Chapel where banns had been usually published, and according to certain other conditions.

Henceforth all references to the ceremony completely disappear from Non-Parochial Registers, with the exception just noted, and all nonconformists who would be joined together in matrimony were compelled to repair to the Parish Church and there bow their necks to the yoke ; or else to flee beyond the border and be married according to Scotch law.

At a later date (1783) registration was again made a means of taxation. By what was called the *Stamp Act* a duty of 3d. was imposed on the entry of every burial, marriage, birth or christening in the Parish Register ; the incumbent being made the collector of the tax, and receiving 2s. in the pound for his trouble. Its provisions were subsequently (1785) extended to Non-Parochial Registers, at the instance of Nonconformists themselves, and on the understanding that their Registers, if a government stamp were affixed to them, would be admissible as legal evidence, and thus placed on the same footing as Parish Registers. But, as Burn remarks, though they went on for ten years paying the price, they did not obtain their object.

Finally, in 1812 an important Act, usually called *Rose's Act*, was passed "for the better regulating and preserving Parish Registers," which in the main continues operative at the present time ; but since it has no relation to the special purpose of this paper it need not be further explained.

II.

The collection of Non-Parochial Registers and their certification by public authority as reliable evidence were largely due to the growth of nonconformists in numbers and influence at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was also a natural outcome of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (1826), and other measures affecting their legal status. In 1828 Lord Nugent gave notice in the House of Commons of his intention to bring in a

Bill in the next Session of Parliament "for instituting a Register of the births of children of Dissenters," but nothing came of it. In the first session of the Reformed Parliament (1833) a select Committee was appointed, in consequence of a Petition presented by Dissenters, for enquiring into the actual state of Parish Registers, and advising on an improved scheme of general registration. Its Report showed that those Registers had woefully suffered from neglect and reckless destruction; it also declared that a system by which registration and marriage were under the control of the clergy of the National Church, was "exclusive and intolerant" in the face of the fact that it was no longer practically the Church of the whole nation; and it recommended the adoption of a truly National Civil Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths. In accordance with this recommendation two Bills were brought in by Lord John Russell three years afterwards (August, 1836). One of them provided for a uniform registration of births, deaths and marriages, and the appointment of public officers to carry out its provisions; the other for the performance of the marriage ceremony under certain restrictions in the presence of an appointed Registrar either in his own office, or in any Dissenting Place of Worship with such religious services as might be desired. These Bills became Acts of Parliament, and came into operation July 1st, 1837, a few days after the accession of her present Majesty. It was not the least of the signs of the commencement of an era of more just and equal laws by which her reign has been distinguished.

2. Immediately after the General Registration Act was passed a Royal Commission was appointed (Sept. 13, 1836) for enquiring into the state, custody, and authenticity of Registers other than Parochial, and recommending proper means for their collection and arrangement, and "for giving full force and effect as evidence in all Courts of Justice to all such Registers as are found accurate and faithful." Mr. J. S. Burn was appointed Secretary of the Commission, and issued a circular (Dec. 2, 1836) to ministers and

others having the custody of the Registers belonging to all nonconformist churches or congregations, explaining the purpose of the Commission, seeking information, in reply to a paper of questions enclosed, and urging the transmission of such Registers for examination. No penalty was attached to neglect or refusal, but a general disposition to comply with the request was evinced. In many instances it was found that the older Registers were lost beyond recovery ; in others that they were in private hands ; and whilst for the most part carefully kept they were often quite as much neglected as the Parish Registers had been. When received they were classified in counties and entered in a Book, with notes of particulars applicable to their state and custody. They were then submitted to the inspection of the Board, and the Chairman affixed his signature to the first and last entry, or to such parts as were deemed original and authentic. Their Report was presented June 18, 1838 ; and shortly afterwards (August 10, 1840) an Act was passed by which Non-Parochial Registers were admitted as evidence in Courts of Justice, and deposited with the Registrar-General. The Report stated that about 7000 Register Books from upwards of 3600 religious congregations in England and Wales, besides about 1500 Registers from the Society of Friends, from Dr. Williams' Library, and from other sources were, after careful examination and enquiry, pronounced to be authentic and admissible. Of the 3600 congregations alluded to 2264 belonged to what were usually called "the three denominations," viz. Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist ; and the rest for the most part to the Wesleyan Methodists in their several branches. The Jews refused to part with their Registers which had been kept with great care since they were permitted to settle in England by Oliver Cromwell. Cardinal Wiseman, on behalf of the Roman Catholics, also declined ; but a considerable number of their Registers nevertheless appear in the printed List. The Society of Friends at first hesitated and afterwards consented. "They are particularly careful," says Burn,

“in causing notes to be sent to their monthly and quarterly Meetings of all Births, Marriages and Burials of and connected with the members of their community. These Records were sent in 1837 from the various Meetings in the country, to the Chief Office of the Society in London ; they were there arranged and indexed, and in 1840 deposited at Somerset House.” At a later date many of their Registers, which had been previously overlooked, were discovered in various parts of the country ; a second Royal Commission was appointed (1857) to authenticate them ; and 303 were reported upon, and by Act of Parliament placed on the same footing as the others.

3. Since the Registration Act came into force there has not been the same necessity as before of keeping separate Registers at nonconformist Places of Worship ; and when this is continued it is simply for convenient use in respect to the baptism of children where that ceremony is observed, or to burials where a burial-ground is possessed. In most cases copies of the Non-Parochial Registers which were sent to the Secretary of the Commission have been retained ; and the originals may be inspected at Somerset House on payment of certain fees. The custody of the Registers is of course but a small portion of the important duties of the Registrar General ; and, owing to lack of accommodation in his Office, it is only possible to obtain permission to a very limited extent, for a general search for literary purposes. This is greatly to be regretted ; and although (as I readily acknowledge) having obtained permission, every facility was furnished me for examining particular Registers, during such visits as I was able to pay, it is very desirable that these Registers should be open to easier and more convenient access for such purposes.

III.

From the List of Non-Parochial Registers kept in Yorkshire previous to the General Registration Act, it appears that (in addition to 192 of the Society of Friends)

there are 740 Register Books connected with 438 congregations. Of these congregations only 17 are designated Presbyterian (having been founded by "orthodox" Presbyterians about two centuries ago and long since become Unitarian), 143 Independent, and 49 Baptist; 134 are designated Wesleyan Methodist, 17 New Connexion Methodist, 15 Primitive Methodist; about a dozen by various other names; and 50 are classified as Roman Catholic. These figures afford little reliable information on the relative position of different denominations seventy years ago, inasmuch as some of the older nonconformist congregations had then become extinct, and many of the congregations more recently formed kept no Registers, or did not send them to the Commission; still less are they any indication of it at the present time.

In further considering these Registers it will be convenient to arrange them in successive periods according to the time of their origin.

1. The Puritan Revolution (1640—1660). In the Report of the Commission on Registers other than Parochial (1838), it was stated: "Some of the earlier Registers of the Independents and Baptists had their origin during the troubles which occurred in the reign of Charles I. But the Registers of this early date are rare." So far as Yorkshire is concerned, they are indeed rare. Without taking into account those of the Society of Friends, there is only one which properly belongs to this period, viz., the Topcliffe Register, to be presently noticed. But it must be borne in mind that the Registers kept by ministers of Presbyterian or Independent sentiments, who held Parish livings during the Commonwealth, formed part of the Parish Registers, and are commonly found among them. Even when an Independent or Baptist church or religious society was formed outside the Parish assembly, as sometimes occurred, it was seldom deemed necessary to keep a separate Register of the baptism or burial of its members. This accounts for the rarity of Non-Parochial Registers during the Puritan

Revolution. The *Northowram Register*, which is not in Somerset House, but has been published,* contains numerous entries as early as 1644; but these entries appear to have been made by Curates of Coley Chapelry as a part of their parochial duty, and should have been found, if they are not, in the Parish Registers of Halifax.

It may be here observed that the dates of the *Foundation* of Places of Worship or Congregations, as given in the List, are not reliable. They appear to have been set down, in many instances at a guess, and to have little or no relation to the actual *commencement* of the Registers. Nor is this commencement always accurately indicated by the figures contained in the List pertaining to the period over which the Register extends. A Register of the Society of Friends at Malton bears the date of 1621, which was three years before George Fox was born; but this date denotes, of course, not the actual commencement of the Register, but the year of the birth of one of the members of the Society; and many other instances of a similar kind occur.

The *Topcliffe Register*, previously mentioned, and erroneously placed in the List under the heading of Morley, extends from 1665 to 1746.† It belonged to a Congregational Church which according to the express testimony of Oliver Heywood (Diary ii., 244) was formed

* This valuable Register, edited by Mr. Horsfall Turner (Brighouse, 1881), can hardly be said to commence before 1672, when Oliver Heywood (who came to Coley in 1650) had license for preaching in his own house. After his death in 1702 it was continued by his successor, Thomas Dickenson, until his decease in 1748, a few entries being subsequently made by other hands. The original manuscript was transmitted by Mr. White, the minister of Heywood Chapel, Northowram, to Mr. Joshua Wilson of London, "on consideration of his giving £5 to the new Chapel" (1837) by whom it was given to the Congregational Library, Memorial Hall, London. It was probably not submitted to the inspection of the Commission, and if it had been it could scarcely be authenticated as legal evidence (except in some parts), because of its extensive range and second hand testimony. The Register of the Northowram Chapel now in Somerset House commences in 1744.

† It is published under the title of *The Topcliffe and Morley Registers* by William Smith, F.S.A.S., London, 1888. The names are unfortunately printed not from the original Register but from an imperfect copy of it retained at Morley. Hence many curious mistakes occur therein, as e.g. the alteration of the name given by George Larkham, M.A. (the ejected minister of Cockerimouth) to his daughter at her baptism (1686), from *Patience* to the extraordinary one, for a young lady, of *Defiance!*

before 1648. About that time Christopher Marshall returned from Boston in New England where he had been a member of the Congregational church of which the celebrated John Cotton, B.D. was pastor, became Incumbent of Woodchurch (West Ardsley), and whilst holding this position gathered there a Church in "the congregational way," which was for many years very prosperous and influential.*

After the Restoration it met at Topcliffe Hall (an old mansion once occupied by Sir John Topcliffe, and replaced by a modern dwelling-house) about a mile from Morley, and had a burial ground at Tingley, provided by Captain John Pickering in 1675. The Register possesses special interest because of its containing a separate List of Church-members; and among the earliest names recorded therein are those of James Nayler "the mad Quaker," Thomas Smallwood, Christopher Nesse, Josiah Holdsworth Gamaliel Marsden (all ejected ministers) and several other notable persons who were associated with them. It also contains numerous particulars pertaining to this church "in the days of Oliver" and long afterwards.

2. The Act of Uniformity (1662—1688). "After the passing of the Act of Uniformity on the Restoration of Charles II., says the Report, "when the great body of the Presbyterian clergy, and with them many of the other clergy, who had embraced the tenets of the Independents and Baptists, seceded from the Established Church and became the officiating ministers of large congregations, the Registers of the three Denominations increased in number and acquired importance from the rank and wealth of some of the Nonconformists." The number in Yorkshire is, however, singularly small, considering the prevalence of nonconformity in the County: Nearly 150 ministers were here deprived of their livings

* It was not the earliest in Yorkshire. An Independent Church was formed at Hull in 1648 under the pastorate of Robert Luddington, Incumbent of Sculcoates; in 1645 at Sowerby by Henry Roote, Curate of the Chapelry; and the church at Kipping, Thornton, near Bradford, was called by Thomas Jolly "the most ancient Society in the North of England" (*Jolly's Note Book*, Chetham Society, 1898, page 34).

or silenced ; and whilst many of them left the county or remained in silent submission, others gathered their former hearers in private for religious services. They were not deterred from doing so by the *Conventicle* or *Five Mile* Acts, or by any civil or ecclesiastical penalties. And when a brief interval of liberty was allowed (1672) about 70 licenses were taken out for nonconformist teachers or preachers, and nearly as many for nonconformist places of meeting, in addition to their own houses.* But almost all marriages and funerals took place at the Parish Church, and with respect to births and baptisms, in the unsettled and precarious condition of the congregations gathered during this period, Registers were seldom kept, or if kept neglected or lost. In this county only three remain.

(1) One was commenced (though dating back a little earlier) on the erection of a Presbyterian Meeting-house at Mill Hill, Leeds, in 1672. Of this Chapel Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds Antiquary, who then attended it, wrote : " It is said to be the first, and is certainly one of the stateliest fabricks (supported by a row of pillars and arches *more Ecclesiarum*) built upon that occasion in the north of England." The following entry in the Register is worth noticing : " Mr. Ralph Thoresby of Kirkgate, a child born the 2nd day of June, baptised the 12th day of June 1692." About this time Thoresby consulted Mr. Stretton (who had been formerly minister at Mill Hill and was now in London) concerning some trouble to which nonconformists were put on account of registration and received from him a letter in which it was stated :

As to the business of registering, no statute law has ordained it, but it was an ecclesiastical constitution made by Cromwell when vicar-general in Henry VIII. time, so that the common and statute law does not expose them to it. But the honest lawyers are very mad that they cannot persecute dissenters as formerly, and put them to all the trouble they can. They will still show their teeth, though they cannot bite. But they advise dissenters to get Registers of their own, and get the

* Most of these preachers had been ejected at the Restoration or by the Act of Uniformity ; 50 being Presbyterians and 20 Congregationalists or Independents (who in their common troubles had become practically one) ; and 3 or 4 Baptists,

Register attested by some good witnesses present at the Baptism, and it will be enough. But as for the burial of the dead, if they will not do it, as was customary, you may get burying places of your own and never trouble them; you have a good one already by your Chapel; if they demand their fees they will trouble you in their Courts if you do not give them." (*Upcott's Collection*).

(2) Another Register was commenced about the same time, on the fitting up of the Main-Riding-House, Leeds, for the ministry of Christopher Nesse, who had been Lecturer at the Parish Church, was silenced for his non-conformity, and obtained a license for this place (May 2, 1672) as an Independent. It begins with the heading: "The Register of the day and year of the Baptism of the church's children." The first page contains only the following eight entries:

- 167- July 15, Abraham Denison, son of Thomas D. of Quarry Hill.
- Caleb Atkinson, son of Thomas A. of Briggate.
- Martha Cloudesley, daughter of Jon. C. of the same.
- James Ibberson, son of Mr. Sam. I. of Kirkgate.
- Peter Jackson, son of Thomas J. of Mabgate.
- Nov. 5, Mehetabel Nesse, daughter of Mr. Christopher Nesse of Hunslet.
- Sam. Hutchinson, son of Thomas H. of the same.
- Bathshebah Coupland, daughter of James C. of the same.

There is then a blank, and the next entry was made in 1695, by Mr. Nesse's successor, Thomas Whitaker, for whom "a stateley Chapel or Meeting-house with a turret on the leaded roof" was built in Call Lane in 1691. This Register also contains some account of "the most remarkable passages and occurrences" in connection with the early history of the church.

(3) The third is a Register of Baptisms at Norfolk Street (Upper) Chapel, Sheffield, commenced by Timothy Jolly in 1681; and it has been printed in *Yorkshire Notes and Queries* (vol. ii., 1890). Jolly was a remarkable man. In addition to his pastoral duties he carried on an Academy at Attercliffe, where Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, Saunderson, the blind Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, Bowes, the Irish Chancellor, and other eminent men received their early education.

3. The Act of Toleration (1689—1740). To quote *once more* the language of the Report : "These Registers were greatly multiplied after the Revolution of 1688, when the Toleration Act gave a legal sanction to the worship of Protestant Dissenters, and for the first time by legal enactment recognised them as separate communities in the State." It was the commencement of what Hunter calls "the great era of chapel building among the old Dissenters." Within ten years after the passing of the Toleration Act over 50 chapels were erected in Yorkshire by "the three Denominations," besides many by the Society of Friends.

The prevalence of nonconformity more fully appears from a list of the Returns of "places of religious worship certified to the Justices of the Peace at the General or Quarter Sessions," under the Toleration Act, now in the possession of the Register General.* This list shows that in the West Riding alone during the first year after that Act came into operation over 200 such places were certified, the majority of them "by the People of God called Quakers," and most of them private dwelling-houses. The extraordinary religious activity of the Society of Friends at this period, as well as during the preceding forty years was only equalled by their rapid decline in zeal and numbers a few years afterwards. In 1715, according to a Return in Dr. Williams' Library,

* *West Riding* ; total number up to 1700, 387 ; to 1715, 525 ; to 1740, 620 ; to 1800 (including 12 Roman Catholic from 1791 when a Catholic Relief Act was passed), 740 ; to 1837, 819 ; to 1852, 953. *East Riding*, imperfect, total number from 1708 (the record being wanting before that year) up to 1715, 30 ; up to 1740, 46 ; wanting between 1740 and 1765 ; to 1800 (including 10 Roman Catholic from 1791), 60 ; to 1837, 70 ; to 1852, 83. *North Riding* ; total number up to 1700, 112 ; to 1715, 159 ; to 1740, 180 ; to 1800 (including 14 Roman Catholic from 1791) 259 ; to 1837, 270 ; to 1852, 288 (see published *Records of Quarter Sessions for the North Riding*.) There is also in the possession of the Registrar General "A Return made by the Registrar of the Diocese of York [extending over a much larger area than the County], pursuant to the Act 16 Vict. cap. 36, of all places of Public Religious Worship, which have been certified to and registered in the Court of the Bishop of the said Diocese from the year 1737, the first we have, to the 29 day of June 1852, under the Acts 1 William and Mary cap. 18, and 32 George III. cap. 155, or either of them." The first entry is of a dwelling-house in Bowlane [Hoar Lane], Leeds, certified by Joshua Siddall, 28 Dec., 1737, the last (No. 4756) at Nutton under Whitstonecliff, Prot. Diss., certified by Robert Peat, Thirsk, 10 June, 1852.

there were upwards of 60 regular Presbyterian and Independent Chapels in Yorkshire. The Baptists had at this date only about half a dozen.

But the comparatively small number of Registers commenced in connection with these chapels in the period now under review can only be accounted for on the supposition that such Registers were not deemed of sufficient importance to be regularly kept, or if kept, got into private hands during the succeeding century and were ultimately lost. Those that remain are as follows :

- (1) 1690, Cottingham, near Hull, Congregational, Baptisms.
- (2) 1695, Whitby, Flowergate, Presbyterian now Unitarian ; which contains a record of several Marriages.
- (3) 1698, Bridlington, Baptist ; which also contains a record of Marriages.
- (4) 1698, Burlington, Zion Chapel, Congregational, Baptisms, Burials and Marriages.
- (5) 1700, Lydgate, Kirkburton, Presbyterian now Unitarian, Burials.
- (6) 1701, Beverley, Congregational.
- (7) 1703, Scarborough Old Meeting House, Congregational. Its first minister was a Scotch Covenanter, who on account of his religious convictions was twenty years previously banished to the Barbadoes and sold into servitude, and on his release at the Revolution devoted himself to the ministry. His Register contains many such entries as the following : " Thomas Adamson and Mary Ruston, published first, June 17, and the two Lord's dayes following, married July 24, 1705." Another entry is : " The Rev. Mr. John Reddid [minister at Whitby] and Margaret Skin married August 24, 1713."
- (8) 1705, Hull, Bowlalley Lane (Spring Bank), Presbyterian now Unitarian, Baptisms.
- (9) 1718, Stannington, near Sheffield, Presbyterian.

-
- (10) 1721, York, St. Saviour's Gate, Presbyterian, now Unitarian.
 - (11) 1724, Cleckheaton, Congregational.
 - (12) 1730, Bradford, Presbyterian now Unitarian.
 - (13) 1733, Hopton, Mirfield, Congregational.
 - (14) 1739, Swanland, near Hull, Congregational.
 - (15) 1740, Sowerby, Congregational.*

A fragment of the Register of Baptisms kept by Elkanah Berry, minister at Pudsey, from 1710 to 1717 (not in Somerset House) is printed in "Additional Notes" to Calverley Parish Registers, edited by Mr. Margerison (vol. iii., page 212), and in the History of Pudsey by Rayner (page 87). Many of the older congregations are represented by Registers of a more recent date. The Register of Ossett, commencing in 1741, contains a kind of Diary by the minister, George Haggerstone (one of whose pupils was the celebrated Dr. Joseph Priestley). Other Registers contain memoranda of much interest.

4. The Evangelical Revival (1740—1837). The lamentable moral and religious decline that pervaded England during the earlier portion of the eighteenth century affected disastrously the older nonconformist congregations, so that not a few of them gradually became extinct. Others, whose ministers had adopted Arian (and subsequently Unitarian) views, and who held aloof from the Evangelical movement under Whitefield and Wesley, declined or remained at most in a stationary condition. Whilst others still, sympathising with that movement, revived; and many new churches sprang up around them distinct from the Wesleyan societies.

* In Lawton's *Collections relative to the Diocese of York and Ripon* (1840) it is stated that in the Parish Register of *Barnoldswick* there is "a register of Anabaptists from 1717 to 1752." The Register of the Baptist Chapel of this place now in Somerset House commences in 1785. Although noted in the List as founded in 1650, there is no evidence of the existence of a Baptist Chapel or congregation there until after the Act of Toleration. In 1690 a barn was certified at the Quarter Sessions for the use of Protestant Dissenters; and an adjoining dwelling-house was converted into a chapel (1694) and transferred to Trustees without conditions (1708). "The community at first styled itself 'the Church of Christ at Barnoldswick,' and does not seem to have been identified with the Baptist community at this date." (*Charity Commissioners' Report.*)

It is only necessary to refer to the Registers which were commenced during the Evangelical Revival, so far as they afford an illustration of the course of religious history in this County. The majority of them up to the end of the century are designated Independent or Baptist. A Register of the Moravians (with whom Wesley was at first associated) at Fulneck, dates from the year 1742, and four or five others of the same designation follow. There are seven Registers of the Inghamites or "Inghamite Independents," the first of which dates from 1753. Benjamin Ingham was a native of Ossett, one of the student-band of "Oxford Methodists," and an early and powerful promoter of the Evangelical Revival movement in Yorkshire; at first intimately connected with the Moravians, and subsequently the founder of numerous separate societies, which have nearly all ceased to exist. The anomalous position occupied by the Wesleyan Methodists at first in relation to the Established Church and Protestant Dissenters, was no doubt the reason why so few of their chapels were registered by the latter name at the Quarter Sessions under the Toleration Act. For the same reason only 20 of their Registers of Baptisms, &c., are indicated in the List as commencing between 1750 and 1800. Toward the end of the century we find 5 belonging to the New Connexion Methodists, the first secession from the "Old Body." After 1800 the Registers of the Wesleyan Methodists are more numerous than those of any other denomination; and beginning with 1822, there are 15 belonging to the Primitive Methodists. It is scarcely necessary to notice two or three others, of about the same date, belonging to the "New Jerusalem" or Swedenborgian Church.

Considering the legal disabilities of Roman Catholics until a recent period it is not surprising that hardly in any instance do their Registers as preserved at Somerset House, go back beyond 1740; about one half of them (27) commencing from that year to the end of the century, and the other half since. One of the chapels or congregations is noted as having been *founded* "about the

time of the Reformation," another "in the reign of Edward VI.," and a third "from time immemorial," but none of the Registers of these bears an earlier date than 1761. The following entries are found in the Register of the Chapel at Danby in the North Riding :

1743. Nov. 5. I christened at Denby a Scotchman beggar with one Legg, his son Claud.

1769. Nov. 20. I assisted at the marriage of Joseph Harker, a Protestant, and Jane Errington, a Catholic, witnesses, William and Elizabeth Mc. Arthur at the Bridge. EB. *maximo invito*. Harker afterwards broke his solemn promises about changing his religion; never will I again take a Protestant's word about religion. (Burn, page 336).

