



# YORKSHIRE.

PAST AND  
PRESENT.



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J. J. Winkler  
From H. Clarkson

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YORKSHIRE,

PAST AND PRESENT.







Reims Cathedral, France, showing the flying buttresses. (Illustration by G. H. P. N. S. 1888.)







# Y O R K S H I R E,

P A S T   A N D   P R E S E N T :

A HISTORY AND A DESCRIPTION OF

THE THREE RIDINGS OF THE GREAT COUNTY OF YORK,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE YEAR 1870;

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF ITS

MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE, AND CIVIL AND MECHANICAL ENGINEERING.

By THOMAS BAINES,

AUTHOR OF "LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE, PAST AND PRESENT," ETC.

INCLUDING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE WOOLLEN TRADE OF YORKSHIRE.

By EDWARD BAINES, M.P.,

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE," ETC., ETC.

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BRIDGE AND BUILDING



















WESTWERK DER KÖLNER KATHEDRALE









INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPE





## CHAPTER VI.

## SETTLEMENT OF THE ANGLES, OR ENGLISH, IN YORKSHIRE.

THE Angles, or English, as they have been called from the time of their arrival in Britain, established themselves in that part of England which lies to the north of the river Humber, between the years 420 and 600 of the Christian era. During that period they overran and conquered the whole of the district included in the present county of York, and from that and other conquests formed the kingdom to which they gave the name of Northumberland or Northumbria. This kingdom extended from the great river Humber, the southern boundary of Yorkshire, at least as far north as the river Tweed; and at one time even reached to the estuary of the Forth.\* It thus included the greater part of the present counties of York, Lancaster, Durham, Northumberland, and the less mountainous parts of Westmoreland and Cumberland, with some portions of what now form the lowland counties of Scotland. The Roman city of York became the capital of the kingdom of Northumbria, and the residence of the Northumbrian kings, at a very early period. The Anglian Northumbria, like the ancient British kingdom of the Brigantes, extended from the German Ocean to the Irish Sea; and at the most flourishing period of its history included some of the principal islands of the latter sea, amongst which were Anglesea, or the island of the Angles, and Mona, the present Isle of Man.†

The early history of the Angles and Saxons, especially in this part of Britain, is very obscure, and so mixed with fables that it is scarcely possible to distinguish where fiction ends and history commences. Almost all that is known with certainty is, that the Romans retired from Britain about 420 of the Christian era, leaving the country in the hands of the aboriginal Britons, who were of the Celtic race; and that about the year 600, when Augustine the monk, and Paulinus the apostle of the Northumbrians, came to preach Christianity in this country, they found nearly the whole of

\* Bedæ (Venerabilis) *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, lib. iv. c. 26. † *Ibid.* book ii. c. 5.

the present England peopled by the Angles and Saxons, and under the rule of Anglian and Saxon kings, of Germanic or Teutonic origin or extraction. Between the times of those two events there is scarcely a date in English history that can be relied upon; and though it is stated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, that Ida, the first king of the Angles of Northumbria, landed and began to reign, on the north-east coast of England, in the year 547 of the Christian era, it is not altogether certain that such a person as Ida ever existed; and there is still greater doubt as to the year in which the Anglian chiefs and their followers first landed on that part of the coast which lies to the north of the river Humber. If the date of 547 is correct, then a period of about one hundred years elapsed between the time usually assigned to the landing of Hengist and Horsa on the coast of Kent (which is generally assumed to have taken place in the year 449), and the date of the landing of Ida in Northumbria.

*Arrival of the Saxons in the Eastern and Southern parts of Britain.*—We know from classical authority that the Saxons and the Angles were tribes of Germanic origin, residing near each other on the north-western coasts and islands of Germany. Tacitus and Ptolemy speak of the Saxons and Angles by those names and in those positions, some hundred years previous to the earliest record of their incursions into Britain.\* The first of these two tribes which we read of in connection with Britain, are the Saxons, the frequenters or inhabitants of the *littus Saxonicum per Britannias*, even during the time of the Roman dominion.† They appear in the first instance to have occupied the coasts of the counties of Kent, Essex, Middlesex, and Sussex. In a later age they extended westward, along the valley of the Thames, on both sides of that river, to the Severn and the Bristol Channel; and along the south coast of England to the borders of Cornwall. The Saxons seem also to have been the first Germanic settlers in Norfolk and Suffolk, though those two counties were afterwards overrun and conquered by the Angles. Not merely were the original Germanic conquerors or settlers in Britain known to the Romans by the name of Saxons, but they seem also to have been known to all the Celtic tribes in different parts of Britain, and even of Ireland, as Saeson, Saoz, Sasunnaich, and Sagsonach, all of which are

\* C. Cornelii Taciti Germania, cap. 40. Ptolemæi Geographia, lib. ii. cap. 10 p. 148.

† Notitia Imperii.

intended to express the now familiar name of Saxons.\* The Saxons being the first comers from Germany, introduced into Britain the name which was afterwards applied by the Romans and the original natives of Britain to all Germanic invaders and settlers. But the Angles, who conquered much the larger part of the central and northern provinces of Britain, were always known to themselves as Angles or English, and ultimately gave the name of England to the whole of South Britain.

The incursions of the Saxons and the Angles into the British Islands differed greatly, as relates to the rapidity of the conquest and settlement of the country, from the irruptions of the other Germanic tribes into Gaul, Italy, and Spain, though the most important of them took place in the same age, and were accelerated, if not produced, by the same cause; namely, the irruption of immense tribes of Huns into Germany, and as far westward as the river Marne—between the years 440 and 452—under the command of the terrible Attila, noted even among barbarian conquerors as the Scourge of God. On the Continent the incursions of the Germanic tribes were made by land, and were effected by vast armies of fighting men, accompanied by their wives and children. These hordes, after a few victorious battles, either extirpated or reduced to subjection the original inhabitants, and in a few years took possession of, settled in, and peopled the conquered countries. This was the case with the Franks in Gaul, the Goths in Spain, the Lombards in Italy, and even the Vandals in North Africa. In those countries the invading armies, amounting in some cases to many hundred thousands of fighting men, with their wives and children, in a few years established the dominion of the new and victorious races over whole nations and vast ranges of country.