Under the peculiar circumstances of the case the writer's resolution just quoted must surely have been expressed "in his haste," and in reciprocation of Protestant distrust of the veracity of himself and his co-religionists. Of the Registers of the Society of Friends, which have been more carefully kept than any others, nothing further need here be stated.

In conclusion, it may be observed that the Registration and Marriage Acts, which the collection and legalisation of Non-Parochial Registers naturally followed, were of great importance on many accounts, and removed the complaints of great numbers of people that they were unequally treated by the State in consequence of their religious convictions. Since the passing of these Acts the State has taken no cognizance of the ceremony of Baptism, but left it entirely to the discretion of individuals and churches. Owing to the complexities involved in an Established Church, however, it has been found necessary to pass several Burial Acts for the provision and management of Cemeteries, and the general use of Parish Church-yards. More recently, also, a new Marriage Act has dispensed with the presence of the ordinary registrar at a nonconformist place of worship, by appointing its minister or other responsible person in his stead. Whilst this has undoubtedly met the wishes of many persons, it is regarded as a retrograde step by others, who would have marriage *in all cases* treated by the State simply as a civil contract, with proper safeguards,

and the association of a religious ceremony therewith left entirely at the option of the parties concerned. On that question no opinion need be here expressed ; but it must be said that the course of legislation for many years has shown in comparison with former times a general and "increasing purpose" to deal with all citizens of the State, whatever their religious convictions, in a just and equal manner, and thus to promote the liberty, peace and unity of the nation.

BRADFORD PARISH CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

TRANSCRIBED AND ARRANGED

BY

HERBERT E. WROOT.

The Accounts of John Higginson, one of the Churchwardens of Bradford for the year of our lord 1687.

John Higginson of Bolton died March 13th. 1689.—See *Codman's History of Bolton*, p. 72.

And he chargeth himself with receipts as followeth

Impres	received church lay for Kirkgate	01 06 1
Item	received of the churchwardens of Howorth for 3 quarters pention moneys	01 04 00
Item	received more of Howorth churchwardens at John Leeses	00 19 00
Item	received of the churchwardens of wibsey and Birley	01 10 00
		04 19 1

Disburst as followeth

Disburst to	Mr Wood for wine for Cumminon	01 10 00
Item	for chargese for my horse and my selfe and for Mr Oates chargse	00 04 00
Item	for chargese in goeing to Halex seshons	00 01 00
Item	spent att Leedse seshons wating about Parker my horse & my selefe 2 dayse and one night	00 02 00
Item	sent att Halex seshons the 20 of 7ber and for a warant there	00 02 00

Item	to the ringers for all the yere	00 02 06
Item	spent in going to Justis Stanop with Parkers wife About An order for more relefe	00 00 10
	<i>John Stanhope, of Bolton Old Hall.—See Cudworth's History of Bolton.</i>	
Item	paid to John Cooke for chief constable	00 10 00
Item	paid to fower workmen for thaching the church & for lime & blending & for Haire in all	00 17 00
Item	for a Horse & sacke to fetch mosse	00 01 06
Item	Paid for a hundred of slates and for leading them	00 10 00
Item	paid to walmley & willson for mending the church the second time & for lime nayles & mosse	00 05 06
	spent in Alle of them	00 00 04
	Alowed the Churchwarden of wibsey to- wardse His chargse att vistate	00 01 00
	[carried over]	<u>04 06</u>
Item	Spent Att John Eleses that day that wee mett About taking Tho: Ledgerds Accounts	00 00 06
Item	Spent Att Jeremy Bowers att the ould Church wardens Accounts & in staying to waite of Sur John for a warant	00 01 00
	<i>Jeremy Bower was an innkeeper, and parish constable, and he is described also as of Moorside, Bradford, yeoman. Christened Calverley 5th August, 1632, died 28th April, 1699. His name frequently appears in local affairs during the Restoration period.</i>	
	<i>Sir John Armytage. of Kirklees Hall.</i>	
Item	Spent that day that we did m ^e the church- wardens of Howorth And the reste of the parish About making A church ley	00 01 00
Item	Spent 2 severall Dayes whilst we writ the church ley for the parish and Howorth	00 01 00
Item	Spent in chargse of my horse & my selfe in going to Howorth to compound with them for their Church ley	00 01 6
Item	Spent Att John Eleses that day that we recvd: mony of Howorth Churchwardens	00 01 0
Item	Spent Att last Vizetation for my Horse and my selfe going to wakefeild	00 01 6
Item	for A book of Artickles	00 00 6
		<u>00 08 0</u>

The Accounts of John Cooke one of the Churchwardens
of Bradford for the year of our Lord 1667.

The Burial Register records that John Cooke, of Bradford, died 23rd January 1643; and another John Cooke of Bradford, died 14th January, 1679. In the early years of the reign of Charles II. when the Government opposed a share was scarce, private tokens were not immediately issued. John Cooke, of Bradford, issued in 1666 a half-penny. It is described in *Wardell's British or Indian's Tokens*, and in *Boyer's Tokens* issued in *London*, 1822.

And he charged himself wth Receipts as follows:

Item	For A Church Lay for the west end	01 07 9
	.. Rec ^d of John Holbbon	00 10 0
	.. Rec ^d of Joseph Booth	00 17 0
	.. Rec ^d of Hunworth	00 19 6
	.. Received of Thornton	01 16 0
	.. Rec ^d of Alarton cum Wilsden	01 16 0
	.. Rec ^d of Bowling	00 18 0
	.. Rec ^d of Shipley	00 18 0
	.. Received of Heaton cum Clayton	01 16 0
	.. Received of Great & Littell Horton	01 16 0
	.. Rec ^d of Eckelshill	00 18 0
	.. Rec ^d of Manengam	01 16 0
		<hr/> 15 08 3

Disbursed as follows

June 28	Paid to the High Cunstable	00 08 4
July 23	Paid to the High Cunstable	01 06 4
7 ber 28	Paid to the High Cunstable	01 09 7
10 ber 14	Paid to the High Cunstable	01 09 7
Mar 19	Paid to the High Cunstable	01 09 7
	And for sending this mony 5 severall times to Elland	00 01 8

John Thornhill, Esq., of Elland, Justice of the Peace and High Constable for the West Riding, Major of the Aggbrig and Morley Foot Regiment, died 21st October, 1669 (see inscription on his monument in Elland Church). The Thornhills of Fixby Hall furnished several High Sheriffs of Yorkshire.

	Paid at ye Visitation when sworn	00 02 8
	Spent upon Mr Oates At Wackfield	00 00 6
	Mr Brooksbank Charges to Visitations	00 02 6
	for my Owne Charges twice to Wackfield	00 03 0
	Paid at the De ^r in of the present ^m & ye Register	00 02 0

A Royal mandate directing the keeping of registers of baptisms, marriages and burials in each parish was issued by King Henry VIII. in 1538, and repeated in more rigorous terms by Queen

Elizabeth on her accession in 1558. As neither order was regularly observed, it was ordained in 1597 that parchment register books should be purchased at the expense of the parish, and that all names from the older books, which were mostly of paper, should be therein transcribed. The Burial Register of Bradford begins "att the first daye of October Anno Dmni 1596." It was at the same time ordered that copies of the registers should be made annually and forwarded to the registrar for the diocese, to be preserved in the episcopal archives. The injunction was, however, generally carried out very imperfectly, though charges for making this transcript recur annually for many years in the Bradford Accounts.

	Paid to R: Nayler for 6 Boxes for Colection	00	02	0
July 18	Spent in going to Hallifax Seshons	00	01	0
	Spent in going to qua ^r Seshons Leeds	00	01	0
			06	19
	21 Spent in going to Hallifax Seshons	00	01	0
	paid for a warrant for owld Churchward	00	02	0
	23 paid Threapland for bringing ye Bread money from Newcastle	00	01	0
	Paid to Womsley in pt. for mosing ye church	00	04	6
	Paid for Ringing ye 29th May	00	05	0
	Paid for A Spade for Grave Maker	00	02	3
	Spent at Jno. Ellises when Tho: Ledgard should have given in his Account	00	00	4
	Spent when we made o ^r Church Lay	00	00	4
	S. for papar to write o ^r Church Lay	00	00	3
No 5	given to Sam: Earle who had a Letter of Request	00	01	0
Ffeb 11	given to Catrin Phizgaret & Mary Tranan of ye Ile of glaming in ye Cost of Irland who had been at his Mag ^t for Relive for there Loses in the times of war & had breefes	00	01	6
	Royal Letters patent authorising collections for charitable purposes were called briefs. The repair or rebuilding of churches in post-Reformation days, until nearly the beginning of the Catholic Revival, was almost invariably effected by this method, and a brief was frequently issued to a private individual who had "had losses" or who was in need of charity. A well known instance is the royal Patent of Beggary granted by James I. in 1604, to John Stowe, the famous old London antiquary and annalist. About the middle of the eighteenth century, owing to the growing frequency of briefs, it was ordered that they should only be granted on the formal application of Quarter Sessions. Letters of request seem to have been a less formal species of brief.			
March 9	Spent in going to Hawworth to demand ye Church Lay	00	01	6
12	Spent upon Hawworth men when they paid their Church Lay	00	00	9

16	given to Mr Tho Whitmoore & Mr Jno. Carrey marchants in the Ile of Dauros in ye Costs of Irland and had breefes from his Magst. for there Loses	00 02 0
	The Isle of Dauros is in the Bay of Dauros on the wild and picturesque coast of the west of County Donegal.	
16	given to Daniell Knight for a book Article	00 00 6
22	Paid R. Nayler for Church gates	00 14 0
Aprill 6	to James Snawdin for glasing church	00 13 0
	to James Snawdin for Iran work for gates	00 02 2
	Ffor Inrowing the Register In parchment	00 05 0
	Paid L. Fflemm wipper for 6 months	00 02 0
	for Binding the Coman prayer booke	00 01 4
	paid Threapland for bringing bread moony	00 01 0
	Spent upon Mr Crowther, Jno Hodgshon & my selfe when he helpt to administer Sacrament at Ester	00 00 8
	Mr. [Sam] Crowther, minister of Wibsey, died June 4th, 1680, aged about 40. <i>Heywood's Register</i> , page 65.	
		03 02 1
	paid Mr Wood ffor Wine	00 15 0
	To Josias Nickals for bread for Com.—	00 02 10
	paid Jarvis Dixan for 6 gall ^a of wine	00 16 0
	paid R. Nayler for 1 Soyle tree for church gates	00 05 0
	given him for going to Leeds by Mr Brooksbanke order to se the pulpit head	00 01 4
	Mr. Abraham Brooksbank, M.A., became vicar of Bradford after the death of Mr. Francis Corker on March 29th, 1667, and held the vicarage until his death in 1677.	
	This was apparently the date of the construction of the great sounding board which hung above the pulpit until the restoration in 1864. It is clearly to be seen in the view of the interior of the church in <i>Fawcett's Memorial of the Parish Church of Bradford, 1845</i> .	
	Allowed the Churchwardens of G. & Littell Horton for their charges to visitations	00 06 0
	Heaton and Clayton for same	00 06 0
	Manengam for same	00 06 0
	to Jno Drake for going to Haworth	00 01 6
	to Shipley for same	00 03 0
	to Bowlin for same	00 03 0
	to Eckelshill for same	00 03 0
	to Olarton com Wilsden	00 06 0
	to Thornton for same	00 06 0
		04 00 0

	For writing this Account	00 02 6
	my whole disbursements is	14 05 0
	my Recaites is	15 08 3
	there Rest in my Hand y ^t I am to pay to Rich: Green Clark	01 03 3
	The Accounts of Joseph Booth one of the Church- wardens of Bradford for the yeare of o ^r Lord 1667.	
	He chargeth himselfe w th : Receites	01 12 6
	Disbursed as Followeth	
May Nov.	Pd. Pention money	00 17 0
	for Ringing	00 06 0
	for goeing Twice to Wakefeild	00 03 0
	for goeing to Haworth	00 01 6
	for meeting to take in Thomas Ledgard Ac- counts & making a Church-Lay	00 00 8
	Disbursm ^{ts}	01 08 2
	Receits	01 12 6

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Accounts of Richard Atkinson, 1668.

The first year's accounts have been transcribed in full. In later years only such items as appear of interest are transcribed.

	Imp ^{ts} a Church Lay for Kirkegate	01 19 0
Ap: 23	P ^d . Ringers	00 12 6
May 29	P ^d Lawrence Fleeming for keeping boys quiet	00 02 0
Nov 5	P ^d for 2 bookes of Artickles	00 01 6
July Oct: }	P ^d Chiefe Constable at severall times	02 13 9
Jan: Ap: }	P ^d him then also for Yorke Goale	00 01 6
	Given to a man & children p ^r Mr Brookes- banke ord ^r	00 02 0
	P ^d Rob ^t Wood for a Citacon for old Church- war:	00 01 6
	Spent when we sest the Church mossing & slate	00 00 8
	P ^d George Booth for Loading flaggs to Churchy:	01 11 0
	P ^d John Marsden for Wormanshipp	01 11 6
	P ^d at Will: Hortons towards making it up	00 13 0

P ^d Booth wife for Flagg	01 19 0
P ^d John Field & Jeremiah Stead at Will Hire of	00 10 9
Spent when we p ^d Workmen	00 00 4
P ^d Thos. Ward for bringing money twice	00 02 0
P ^d John Newell for Laying James Hawk	00 01 0
P ^d John Mottin & Son for Laying things	00 01 6
P ^d Math. Stead W. H. Horn & James Molygley for covering the church-yard	00 03 8
P ^d Mr. Tally man for a Fox-head	00 01 0

Under Acts of Parliament of the years 1566, 1572, and 1597, parishes and townships were ordered to pay rewards for the destruction of animals considered to be vermin, and though no entries of such payments occur in the Bradford accounts later than 1748 the practice continued in operation in many parts of the country down to the Poor Law reform of 1834. A full and correct transcript of all such entries in these accounts was printed in the *Narrative* for June, 1895, with notes.

P ^d James Wilson for writing Haworth bill	00 00 6
Allowed James Swaine for going to Haworth	00 01 6
for keeping Accounts for pte of pish	00 01 0
Spent on Mr Crowther & M ^r on Palme Sunday	00 01 0
P ^d A. Green for ingrossing the Register	00 05 0
P ^d Will. Snowden for mease	00 04 0
P ^d Mr Tho: Wood for wine	02 10 0
for going to Sessions at Hallyfax	00 01 0
P ^d for a warrant for ovseers	00 02 0
P ^d Sam: Tayler wife who had a Letter of Request	00 00 6
P ^d to a woman y ^t came from menston w th a Letter of request p Mr Brookesbanke order	00 01 6

Accounts of Jeremy Stead 1668.

[Receipts]	Imprimis for ye West end church Lay	02 01 5
	Rec. of Maninggam they had A fox-head	02 03 00
[Disb.]		
April 23	Paid the Ringers	00 01 3
May 29	Paid the Ringers	00 01 03
	Spent when wee had the ould Churchwardens accounts	00 00 6
No 23	Paid Booth wife for pvt of Stones	00 15 9
Decem 24	paid John Marsden wich he was behind	00 03 00
	paid James Snowden for glas	00 06 10
	paid Lorrnanes fileeman for Looking to the boys	00 01 4
	paid Sam Taylor wife for a breife she had	00 00 6
	paid when we Livered in yee sentments	00 02 00
	ffor keeping accounts for p. of B ^d parrish	00 01 00

paid Jarvis wife ffor wine	02 11 00
Wich I paid to Edward Marshall & the rest of the churchwardens when I gave my accounts by the order of Mes Thos. Shaw, David Parkinson & Will Dixon that money I had in my hand which was	00 04 9
Due to mee	00 00 6
Wich I recaved of Richard Naller	00 00 6

Accounts of Richard Nayler, 1668.

Ap. 23	Paid to the Ringers	00 01 08
May 29	paid to the Ringers	00 01 08
June 29	paid Lorance fleming	00 00 08
Nov. 25	paid to those y ^t paved the church yard	00 13 00
Nov. 25	paid then allso to Lorance fleeming for mending of the font	00 00 08
	paid for Iron worke to James Swaine for the church gate	00 01 04
	paid Samuell Taylor wife for a briefe she had	00 00 06
	paid Willim Horton that he was out	00 01 06
	paid Jeremy Stead	00 00 06
	Allowed me out of my lay which was wrong asseded upon Jonathan Webster	
	Restes in my hand	3 9
	which I paid to Richard Cawcroft and ye rest of ye Churchwardens when I gave in my accounts by ye order of Mr Thomas Sharpe and David Parkinson and william Dixson that money I had in my hand which was	3 9

*Other names mentioned in this account are: Samuel Taylor's wife,
and Wm. Horton.*

Accounts of William Horton, 1668.

Spent when we got warr ^{ts} to remove in March	00 00 4
Spent when we sest Church fflagging & mossin	00 00 4
P ^d Lawrence Fleeming for keeping boys quiet	00 01 4
P ^d John Marsdon for fflaggin & mossaing	00 07 3
Spent when we paid workmen	00 00 4
P ^d Chiefe Cunstable for prisoners in Yorke Gaole	00 01 6
P ^d for walling Churchyard	00 03 0
P ^d Pention money to Chiefe Constable	00 07 6
P ^d Josias Nichols Wife for bread for Com- munion	00 02 8
P ^d Widdow Oldfield by Tho: Ledgard Order	00 01 0
P ^d Spent for dressing leads & spoutts	00 00 4

P ^d to a p ^{re} man y ^t came from Kildwicke w th a Letter of request	00 01 0
P ^d to Rich: Greene	01 00 0

Accounts of Edward Marshall 1669.

May 2 ^o	Viewed the Boundes & spent	00 00 06
29	paid to the Ringers	00 02 06
Aug ^r 24	P ^d to James Jager of Shelve, having a letter patten by order of Mr Brooksbanke	00 00 06
7 ber 5	P ^d to John Ellis Linner by order of the Bish-pp	00 01 02
8 ber 5 th	p ^d to John Mitchell for thatching ye Church p ^d for $\frac{1}{2}$ slate & leading	00 06 03 00 06 00
9 ber 5	p ^d to ye Ringers p ^d to Joseph Threapland for bringing money from the Newcastle	00 02 06 00 01 00
	p ^d to James Snowden for glasse	00 05 06
	p ^d to John Gillot & Francis Dixon having a petitionall request	00 01 00
	p ^d to Jer: Dayn & Ab: Ash by Mr Brooks- bank order	00 01 06
	Paid to Edward Threapland for bringing money from Newcastle	00 01 00

Accounts of William Younge, 1669.

Item	Rec: of Richard Cawcroft	00 10 00
8 ber 5	Viewed ye Boundes & spent on Mr Hating p ^d to Jno Mitchell for thatching ye Church p ^d for Latts & Nailes, etc.	00 00 06 00 06 03 00 09 00
Jan 1 st	p ^d to Jer. Dayn & Ab: Ash: by or ^r of Mr Sharpe	00 01 06
[During March]	Spent on Mr Crowther when he came to pre- pare & to administer ye Sacrament	00 00 06
Ap. 2.	p ^d Mr Wood for wine	03 04 00
6	p ^d to Amos Conyers having a lett ^r patten by ord ^r of ye Constable	00 02 00
	paid to Robert Kent for ye Killing of an Urchan	00 00 02

Other names mentioned : James Jager of Shelve, and John Ellis, Linner.

Accounts of Richard Cockroft 1669.

Inprimis	A Church lay for Ivegat & goodmanend	01 14 00
May 20	viewed ye boundes & spent of Mr. Hateing	00 00 06
July 10	paid to ye Chiefe Constable	00 05 02
	paid for a Sitation to appeare at Wakefield	00 01 00

Aug 10	for going to ye Correction at Wakefield	00 01 06
	paid for ye North Quier Door hinging	00 01 04
7 ber 14	paid to Richard Kent for lime blending And for hair	00 01 09
8 ber 5	paid to Jno. Mitchell for thatching ye Church	00 06 03
	paid for Moss pulling and Leadeing	00 06 00
	paid for a Booke of Articles to Dan: Knight	00 00 06
M ^r ch 26	Paid to James Snowden ffor glasse	00 04 06
	Spent on Mr Crowther on good ffriday when he came to preach & Administer Sacrament	00 00 06
	paid Lawrence fleeming for keeping the boys quiet in ye Church	00 00 08
	paid to Timothy Evanes having a lett' patten for Losses on ye Irish Seas by order of Mr Brooksbanke	00 01 00
	paid for ye Register writing & for parchment	00 05 00
	paid for ye p'sentments writing	00 00 06
	paid for ye Vickars Charges at visitations	00 02 06
	paid when we Livered in ye Register And p'sentations	00 02 00
	paid for ye Account keeping for towne And parish	00 01 00
	paid to Richard Green for upholding ye Bell- ropes & looking to ye Clocke	03 06 08
	paid to Jarvas Dixon for wines	01 14 00

Other names mentioned—James Jager of Shelte, Mr. Brookesbank, John Ellis, limner, the Bishop, John Christian and Francis Dixon, Jer. Dayn, Abm. Ash, Will. Younge.

Accounts of Thomas Clarkson, 1669.

Under	viewed the bounds & spent on Mr. Hateing	00 00 06
June 11	paid for mending of ye bier	00 00 03
August	paid Wm. Robertshaw for Churchgates mending	00 02 09
„ 10	paid to Richard Eastwood for lime	00 03 06
	paid for ye North Quier door hinging	00 01 08
8 ber 5	paid to Jno. Mitchell for thatching ye Church	00 06 03
9 ber 5	paid for Ringing and Candles	00 02 08
	paid for a spaid Laying for Gravemaker	00 01 08
Under	paid for Lime to point ye Church windows	00 00 02
April 2	paid for mending of the Register locke	00 00 03

Other names mentioned—Lawrence Fleming, James Jager of Shelte, Mr. Sharpe, John Ellis Limner, the high Constable, Francis Dixon, Mr. Brookesbanke, Jer. Dayn and Ab. Ash.

Accounts of John Drake from April 13, 1670, to
May 10th, 1671.

April 13	paid to Ringers	00 01 03
	spent wee viewed Bounders	00 00 06

July 2	paid for Hayre to blend lime with for Church	00 01 00
	ffor mosing pointing & Lime Laying on the Church	00 06 08
	paid to John Frankland of Calverley by Mr Brooksbanke consent : which had his house Burnt and had a Letter of request	00 02 06
1671		
April 23	paid to Ringers	00 01 03
	ffor going to seshons att Leeds	00 01 06
	paid to Mr Wood for wine	01 08 0
	<i>Other names mentioned—Lawrence Fleming, James Naylor, Robert Scolley, Mr. Wood (for wine) Edw. Marshall's wife, and Thomas Maude.</i>	
	Accounts of Thomas Maude 1670—1671.	
April 22	paid Thomas Roe for Catching two heg hoges	00 00 4
April 27	paid At sir John Armitage house for a war ^{nt} & my Charg	00 02 0
	I gave John Couper of Huthersfield, which had a letter of request by Mr Brookesbank consent	00 02 0
	Spent at all times going About the quakers	00 02 0
	The Quaker community were at this time suffering severe persecution, though the persecution was not at its height till a few years later.	
June 4th	I gave Thomas Pickersdil of Dusbery, which had a letter of request by Mr Brooksbanke consent	00 01 0
	paid to A man that brought Sitasions from Wakfield to be published in Church & for my Charges going with them	00 02 0
	paid for thre Lodes of Lime	00 03 3
	paid to the Chief Constable at halifax	00 05 0
	I gave to Richard Cawthra at Allinlay yat which had a leter of request with Mr Brooksbanke consent	00 01 0
	spent at sesing the poor ses	00 00 2
(July)	paid Mathew Drake for mosing & poynting Church	00 03 0
	paid Edward Threapland for bringing money for	00 02 0
(Nov.)	paid John Greengat for caring two packes of mos	00 01 2
	paid Robert Kent for two heghoges Catshing for my Charges going to wakfield Seshangs	00 00 4
	paid James Snawding for glas to the church	00 01 6
	paid William feeld for Catshing an ottar	00 04 2
		00 00 2

paid to a man that brought the book of Articles	00	00	6
Spent on Mr Crouthar on good frida	00	00	6
paid William Northrop for a matak & spad			
Iring	00	03	6
paid for one sheet of parchment	00	00	8
paid Jarvis Dixson for wine	04	00	0
paid when I delivered the Register at Wak-			
field	00	03	0
I gave James Jonsan of horbery had a letter			
of request by mr brookesbank order	00	01	0
<i>Other name mentioned—Richard Green.</i>			

Accounts of James Barnsley, 1670.

[<i>After July</i>]	payd for mossaing poynting and lime laying			
	on church	000	03	04
	payd for pound candles for Ringers	000	00	04
[<i>After</i>	given to Simond Hardwick of Holweck who			
<i>April</i>]	had his house burnt, that had, <i>etc.</i>	00	02	0
	payd for stones putting up which was Blowne			
	of Church & mossaing	000	01	06
	Spent on Mr Crowther on good friday	000	00	06
	For going to sessions to Halifax to give an			
	account of our poor & base begotten			
	children	000	01	00
	payd for Register writing		4	0
	Payd to Christopher Arington for a spade iron			8

Other names mentioned—Lawrence Fleming, Thomas Pickersgill of Dewsbury, Richard Courthrey of Allenley, young Rood, and Robert Sidley (for nails).

Accounts of Thomas Sharp, 1670.

paid Laurence Fleeming for keeping boyes			
quiet	0	0	8
paid John Sugden for keeping boyes quiet	0	2	0
paid for a skinne of parchment for register	0	1	0
paid for ye Booke of articles	0	0	6
spent in going severall times about ye quakers	0	2	0

Other names mentioned—Richard Kent (for moss), James Snowden (for glass), James Johnson of Horbery, Mr. Abraham Brooksbank, and James Nailor.

Accounts of Tobias West, 1671.

paid for a booke of artickles which the ould			
Churchwardens should have paid for	00	00	06
paid for the quitance and for goeing with			
the money	00	00	08

	paid to Jos. Booth for a lock mending, a hespe & wo. done bands makeing new	00 01 00
[Under Sept.]	paid to John Kirshay for the church dore mending	00 00 04
	paid to Richard Webster upon a leter of request for lose by fire in Knasbrough	00 00 06
March ye 1st	paid then to Mr Sagar for the writing making Concerning the gift which Mr Sunderland gave to a lectorar	01 10 00
	By deed dated March 1st, 1671, Peter Sunderland, Esquire, of Fairweather-green, gave a rent charge of forty pounds a year, out of houses and land in Bradford, etc., to trustees, for the endowment of a "lecturer or assistant to the vicar" of Bradford. See James's <i>History of Bradford</i> , vol. i., page 204.	
	paid also at the same writing sealing & consaining A lectorar to Jarvas Dickson Wife for ordinarye wine & sack	01 03 00
	spent upon the pariter which brought the book of artickles	00 00 06
[Under April]	paid Thomas Maude for the sirplis cloth	02 01 06
April ye 16 th	paid and spent then of the pariter that brought a booke which was to be red upon ye fast day in ye church	00 01 06
	paid to Nathaniall Bower for writing the register to liver in at visitation	00 05 00
	paid to John Sugden for keeping boys quiet	00 02 00
	paid to Jarvas Dickson wife for bread and wine at the commonnion	02 08 04
	<i>Other names mentioned</i> —James Naylor (repairs to chest), James Snowden, and Thomas Sharpe.	
	Accounts of Thomas Thompson, from May 10, 1671, until April 16, 1672.	
	It: for a Church Booke	00 00 08
	It: for a duplicate writing for the turkish captives	00 02 00
June ye 29 th	It: paid for writing the indenters	00 02 00
	It: to Sugden the dog whiper	00 02 00
	It: paid to the somnoner for sommoning to the Corections	00 02 00
	It: to John Swift for an oter	00 00 02
	It: paid to Threapeland for bringing money from newcastil for pore	00 02 00
	It: for the unacquittance	00 00 04
	It: spent when we compounded with Haworth	00 02 00
	It: paid at Jarvas Dicksons when Mr Sunderland sealed the writings for the lectorar	00 03 00
	It: for a book of articles	00 00 06

It: to Threapland for bringing the money from Newcastle	00 01 00
It: spent oth pariter when he brought A praire Booke and somoned us to visitations	00 00 06
It: for a shet of parchment for ye regester	00 01 00
It: when we livered the register	00 02 00
It: paid for A quart of wine when Mr Mount pesenr. preached by Mr Brookesbanckes order	00 02 00

The surmise may not be very far-fetched, that this is the Rev. William Mompesson, the heroic Vicar of Eyam during the plague of 1666, whose friend and patron, Sir George Savile of Thornhill, presented him to the vicarage of Eakring, Notts., upon his resigning the incumbency of Eyam in 1669.

Other names mentioned—John Greengate (for lime), James Snowden (glass), Mathew Brake (pointing a window), Richard Webster of Knaresborough, Rich. Green, Mr. Wood (wine £2 15), Thomas Maule and Thos. Sharpe.

Accounts of Christopher Polard, 1672.

paid for the Sirplis makeing	00 02 06
paid to Jarvas Dickson Wife when ye writing was sealed for a lectorar	00 03 00

Other names mentioned—John Sugden, James Snowden, and Thos. Sharpe.

Accounts of William Ffarrar from May 1st, 1671, to April 18, 1672.

It: to grane Hollmor for makeing the sirpliss	00 03 00
It: to Will Farrar & Mathew Drake for mossaing & pointing of the windowes	00 05 00
It: for a letter of request for a fire at Knasbrough	00 00 06
It: paid at Jarvas Dicksons when Mr Sunderland sealed the writings	00 03 00
It: to Mr Stanhop for his counsill concerning the writings	02 00 00

Other names mentioned—John Sugden, Rich. Webster of Knaresborough, and Thos. Sharpe.

Accounts of John Kitchinge, from April 18, 1672, to April 16, 1673.

Ap.	for going to the Corections at Wakfeild	00 1 6
Sept.	p ^d to Fransis Landdell for a Leter of Request p. Mr Brooksbanks order	00 1 00
Dec.	p ^d to John Barber for glase	00 3 4
	p ^d to John Sugden for the wholle yeare	00 2 00
Jan.	p ^d to John Willson & Ratlife for dressing the leads and spouts & walling church walls	00 1 8½
	p ^d Rich: Naylor for A new dore	00 3 00

p ^d James Swayne for door bands & sneck mending	00 1 1
p ^d Threapland for brining money from Newcastle	00 2 00
p ^d Rich: Naylor for a Ledge for Pulpite	00 00 7
p ^d for a booke of Artickles	00 00 6
p ^d for the Lader to Toby West	00 7 00
p ^d to Richard grene Clarke	3 6 8
Spent on the Sumoner to the visitations	00 00 8
p ^d Mr Wode for wine	2 18 0
p. William Hopkinson for wine	00 19 0
Spent on Mr Crowther on good Friday	00 1 4
p ^d Nothaniell Bower for writing the register	00 5 0
spent on Mr Gleadston at Visitations	00 1 10

Francis Gleadstone, M.A., held the office of Sunderland lecturer for twenty-one years, from its foundation in 1671 till his death on October 7th, 1692. His monument, with a Latin inscription, is in the church.

p ^d for a diall mending of the church portch	00 3 4
p ^d in to William Accume to balance the Accounte	2 5 0

Other names mentioned—Jo. Mitchell (lime and moss), James Naylor (mending the doors), Jarvis Dickson's wife, and Josias Nicholls.

Accounts of John Ellis, 1672.

p ^d to Mr Dixon for wine & sacke that was given to Docter Hooke when he preacht both endday	00 2 3
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For a curious anecdote recording a reproof administered by Dr. Hooke, who was Vicar of Halifax, to a drinking parson of Lightcliffe, see *Heywood's Diary*, i., page 359.

P. me	p ^d to Rich: Crosby wife who had a petition	00 1 00
Tho. Sharpe	p ^d to Mr Nevill who had a Leter of request per Mr Brooxbanke order	00 1 0
	Spent on Mr Crowther on good Friday	00 00 4
	p ^d to a Leter of Request to fransis Lansdell	00 1 00
	Layd out at the Church repairing	00 4 6
	p ^d to William Ackam one of the new church wardens	00 10 6

Other names mentioned—Jo. Ellishe (autograph signature), Tho. Sharpe (signature), Rich. Crosby's wife, and John Sugden.

Accounts of John Wilkinson, Ap. 18, 1672—Ap. 26, 1673.

Rec ^d of that money that was given into Mr Thomas Sharp hand	00 10 0
p ^d for 3 Loads of Lime	00 3 10

p ^d to Jo. Mitchell for mosing & Laying on Lime & Laying stons on Revestre & pointing	00 4 6
p ^d to Jo Barber for glastening	00 3 4

Other names mentioned—James Naylor (carpenter) John Sugden (dog-whipper), Francis Lansdell, Mr. Brookesbank, and Wm. Akam.

Accounts of John Boyes, Ap. 18, 1672—Ap. 16, 1673.

[*No item of interest*] : *Names mentioned*—Mr. Thos. Sharp, John Sugden ("dog-wiper"), James Naylor, Matthew Drake, John Mitchell ("mossing and pointing the church"), John Wilson, James Barber (glazier), Francis Lansdell, Mr. Brookesbank, and Wm. Akam.

Ac/ts of John Holleday, Robert Taylor, John Waddington, and William Acome, 1673.

<i>Total Receipts (including £5 from old church-wardens)</i>	29 12 4
given to a Letter of request to a woman of } Dricklinton p. Mr Brooksbank order	00 03 0
For going to sessions att Leeds	00 02 00
given to a Letter of request to a man of Ep- worth p. Mr Brooksbank order	00 01 06
p ^d for the vestre window mending	00 02 07
spent in seking those yt broke ye Church	00 01 06
p ^d David Parkinson for a peece of searge Mending and silk and to a taylor for sew- ing a Rod in it to lay on the pulpitt	00 01 00
p ^d for a sirg cloth	08 00 00
given to a Letter of request to Thomas Week p. Mr Brooksbank order	00 02 06
for going to Corrections to Wakefeild	00 01 06
P ^d for a pulpitt Cov	08 11 00
P ^d for a stage to keepe it in p. Mr Brooks- bank order	00 09 00
p ^d for a green tablecloth	02 04 00
p ^d Nathanniell Bower for register writeing and parchment	00 06 00
given to a Letter of request to Martin Wilson p. [etc.]	00 02 06
p ^d to Jeremy Bower for wine	1 16 00
p ^d Mr Wood for Wine	1 08 00
p ^d Will ^m Hopkinson for wine	1 14 00
p ^d Richard Greene Clarke	08 06 08
given to Will ^m Lee of Barwick p. [etc.] for reliefe	00 01 00
given to Robert Taylor for a fox killing	00 01 00
given in reliefe to Thomas Spencer and his wife p. [etc.]	00 02 00

given to Will^m Ellis & his companye for
killing 2 urchants 00 00 02

Other names mentioned—Robert Kent, Matthew Drake, Wm. Webster (locksmith), John Sugden (dog-whipper), Thomas Maude and Wm. Sommergill.

A cts of Hugh Andrew, Robert Taylor, Jeremiah Bartle, & Thomas Maude, 1674.

paid to Aparitor for bringing an order to the
old Churchwardens, & goeing with it to
Yorke 00 02 00

paid him [John Sugden] moor for sweeping
the steeple 00 00 06

p^d Abraham Ackroyd for mossing and point-
ing church 00 11 00

paid for five strookes of hare 00 01 08

paid for stones & walling the Church steele 00 08 02

given to John Cooke of London 00 02 06

given John Smith of Wakefield, having a
letter of request 00 01 00

given Robert Aineley of Allmondbury 00 01 00

paid for a warant for Sarah Hird 00 02 04

given to George Charlton 00 01 00

paid to Apparitor for two Bookes at twice 00 01 00

paid for delivering in presentments at 3 times 00 01 00

Given Edward Jackson of Ireland 00 02 00

ffor bringing monie from newcastle 00 02 00

paid to a boy for going to bingley 00 00 04

Other names mentioned—John Sugden (dog-whipper), John Preston (wine), Mr. Wood (wine), Jeremy Bower (wine), Mathew Drake (mason), Mr. Brookesbank, Robert Scholey (for a band for church gate) and Robert Dixson (wine).

A/cts of Robert Dixon, Wm. Lister, Joshua Bordall
and Jonathan Thomas, 1675.

for a q^{rt} of sack for Doctor Hooke 00 02 06

p^d for a Letter of request from Pudsay to
Wm Goodall 00 04 00

to Richard Naylor for banisters and mending
the pulpitt 01 05 00

p^d for mending of the Bellframe & spent of
the workmen 00 06 00

p^d for wine for ye whole year 06 15 00

p^d Rich: Greene 03 06 08

p^d to John Swift & Isaack for 2 Hedghogs 00 00 04

p^d for 2 Bookes of Articles 00 01 00

spent of Mr Ellis of London 00 03 00

p^d for bringing the money from Newcastle 00 02 00

Rests in o^r hands 00 10 04
 wch 10^s 4^d we paid over to Richard
 Greene Clarke in part of his arrears wch is
 oweing to him from the old Churchwardens
 1674

May ye 19th 1676

These accounts are allowed & examined by
 those whose names are heer subscribed

Thomas Ledgard
 Thomas Hodgson
 Thomas Pighells
 David Parkinson
 Willm. Greene, Junior
 John Morley

Other names mentioned—John Sugden, Matthew Drake (for
 walling), Tho. Thornton (killing hedgehogs), Richard Naylor,
 Matthew Gill and Timothy Wood (killing foxes), and Mr.
 Crowther.

The Ac/ts of William Greene, Richard Murgatroyd,
 John Morley & Isaac Roades, 1676.

Spent upon Mr Lund 00 01 0

Paid to Mr Robert Clarke, by Mr Brooks-
 banke order 00 01 00

For Citations and Excommunications re-
 turning 00 01 08

Given to John Stevens & John Baily by [etc] 00 01 06

To Mich: Greenwood wife for waiting on
 Joseph Watterhouse when he was hurt in
 the Church 00 03 00

Joseph Waterhouse signed a certificate of attendance at church
 of popish recusants named Michael Brown and Cicely, his wife,
 in 1679. What relationship existed between Joseph Waterhouse
 and Jonas Waterhouse, the vicar ejected from Bradford in 1662,
 I am unable to say.

Paid John Mitchell for Laying new Steps to
 the Schoolhouse & Tim: Dawson for lead-
 ing them 00 09 06

Given to Thomas Saunders: who was travel-
 ling to Newcastle with a letter of request
 by Mr Gleadston order 00 01 00

Paid for ye bread money bringing twice
 from Newcastle 00 02 00

Given to Will^m Boningsfield & his mother who
 had a letter patent for releasing of his
 father beyond seas by Mr Watterhouse
 orders 00 03 00

Paid for wine for ye whole yeare 03 19 00

Spent on Mr Crowther & Mr Moore on good
 Fryday 00 02 06

given to Wm Newbie at Bayldon by Mr
Brooksbanke order 00 02 06
Allowed the Churchwarden of Shipley for
six hedgehogs, a Gray & two Wilcatts 00 02 04

This and other references (see the Accounts for 1678 and 1680) to the existence of the wild cat in the district are especially interesting to the naturalist, as the animal has long been extinct in England. A few still occur in remote districts of the Scottish Highlands, but the time cannot be far distant when they will have become as completely exterminated in the British Isles as the wolf. The "grey" is a local name for the badger.

Given to Mr Croston a travelling Minister 00 01 00
Paid to Richard Greene for waiting of the
Clock & keeping the Bells in Repaire 03 06 08
for a quart of Sack for Mr Berren, preacher
of Sowerbye by Mr Gleadston order 00 02 06

Mr. Benjamin Baron, or Berron, was curate of Sowerby Bridge Chapel, in the parish of Halifax. In 1698, on the resignation of Francis Pemberton, he was presented by Archbishop Sharp to the vicarage of Bradford, which he held till his death in 1705. Mr. Baron was succeeded at Sowerby Bridge by his son.

Allowed to Daniell greenwood Churchwarden
of Heaton for two foxheads 00 02 00

Spent upon Mr Roberts on Ester Day 00 01 00
Spent upon Mr Moore at the Visitations 00 02 06

Mr. Moor, minister of Howorth, buried July 15, 1684.—*Heywood's Register*, p. 70.

Given by Mr Gleadston order to Margaret
Simon of Sandy who had a briefe 00 03 06
paid for the leads mending & pointing upon
the church & steeple 00 04 02
paid to Mr Gledston by Mr Brooksbanke
order wch he laid downe to a Travelling
minister wch Thomas Maud sh^d have paid
again 00 02 06

The passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662, under which over two thousand clergy were ejected from their livings, was followed in 1665 by the Five Mile Act, which deprived, as it was intended to do, Nonconformist clergy of all means of subsistence. Many clergy were wandering about the country in great poverty. The gifts which were so frequently made in Bradford to "wandering ministers" tends to shew the sympathy which the people of Bradford had for the nonconformists.

for goeing three times to the Justices to get
y^e certificate Signed for poor people not
Liable to pay Harth money 00 03 00

The hearth tax, or chimney money, was the first tax of a modern kind imposed on householders and designed to secure an automatic graduation according to a man's ability to pay, as evidenced by the size of the house in which he lived. The tax was based on a French model, and was imposed in 1662. The

payment was 2/- for every fire-hearth in the house, and the payment was to be made by the occupier, not the landlord. He was excepted, who by reason of poverty or the smallness of his estates was exempted from church and poor rates, or who could prove the annual value of the house to be not more than 20/-, and that neither he nor any other person using the house occupied land of the annual value of 20/-, or possessed lands, tenements, goods and chattels to the value of £10. The tax has proved interesting as affording valuable statistics with regard to the population of the Restoration period. It reached a class of the people who had previously escaped taxation and was very obnoxious. Immediately after the Revolution it was selected for repeal by William and Mary, and this was effected by an Act which stated that the tax was abolished "in order to erect a lasting monument of their Majesties' goodness in every hearth in the kingdom." It was, however, in 1696 succeeded by the far more objectionable window-tax." See *Dowell's History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, 1888.

Accounts approved by Hugh Sawley, Jonas Houldsworth, Wm Hopkinson, Jonathan Thompson, Abr. Balme, & Christopher Pollard. June 29, 1677.

Other names mentioned—John Smith and John Wilson (killing hedgehogs), Mathew Drake, Richard Greene (clerk), John Sugden, Wm. Lister (mending locks), Matthew Gill (killing a fox), and John Barber.

The ac/ts of Wm. Hopkinson, Jonathan Thompson, 1677.

Rec of Mr Pemberton for wine spent at comunian	00 10 00
Received in all	22 17 10
To [the Ringers] mor for ringin on Sabath dayes	1 00 00
for Sitations & Ex Comuncations Returnin	00 1 6
It. To wandring minister p. Mr mos order for Removing Earth in ye Churchyard	00 2 00
to Richard Nellor for a Dov Box and mending of fount	00 9 0
It. for a book sent from the Bishop	00 13 10
for a sition & fej to the.....Conserng. vickridge	00 1 0
Mr. Abraham Brooksbank died this year and Mr. Francis Pemberton became vicar.	00 5 6
It. Chef Connstabl for Repeir of House of Corexion	
To John Thornton for a lock for stepell dor	00 10 10
To a wandering minister that had a Leter of Request	00 1 2
To Ringers	00 2 0
Spent in sending to New Castel for por Bread and from thens to London several times	00 0 5
	00 5 6

Spent on Mr Wollfit a quart of win when Hee preach at Church	00 2 0
It James Willison for petishon Drorin for four Harth not Liabel to pay & goeing to Justis to get it sind	00 3 0
L. for ye red Chester writing etc W gre ^r	00 6 0
L. Richard Gren for noting of ye Clok & kepin ye Bells in Reper	3 6 8
<i>Accounts approved by Thomas Walker, David Parkinson, Wm Scarbrough, Thomas Roodes, Jonas Holdsworth, and Abraham Balme.</i>	

Other names mentioned—Wm. Rodea, Simon Bell, Hy. Hoge (T),
Wm. Estwod, John Sugdin, Mathew Drake (paving the church,
4s.). David Hallmond, John Barber, Wm. Lister (for ironwork),
and Robert Dixon.

Ac ts of Lorence Horton & Thomas Rowland, 1678.

for Mr Pemberton's charges to the Visitations	00 02 06
p ^d to Captin Humbolwick who had an order from his Maggisty by Mr pemberton order	00 07 00
p ^d to William Chamberes who had a briefe for his house & kilen baerening	00 02 00
p ^d to William Webster for gemberes for the pore cobberds	00 00 10
given to a man of Denton that had a letter of request	00 02 00
paid to John Wilbe & John Oxengate & Jonas Tasker & John Barker & John Swift for 24 uerchanes	00 04 00
p ^d to tow wandering Menesteres upon letters of request	00 02 00
p ^d for the bread mony bringing twice from London	00 03 00
p ^d for a booke for the fast day	00 00 06
p ^d for mending a bel whele, etc.	00 06 00
p ^d to Nath: Bower for a pettison drawing for hearthes not Liabel to pay	00 00 06
Alowd to the Churchwarden of Shipley for 6 uerchanes & for a fox head & for a wild cat	00 02 02
<i>Approved by Willam ffeild junior, Tobias West, James Danham, Abraham Balme, Samuell Ward & John Stead.</i>	

Other names mentioned—John Sugden, John Wadington, Daniel
Jowet, (repairs to gates), John Snowden, Mr. Crowther, Wm.
Lister, Mathew Drake, John Wilson and Thomas Rowe.

(To be continued.)





FROM A PHOTO BY]

BOLLING HALL, EAST FRONT.

[J. J. STREAP, ESQ.

THE TEMPEST FAMILY AT BOWLING HALL,

BY

MRS. TEMPEST, OF BROUGHTON-IN-CRAVEN.

THE connection of the Tempest family with Bowling Hall may be said to date from the day when Sir Thomas Tempest of Bracewell-in-Craven signed and sealed the contract, 13th July, 1497, with Tristram Bolling of Bolling or Bowling Hall, for the marriage of his nephew and heir, Richard Tempest, to Rosamund, Tristram's daughter, by which in failure of Tristram's own male issue, Rosamund and her children were to inherit his estates.* Tristram Bolling dying 30th May, 1502, the king's escheater held inquest at York Castle October 10th following, to discover who was the heir who should pay the fines due to the Crown for those lands held by the deceased. The jury, composed of neighbouring landowners and yeomen, find that his daughter Rosamund, now wife of Richard Tempest, Esq., was the heir and aged 26 years, and to her and her husband therefore descended the property,† proving that the son Edward Bolling, to whom Tristram in his will of 7th April, 1502, left lands in Bradford, was not legitimate and therefore unacknowledged in the eyes of the law. The late Mr. Empsall, in his paper on the Bolling family read before the Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society 11th November, 1887, has overlooked this fact, and states that Tristram, being extremely proud of the Tempest alliance "made enormous sacrifices, if he did not

* *Inq. p.m.* Sir Tho. Tempest "virtute officii" Hen. 8, Part 1, No. 77.

† *Chanc. Inq. p.m.* 18, H. 8, No. 124.

do greater injustice to his son and successor on account of it." But it is evident that the "great injustice" which Tristram did to his son, had nothing to do with the Tempest match, and it was no "caprice" due to it that barred Edward from succeeding. He is not even named in the remainder entail in Tristram's will, and we have nothing to prove that the second wife "Elyne" was Edward's mother. Had he possessed the "legal" right to succeed, I do not think we should have heard of the Tempests at Bowling.

Before we proceed further, it will be well to explain who this husband of the Bowling heiress was. He was the eldest son of Nicholas Tempest, 3rd son of Sir John Tempest, Kt., of Bracewell and Waddington Halls, co. York, and of Bealraper (or Barrowparr modern) co. Lincoln, by his wife Alice, daughter of Sir Richard Sherburn, Kt., of Stonyhurst, co. Lancaster. Richard's mother was Margaret, sister to Sir John Pilkington, Kt., of Wakefield, and he was born about 1479, being aged 26 years and upwards when his uncle Sir Thomas Tempest, of Bracewell, &c., died without male issue in 1507. The Tempests had been large land owners, since the days of King Stephen, at Broughton-in-Craven, Bracewell and other places in the district, and their names occur constantly in the records of this county.

It is probable that Richard Tempest went to reside, on his marriage, with his father-in-law, as his father died in 1483 and he did not succeed to the family estates till 1507, and even then, Bowling seems to have been his favourite abode; it doubtless presented a brighter and more cheerful home than Bracewell on its bleak hill side, and was perhaps his wife's choice.

In 1502 we find Richard Tempest, and other of the king's tenants in Bradford, resisting the extortions and unjust toll demands made by his wife's uncle Rainbrow Bolling, the Duke of Lancaster's Bailiff at Bradford, and he was accused of inciting riots against Rainbrow and his toll collectors, declaring (so stated Rainbrow) that "no man should bear rule in Bradford but himself."

In 1509 William Bolling (another of Rosamund's uncles) a Baron of the Exchequer, surrendered the remainder of a lease he held of the Duchy of Lancaster of the corn and fulling mills of Bradford to the use of Richard Tempest, Esq., which the king confirmed in November of that year; the rent being .£9 6s. 8d. a year, thus showing a further interest in Bradford.*

Richard was early connected with Court life, being a Squire of the Body with an annuity of £33 6s. 8d. to King Henry VII., so we are not surprised to find him entering the lists as one of the thirteen gentlemen—of whom Thos. Howard, Sir Thos. Boleyn, and Charles Brandon (later on the king's brother-in-law)—who signed the 12th February, 1510-11, to fight in a tournament at Westminster in honour of a prince's birth.†

Amongst the family property Richard succeeded to on Sir Thomas Tempest's death was the old Hall at Waddington on the borders of Yorkshire and Lancashire, where his grandfather Sir John had sheltered, but where his uncles Sir Richard and John Tempest, and his father Nicholas, with his uncle Thomas Talbot of Bashall, betrayed the unfortunate King Henry VI.; and here in 1511 he rebuilt the choir of the Church, placing in the East window effigies of himself and his wife, the *Tempest* arms; argent, a bird between six martlets sable, upon his surcoat and on her robe *Tempest* impaling *Bolling*—“sable, an escutcheon ermine inter an orle of martlets argent,” with the inscription beneath, “Orate pro anima Richardi Tempest armigeri et Rosime uxoris suæ necnon omnium aliorum filiorum et filiarum p'dci Richardi et Rosmœ qui istam fenestram fecerunt Anno Domini MCCCCXII.”‡

Being on the Commission of Array for 1511—1512 and on that of Muster in August, 1512, he was busy collecting a retinue, though we only know the name of one,

* Duchy of Lanc., Div. XI., Leases and Pat., Hen. 8, No. 30.

† Cal. Letters and Papers, Hen. 8.

‡ Dodsworth's Collections, Heralds' College.

namely Robert Knowles, a Wakefield dyer ; and in June, 1513, he was mustered on the Scotch Borders, fighting in the rereward army under Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, on Flodden Field, 9th September, 1513. Perhaps he accompanied the herald who brought the king the news of his army's success, at anyrate, he was with the Court at Christmas being knighted by Henry VIII. at Tournay, in the Church after Mass 25th December, 1513.

The next few years he was in high favour, obtaining a grant of the Bailiffwic of Wakefield,* made feodary of the King's Castles† and receiver of Crown lands in Yorkshire, and Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster for Clitheroe manor. He was Master Forester of Bowland and Quernmore Forests, and Steward of Blackburnshire, &c.‡

Amongst the "Revel Accounts" of May, 1515, Sir Richard, with Sir Ralph Egerton, Sir Christopher Garnish and three others was given "a frock of greeyn satin gored with yellow" to appear before the king, in a pageant to be called the "Pallys Marchallyn," and the following May he, with Sir Arthur Pole and Sir Francis Poyntz received, as a Knight of the Body, a coat of "yellow satin set on white satin" for the jousts of honour held at Greenwich.|| Possibly Sir Richard then used the standard depicted in the old heraldic MS. in the British Museum amongst the Harleian Collections (*No. 4632, fol. 224*), showing on a red field, the device a griffin's head erased argent, and the motto "á foye á foye." The arms also drawn in the MS. are Tempest, quartering Hebden (ermine 5 fusils in fers gu.) the alliance of his great-grandfather Sir Piers, with Grace, the co-heiress of Sir Nicholas Hebden of Bealraper manor.

In 1516 he was High Sheriff of this county, and as such, assisted in the public rejoicings and welcome accorded to the king's sister, Margaret, Queen of Scotland, as she

* Pipe Roll, 10, H. 8. Ebor. dorso. men. 2.

† Originalia, 6, H. 8, Roll 56.

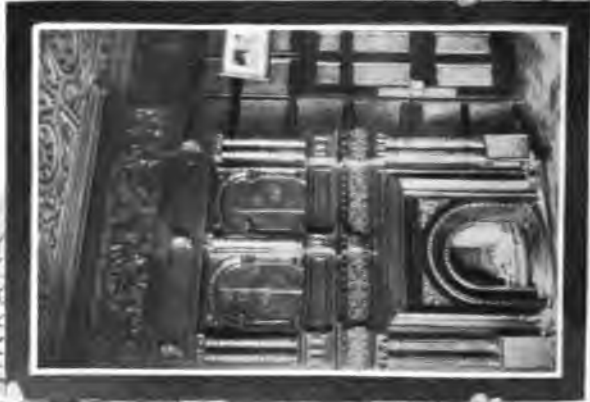
‡ Duc. of Lanc. Reg., Hen. 8, folio 46d and 47.

|| Cal. Lett. and Pap. Hen. 8.

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BOLLING HALL, SOUTH TOWER.



MANTEL IN GHOST ROOM.

FROM PHOTOS BY J. J. STEAD, ESQ.

passed through Yorkshire, being applauded for having "done his duty nobly" in the matter.

The year 1520 was one of excitement and bustle in the Court circle, and early in the year Sir Richard is named as one of four "Esquyers for the Bodye that lyeth upon the king's palet" and had an allowance of six servants and two horses. He sailed with King Henry VIII. and the Queen to Calais the 21st May, and was, on reaching the French shores ordered to take 100 light horse "and make goode geite, espie and watch in all suspect places where ambushes might be toward Flanders, France, Picardy and Artois," and report each morning to the king. He was in attendance on the king, as a Knight of the Body, on Thursday, June 7th, at the great meeting between Henry and Francis in the Val Doré called the "Field of Cloth of Gold;" and was one of the 100 knights who formed the king's body guard (with two men on foot and one mounted) at the meeting with the Emperor Charles V. at Gravesend on July 10th.*

In 1521 Sir Richard further improved his condition by obtaining the reversion of the Stewardship of the town and manor of Wakefield, with Mastership of the Hunt of Sandal Park, and as Receiver of the Crown fines and rents in the north he had much to do with the estates of the Stanley families.

By 1522 he was again in arms on the Scotch Borders, being at Berwick in October with Lord Ross, the Warden of the East and Middle Marches, receiving four months pay for himself and 98 men, for service from 16th June to 6th October. In June following Lord Dacre directs him to be at Howtill Sweyre with 100 men to make a raid on Stitchell and Ednam.

In August the Earl of Surrey sent for him at York to try and patch up the dissensions between Tempest and young Henry Savile, Cardinal Wolsey's "servant," with whom he had unfortunately quarrelled. I say unfortunately, as this was the beginning of a feud which cost Sir Richard his life. What the cause of dispute in the

* Rutland Papers and Cal. Lett. and Papers, Hen. 8.

first instance was I have been unable to discover, perhaps it was caused by the Tempest's hot and masterful temper, a trait which General Plantagenet Harrison in his *History of Yorkshire* states was the origin of the surname of Tempest, but I suspect envy and jealousy at Sir Richard's good fortune were probably the real reason of Savile's ill

Surrey writes about the dissension with anxiety and is glad to have Tempest safely back on the Borders to watch with Sir William Bulmer the fords of the river Tyll, and delay the Regent Albany's descent upon Northumberland, or frighten him into a truce. At the muster of the Wark garrison October 7th (1523) Sir Richard was there with a retinue of 127, of whom a full list is preserved at the Record Office, and in which we recognise such old Bradford names as Acrod (Akroyd), Barber, Bolton, Bradford, Deconson, Ellvs, Illingworth, Greenwood, Harrison, Hodgson, Kay, Lacy, Lord, Medley, Ramsden, Robertshay, Sutcliffe, Walker, Wodde, Wright, Wiglson, &c., and when the garrison was discharged in December following, Lord Dacre makes note that Sir Richard had his full numbers except two, whilst many other Captains, as Sir William Bulmer, Sir Marmaduke Constable, &c., were nearly half short, though they had drawn wages for their full complement. In 1524 he was on the Commission to collect the King's Subsidy in the West-riding, paying £5 for himself for a hundred pounds worth of land at Bowling.

The following Spring he was again on the Borders, while in 1527 he was with the Chief of the Council of the North, the Duke of Richmond, who sent him in November to the king at Greenwich, with letters of recommendation, saying he had always done good service in the North. In November, 1529, he was elected parliamentary representative for Appleby, co. Westmoreland. He sat on the Commission to treat with the Scotch king, James V., in 1531, for the redress of the outrages on the Marches, and also on that for the "reformatiōns of weres" and fischegarthis and other nusances in the grett

“ryvers” of Yorkshire in 1532. The 16th June of that year he was at home at “Bollynge” whence he writes to Secretary Cromwell on certain personal matters and tells him that he has got for him a “northern gelding,” which if peace be, he will bring himself this summer, but if there be war, he begs Cromwell to have him in remembrance to the king, that he may be appointed where he may do best service.*

As war was continued, Sir Richard had his wish, and for the next year or two he was in the midst of the fray, leading his retinue in support of Surrey and Dacre, and so distinguishing himself that the earl wrote to the king, begging that he would give Sir Richard his thanks. Alas! charges were brought against him some four years later by Sir Henry Savile that on this occasion, “having “the leading and setting forth of many of the king’s “subjects against Scotland, he hath had allowance of the “king’s highness for conduct money, and jaketts of livery “for many more soldiers than to whom he hath given “such money and a jacket, and to hide and cover that “his deceit done unto the king’s highness, hath caused “several persons which resorted to the borders to visit “their friends, and not to be soldiers, for small rewards “to offer and shew themselves at musters to be of his “retinue. And by that subtle means hath been reputed “to have many more persons to serve the king than of “truth he had. And thereby hath untruly acquired and “gotten of the king’s highness deceitfully great sums of “money.” In support of this charge, Sir Henry Savile produced John Bentley, a young priest, who stated “that “he did appear in the name of one John Verdon at the “muster upon the marche towards nere Berwick on the “desire of James Stanfeld, pettye captayne to Sir Richard “Tempest.” He was also accused of receiving bribes to let men off serving. Thus, John Crosyer, a tenant of Lady Savile, deposed that the inhabitants of Overden gave Edward Bolling, bailiff of Bradford, £5 for the use of Sir Richard Tempest to discharge them from “fynding

* Lett. and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Vol. III., No. 3410.

“of men at a journey towards Scotland,” and William Smith, tenant to Sir Henry Savile, said he gave Lacy, Sir Richard’s son-in-law, 40s. to discharge his brother John Smith off his service against the Scotch.*

Early in the year of 1534 Henry Savile, during Sir Richard’s absence in London with Cromwell, came riotously with sixty men to Holmfirth and drove away cattle belonging to the king’s tenants, and it is from Bowling Hall Sir Richard writes the 8th June telling of the affray and how he had locked up two of Savile’s men in Sandal Castle. In November he again wrote to Cromwell from Bowling sending “his fee” and regrets it is so poor, but hopes to give more hereafter and takes the opportunity of complaining bitterly of Savile’s conduct.†

He was on the Commission for the report on the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1535, but seems to have been friendly to the monasteries, as he writes from Bowling the 13th June reminding Cromwell of his petition on behalf of some Yorkshire Abbeys, that they should be discharged from certain charges which Cromwell had promised should be considered, and on the 29th he writes on his own behalf begging that Cromwell will obtain for him certain leases of Parks as promised, to recompense him for an annuity of 50 marks which the king had granted him “soon after “he came from France ;” and also the patent for surveying or farming the Earl of Derby’s lands, both of which Wolsey had taken from him, so that he had lost above £400.

In July he was employed in Craven to quell a riot there, which though the people’s words were “regulus,” was soon suppressed, and in August he begged that the rioters might be forgiven and let out of prison, being but poor men and having had, in his opinion, sufficient punishment.

The same autumn he came to loggerheads with Dr. Holdsworth the Vicar of Halifax, over a claim to treasure

* Star Chamber Proceedings temp. Hen. 8. Bundle 18, No. 153, and Bund. 23, No. 91, &c.

† Cal. Lett. and Papers, Hen. 8.

trove of £300, and in September made the reverend gentleman further his enemy by forwarding to London a bill of complaint from the inhabitants of Halifax against their vicar, who he describes as "very cruel and main-tained by Sir Henry Savile."

In May, 1536, the Savile prosecutions were let loose upon him, he was declared to bear malice and displeasure against divers of the king's subjects in the lordship of Wakefield, and to have procured and caused some of them to be abominably murdered and slain nigh about his own person. And divers others of them to be likewise murdered, and that he had not punished any for these "heinous and detestable" crimes. He was further accused of defrauding the king by granting large pieces of the waste of the manor of Wakefield, and falsifying his books, paying to the Crown less than he received and pretending only small parcels had been granted. In fact, Sir Henry Savile represented him a thoroughly unprincipled man, to which Sir Richard replied in the *tu quoque* style of defence, and after absolutely denying all that was alleged, proceeded to give a list of Savile's shortcomings, declaring that he had slain the king's servants, hunted and killed the royal deer, seized the king's waste, and broken open a chest belonging to Sir Thomas Tempest and stolen therefrom sixty angels of gold and a "pyctor of a woman of gold."*

The year 1536 was certainly a trying one for many a Yorkshireman, and to Sir Richard doubly so. His brother Nicholas threw in his lot with the rising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, and Sir Richard was sorely tempted by the leaders. In October however, Sir Richard was one of those upon whom the king called to assist Lord Darcy in quelling the riot, and on the 13th of the month he wrote from Bowling to Lord Darcy saying that if Darcy and the Earl of Cumberland would set forward against the rebels, he (Tempest) would join them in the west; whilst his son Sir Thomas Tempest, deputy steward at Wakefield, begs him to go there, as men will follow

* Star Chamber Proceedings, Bundle 24, No. 288.

him who might otherwise be led astray. Sir Richard writes from Bowling Hall on "Sunday morning afore daybreak" (15th October) sending word to the Earl of Cumberland that he must go to Wakefield to see to its defence; his signature is rather shaky, as will be seen in the tracing.

He was at the Conference at York November 24th, and at Pontefract on the 27th, but still on the king's side, in spite of various representations, and however wavering he may have felt, he appears to have deemed it prudent to be present at Bradford when the king-at-arms proclaimed the pardon granted to the "Pilgrims of Grace" 14th December, 1536.

It is difficult to be sure whether he did not have some dealings with Aske as supposed, whose followers evidently hope to have gained him to their side, and set him down for commands, &c., in their lists. However, he appears to have satisfied the royal leaders, for Lord Darcy wrote to the Lord-Admiral Fitzwilliam the 30th January, 1536-7, saying that Sir Richard Tempest "had done good service in the west," &c. In February he delivered Cromwell's letter to the Abbot and monks of Salley, and compelled them to deliver up the monastery; perhaps this was too much for his conscience, for by March he was suspected, and Lords Sussex and Derby write to the Duke of Norfolk that as far as they can gather Sir Richard was "neither good first nor last;" Sir Henry Savile, his old enemy, with Dr. Holdsworth, procure a Halifax man who swears that John Lacy, Sir Richard's son-in-law, with his knowledge and sanction, ordered men to carry the cross (the emblem of the Pilgrims) to raise the Commons in Lancashire—whereas the worst that others say is, that he might have restrained his brother Nicholas. His foes used every effort to prove him guilty, Sir Richard Houghton was directed to make enquiry into his loyalty, and in May, 1537, Dr. Holdsworth writes gleefully to Savile that "your servant Rob. Fournes" had procured an order to arrest Sir Richard, but feared his friends would warn him.

In June, Norfolk expresses satisfaction to Cromwell, that the king "does not favour Sir Richard Tempest, who "is now ridden to London;" ay! to his doom, for on arrival he was arrested, and lodged in prison to the joy of Savile and his party. The poor knight wrote on Sunday, July 1st, to his quondam friend Cromwell that, "by "order of your lordship and others of the Council I remain in the Flette, where I am in jeopardy of life, the "weather is so hot and contagious, and the plague so sore "in the city," and he begs to be allowed, under sufficient sureties, to go to his house in Lincolnshire (Bealraper Hall, near Gosberton) until after the assize. Needless to say, his petition was unheeded, and on Saturday, the 25th August, John Gostwyk writes to Cromwell saying, "this "present Saturday at 5 p.m. Sir Richard Tempest died, "leaving his wife and son Sir Thomas, executors. He "wished his heart to be carried to his own county, to be "buried in the place he had prepared for his own and his "wife's corpse."* By his will, dated 6th January, 1536-7, Sir Richard had desired his body to be buried in the choir of Our Lady in Bradford Church, little thinking he was to die so far away from his beautiful old home. Let us hope, however, that his heart still rests in the Bowling Chapel. He left by his wife Rosamund, a large family, namely, Sir Thomas, the eldest, born 1497, died without issue 17th May, 1545, and did not inherit Bowling, as his mother outlived him. Sir John and Nicholas, who both owned Bowling in turn; Tristram, for whose settlement in life Sir Richard bought the wardship and marriage of Alice, daughter and heir of Alexander Methley of Newstead, the 24th April, 1517; † Robert, George and Christopher, who all died young; and Henry, for whose marriage with Helen, daughter and heir of Christopher Mirfield of Tong his father arranged, 20th March, 1526-7. ‡ Of daughters, Sir Richard had Jane, married to Sir Thos. Waterton of Walton, Knt., Anne married John Lacey

* Cal. Lett. and Pap., Hen. 8.

† Deed penes Sir George Armytage.

‡ Tong deeds.

of Cromwellbothom ; Elizabeth wife to Sir Peter Frechville of Staveley, co. Derby, whose wardship Sir Richard bought in 1519 ; and Beatrice, who married Sir William Gascoigne of Gowthorpe, became the great grandmother to Thomas Wentworth, the famous Earl of Strafford. The earl has left a record of his family, and tells the following anecdote relating to his ancestors. Sir William Gascoigne, "the younger," husband to Beatrice Tempest, who lived riotously and brought the estate to a low ebb, chanced to be hunting near Woodhouse when a stag was killed close to the house. Mrs. Wentworth, expecting soon to become a mother, went out to welcome the hunters ; when Sir William prophesying her child would prove a son, said he would mark the boy for his own on his mother's cheek, which he did, dipping his fingers in the buck's blood. The child proved to be a boy, and Thomas Wentworth bore a mark beneath his beard. Sir William Gascoigne dying left an only daughter Margaret, in whose marriage Dame Rosamund evidently felt some interest for young Thomas Wentworth "went to Bowlin where the old lady grandmother to narrator's (Sir William Wentworth) father's wife, at first sight took a fancy to him and so the marriage took place."*

By Sir Richard's will he bequeathed to his wife Dame Rosamund all such lands as she "of right ought to have of myn inheritance over and besides her oune enheritance which she was borne unto, also I give and bequeathe to my said wyfe all my household stuff, goodes, and catalles at Bolling with all and everie implementes of the household stuff whatsoever it be in any maner of wise thereunto belonging or apperteyning."†

Rosamund therefore continued to dwell in her old home surrounded by the same retainers and servants. At the Muster Roll of April, 1539, her household consisted of John and Henry Tempest, Esquires, John Lacy, Richard Balderston, Edward Bollyng, John Bolland, John Sugden,

* 6th Report Hist. MSS. Com., part I., p. 459.

† York P.C.

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FROM A PHOTO BY

BOLLING HALL, WEST FRONT.

11 J. Nisam, Eng.

Geoffrey Rushton, Godfrey Bollyng, Richard Coke, Richard Dykynson, John Wright, Barnard Schaw, Giles Wilson, and William Wadyngton, who were able bodied men and fit to bear arms. In 1542 she paid £40 towards the king's loan, and in 1547 was assessed at £80, paying £8 on her land, and in 1551 £2 on forty pounds' worth of goods.* According to her *Ing. p.m.* she died 1st February, 1553-4, but in the *Pontefract Deanery Books*, Sir William Gascoigne, her son-in-law, entered a caveat between 12th and 15th December, 1553, not to prove the will of Rosamund Tempest, late of Bolling Hall, widow, deceased. No will has been found. She died seised in fee of the manors of Bowling and Thornton, with lands there and in Horton, Wadlands, Pudsey, &c. ; her heir being her son Sir John Tempest, Knt., aged 54 years and upwards.

Sir John, who now became owner of Bolling, had fought with his father on the Borders in 1523, and had joined Lord Leonard Gray in routing the Scotch near Etal on June 23rd, and he was with his uncle Thomas Tempest at the burning of Jedburgh, having in June, 1524, with his "garrison" and that of Warke, captured over 140 prisoners at Raynton. He was steward of the manor of Barnoldswick from 1537 until his death, and of Tickill and Wakefield. He was knighted between 1543 and 1545, was found heir to his elder brother Sir Thomas in May, 1545, and inherited Bracewell, &c. As his name appears in the list of Dame Rosamund's household it is evident he made Bowling his home, and after her death we find him acting as Steward of Bradford in 1555, and in April, 1556, he dates a deed there, granting to "Robert Bolling of Wybsay" $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of waste land in Bowling, on Dunnell Marsh.†

Sir John was Constable of Sandal Castle and steward of the manor, receiving £17 6s. for his fees, and in December, 1560, the queen ordered him to appoint a con-

* Lay Subsidy Rolls.

† Deed penes Major Tempest of Broughton.

venient place for the safe keeping of the Court Rolls of the manor of Wakefield at Sandal Castle. About the same date an injunction was issued to him as Steward of Wakefield as to the letting of waste within the manor, this being a second warning ; but we fear his expenses were exceeding his income, he was contracting debts and selling off various portions of the estates ; parting with his Lincolnshire property in 1563.

In 1564 the tenants of the Pontefract honour complained against the tolls levied by him as farmer of the town of Wakefield, and in November, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster decreed that he could only levy toll on cloth and cattle sold for resale, and not on that for self use. The buyer was to pay half the toll on corn.

Sir John does not appear to have inherited his father's strength of character, for the Archbishop of York, in June, 1565, describes him "as a ruler of men and "service, but not hable to rule himself or the men." He died 16th November, 1565, leaving by his wife Anne, daughter of Thomas Lenthall of Lechford, co. Oxon (a lady who had had two former husbands) no issue ; his heir was declared to be his brother Nicholas Tempest, aged 60 years and more.

Nicholas, the new owner of Bowling had married before June, 1516, Beatrice, daughter and co-heir of John Bradford of Hethe ; she died in 1550, being buried at Dewsbury on the 8th December, and he married very shortly after, Isabel, widow of Henry Kighley of Inskipp, co. Lancaster.* Nicholas appears to have lived partly at Wadlands and partly at Dewsbury ; his father having by his will left him all the farmes and leases which he had from the king in Wakefield and all such lands "which I "purchased of John Bradford his fader-in-law lying in "Bradford." He served on the Jury at Doncaster 24th November, 1541, which found Queen Katherine Howard guilty. In 1548 he had twenty pounds' worth of goods in the Ossett division, on which he paid 20s., and he was

* Duchy of Lanc. Plead. 5, Ed. VI., vol. 10, No. 7 T.; and *Inq. p.m.*, vol. x., No. 49.

a Commissioner for the Lay Subsidy, 1550, in the Agbrigg division. He also had several suits over the tolls demanded in Wakefield. His will is dated at Bracewell 25th December, 1570, desiring to be buried there; he left to his son and heir Richard, all his heirlooms "as standinge bords, brewynge vessels, standynge bedds, also the best bedd and sufficient furniture thereunto belonging that I have both at Braiswell and Bowlinge Hall aforesaid, with all harness and other municons of warre that I have in both places"—also all his husbandry gear;* no other mention is made of Bowling. His *Inq. p.m.* taken at Leeds 24th December (*sic*) 1570, states his son Richard is his heir, aged 36 and more.

The family Nicholas had by his first wife consisted of two sons who in turn inherited Bowling, and six daughters. Jane, contracted to marry Henry Young of Appletrewick 10th August, 1532, apparently died before this event took place. Rosamund, married 1544 to Anthony Frank of Alwoodley, Jane (the second) born at Dewsbury 1541, married after her father's death Henry Banaster of Waddington; Alice born in 1546 died an infant; Anne born 1549 became wife to James Tempest of The Rayne in Barnoldswick; and Margery married Gregory Waterhouse of Sydall.

Richard Tempest who succeeded his father in 1570, married first, in September, 1564, Eleanor, daughter of John, Lord Scrope of Bolton,† but she died soon after, leaving no issue; his second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wentworth of North Elmsall, who survived him, leaving no children, and married secondly 23rd Dec., 1587, Sir John Savile of Methley.

Bowling had been entailed upon Richard, after his father, by Sir John Tempest in July, 1563, and by the same deed he succeeded immediately upon Sir John's death to the manors of Hebden, Burnsall and Thorpe, and Waddington.

Although he is mentioned as a Protestant, and was

* York P.C.

† *Marr. Sett. Dodsworth MSS., vol. 88, fol. 98.*

elected as member of Parliament for Aldborough April, 1572, sitting till dissolution 1583, I do not think he took an active part in public affairs. In 1576, he and Edward Bolling defended their rights, as farmers of the manor of Wakefield, to levy tolls on the citizens of York in Bradford and Wakefield,* and we find him acting on the Commission of Peace. In 1577 he sold to Thomas Hodgson of Little Bowling a rent of 2s. 8d. due out of a piece of land abutting on the mill pond of Bowling, and made grants of various portions of waste. He made his will at Bowling Hall 21st February, 1581-2, and desired to be buried in the Church of Bradford "nere unto the place wher myn ancestors do lye." He left all his goods, leases and chattels movable and immovable, real and personal, to his wife Elizabeth (except the household stuff at Bracewell). This will his brother Robert disputed, and the widow Elizabeth with her father and brother were finally obliged to give up any claims to certain lands and leases,† but she kept the furniture and goods in Bowling Hall, which would consequently be denuded of the Bolling and Tempest household fittings.

Robert, the brother who now entered into the possession of Bowling, had resided at Hesketh near Bracewell, and at Wadlands, and married before 1570 Anne, the daughter of Bartholomew Pigott, of Aston Rowen, co. Oxon., a niece to his uncle Sir John's wife. In 1565 he joined his father in defending their title to Wadlands manor against Thomas, son of Christopher Bowling, when it was shown they inherited through Rosamund Bolling.‡ His father, Nicholas, left him the reversion of all his lands in Tong and Crofton with the Rectory of Tong, but he and his brother had some slight dispute over the matter before he was able to take possession.|| In 1581 he sold the manor of

* Duchy of Lanc. Plead. Vol. lx., 18 Eliz., No. 1 D, and vol. lxi., 18 Eliz., No. 1 T.

† Close Roll, 36 Eliz., Pat. 25.

‡ Chanc., B. & A. Series, 2 Eliz., Bundle 26. No. 7.

|| Tong Hall deeds.

Wadlands and eight messuages with land to Edward Oldfield.

Robert Tempest entered his pedigree and arms at Glover's Visitation of Yorkshire, 1585, the arms being: "Quarterly. 1st, Argent, a bend between six martlets, sable (*Tempest*). 2nd, Ermine, five fusils in fesse gu (*Hebden*). 3rd, Argent, a chevron between three martlets gules (*Waddington*). 4th, Sable, an escocheon ermine, within an orle of eight martlets argent (*Bolling*)." He was possibly interested in heraldry, for he had painted upon the walls of Bracewell Church his quartered arms, impaled with those of his wife, Anne Pigott, 1st and 4th, Sable, 3 pickaxes or, and 2nd and 3rd, Argent, 3 bugle horns sable. Of the Bolling coat of arms in the Tempest quarterings—Sable, on an escutcheon argent, 5 ermines of the first, betwixt 6 martlets of the second—Dodsworth states that "Mr. Tempest saith itt is not right here, but is yet in the Gallery at Bowling."* The Bolling arms as taken out of the windows at Bowling Hall in 1825 and seen by me in 1889 at Copt Hewick Hall where they were set up, are, Sable, on an escutcheon argent 3 emmots within an orle of seven martlets of the second.

By 1592, Robert had parted with the bailiffwick of Wakefield to Sir George Savile,† but retained that of Bradford, and in 1598 was one of the Constables for collecting £70 towards £400 for Hull and Yorkshire ships.

A caveat was entered against proof of his will by his son Richard 10th November, and by Anna, the widow, 26th November, 1601, but no will is forthcoming. His *Inq. p.m.* states he died 6th November, 1601, his heir being his son Richard, aged 26 years and more. His widow survived him, and was buried at Bracewell as "Anne, old Misstress Tempest," 19th January, 1612-3.

Robert left but one child, the son Richard—a daughter Anne had died in infancy—who succeeded to Bowling along with the rest of the now dwindling family estates.

* Dodsworth MSS., vol. 88, fol. 31.

† Duchy of Lanc. Plead. Vol. cxxvi., 35 Eliz., No. 10 S.

Richard Tempest married, at a date not yet ascertained, Elizabeth, second daughter of Francis Rodes of Great Houghton, co. York, a justice of the Common Pleas, by his second wife Frances Charlton of Apley, co. Salop.

Richard Tempest became an active magistrate in the West Riding, and on the Recusant Rolls his name appears constantly as the Commissioner before whom Popish Recusants were summoned for non-attendance at church, or non-payment of the fines for their religion. He was knighted at Easton Neston in Northamptonshire, the seat of Sir George Fermor, by King James in July, 1603. He was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1621, and a Commissioner for the forced loan in 1627. He made his will (which is now in a very mutilated condition) 1st November, 1621, and desired to be buried within the Parish Church of Bradford. His lease of the rectory of Bradford he left to his "first borne sonne Richard Tempest," and names his manor house "att Bollinge."* In 1634 in defending his title to the rectory of Bradford, he produced a lease granted him under the Great Seal 28th April, 5th James I., for 40 years, the same to commence 25th March, 1607, at a rent of £50 a year.† On his son's marriage Bowling was settled with his other estates in 1636. He died at Waddington Hall 21st April, 1639, and at his *Inq. p.m.* his son Richard is declared to be his heir, aged 18 years and one month, and married to Frances Clifton, with whom he then resided at Bowling Hall. Sir Richard was buried at Bracewell 22nd April, 1639. Elizabeth his wife survived him, making her will at Bowling 23rd November, 1639, desired to be buried at Bracewell "by my late deare husband Sir Richard Tempest;" she leaves her diamond buttons to her daughter-in-law, Frances Tempest, and names her daughters Troath Lady Tempest and Frances Warde; to "my cousin Lester the Captain" she bequeaths a diamond ring worth £5. She was buried at Bracewell 20th April, 1644.

Sir Richard left but three children, Richard the last of his line, Troath, married to Sir Thomas Tempest, of Stella,

* York P.S.

† Chanc., B. & A. Chas. I., M.M. 27, No. 67.

co. Durham, Bart., and Frances, born at Bowling and baptised at Bradford 20th September, 1600, whose first husband was John Osbaldiston, of Osbaldiston, co. Lancaster, and the second John Warde, M.D.

Richard Tempest, of Bowling and Bracewell, was born at the former place, and baptised at Bradford 21st March, 1620-1 ; he was married when a lad of fifteen to Frances, daughter of Sir Gervase Clifton, of Clifton, co. Nottingham, Bart., by his second wife Lady Frances Clifford, daughter of the Earl of Cumberland. Their marriage settlements are dated 26th February, 1635-6 ; the bride had a portion of £2500, and she was to have an allowance of £135 so long as her husband lived, and £600 a year on his death.

Their eldest child, Richard, was born at Bowling and baptised at Bradford 7th January, 1638-9, another son, Clifton, was baptised at Bracewell 20th May, 1645 ; both died as children, also a son named Charles and a daughter called Jane, the only surviving issue of the marriage being Elizabeth, born 1642, who married, against her father's wishes, her cousin on the mother's side, John South of Kelstern, co. Lincoln, and left a daughter called Elizabeth.

Richard, when he succeeded to the property, was only a youth and probably a spoilt and wayward one, born 25 years after his sister Troath, we may be sure he was the idol of his parents, and no doubt the times offered many temptations to a weak character.

He joined the Royal Standard, though I have failed to discover he became a Colonel as some have stated, and according to the *Perfect Diurnall*, No. 19, of Monday, 17th September, 1642, amongst the prisoners taken in the sortie from Manchester that day was " Mr. Tempest of Bowling." In February, 1642-3, he joined the Yorkshire gentry in signing an engagement with the king to pay a proportion of the cost of the maintenance of the war against the Parliament ; and is said to have been present at the sieges of Bradford in June and July, 1643. The Earl of Newcastle is said to have put up at Bowling

Hall on the latter occasion, and the Royalist troops encamped near the Hall when perhaps the greed and pillage described by Lister may have overtaken young Tempest's home affairs: at any rate, "about August, 1644, he laid down his arms and submitted himself to Lord Fairfax, and hath not at any time gone into the king's garrisons, but hath lived at his own house constantly obeying all orders and ordinances of Parliament, and is ready to pay such fines as may be imposed upon him, and hath taken the oath of 25th February, 1643-4, before the Commissioners at York." In the Summary of the value of his estates which he laid before the Committee for the assessment of his fine, he declared that before the wars, Bowling with its demesne, a coal mine, water mill and chief rents was worth £296 13s. 4d. He denied being a Recusant, and in April, 1647, his fine was declared to be a tenth or £1056 6s. 0d.* To pay this sum he mortgaged the Hall at Bowling with other of the property to Nicholas Shuttleworth of "Galthorpe," co. Lancaster, Esq., the 18th January, 1646-7, for £3200.

In May, 1649, being then described "of Bowling," his fine was laid at one-sixth or £1748, and this appears to have been the final blow for Bowling, for on the 7th August, 1649, Richard Tempest, of Bracewell-in-Craven, Esq., conveys for £7180 to Henry Savile, of Thornhill Greene, Esq., all that the manor of Bowling with its rights and members, its park, known as Bowling Park, the water mill in Bowling with three water mills in Bradford and all warren, watercourses, fisheries, coal mines, &c.† The fine for the sale was levied at Michaelmas, 1649, showing the sale included ten messuages, 4 cottages, 4 water mills, 200 acres of land, 100 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture, 200 acres of heath, and £17 in chief rents in Bowling and Bradford. No mention is made of the Hall or capital messuage, so that Savile would get that from Mr. Shuttleworth who held the mortgage.

* Royalist Compo. Papers. Series 2. Vol. 38, pp. 755, 758, and vol. 28, p. 335.

† Deeds penes John Paley, Esq., 1889.

With the sale of Bowling, the Tempest connection ended, but we may add that poor weak Richard, quarrelling with his wife and only daughter, and harassed with money troubles, lived most of the rest of his life abroad, only returning in broken health to London in 1657, where he was arrested for debt, and thrown into prison. Here, a false friend, John Rushworth, found him and had him removed to lodgings, but as soon as he had persuaded the wretched man to make a will in his favour on Nov. 14th, he had him sent back to the Rules of the Fleet prison, and here, unattended by any friendly face, the last of the Tempests of Bowling passed away on November 30th, 1657. *Sic transit gloria mundi!* E. B. T.



ANCIENT DOORKNOCKER AT BOLLING HALL.

(From a Photo. by J. J. Stead, Esq.)

BOLLING HALL,

BY

CHARLES A. FEDERER, L.C.P.

THE materials for tracing the history of the fabric of Bolling Hall are extremely scanty. A cursory inspection of the existing structure, however, will reveal even to the uninitiated eye the fact that the architecture belongs to four distinct periods. The oldest portion of the Hall is evidently the West Tower, overlooking Bowling Park, with the south-west wing behind it. Though we are absolutely without any documentary evidence, yet every probability points to the conclusion that this portion of the Hall formed part of the original dwelling erected by a Bolling about the middle of the thirteenth century, and is therefore coeval with the earliest known history of Bradford.

The South-East Front is of Elizabethan architecture, and must have been erected, or rather re-erected, in the sixteenth century by one of the early Tempests, probably Richard, the husband of Rosamund Bolling, both of whose portraits adorn the panels above the fireplace in the Ghost Chamber.

It is a matter of doubt whether the original structure had more than one tower; at anyrate, the old panel painting, to which reference is made below, and of which a drawing is given at the end of this article, exhibits but one, the West Tower. If there was but one, then the building of the East Tower would probably coincide with the reconstruction of the South-East Front in the sixteenth century, for the bands and string courses of the

present East Tower indicate a much later erection than that of the West Tower, the masonry of which is perfectly plain and destitute of bands.

With regard to the North-West Front, which faces the city of Bradford, and which was the real and sole front of the edifice until the erection of the central hall and the substitution of the present ornate façade for the old back by Sir Richard Tempest, it is not difficult to see that the entrance door with vestibule and everything to the right of it are unaltered portions of the original structure, whilst the entire north-east wing is comparatively modern, and that the two or three yards of frontage which join it to the rest of the north-west front are filled-in patchwork.

In seeking to reconcile these discordant data, we are helped to some extent by an antique panel painting of the old Hall, taken from the north-west side, which is preserved in one of the bedrooms and which is reproduced in the appended sketch. On examining this painting we are at once struck by the existence of considerable discrepancies between the present appearance of the north-west front and that represented on the panel. The painting shows a large doorway to the left of the main entrance, of which there is no trace in the present structure; the somewhat smaller doorway at the opposite corner, however, though now walled up, can be easily discerned, and the cellarage to which it gave access also remains in its original state.

Tradition relates that the whole of the north-east wing was destroyed by fire about a century ago, and the style of architecture displayed in the present wing, with its handsome dwelling-room and large modern windows, tends to corroborate the traditional report and points to the end of last century as the period of its erection. The cellars and offices, with external entrance thereto, disappeared to make room for the present structure which, except in the shape of its outer shell, is totally dissimilar to the corresponding south-west wing.

As it stands, Bolling Hall is the most remarkable his-

torical pile in this district, and both on account of its connection with local and national history, and because of its picturesque situation and ancient architecture, ought to pass into the possession of the Bradford City Corporation, as an appendage to Bowling Park, to be kept from the hands of the speculative builder and handed down as an heirloom to future generations.

We trust that the excellent views of Bolling Hall (taken by J. J. Stead, Esq., of Heckmondwike) which accompany Mrs. Tempest's paper, will in some measure be conducive to draw the attention of the citizens of Bradford to this historic building and lead to its being preserved intact.



BOLLING HALL.

Drawn by Miss Rhoda Federer.

(From a sixteenth century panel painting.)

BURIAL REGISTER
OF
BRADFORD PARISH CHURCH.

TRANSCRIBED BY THE LATE
T. T. EMPSELL, ESQ.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 414.

*Explanation of contraction in the second column: w. wife;
s. sonne; d. daughter; ch. child.*

1661.		
April	23	George Blanch, Bradford
	28	ch Nathan Hollins, Bradford
May	29	James s John Mathews, Eccleshill
	5	Thomas Rishforth, Thornton
		ch Joseph Milner, Claton
	6	Susanna w Mathew Jowet, Bradford
	8	Thomas Brockden, Bradford
		ch James Gleadhill, Horton
	9	Mary d Joseph Starkie, late of Bradford
	10	Thomas Turton, of Bradford
	12	Isabel Deine, of Bradford
	14	Edward Sharpe, Bowling
June	22	Mary d Robert West, late of Bradford
	25	John Booth, Maningham
	26	William ch James Bowker, Bradford
	4	Ann s John Rodes, Wilsden
	6	d Samuel Bower, Bowling
	6	ch William Hemsworth, Bradford
	7	ch Peter Metcalfe, Bradford
		ch Richard Roberd, Bradford
		Samuel s Michael Judson, Horton

	9	Joseph	ch Joseph furth, Horton
	10	Elizabeth	w William Greene, Bradford
	16		ch Mathew Procter, Bradford
			ch Mathew Askwith, Bradford
	18	John	s Edward Swaine, Calverley pish
	21	Samuel	s William Hamond, Horton
	22		Edward Hodgson, Bowling
	26		ch Richard Kent, Bradford
Feb.	1		ch William Feild, Shipley
			ch William Jowet, Bowling
	2	Thomas	s Henry Atkinson, Bradford
			John Jagger, Bradford
	4		ch William Ellis, Allerton
			ch Daniell Knight, Bradford
			ch Robert Bairstow, Allerton
	6		w Joseph Furth, Horton
	7	Henry	s Christopher Bradshay, Maningham
	15		William Pearson, Bradford
	19		ch John Crabtree, Heaton
	21	Hellin	d James Booth, Bradford
	24		William Aldersley, Allerton
	25	Jane	w John Smith, Bradford
	28		John Birkbee, Bradford
		Elizabeth	Ralph Miers, Maningham
March	3		Susanna Darran, Bradford
	7		ch John Sugden, Horton
	8		ch Richard Richardson, Bowling
	10		ch Francis Pratt, Bradford
	14		Michaell Sunderland, Bradford
			John Halmund, Maningham
	15		ch Jonas Northropp, Maningham
	18		Mary Parkinson, Bradford
		George	s George Westerman, Horton
	21		Grace Rayner, Bradford
			Ann Kellit, Horton

(123 Burials for the Year.)

1662.

April	8		John Horrakes, Maningham
	16		ch Joseph Dawson, Frizingall
	19	Nathan	s John Webster, Bradford
	23	Two children	William Worsman, Bradford
May	1	Richard	s Richard Wawker, Bradford
	2		Robert Vickars, Bradford
	3	Bastard child of	Joseph Hopkinson, Wilsden
	10		ch Steephen Tomlinson, Bradford
	22		ch William White, Bradford
	24	Deborah	d George Warde, Horton
			ch Steephen Gargrave, Bradford

	28		William Booth, Claton
		Ann	d James Whitickar, Claton
	29		ch Richard Killner, Claton
			John Atkinson, Bradford
			ch Robert Robinson, Horton
June	7		Thomas Holdsworth, Bowling
	11	Hester	d John Bentley, Maningham
	17		William Booth, Bradford
			Jane Bell, Allerton
	18		James Hill, Maningham
			ch Hugh Andrew, Bradford
	22	John	s David Parkinson, Bradford
	23	Mercie	d John Hardie, Maningham
		Richard	s Richard Sugden, Bowling
			ch William Marshall, Heaton
	28		John Halstead, Bradford
			ch William Burnley, Maningham
	31		ch Joseph Waterhouse, Bradford
July	2		Robert Summerscale, Eccleshill
	3		Walther Jobson, Bradford
	4	Hester	w William Marshall, Heaton
	8	Elizabeth	w John Rigg, Bradford
	10	John	s Thomas Hodgson, Horton
	11	Ann	w Richard Walker, Bradford
	14	Sarah	w George Wilkinson, Wilsden
	19		ch Henry Burne, Bradford
	27		Widdow Swift, Bradford
	29		w Richard Holmes, Bradford
			ch Abraham Bell, Heaton
	31		ch Burneley, Maningham
			Bridgit Barker, Bradford
Aug.	16	John	s Thirston Wilden, Pudsey
	19	Hellin	w William Speight, Bierley
		Mary	d Owen Byrrie, Bradford
	24		John Fletcher, Thornton
	25		Richard Westwood, Bradford
	26	Mary	w Richard ffeild, Bradford
			ch Hellin Clarke, Bradford
	27	Joyce	w John Sharpe, Horton
	28		Elizabeth Hollings, Horton
Sept.	11		Alice Roodes, Horton
	13		ch Jonas Woode, Bradford
	19		ch John Pullan, Bradford
	20		ch Joseph furth, Horton
			John Waterhouse, Claton
	21	Hester	d Abraham Brigg, Halyfax pish
	24	Frances	w Anthony Mason, Thornton
	26	Isabell	w Christopher Sugden, Horton
		Alice	w Joseph Waterhouse, Bradford

	28	ch Lawrence Fielden, Claton
Oct.	1 John	s John Walker, Calverley pish
	8 William	s William Rookes, Bradford
	7 Mary	w Thomas Fox, Horton
		ch Gamelliell Marsden, Allerton
	11	w John Mitchill, Bowling
	14	Steephen Gargrave, Bradford
	Margrit	w Peter Sugden, Bradford
	20 Mary	w Robert Jackson, Bradford
	22 Jane	w Richard Richardson, Bierley, gent.
	28	Jane Seede, Bowling
Nov.	4	James Phillip, Bradford
	5 Mary	w Hugh Currer, Bradford
	8 Isaac	s Robert Balme, Horton
	17	ch John Lister, Shipley, unbaptized
	18 Susana	w William Fearnside, Horton
	25	ch Samuell Hudson, Bradford
	29	Isaac Waterhouse, Bradford
Dec.	6	ch George Kirkeman, Bowling
	8 Sara	d Nathan Holdsworth, Bowling
	10	ch Jeremiah Claton, Bowling
		Elizabeth Booth, Shipley
	11	ch Richard Cordingley, Bowling
	13	John Hartley, Roughlee in Langkinshire
	14	Grace Nichols, Wilsden
	15	ch William Hemsworth, Bradford
	16	ch John Whittley, Bowling
	21	ch James Barnsley, Bradford
	Michaell	s Richard Sunderland, Bradford
	26	John Skott, Horton
		ch Joshua Holdin, Wibsey
		John Lister, Bowling
Jan.	1	James Bell, Horton
		ch Robert Tayler, Bradford
	8 Susana	w Robert Harryson, Maningham
	14	John Duckworth, Thornton
	22	ch Michael Sowden, Claton
		ch Richard Ellis, Bradford
	23 Alice	w Mathew Drake, Bradford
	26	John Wooler, Allerton
	30 Hester	w Tristram Aked, Horton
	Mary	d John Mortimer, Claton
	Wililam	s John Lister, late of Bowling
	31	ch John Mathewes, Eccleshill
Feb.	1	Mary Robinson, Wilsden
	2 Mary	w Joshua Wilkes, Bradford
	4	Sara Eastwood, Maningham
	6	ch James Gleadhill, Horton

	7	ch	Jonas Greave, Bowling
	11	ch	John Horsfield, Ecclesfield
		ch	John Howgate, Allerton
	15		Elizabeth Ingham, Claton
	16	Hester	d John Mortimer, late of Horton
	17	Alice	w William Collingson, Horton
	22		ch John Sugden, Horton
			Richard Craven, Thornton
	24		John Fearnside, Thornton
	28		ch Samuell Smallpage, Allerton
March	1		ch Nathan Holdsworth, Bowling
	4	Michael	s John Newell, Bradford
			Isabell Allerton, Allerton
	5		Abraham Whitar, Thornton
	9		ch Thomas Roodes, Bradford
	10		Richard Mortimer, Horton
	11		Abraham Bell, Heaton
	12		Grace Fearnley, Horton
	18	Mary	d Richard Walker, Bradford
			ch James Tomis, Bradford
			John Tomis, Horton
		John	s Jeremiah Jowet, Bowling
			ch James Tomis, Bradford

(130 Buriats for the Year.)

1663.

March	27	Thomas	s Mathias Milner, Bradford
	29		Grace Mortimer, Allerton
April	1		ch Richard Cordingley, Shipley
	2	Issabell	w John Bayly, Bradford
	3		Jonas Robertshey, Thornton
			Jasper Pickard, Shipley
	4		w John Duckworth, Thornton
		Hannah	w Michael Driver, Heaton
	6		Sara Netherwood, Bradford
	12		ch Robert Killerbee, Bradford
			ch John Kitchin, Eccleshill
	16		John Jennings, Thornton
			ch Francis Wilkinson, Claton
	17		Thomas Steevenson, Thornton
	18		Richard Ellis, Bradford
			ch William Binns, Allerton
	22	Mary	d John Thornton, Bowling
	25		William Clapham, Horton
	26	Mary	d Robert Spenser, Heaton
	28	Judeth	w John Fearnside, Claton
	30	Jane	w Nathaniell Smith, Bierley
May	3		Isaac Smith, Bradford
	5	Mary	w Joseph Feild, late of Shipley

	11	Martha	w	Thomas Wilkinson, Maningham
	15			Phabee Harryson, Horton
	16			Richard Skott, Bradford
	17		w	Samuell Hudson
	19		ch	John Smith, Wibsey
				Elizabeth Howgate, Thornton
	21			Robert Pickard, Shipley
	24		ch	James Sharpe, Bowling
	27		ch	Cuthbert Roberd, Bradford
June	3			Susanna Jowet, Thornton
	4			Jenit Crawshey, Wilsden
	5	William	s	William Sharpe, Horton
	6			William Wilkinson, Bradford
	9		ch	Laurence Feilden, Claton
	15	Elizabeth	d	Isaac Sharpe, Horton
	23			Mary Pearson, Thornton
	29		ch	Jonathan White, Bradford
July	10	John	s	William Pollard, Heaton
				Ann Killner, Allerton
	12		ch	Lioneld Fletcher, Eccleshill
	18		ch	Richard Hopkinson, Bradford
				William Law, Bradford
	17			John Bairstow, Claton
	19		ch	Joseph Waterhouse, Bradford
	20	David	s	James Garth, Heaton
	23	Alice	d	Oliver Hage, Bowling
			ch	William Woode, Claton
			ch	Thomas Peele, Bradford
	28			Jonathan White, Bradford
Aug.	1	Elizabeth	wife	William Wilkinson, Maningham
	4	Ann	w	William Pearson, late of Maningham
			ch	Richard Milner, Claton
	11		ch	James Snowden, Bradford
			ch	Mathew Sowden, Claton
	19	Mary	w	Henry Atkinson, Bradford
	22	Ann	d	William Tanker, Claton
				Mathew Prockter, Maningham
	24			William Wilkinson, Maningham
			ch	John Newell, Claton
	25		ch	Mathias Milner, Bradford
	29	Susana	d	Mary Williamson, Eccleshill
	31			Richard Sugden, Thornton
				Alice Chipingdayle, Heaton
Sept.	2	Alice	w	Nicholas White, Claton
	4	Abraham	s	Isaac Tayler, Horton
	14		w	Mathew Roodes, Horton
	18	Agnes	w	Ather Hurst, Claton
	19			Henry Sager, Bradford
	22	Susanna	w	Samuell Collyer, Bradford

			James Whitaker, Claton
		w	Andrew Jackson, Heaton
		ch	John Milnes, Bradford
			Susanna Milner, Claton
Oct	2		William Turner, Bradford
	3		Susanna Shaw, Bradford
	4		Abraham Greenwood, Claton
	9		James Walker, Heaton
		ch	John Greenough, Shipley
	14		George Linsley, Bradford
	19		ch Joseph Greenough, Bowling
			w James Wood, Bradford
Nov.	4		ch Elias Booth, Heaton
	7		ch Henry Lupton, Thorton
	12		ch Joseph Woods, Ecclesfield
	19		ch Richard Kent, Bradford
	20		James Claton, Bowling
	25		ch Thomas Greengate, Heaton
	27	Samuel	s Samuel Smallpage, Alerton
	29		Martha Poppewell, Bradford
Dec	4		w Robert Wood, Claton
	11	Isabel	w Samuel Crabtree, Maningham
	15		Richard Robert, Bradford
	24		w John Midgley, Claton
	29		Thomas Sharpe, Tong Lordshipp
	31		Samuel Jowet, Heaton
Jan.	6		William Pattyson, Bradford
		William	s Richard Kent, Bradford
	9		Waither Tayler, Bradford
	10		Mary Parkinson, Bradford, a stranger
	11		Thomas Sharpe, Bowling
	15		Jane Walker, Bradford
		ch	Jonas Greave, Bradford
	16	Susanna	w Richard Richardson, Bowling
	17		Joshua Milner, Claton
	22		w James Hall, Heaton
	23		ch James Hargreaves, Bradford
	26		John Crabtree, Bowling
	28		Francis Walton, Bradford
	29		ch Mathew Farrer, Bradford
		ch	Abraham Parkin, Horton
		ch	James Phyllip, Bradford
Feb.	4	Dina	w John Jowet, Maningham
		ch	Joseph Hollings, Horton
		ch	Richard Richardson, Bowling
	6		Richard Jackson, Maningham
	8	Jeremiah	s James Woodheard, Shipley
		ch	Joseph Millner, Claton
			Michaell Akeroyde, Bowling

	9	Widdow Sharpe, Bradford
	11	Two Children of Jonathan Aldersley, Allerton
	14	ch Joseph Shaw, Bradford
	17	ch Michaell Midgley, Thornton
	18	ch Nicholas Stead, Bradford
	19	w Abraham Riley, Claton
	20	Prudence w John Gregson, Maningham
	22	Judeth d Daniell Knight, Bradford
	23	Jeremiah s John Fournish, Allerton
	24	ch James Phylipp, Bradford
	26	Widdow Jowet, Wilsden
		ch Jeremiah Northrop, Maningham
	27	Thomas Pearson, Denham
March	1	James Copley, Bierley
	4	Susana w Abraham Brathwet, Claton
		ch John Hougate, Claton
	5	Richard Booth, Bowling
	8	Mary Stansford, Bradford
		ch Jeremiah Holmes, Heaton
	11	w John Robinson, Bradford
	12	ch Edward Jackson, Horton
	13	Jonas Haley, Horton
	17	Grace Toordof, Claton
	20	ch Jonas Dighton, Horton
		(145 Burials for the Year.)
	1664.	
March	25	ch Robert Summersgale, Eccleshill
	26	Rosamond w Thomas Greenegate, Bradford
	27	Isaac Mortimer, Bradford
		ch Richard Milnes, Eccleshill
	28	Joshua s William Akeham, Bradford
		Martha d John Bairstow, Claton
	29	Isabell Hargraves, Horton
April	1	Richard s William Kent, Bradford
	2	Mary w William Swalne, Bradford
	3	Richard Wright, Bradford
		ch Jeremiah Claton, Bowling
		ch Abraham Gleadhill, Thornton
	4	Margeret Garth, Heaton
		William Boockocke, Bradford
		Alice Pratt, Bradford
	7	Francis Smith, Bradford
		w John Wilson, Maningham
		ch Jonas Hamond, Horton
	8	Robert s Robert Hainworth, Claton
		ch John Roodes, Bradford
	13	William Worsman, Bradford
		John Weddall, Bradford, gent.

		William Bradford, Bradford
		in James B.ower, Bradford
		in Richard Foster, Heaton
		in Thomas Bower, Bradford
	William	in William Bower, Bradford
		in Jeremiah Wakehouse, Bradford
	John	in William Bower, Bradford
	John	in John B.ower, Heaton
	John	in Richard Foster, Bradford
July	Maria	in Richard Foster, King's Landing
		John Bower, Heaton
	Mary	in John Bower, Bradford
		in William Bower, Bradford
	Jeremiah	in William Wakehouse, Bradford
		in Richard B.ower, Bradford
		John Bower, Heaton
Aug		in James Bower, Heaton, Heaton
		in Richard Foster, Heaton
		Heaton, Heaton, Manningham
	Maria	in John Wakehouse, Heaton, Bradford
	John	in James Bower, Bradford
		Heaton, Heaton, Heaton
		Richard Foster, Heaton
		in William Bower, Bradford
		in William Bower, Heaton
		William Bower, Bradford
	Mary	in Thomas Wakehouse, Bradford
		in John Bower, Heaton
	Katherine	in Thomas Wakehouse, Heaton, Wake
		Heaton, Heaton, Heaton
		in John Bower, Manningham
		in Matthew Bower, Bradford
Aug	Jeremiah	in Richard Foster, Bradford
		Heaton, Heaton, Bradford
		in Jeremiah Bower, Bradford
		in Thomas Wakehouse, Bradford
		in Thomas Bower, Bradford
	William	in William Bower, Heaton
27	William	in William Wright, Heaton
28	Maria	in Robert Foster, Bradford
30		in John Maggrave, Manningham
31		in William Wakehouse, Bradford
Sept.	4 Mary	in John Bower, Heaton
	5	in Richard Foster, Heaton
	6	Maria Eastborne, Manningham
	8	John J.ower, Heaton
	10	Thomas Wakehouse, Bradford
	16	John Bower, Heaton
	Jeremiah	in Thomas Wilkinson, Eccleshill

		ch Robert Smith, Bradford
	Frances	d Steephen Pasley, Shipley
	24	ch Jonas Jowet, Thornton
	25 Elizabeth	d Richard Richardson, Bierley Jervas Dobson, Thornton
	28 Mary	w Robert Booth, Wibsey ch Richard Ellis, Bradford
Oct.	5	Abigaell Elsworth, Thornton
	10	ch John Preston, Bradford
	11	Abraham Balme, Allerton
	25	w Rodger Seedell, late of Bradford
	26	w James Garth, Heaton
	26 Elizabeth	w Thomas Hodgson, Bradford
	29	William Hurst, Bowling
Nov.	3	Widdow Ramsdin, Heaton
	Mary	w Isaac Swift, Bradford
	4	w John Balme, Bowling
	5	Elizabeth Rookes, Wibsey
	7	Thomas Greenegate, Bradford
		ch John Sowden, Claton
	16	Michaell Burnley and Mary his daughter, both of Maningham
	22	Jane Vickars, Bradford
	24	John Sugden, Horton
	27 Ann	w John Deane, Bradford
	28	Samuell Bower, Bowling
	29	John Booth, Calverley pish
	30 Elizabeth	w William Greenehough, Maningham
Dec.	10	Thomas Murgitroyde, Bradford
	12 Mary	w William Jowet, Heaton
	25	ch Michaell Burnley, Allerton
	27	Mathew Hollings, Bradford
Jan.	1 Ann	w Richard Warde, Bradford
	9	ch Brookesbanke, Shipley w Miles Wallis, Horton
	11	James Jowet, Wilsden
	12 David	s Samuell Smalepage, Halyfax
	13	Barbara Rookes, Wibsey
	Elizabeth	w Robert Rookes, Bradford
	16	w Robert Dawson, Horton
	18	ch John Sager, Bradford
		w Jonas Iredayle, Maningham
	27 Mary	w Richard Collingson, Bowling
Feb.	7	Martha West, Bradford
		ch Thomas Wiliee, a stranger
	8	ch William Lister, Bradford
	14	ch Bernard Ellis, Bradford
	17	Steephen Dixon, Bradford
	19	Thomas Holmes, Bradford

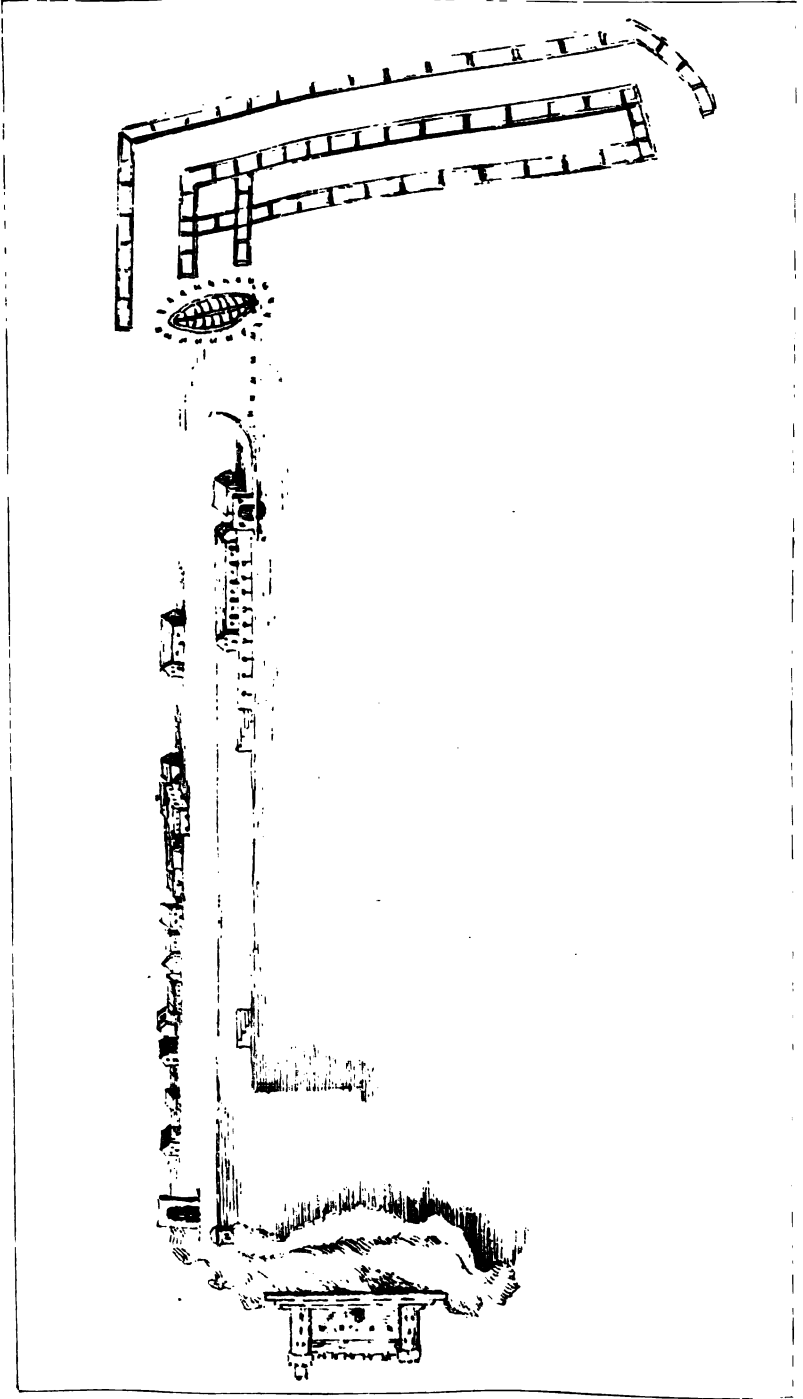
		James Lumley, Bradford
		Edward Wilson, Bradford
	John	Edward E. Johnson, Bowling, late Dec
		John Williams, Heaton
		Mary Ann Johnson, Tharston
March	2	James E. G. Heaton
		John Maningham, Maningham
		Mary Ann Johnson, Clifton
		John Hartley, Clifton
		William Walker, Wether

30 Burials for the Year.)

			Thomas Maningham, Bradford
March	24		Grace Jackson, Heaton
	29	ch	Samuel Marsden, Alerton
	31		Mary Hodgson, Bradford
April	2	w	William Kitchen, Bradford
			William Jowet, Alerton
	3		William Alerton, Bradford
		Grace	w William Eborcocke, Maningham
		ch	John Wilson, Maningham
			Elizabeth Sizer, Tong Lordship
	7		Grace Maud, Horton
	11	Grace	w Jeremiah Greenwood, Wilsden
	12	ch	Robert Clarke, Bradford
	15		Ann Vickers, Clifton
		ch	James Swaine, Bradford
	19	ch	William Rendall, Maningham
	22	w	John Holmes, Bradford
		ch	Stephen Waterhouse, Bradford
	28	Ann	w Thomas Ellison, Shipley
	27		w Abraham Tomis, Maningham
May	2		Ann Robertshey, Thornton
	8	Mercie late	w William Walker, Bradford
	9		Isabell Hollingdrake, Maningham
	10		Grace Sutherland, Bradford
	14		Alice Croft, Eccleshill
		ch	Thomas Wylie, Clifton
	17	John	s John Pollard, Bierley
		a Bastard ch of	William Smith & Ann Jobson, Bradford
	19		w Thomas Hartley, Clifton
		Thomas	s William Hopkinson, Bradford
	20	ch	Samuell Holmes, Heaton
	23	Ann	w William Nayler, Bradford
			w Thomas Chippingdayle, Heaton
	26		William Jowet, Thornton

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FROM A DRAWING BY)

THE MOLE AT TANGIER.

(R. T. GARKIN, ENO.

WHITBY IN MOROCCO,

BY

ROBERT TATE GASKIN.

(Read before the Society, 9th March, 1900.)

MOST people know something about the romantic little seaport on the Yorkshire coast, but they are few who have heard of Whitby in Africa ; yet the two were closely related and one gave its name to the other.

When Charles II. made the Infanta of Portugal his queen, he received as part of her dowry the city of Tangier. In his gossiping way Burnet relates some of the things said at the time anent the matter. As the policy to be pursued regarding Dunkirk was then in debate, the two places came into competition, and with no little heat men discoursed on their respective advantages. Both the French and Spaniards laid claim to Dunkirk, but it does not appear the matter was settled with any view to such considerations. At home the military party were strongly averse to the retention of Dunkirk ; they protested that, costly in peace, it was indefensible in war. Schomberg gave a different counsel ; he earnestly besought the king to hold Dunkirk, as he was satisfied it could never be taken whilst England kept command of the sea. It fell out about this time that the French made known their willingness to buy ; Monk said, "Take the money and let the place go," and in the end the argument that was strengthened by gold prevailed, and Dunkirk was sold. The price, 400,000 pistoles

(1549-50), was brought over from Calais in the king's pleasure boats, and his majesty declared his intention of laying it by in the Tower for a rainy day, but a quicker way was found for its distribution. In later years, when it was seen with how little advantage vast sums of money were laid out on Tangier, the loss of Dunkirk was deeply regretted, although we may be sure if kept it would have remained a source of irritation between the two countries.

In the meantime the value of Tangier was held up to an extravagant pitch. Burnet tells us that "such mighty things were said of it, as if it had been reserved for the king's reign to make it as glorious abroad as it was happy at home, though since that time we have never been able either by force or treaty to get ground enough round the town from the Moors to maintain the garrison."

When Tangier came into possession of the English the town consisted of about five hundred houses, one handsome parish church, a convent of Austin Friars, and nine other places of public devotion. The number of inhabitants was reckoned at between three and four thousand. It was protected by walls on the land side, and a strong castle guarded the place.

To be of any use as a port a protected harbour was a necessity; for this reason the Commissioners appointed by the king entered into a contract for building a break-water. This business was undertaken jointly by Earl Tiviot, then governor, Sir John Lawson, the valiant sea captain, and Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby, the latter having upon him mainly the burden of the work, whilst the Earl of Tiviot looked to the defence of the place and Sir John Lawson on board ship guarded the Straits.

Probably no man could have been found better fitted for the work than Sir Hugh. He was lord of the manor and inheritor of the rights, liberties, privileges and properties of the despoiled monks of Whitby; he had gained experience by his efforts to defend that place against the boisterous assaults of the stormy North Sea; he had made a study of the subject; he knew how it had

been handled by both ancients and moderns ; how the Dutch constructed their piers of wood, the Genoese of stone, framed and caulked like vessels ; but his chief knowledge had come from experience gained in his efforts to hold back the unruly waves of the North Sea from overwhelming the town of Whitby.

Having received the appointment, Sir Hugh took out men from Whitby to labour in the kind of work to which they had been accustomed. We have the names of several of them, with their rate of pay, as well as other items of expenditure taken from the Norcliffe manuscripts.

“For transportation of nyne workmen for ye mole from Whitby to London and given them to drink, £7 2s. For six months ending March, 1663, due to ye wives of the said workmen upon agreement :—

Lambert Thompson		Yearly £45.
to himself	£25	his wife £20
Christopher Mason	£20	„ £20
Thomas Eynely	£20	„ £20
John Edwards	£20	„ £15
Timothy Pickering	£24	„ £10
Duke Williams	£18	„ £10
William Harrison	£15	„ £15
Oliver Lister	£20	
Thomas Barker	£30	

paid each of the said workmen, being a gods' penny and more than their wages, one pound each £9

Richard Helling, mason, to have £40 a year.

Richard Bonas £30 a year.

June 10. Paid eleaven masons brought from Whitby to London by advance of their wages each two pieces of eight,* £4 19s. 0d. One month's victuals of 7 carpenters and smiths 13 July to 13 August 1663, at 20 pieces per month £6 18s. 0d. Matthew Combe, quarrier, hired with his son to goe to Tangier at £42 per annum.”

In August, 1663, the foundations of the mole were

* A piece of eight is equal to one Spanish dollar.

laid, the stone being brought in small sailing boats of only ten tons burden, built in England but fixed together in the place. The Earl of Tiviot was proving himself to be a wise and active governor, and one likely to hold his own against the assaults of the Moors; but his career was cut short on the third of May in the following year, when, with five hundred chosen men and all his principal officers, he marched into a wood two miles beyond Tangier where the enemy fell upon and slaughtered them all. His successor was Lord Bellasis.

Whilst the mole was in building, a fort was erected and named York Castle; the fortified village where the workpeople dwelt was called Whitby. The Yorkshiremen were not badly cared for, as Sir Hugh's journal informs us:

"1663-9. For beds and coverlets for ye Whitby men at their first coming, £4 18s. 6d.

"1665-6. Drink money paid 56 Yorkshiremen in full of their drink money from 16 Nov. to 20 January, £26 10s. 6d.

"Brandy. 95 quarts of brandy to ye men that waded in ye water Dec. 18, 1666. Wine. 12 quarter casks of wine for beverage for ye Yorkshiremen, £21 7s. 6d.

"1667. P^d a quarter cask of wyne to give the workmen belonging to the Mole that lye at Whitby for their extraordinary paines in the Whitsun hollydays, £1 13s. 3d.

"April 1670, 12. We laid at Whitby the foundation of a new fort to secure the point which my Lord Middleton judged most exposed.

"Dec. 26. We kept holyday and we entertained the workmen and their wives at Whitby and the great Mole, with the officers to the number of about five hundred, allowing each one pound and a half of flesh and a quart of wine."

In 1668 the King sent a charter to Tangier by which a civil power was set up with a Mayor and six Aldermen. English was the language in common use and the laws were English. "And this," exclaimed Sir Hugh in a

burst of patriotic pride, "was right. For my own particular, having had some experience of what kind of justice is to be had in other countries and how the same passes in our own (and I hope I do it not that I am biassed to be in love with our native customs but because it is true) that there is at this day less partiality and corruption among our English judges than is to be found in any other part of the known world."

In 1669 Lord Middleton, who had for some years been a prominent actor in public affairs of state, was sent out as Governor. At that time Sir Hugh Cholmley was in England, but on the 30th October he left London for Tangier as he tells us, "with my wife, my little girl Moll this day twenty five months old; my wife's niece Mrs. Mary Compton; three women; three men servants and a footman attending above stairs; a coachman, postillion and two grooms with seven coach horses, eight saddle horses and one sumpter horse." Mr. Sherwen also went with them as Chaplain.

With this company Sir Hugh journeyed by Bradburn and Canterbury to Dover where he lodged at the *Golden Dragon*. Thence he crossed the channel in the yacht *Henrietta*, which His Highness the Duke had ordered for the purpose. He travelled overland *en grand seigneur* to Bordeaux at a great expense. From Bordeaux they went by ship, arriving at Tangier in the April of 1670. This stately and leisurely way of travelling, with its great cost, was the cause of much ill-natured comment. At home there was an increasing discontent with the place, whilst on the spot there was considerable friction, the civil and military authorities not working well together. Sir Hugh says he found the Mole "under an universal disreputation from the breaches that had happened the two preceding winters." Already Colonel Norwood had written home that the work was the most dismal thing that eyes could behold; that the whole mole was sunken; that one hundred yards were taken quite away, and that unless his Majesty would give orders for its building after a new method, he did not

think it was worth the King concerning himself about it. This attack upon Sir Hugh failed and, as we have said, he returned to the work as Surveyor General.

Tangier was never anything but a white elephant to the English: they were never able to hold more than the bare city, in which they were often assailed by the Moors; yet Sir Hugh believed that, although he might not live to see the day, the time would come when the prophecy of Nostradamus should be fulfilled, "that the great empire shall be with England, the envy of the world, above three hundred years."

The total expense of the Mole from 1663 to the finishing of the work at the end of June, 1676, was £243,597 5s. 4½d. The accounts got sadly mixed. Thomas Povey, who had the oversight of them, was a prominent Fellow of the Royal Society, but his scientific knowledge did not save him from allowing his affairs to fall into serious disorder. He was called upon to resign his office as Treasurer of the Tangier Commission, and it came into the hands of Mr. Pepys, who had a remarkable skill in such matters.

Pepys was wroth because of Povey's blunders: he writes "Feby. 8, 166½ up and by coach to my Lord Peterborough where my Lord Ashley and Sir Thomas Ingram met Povey about his accounts who is one of the most unhappy accountants that ever I knew in all my life and one that if I were clear of in reference to my bill of £117 I would be hanged before I should ever have to do with him; and as he understands nothing of the business himself so he has not one about him that do. Povey, Creed and and I to the same business all the afternoon till late at night where, God help him never man was so confounded and all his people about him in the world as he and his are." Burnett says that every man who was employed at Tangier studied only his own interest. We trust he did not include Sir Hugh Cholmley in this charge. No one had better knowledge of the matter than Pepys, and he held Sir Hugh in great esteem, and writes of him, "he is a man that I love mightily as being a gentleman the most industrious I ever knew."

Nevertheless it is more amusing than edifying to look in upon the scheming of these men to secure the office of Governor. Sir Hugh himself was always sighing for it, and even spending time and money to secure it. Pepys writes, 1666, Feby. 5, "Sir Hugh Cholmley was with me this morning and told me of my Lord Bellassis' base dealings with him by getting him to give him great gratuities to near two thousand pounds for his friendship on the business of the Mole and hath lately underhand been encouraging to bring another man into his place as Governor so as to receive the money of Sir Hugh Cholmley for nothing." And again, "March 17. Here I met Sir H. Cholmley who tells me that undoubtedly Lord Bellassis do go no more to Tangier and that he do believe he do stand a likely way to go Governor, though he shewed me a young silly Lord (Lord Allington) who hath offered a good sum of money to go and will put hard for it ; he having a fine lady and a great man would be glad to have him out of the way. March 25. Sir H. Cholmley tells me that he do believe the government of Tangier is bought by my Lord Allington for a sum of money to my Lord Arlington and something to Lord Bellassis." Sir Hugh continued to complain strongly of the shabby conduct of Lord Bellassis, and his own hopes were put out when, as he told Mr. Pepys, Lord Middleton was for certain chosen Governor, "a man of moderate understanding, not covetous, but a soldier of fortune and poor."

In 1672 Sir Hugh Cholmley returned to England ; it is quite likely he came in pursuit of his settled purpose to gain the governorship. He was known to the Earl of Lauderdale, the statesman who gave the final initial to the Cabal ; who was high in royal favour and was therefore exalted to a dukedom. Sir Hugh went into Scotland on a visit to this great man ; it is possible his father had known the Duke. That statesmen had once been a zealous Covenanter but like Sir Hugh's father had changed sides ; had fought at Worcester, been taken prisoner and kept for years in the Tower of London ; Sir Hugh Cholmley had been allowed to pay his fine and live abroad.

The date returned the visit at the Abbey House, Windsor, which at that time was having its north front finished as it now appears although its roof has long since fallen in. The people of Windsor would have an opportunity of seeing the great man, as Burnett, who never leaves the walls out of his portraits, describes him—"very big, his hair red hanging oddly about him; his nose too big for his mouth, making him bedew all that he talked too, and his whole manner rough, boisterous and unfit for a Court." This may be true portraiture yet the same authority tells us that he was a fine classical scholar, whilst his tact was seen by the way in which in that difficult reign he kept his hold of the Court until natural decay forced him to let go. We need not be surprised to find that on the death of Lord Middleton Sir Hugh Cholmley sought to enlist this powerful influence in his own favour.

In his journal under the date of 1673, Aug. 17, he says, "I went early to Windsor where in the first place I visited my Lord Lauderdale and gave him more propositions about Tangier greatly to the king's advantage, offering, if I might be governor, in three years to make there a good harbour and to reduce the expense of the place to £20,000 the year. This put a stop to some fair advances which had been made in favour of Sir Robert Holmes, and generally it was said I should be chosen governor for Tangier."

"Aug. 18. The king gave many a good word; how sensible he was of my services, and commanded me to go to London and assist my Lord Keeper in putting all the affairs of Tangier into a good model, which accordingly I did, and stayed there adjusting the business of my accounts. The great competitors for Tangier being my Lord Windsor by the duke's favour; Sir Richard Holmes and the Earl of Inchequeen. There were many others but these were the greatest, and sometimes one was spoken of, then another; for a good while Sir Robert Holmes; then it held two months together chiefly for myself, insomuch as I was offered great wagers with

twenty to one odds ; and certain it is that no importunity could prevail against me for a long time. And this did not happen I think out of much regard the king had to my services at Tangier, but, being himself most inclined to Holmes (which the duke violently opposed) and set against Windsor whom the duke did seek to prefer—the king fell upon me by a kind of chance. At this time Inchequeen was in great desperation, but pressing the thing very closely several ways, he found means to engage the Duchess of Portsmouth, the Duke of Monmouth, and the Lord Treasurer who, although my own countryman, was not much known to myself, yet we always lived fair together. My Lady Portsmouth was so passionately moved as more than once to press the king upon her knees.”

Sir Hugh did not content himself with vicarious help ; he prepared a paper for the king which his majesty twice read over, and in the evening gave audience to him, being very gracious and calling him “ to the other side of the bed.” He sought to convince the king that they were in error who went about to persuade him that it was for his advantage to keep the business of the mole separate from the governorship of Tangier. He reminded his majesty that when the mole was begun it was deemed advisable to associate Lord Teviot, then governor, with its construction ; whatever reasons then prevailed existed still and with stronger force, since at first the work was under contract and every advantage went to the king’s profit. “ At present,” he said, “ your majesty pays thirteen pence for every soldier working at the mole, and the governor gets the same men to work at the fortifications for eightpence or ninepence, and thus there may be a third part saved in the wages. Then there being continually a frigate at the command of the governor, by buying a vessel of two hundred tons, at an easy charge, seamen might be taken from the frigate, their places being taken by soldiers, and then the vessel could be sent under convoy of the frigate carrying all sorts of stores at a cost very much less than that at present expended.”

Then Sir Hugh came more directly to the point he was aiming at. "It is possible," said he, "some one in my condition would have your majesty to grant the government upon the account of some service I may have done in that place, but I say quite the contrary. No past service ought to be laid in the scale of a public work, and sir, you have the whole world wherein to choose a fit man. I am most ready to encourage him with the resignation of my own salary, but I pray you consider that your honour and your interests are at stake!"

The king listened patiently, assured Sir Hugh that he looked upon him as a sincere and unselfish man, and thanked him for having spoken so freely to him; as to the matter of Tangier he would think about it. The royal consideration did not amount to much against the Duchess of Portsmouth on her knees. Four days after Sir Hugh dined with the Lord Treasurer, who congratulated him upon having spoken so plainly to his majesty; nevertheless, that very night Lord Inchequeen was declared governor.

In August, 1683, the famous John Evelyn was greatly surprised by a letter from his friend Pepys, written at Portsmouth, telling him that by the King's command, with only forty-eight hours warning, he was to go out with the fleet to Tangier; he did not know the purpose, nor did he trouble himself to enquire, but it is plain he was set up with the prospect. Evelyn congratulated him; clearly the King knew what he was about; it would greatly oblige him (Evelyn) if he would enquire about old coins and inscriptions at Tangier; also if he would not forget the gardens. Cicero had a table that cost him ten thousand sesterces, he would like to know if any such remained, and also what kind of cedars grew thereabout.

The expedition might have been a festive one to judge by the manner of it. "I shall go in a good ship," wrote Pepys, "with a good fleet under a very worthy leader in a conversation as delightful as companions of ye first forme in divinity, law, physic and ye usefullest parts of

mathematics can render it, namely Dr. Kerr, Dr. Trumbull, Dr. Lawrence and Mr. Shere with ye additional pleasure of concerts (much above ye ordinary) of voices, flutes and violons, and to fill up all good humour, good cheere and some good books, ye company of my nearest friend Hewer and a reasonable prospect of being home again in less than two months."

In January Lord Dartmouth, Commander of the fleet, wrote to Pepys, who may well have been at some distance trying to oblige his friend Evelyn: "You will easily imagine the condition we have been in here by the weather you have had where you have beene, but yet God be thanked we have struggled in it so far that the Mole is totally destroyed, very much more than you will imagine till you see it which I hope will be as soon as you conveniently can for when the Alcalde and I come to treaty of slaves I shall want both your advice and your assistance."

Sir Hugh had hoped that Tangier might become "something better than a little camp trading in drink and subject to the usual disorders;" yet, although Parliament had declared that any who should advise the giving up of it must be accounted enemies of their country; all the treasure and all the labour of twenty years were cast into the sea, but the ruins of Sir Hugh Cholmley's Mole remained for long a trouble to mariners when the wind was from the West, cutting their moorings and causing them to drift towards destruction.

As for Sir Hugh himself he went into Parliament, where he took part in the debates of his time, and was known as a warm defender of Lord Danby. He died in 1689, and was buried in the chancel of the old parish church of Whitby, where a few years later his wife, the Lady Ann Compton, was laid to rest beside him.

A LETTER
TO THE
REV. E. BALDWIN, M.A.,
MASTER OF THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL,
BRADFORD, YORKSHIRE.

[See Mr. Wm. Claridge's Paper on the Rev. E. Baldwin, on pp. 145 to 153 of Vol. I., Old Series, of the *Bradford Antiquary*. The sub-joined Letter was provoked by "A Letter to Major Sturges on the Injustice and Illiberality of his late Conduct, by the Rev. Edw. Baldwin, M.A.—York, 17 June, 1797."]

TO THE REV^d. EDWARD BALDWIN.

REV. SIR,

In the Letter which you have addressed to me, it seems to be your Design, partly, to throw public Odium upon my Character, by erroneously representing my late Conduct to you as highly unjust and illiberal ; and partly to censure and reprobate the Measures of the present Ministry ; giving by the Way, a Display of your own political Sentiments, and indulging your sarcastic Propensity, upon a neighbouring Magistrate, &c.

To those Parts of your Letter which, I imagine, concern me no more than the Public at large, I shall make no reply :—(only I think your Information respecting "the great Body of Men of landed Property,"—"Nine-tenths of the People, &c.," stands upon a similar Foundation, with regard to FACTS, as your Information respecting myself ;)—but will confine the few Observations I have to make, to the Accusations you have stated against me.—And, First, "Having been informed," you say, "that I voted for excluding you from the Coffee-Room, in the

Town of *Bradford*, on the 7th Inst. on Account of your *Political Principles*, you thought it necessary to make a few Remarks upon my extraordinary Conduct." Now, Sir, had your Information been *undoubtedly* true, or had it carried with it, even the *Appearance* of Truth, you would have had a Pretext *somewhat* plausible, for attacking my Conduct and Character in the Manner you have done. You know the Intent of voting by Ballot is, that the Vote of each Individual may be known only to himself; and of course, unless your Informers had equalled in Number the Persons who voted for you, (and this it is well-known was not the Case,) you could not be ignorant that the Information you received was founded merely upon Supposition; and therefore, not at all entitled to your Credit. To say, you had not Discernment enough to perceive this, would be an insult to your Understanding, such as I am not willing to offer. Neither will I assert, that your "Party Rage"* had its Origin in the wilful Perversion of Truth, as that would tend to invalidate your comfortable "Consciousness of meaning well."

I leave the Public to judge of the Propriety of your Remarks, admitting the possibility of their being founded in Truth.—But how, Sir, will that invaluable "Rectitude of your own Mind" support you; how will you dispose of the "Illiberality and Injustice," you have had the "Consolation" to impute to Major Sturges; or, how will any Man of Candour and good Sense, reconcile your Conduct upon this Occasion, to a Consistency with your professional character; WHEN I ASSERT, AS I NOW DO, THAT I DID NOT VOTE FOR EXCLUDING YOU, BUT ON THE CONTRARY, I ACTUALLY VOTED FOR YOUR ADMISSION INTO THE COFFEE-ROOM?

As to your interspersed Insinuations, that my political Principles are regulated by Motives of Self-Interest, they are equally unfounded with your other Informations. It is well-known, that I entered into the military Associa-

* See Courier. June 20th, 1797.

tion in which I am now engaged, a very considerable Time before I made any Contracts with Government—Long before the war broke out with this Country, and consequently, before I could possibly have any View of Contracts, or any military Office from Government ; my political Sentiments were exactly the same they are at this Moment. To be satisfied as to the Truth of these Assertions, you need only refer to the Papers of the Bradford Association, previous to the War.

I cheerfully accede to the Sentiment in your Title Page, expressed by the great Mr. LOCKE, "That we ought not to bear ill-will to any Man because he differs from us in Political Opinions. For different Opinions may be expected in Political as well as Religious Matters, and are no Disgrace to any one." And I will add, that mine are not, nor ever have been, "directed by *Self-Interest*." Nor do I bear the least Ill-will to you, because your Opinions do not coincide with my Own.

I apprehend this fair Statement of FACTS, will convince you, that your Remarks upon my conduct are improper ; and believing you to be a sensible Man, I hope you will as readily and as publicly retract them, as, from some Motive (surely not of *Self-Interest*, tho' it must be confessed your Letter is pretty well sold) unknown to me, you before published them.

I shall now take my Leave of you, by assuring you, that it is as far from my Inclination as it is out of the Way of the Occupation I am concerned in, to enter into Disputes of a political or controversial Nature ; and therefore, shall take no Notice of any further Remarks, or Observations, you may offer to public Notice. What I have now said, is intended solely to render due Homage to Truth.

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

JOHN STURGES.

*Bowling, near Bradford,
June 26th, 1797.*

WEST RIDING CARTULARY.

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TRANSCRIBED AND ABSTRACTED BY
CHARLES A. FEDERER, L.C.P.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 395.)

XIX.

Bradford. 29 January 1706.

This Indenture, made the twenty-ninth day of January, in the fifth year of the raigne of our soveraigne Lady ANN by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the faith, &c., Annoq Domini, 1706: **Between** JONATHAN TOMPSON, of Bradford, in the County of Yorke, yeom., of the one part, and JOHN MARGERISON, of East Bierley, in the s^d County of Yorke, yeom., of the other part; **Witnesseth** that the s^d JONATHAN TOMPSON, for and in consideration of the sume of twenty-eight pounds of lawfull money of England to him in hand paid att or before the sealeing and delivery of these p'sents by the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, whereof and wherewith he the s^d JONATHAN TOMPSON doth hereby acknowledge himselfe to be fully satisfied and paid, and thereof and of every part and parcell thereof doth clearly acquitt and discharge the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, his heirs, exec^{rs}, adm^{rs}, and assignes, and every of them for ever by these p'sents, and for diverse other good causes and consideracons him thereunto moveing; **That** given, granted, bargained, sold, aliened, enfeoffed and confirmed, and by the s^d p'sents for and from him, his heirs and assignes, and every of them, doth fully, freely and absolutely give, grant, bargain, sell, aliene, enfeoffe and confirme unto the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, his heirs and assignes for ever; **All** that Close of Land and pasture comonly called SYMONDOLE, with the appurtences lyeing and being in Bradford afores^d, and now in the tenure or occupacon of WILLIAM DICKSON or his assignes, together with all and singuler wayes, passages, waters, watercourses, comons, and pfitts, comodityes, easm^{ts} and hereditam^{ts}

whatsoever to the s^d Close of Land in anywise belonging or appertaining or to or with the same now or comonly demised, used, enjoyed or occupied, And the rev^{con} and revercons, remainder and remainders, of the hereby granted Close and p^{misses}, with all their appurtenances and every part and parcell thereof, And all rents and yearly p^{fits} reserved upon any demise made of the s^d granted Close and premises, And also all deeds, charters, evidences, escripts, munim^{ts} and writings whatsoever touching or concerning the p^{misses} or any part thereof, onely and true coppyes of all other deeds and writings which concern the same joyntly with other lands or tenem^{ts} of the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, bearing the charge of writing out the same coppyes, **to have and to hold** the s^d Close of Land and pasture called SYMONDOLE, and all and singuler other the p^{misses} before by these p^{sents} menconed to be granted, bargained and sold, with all their appurtenances, unto the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, his heirs and assignes for ever, to the only and seper use and behoofe of the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, and of his heirs and assignes for ever, **And the said** JONATHAN TOMPSON and his heirs the s^d Close of Land and p^{misses} above granted with all their appurtenances unto the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, his heirs and assignes, to the only proper use and behoofe of the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, and of his heirs and assignes for ever, against him the s^d JONATHAN TOMPSON and his heirs shall and will warrant and for ever defend by these p^{sents}, **And furtber**, the s^d JONATHAN TOMPSON, for him, his heirs, exec^{ts} and adm^{ts}, and for every of them, doth covenant, demise and grant to and with the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, his heirs and assignes, and to and with every of them, by these p^{sents} in manner and forme following (that is to say) that he the s^d JONATHAN TOMPSON is, the day of the date hereof, and att the time of the resealeing and delivery of these p^{sents}, the true lawfull and undoubted owner and inheritor of the s^d Close of Land and p^{misses}, with all the appurtenances and of the same and every part thereof, is and standeth lawfully and absolutely seized of a good perfect and absolute estate of inheritance in fee simple, and he hath full power and lawfull authority in his own right to bargin and sell the same unto the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, his heirs and assignes for ever, to the onely use and behoofe of the s^d JOHN MARGERISON and of his heirs and assignes for ever; **And also**, that he and the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, his heirs and assignes and every of them, to his and their own uses, shall or may lawfully, peaceably and quietly att all times from henceforth for ever hereafter have, hold, occupy, possess and enjoy the s^d Close of Land, and all and singuler other the premisses before by those p^{sents} mencioned to be granted, bargained or sold, with all their appurtenances in manner and forme afores^d, and according to the tenor, purport, true intent and meaning of those p^{sents}, without any manner of lett, suit, trouble, eviccon, disurbance, recovery, or incumbrance of or by the s^d JONATHAN TOMPSON, his heirs or assignes, or of or by any other person or persons whatsoever, lawfully claymeing by, from, or under him, them, or any of them; **And free** and clearly discharged or otherwise well and sufficiently from time to time and att

all times hereafter saved and kept harmeless and indempnified by the s^d JONATHAN TOMPSON, his heirs and assignes, or some of them of and from all and all manner of former and other bargaines, sales, gifts, grants, estates, uses, wills, intailles, leaces, morgages, joyntures, powers and title of power, annuityes, rents, arrears of rent, extents, judgm^{ts}, execucons, bonds, recognizances, and of and from all other acts, charges, titles, troubles and incumbrances whatsoever heretofore had, made, knowledged, executed, comitted, suffered or done, or hereafter to be had, made, knowledged, executed, comitted, suffered or done by the s^d JONATHAN TOMPSON, his heirs and assignes, or by SIMION BOWER dec^d, or THOMAS BOWER dec^d, formerly owners of the s^d Close, or by any other person lawfully claymeing by, from, or under them, or any of them (the rents and services to be from henceforth due and payable for the p^rmisses to the cheife lord or lords of the fee or fees thereof only excepted and foreprised); **And moreover**, that he the s^d JONATHAN TOMPSON, his heirs and assignes, and all and every other person and persons lawfully claymeing by, from, or under them or any of them, shall and will from time to time, and att all times hereafter during the space of tenn years next ensueing the date hereof, att the reasonable request and proper costs and charges in the law of the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, his heirs or assignes, or any of them, make, doe, suffer, knowledge and execute, or cause and suffer to be made, done, knowledged and executed, all and every such further and other lawfull and reasonable act and acts, thing and things, devices, conveyances and assureances in the law whatsoever, for the better and more perfect assureing and sure makeing of all and singuler the p^rmisses before by these p^rsents mencioned to be granted, bargained and sold, with all their appurtences, unto the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, his heirs and assignes, to his and their own uses for ever in manner and forme afores^d; Bee it by ffyne or fynes, recovery or recoveryes, or by any other matter of fact or matter of record, either onely or with or amongst any other lands or tenem^{ts} joyntly, soe allwayes as the s^d JONATHAN TOMPSON, his heirs or assignes, be not compelled to travell forth of the County of Yorke (except it be to the City of Yorke) for makeing and executeing such assureances; **And alsoe**, it is covenanted, granted and agreed by and between the s^d partyes to these p^rsents, and it is hereby expressed and declared that all and every ffyne and fynes, recoveryes, estates and assureances whatsoever had, made, knowledged and executed, or hereafter to be had, made, knowledged or executed of the s^d p^rmisses, either only or amongst other lands or tenem^{ts} joyntly, shall for the consideracon afores^d att all times hereafter be and enure and shall be construed, expounded, adjudged, deemed and taken to be and enure and shall be for and as touching and concerning the s^d granted p^rmisses to the only proper use and behoofe of the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, his heirs and assignes for ever, and to noe other use or uses; **And whereas** the s^d JOHN MARGERISON hath lately purchased to him and his heirs a Messuage called YEW TREE, standing near the KIRKE BRIGG in Bradford afores^d,

and a Croft or Close of Land and other hereditam^{ta} and appurtenances thereto belonging, formerly the inheritance of ROBERT PARKINSON dec^d, and DAVID PARKINSON his brother, or one of them, **And whereas** the s^d JONATHAN TOMPSON stands seized in fee of one Close in Bradford afores^d called HALLFEILD, formerly belonging to and parcell of the s^d tenem^{ta} called YEW TREE, the which tenem^t called YEW TREE and the s^d Close called HALLFEILD and other the lands thereto now and formerly belonging, stands charged and chargeable with a fee farme rent or annuall rent in fee payable to the Lord of the Mannor of Bradford, and whereof the s^d Close called the HALLFEILD or the owners of the same Close in respect thereof ought to bear and pay a proporconable share of the s^d rent; but the whole rent as well for the s^d ffarme as the s^d Close called HALLFEILD hitherto since the s^d JOHN MARGERISON'S purchase of the s^d farme hath by the s^d JOHN MARGERISON been paid and satisfyed and for the consideracon afores^d, and the s^d JONATHAN TOMPSON'S grant to the s^d JOHN MARGERISON of the s^d Close hereby granted, hee the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, for him, his heirs, exec^{tn} and adm^{tn}, and every of them, doth coven^t, promise and agree to and with the s^d JONATHAN TOMPSON, his heirs, exec^{tn}, adm^{tn} and assignes, and every of them, by these p^rsents, that he the s^d JOHN MARGERISON, his heirs, exec^{tn}, adm^{tn} and assignes, or some of them, shall and will from time to time, and att all times hereafter, well and truely pay and satisfye, or cause to be paid and satisfyed the s^d rent to the Lord of the s^d Mannor or other owners thereof, as well for the s^d Close called the HALLFEILD as other the p^rmises therewith charged and chargeable when and as the same shall become due and payable, and shall and will indemnifye and save harmless the s^d JONATHAN TOMPSON, his heirs and assignes, against the same, and effectually discharge the s^d Close called the HALLFEILD, and the owners and occupyers thereof of and from the s^d rent and every part and parcell thereof, **In witnesse** whereof the partyes to these p^rsents have interchangeably sett their hands and seals the day and year first above expressed.

(hæret sigillum) JOHN MARGERISON.

Sealed and Delivered (being written on double sixpenny stampt parchmt according to acts of parliamt) in the presence of us,

ABRAHAM BALME ROBERT GILL
THOMAS GILL

XX.

Bradford, 6 June 1746.

This Indenture made the sixth day of June, in the nineteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord **George the Second**, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the faith and so forth, and in the year of our Lord

one thousand seven hundred forty and six, **Between** CHARLES HOTHERSALL, of Yeadon, in the Parish of Guysley, in the County of York, yeoman, of the one part, and WILLIAM DICKINSON, of Bradford, in the said county, taylor, of the other part, **Witnesseth** that for and in consideration of the yearly rent and covenants herein after mentioned on the part and behalf of the said WILLIAM DICKINSON, his executors, administrators and assigns, to be paid and performed, the said CHARLES HOTHERSALL **hath** demised, leased, and to farm letten, and by these presents doth demise, lease and to farm lett unto the said WILLIAM DICKINSON, his executors, administrators and assigns, **All that** part or parcell of a certain Croft or Close of Land situate near the Church Bank in Bradford aforesaid, now in the possession of THOMAS BRADFORD or his assigns, as the same is sett out by metes and bounds, containing three yards in breadth at the west gable end of the said WILLIAM DICKINSON'S dwellinghouse there situate, to be graunted from one yard of ground which lies next the said house and belongs the said WILLIAM DICKINSON, and five yards in breadth from the north side or backside of the said dwellinghouse, and to extend along the said gable end in a direct line from the road or highway to an angle at the distance of six yards and an half or thereabouts from the north-west corner of the said house, and from thence along the northside of the said WILLIAM DICKINSON'S dwellinghouse up to the fence at the top of the said Croft, **To have and to hold** the said part or parcell of the said Croft unto the said WILLIAM DICKINSON, his executors, administrators and assigns, from and after the first day of May last past before the date hereof, for, during, and until the full end and term of ninety-nine years from thenceforth next ensuing, and fully to be finished and ended, **Yielding** and paying therefore yearly and every year during the said term unto the said CHARLES HOTHERSALL, his heirs and assigns, the yearly rent or summ of one pound two shillings of lawful money of Great Britain at the feasts of Pentecost and Saint Martin the Bishop in winter by two equal portions, **And the said** WILLIAM DICKINSON, for himself, his executors, administrators and assigns, and every of them, doth covenant and promise to and with the said CHARLES HOTHERSALL, his heirs and assigns, by these presents, in manner following, that is to say, that he the said WILLIAM DICKINSON, his executors, administrators and assigns, shall and will well and truly pay, or cause to be paid, to the said CHARLES HOTHERSALL, his heirs and assigns, the said yearly rent of one pound two shillings, according to the aforesaid reservation thereof, And also shall and will, at his and their own proper costs, make off and enclose the premisses hereby demised from the residue of the said Croft with a sufficient fence, and afterwards such fence shall and will maintain and uphold from time to time and at all times when and so often as occasion shall require during the said term, and shall not nor will not at any time during the said term erect or build, or cause to be erected, any dwellinghouse, barn, stable, or other building whatsoever on such part of the said premisses as is

above-mentioned to lye on the backside of the said WILLIAM DICKINSON'S dwellinghouse, except a necessary house, and that only on such part thereof as lies above the said dwellinghouse, and over against a building newly erected at the east end of the said house which is now used for a Brewhouse, and not elsewhere, and shall not nor will not at any time during the said term plant or gett any trees or other thing on the said piece of ground last mentioned, whereby the residue of the said Croft, or any part thereof, may be in any wise hurt or damaged, nor at any time make or open any door or gate out of the premisses above-demised into the residue of the said Croft, And shall and will permitt and suffer the said CHARLES HOTHERSALL, his heirs and assigns, at all times during the said term to plant and sett fruit trees in the said Croft, on the outside and against the fence, wall, or building which shall be made and erected to divide the said part of the Croft from the residue thereof, without any disturbance, and at the end or other sooner determination of the said term, shall and will yield up and leave the premisses above-demised, and every part thereof, to the said CHARLES HOTHERSALL, his heirs and assigns, peaceably and without suit in law, **Provided** always and upon condition that if the said yearly rent of one pound two shillings or any part thereof shall be in arrears or unpaid by the space of twenty days next after either of the said feast-days, whereat the same is above appointed to be paid (altho' not demanded) that then and in such case it shall and may be lawful to and for the said CHARLES HOTHERSALL, his heirs and assigns, into the premisses above demised and every part thereof to re-enter, and from and after such re-entry made this present Indenture of lease and the term and estate hereby made and granted shall cease, determine, and be utterly void and of no effect, anything above said to the contrary thereof notwithstanding; **And the said CHARLES HOTHERSALL**, for himself, his heirs and assigns, doth covenant and agree to and with the said WILLIAM DICKINSON, his executors, administrators and assigns, by these presents, that he the said WILLIAM DICKINSON, his executors, administrators and assigns, shall or lawfully may (for and under the said yearly rent and covenants on his and their parts to be paid and performed, and subject to the proviseo aforesaid), have hold, possess and enjoy the said demised premisses during the said term without any lett or interruption of or by the said CHARLES HOTHERSALL, his heirs or assigns, or any other person or persons lawfully claiming by, from, or under him, them, or any of them; **In witness** whereof the parties first above-named to the parts of these Indentures interchangeably have sett their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

(hæret sigillum) WILLIAM DICKINSON.

Sealed and Delivered (being written on treble sixpenny stamp parchment, &c.) in the presence of us,

HEN. HEMINGWAY.
GEO. ATKINSON.

XXI.

Manningham, 5 May 1621.

Wmnibus Christi Fidelibus ad quos hoc psens scriptum pvenit, WILLMS. LISTER de Maningham in com. Ebor. gen. salutem in Dno. sempiternam, **Sciatis** me pfatum WILLM. LISTER pro et in consideratione cujusdam summæ pecuniæ mihi per WILLM. CLAYTON de Allerton in Bradforddale in d^o com., yeom.; in manus fideliter solutæ, unde fateor me fore satisfactum et contentatum, d^{um} WILLM. CLAYTON, heredes, executores et adm. suos et eorum quemlibet inde et cujuslibet inde ptos exonerat^o et acquietat^o fore in ppetuum per psentes **Tradidisse**, demisisse, ffeoffasse, bargaineasse, vendidisse, et confirmasse, et hoc psente scripto meo de et per me, heredes et assign^a meos tradere, concedere, ffeoffare, bargaineare, vendere, et confirmare præfato WILLM^a. CLAYTON, hered^a at assign^a suis in ppetuum **Totam** illam meam parcellam terræ cont. per estimationem unam rodam jacentem in le HIGHFIELD in Maningham pdicto apud australem finem terram pdicti WILLM. CLAYTON nuper p quesitam de ROBERTO CRAVEN de Frizinghall cum ptinenc. in Maningham pdict. in dc^o com. Ebor et modo in tenur. sive occupacione pfⁱ WMI. CLAYTON vel assigno^m suor^m. **Habendum et Tenendum** pdictam pcellam terræ continent. p. estimacionem unam rodam cum suis ptin. pfto WMO. CLAYTON, hered^a et assign^a suis in pp^m, ad solum et pprium opus et usum ipsius Wmⁱ CLAYTON, hered^m and assign^m suorum in pp^m, tenendum de capitalibus dm^a feodi illius p. servicia inde prius debita et de jure consueta, **Et ego vero** pfs. WILLMS. LISTER et heredes mei pd^m poell^m terræ conten^m p. estimacionem unam rodam cum ptin. pfto. WMO. CLAYTON, hered^a et assign^a suis in pp^m ad usum supradictum ut pdictum est contra me pf^m WILLM. LISTER, heredes et assign^a meos warrentizabimus et defendemus in pp^m p. psentes **In cujus rei** testimonium ego pdt^a W^a. LISTER huic psenti scripto meo sigillum meum apposui, datum quinto die Maji, anno regni domⁱ nostri Jacobi Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensor, &c., decimo nono, et Scotiæ quinquagesimo quarto, 1621. (Signed and sealed) WILLIAM LISTER.

William Lister, of Manningham, demises to William Clayton, of Allerton,

one rood of land in the Highfield, Manningham, and adjoining in the east the land lately purchased by William Clayton from Robert Craven, of Frizinghall.

(ENDORSEMENT.)

Seisina de et in infrad^t pcell terræ continent p. estimacionem unam rodam cum ptin^a at charta privatas sigillas recte et parifite data et deliberata sunt die et amicis infrascriptis, et infranominatus WILL^a. LISTER in sua ppria psona infranominato WMO. CLAYTON et hæred^a suis secundum tenorem, vim, formam et officium hujus præsentis scripti in psentia eorum.

Witnesses:
Leonard Wilkinson,
John Clayton,
Robert Clayton,
Robert Illingworth.

(Signed) LEONARD WILKINSON
JOHN CLAYTON

ROBERT CLAYTON
ROBERTUS ILLINGWORTH
1620.

XXII.

Clayton, 9 November 1624.

This Indenture made the ninth day of November, in the twenty-first yeare of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., and of Scotland the fifty-seventh, **Between** RICHARD BEAUMONT, of Clayton in Bradforddale, in the county of York, collier, and RICHARD BEAUMONT, son of the aforesaid Richard, of the one part, and JOHN MIDGLEY, of Clayton aforesaid, in the aforesaid county, Maister of Arts, of th' other part, **witnesseth** that the said RICHARD BEAUMONT the father, and RICHARD BEAUMONT the son, for, and in consideration of the sum of five pounds of lawful English money to them, or th' one of them, by the said JOHN MIDGLEY immediately before the en-sealinge hereof, contented and paid, whereof and wherewith they doe hereby acknowledge themselves to be fully satisfied, contented, and payd, and thereof

Richard Beaumont, the elder, father, and Richard Beaumont, the younger, his son, of Clayton, demise to John Midgley, master of arts, of Clayton.

and every parte or parcel thereof doe clearly acquit, exonerate, and discharge the said JOHN MIDGLEY, his heires, executors, adm^s and assignes and every of them for ever by these presents, and for divers good causes and considerations them hereunto moveing, **have** graunted, demised and to farme letten, and by these presents for and from them and either of them, their and either of their heirs and assignes, doe graunt, demise, and to farme lett unto the said JOHN MIDGLEY and his assignes, **all those** three acres of land by the measure of seaven yards to a pchett, with th' appurtenances, in Clayton aforesaid, lately taken in and inclosed from the waste moore or commons of Clayton aforesaid; one parte or parcell whereof lieth att the head of a place called BRYANSLACK, als GRENESLADE, and adjoyneth to the lands now or late of the said RICHARD BEAUMONT, the father, of the north parte, and to the highway leading between Bradford and Halifax of the south parte, and one other parcell of the said three acres of land abutteth upon a certain place called SHEPEHILL of the south parte, and upon one great field or close of land called CLAYTON PASTURE of the east parte, and one other parcell and residue of the said three acres of land adjoineth to the lands of JOHN HOLLYNS of the north parte, and abutteth upon the highway leading between Halifax and Clayton aforesaid of the south parte, and which said three acres of land are

three acres of land in Clayton, lately taken in from Clayton Moor, one of the parcels being at the head of Bryanslack or Greneslade on the Halifax and Bradford Road; another parcel abutting on Sheephill and on Clayton Pasture, and a third parcel adjoining the land of John Hollins and the Halifax Road, John Hollins being tenant of the last.

now in the tenure or occupation of the said RICHARD BEAUMONT, the father, and of the said JOHN HOLLYNS or of th' one of them, their or th' one of their assignee or assign, **and also** all the edifice and buildings, erected and builded in and upon the said three acres of land

or of any pte thereof, with their appurtenances, now also in the tenure or occupation of the said RICHARD BEAUMONT the father, and RICHARD BEAUMONT the sonne; or of either of them, theyr or either of their assignee or assignes; which said three acres of land the said RICHARD BEAUMONT the sonne late had to him and his heires for ever of the graunt, bargane and sale of SIR RICHARD TEMPEST, knight; As by one dede indented thereof made by the said SIR RICHARD TEMPEST beareing date the seaventieth day of November, in the seaventh yeare of the raigne of our sovereign lord James the kings Ma^{ty} (that now is) of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the three and fouretith, more playnly may appeare; (**Saved** and alwaies excepted) out of this p^{se}nt graunt and demise, all mynes of coles, and all other mynes and quarries lyinge and beinge within the said premises; and liberties and reasonable wayes in, over, and through the same for digging, getting and carrying away of the same mynes and quarries; According as are mentioned to be excepted and reserved in and by the said excepted; **To have and to bould** the said three acres of land and the edifice and buildings thereupon builded; with all and singular their appurtenances (except before excepted) unto the said JOHN MIDGLEY, his executors, adm^t, and assignes, immediately from the date and makinge hereof, for and during the full end and term of one thousand yeares from thence next followinge, and fully to be complete. finished and ended, without impeachment of any manner of waste; **yieldinge** and payinge therefore yearly during the said termes unto the said RICHARD BEAUMONT the father, and RICHARD BEAUMONT the sonne, their heirs or assigns, the rent of one pepp corne att the feast of the nativity of our Saviour Christ (if it be asked) and no other or more rent unto the said RICHARD BEAUMONT the father, and RICHARD BEAUMONT the sonne, their heirs or assigns; forasmuch as the said sum of five pounds was paid aforehand for and in consideration of the same, and also yieldinge, paying, and discharging therefore yearlye from henceforth during the said terme unto the said SIR RICHARD TEMPEST, his heirs and assigns, all such yearly rent and boones as the said RICHARD BEAUMONT the sonne, his heirs and assigns, are and stand charged to pay for the said premises in and by the said dede at the feast and tymes herein mentioned; **and the said** RICHARD BEAUMONT the father, and RICHARD BEAUMONT the sonne, for them and either of them, for their and either of their heirs, executors, adm^t and assigns, and every of them, doe covenant, pmise, agree and graunt to and with the said JOHN MIDGLEY, his executors, adm. and assigns, and to and with every of them by these presents; that they the said RICHARD BEAUMONT the father, and RICHARD BEAUMONT the sonne, have not att any time

Also the buildings thereon.

These three acres, with the appurtenances were granted to Richard Beaumont the younger, by Sir Richard Tempest, as per deed dated 17 November, 1610;

excepting all coal mines;

for 1000 years; rent, one pepperoorn at Christmas, if demanded. Consideration, £5.

also reserving the rents and boons due to Sir Richard Tempest.

heretofore done, or suffered to be done, or either of them have not at any time done or suffered to be done, or that they or either of them, their or either of their heirs or assigns, shall not at any time hereafter, doe, cause, procure, or suffer to be done, any acte or acts, thing or things, which shall or may be in any wise p'judicial, hurtfull or hindrance unto the said JOHN MIDGLEY, his executors, adm. or assignes, in having and enjoying the said demised premisses or any pte thereof; **and also** that he the said JOHN MIDGLEY, his executors, adm. and assignes, and every of them, to his and their owne uses, shall or may lawfully, peacefully, and quietly, have, hould, occupy, possess and enjoy the said three acres of land, and the edifice and buildings thereupon builded, with all and singular their appurtenances (except before excepted), for and during the said terme of one thousand years, in manner and forme aforesaid, accordinge to the terme and true meaninge of these p'sents, without the lawfull lett, suite, trouble, eviction, disturbance, or encombrance whatsoever of the said RICHARD BEAUMONT the father, and RICHARD BEAUMONT the sonne, or either of them, their or either of their heirs, executors, adm. or assignes, or any of them, or of any other pson or psons whatsoever, lawfully claiming or which shall or may lawfully clayme by, from, or under them, or any of them, or by or through their or any of their means, consent, privitie or pcurment; **and free** and clearlye discharged or else sufficiently from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes (upon reasonable request to be made for the same), saved and kept harmless and indemnified by the said RICHARD BEAUMONT the father, and RICHARD BEAUMONT the sonne, their heirs and assignes, or some of them, of and from all former and other barganes, sales, gifts, graunts, estates, leases, mortgages, feoffments, jointures, dowers and titles of dower, statutes, recognizances, fines, issues, amerciaments, annuities, rents, arrearages of rent, intayles, extents, indigments, executions, acts, charges, suits, titles, troubles, and encombrance whatsoever, heretofore had made, committed, done, knowledged, or executed, or willingly or wittingly suffered or hereafter to be had, made, committed, done, knowledged or executed, or willingly or wittingly suffered, by the said RICHARD BEAUMONT the father, and RICHARD BEAUMONT the sonne, or either of them, their or either of their heirs, executors, adm. and assignes, or any of them, or by any other pson or psons whatsoever by or through their or any of their means or pcurments (the said yearly rent of one pepp corne, and such rent and boones as hereafter shall be therefore due and payable unto the said SIR RICHARD TEMPEST, his heirs and assignes onely excepted and foreprised) **in witness** whereof the pties above named to these indentures, interchangeably have sett their hands and seales the day and yeare first above expressed.

RICHARD X BEAUMONT, RICHARD X BEAUMONT,
his mark, the father, his mark, the sonne.

[Endorsement nearly entirely eaten out.]

Sealed and delivered in the presence of	}	ABRAHAM	_____	_____	_____
		WILLIAM	_____	_____	bancke
		ROBERT CRAVEN	_____	_____	nsten

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Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.

Founded May, 1878.

SESSION 1899—1900.

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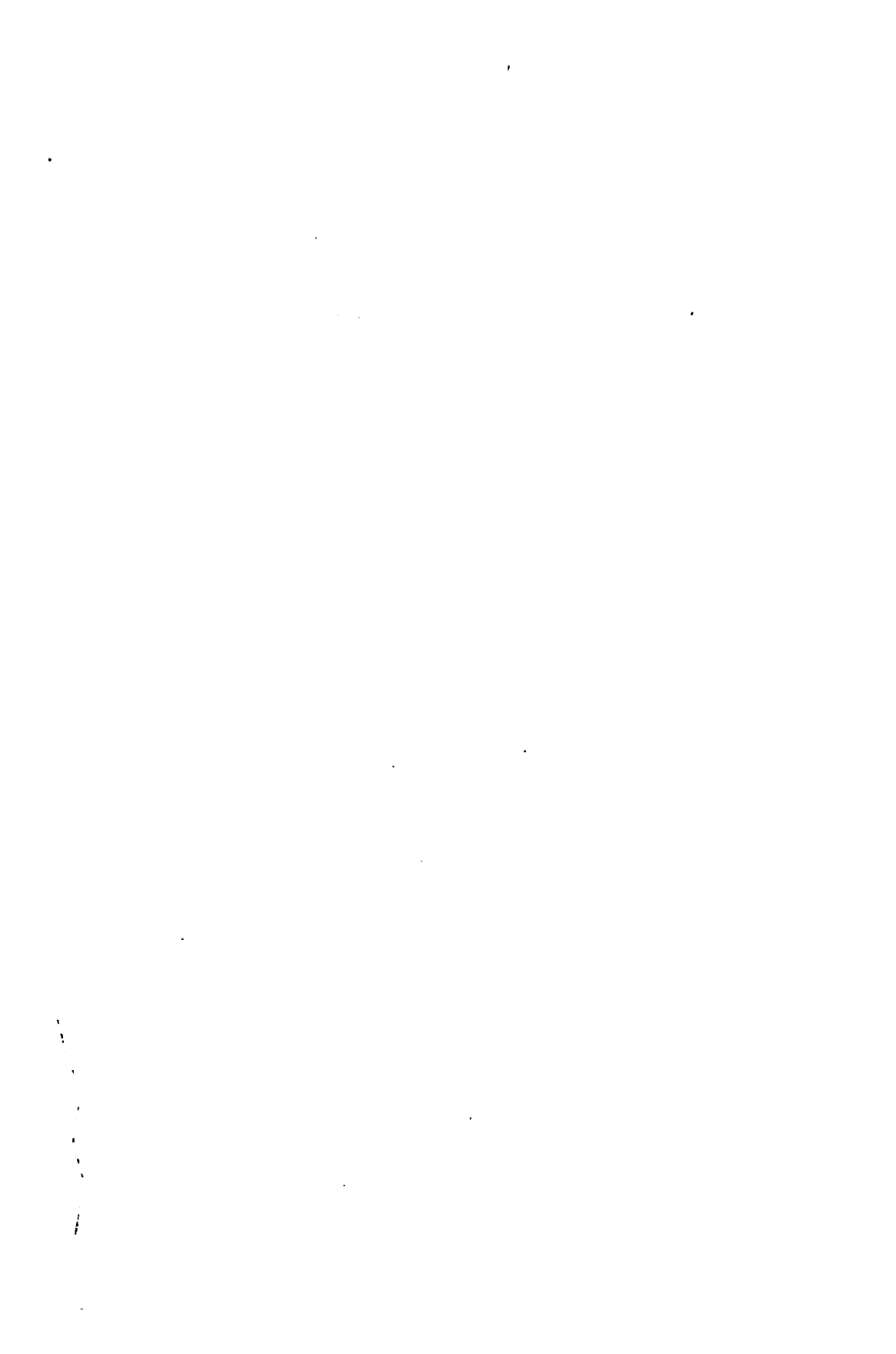
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The Session commences on the 1st of October in every year. During the winter months, a series of lectures on antiquarian and historical subjects are delivered in the Society's Rooms, Free Library, Bradford, the lecture night being the second Friday in every month; whilst during the summer months, excursions are organised to places of interest under the guidance of competent ciceroni.

The annual subscription for membership is 7s., and includes a free copy of the "Bradford Antiquary" which is published annually in July. Back volumes and parts of the "Bradford Antiquary" may be obtained from the Hon. Librarian, at the rate of 2s. 6d. for each part. Intending members are requested to communicate with the Hon. Corresponding Secretary who will supply every information.







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