But in Britain, the only mode of invasion being by sea, and in small vessels, few of which exceeded in size the boats or barges of the present day, the progress of the invading Saxons and Angles into the interior was much less rapid. The first Saxon and Anglian invaders seem to have landed at strong points on the coast, such as the Isle of Thanet, Flamborough Head, and Bamborough Castle, where they constructed stockades of timber, within which they received supplies and reinforcements from Germany, and from which they gradually fought their way into the fertile districts of the interior. But their numbers must have been small at first, from

\* Words and Places, Rev. Isaac Taylor, p. 62.

the difficulty of crossing the ocean; and owing to the smallness of their numbers the progress of their conquests was slow. Many years elapsed before either the Saxons or the Angles succeeded in fighting their way across even the more level parts of Britain, from the German Ocean to the Irish Sea; and in the more mountainous parts of Wales and among the more rugged parts of the western coasts of England, the Celtic tribes were never completely subdued, either by the Saxons or by the Angles, though they were ultimately overcome by the more formidable arms and the more skilful military system of the Normans, who first conquered the Saxons and Angles, and then with their assistance completed the conquest of the Celts in the more mountainous districts. The mountains or hills of the Northumbrian kingdom thus enabled the Celtic tribes, in the north of England, to make a very long, and for many ages a successful defence, of the districts of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and of the hilly country which extends from the borders of Scotland to the south of Yorkshire. So long and obstinate was the resistance, that some of these districts, including the kingdom of Cumberland, were not conquered by the Saxon and Anglian kings until more than four hundred years after the time when the Saxons formed their first settlements on the coasts of Norfolk, Kent, and Sussex, or less than three hundred years after Ida and his immediate successors landed on the eastern shores of the kingdom of Northumberland.

It is also probable that, owing to the difficulty of crossing the stormy ocean in small and generally open boats, few of the original members of the Saxon and Anglian tribes, except full-grown resolute men capable of contending with the perils both of the sea and of warfare, took part in the early expeditions to Britain. Even in modern times, with immensely increased facilities for crossing the sea, and for settling in foreign lands, it is found that the number of female emigrants is comparatively small. This must have been much more the case in those rude ages in which the Saxons and the Angles first settled in Britain. Hence it is probable that most of the early Anglian settlers found wives amongst their female prisoners of war; and that the present English race is almost as much Celtic in origin as it is Saxon, Anglian, or Danish. This may serve in some degree to account for the points of difference which are still found to exist, along with many points of resemblance, between the Germanic and the English races.

The Angli, from whom the Angles were probably descended, according to Tacitus, formed a clan of the great tribe of the Suevi, who occupied the greater part of Germany, but were divided into separate tribes with names of their own, though they were called by the general designation of Suevi.\* The Angli resided near the shores of the Baltic, and were fenced in by rivers and forests. This position corresponds sufficiently with that assigned to them by Bede, and other early writers, who speak of the Angles as residing between the country of the Jutes, which is the present Jutland, and the country of the Saxons, which in ancient times extended to the German Ocean. The Angles must, however, have been merely the leaders of a confederation of invading tribes: for the whole district which the Angles occupied in Germany appears to have been no larger than a good-sized English county, whilst in England they overran and occupied the whole of the kingdom north of Essex, Middlesex, and the valley of the Thames, and extended their settlements northward even as far as the Frith of Forth. The German Angli could have furnished only a small portion of the conquerors of this great range of country; but they were no doubt reinforced by the other tribes of the Suevi, and probably by all the tribes of Germany. This is confirmed by the ancient British writer, Nennius, who, speaking of the German invaders of Britain, states, that the more they were resisted, the more they sought for new reinforcements from Germany; so that kings, commanders, and military bands, were invited over from almost every province. And this practice, Nennius adds, "they continued till the reign of Ida, who was the son of Eobba; who was the first king of the Saxon race in Bernech, or Bernicia, and in Cair-Affrauc, or Ebrauc." These were the British names for the city of York, and for the northern part of the kingdom of Northumbria.† Gildas a still older writer, who lived in the sixth century, and is supposed to have written about the year 546, speaks of the German invaders, by the name of Saxons, "as a fierce and imperious race, hateful to both God and man;" and describes their ravages "as extending from sea to sea, commencing on the east and not ceasing, until, after destroying the neighbouring towns and lands, they reached the other side of the island, and dipped their red and savage tongue in the western ocean." Gildas also speaks of the battle fought in

\* C. Cornelii Taciti Germania, cap. 40.

† The History of the Britons by Nennius, p. 29.

the neighbourhood of Bath, near the Bristol Channel, as having taken place forty-four years and one month after the landing of the Saxons.\*

In the north and centre of Britain the progress of the Angles was still slower; but they gradually overran the extensive districts afterwards included in the Anglian kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia. It is no wonder, therefore, that the whole of the southern part of Britain ultimately acquired the name of England, the land of the Angles or English.

*The Earliest Anglian Kings of Northumbria.*—So far as reliance can be placed on the names and dates which the Venerable Bede, and the authors of the earlier part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, collected from the traditions still current in their times, or from ancient annals, the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, of which the city of York was the capital, and the county of York the larger and more fertile portion, was founded by an Anglian or English chief named Ida†—the Flame-bearer—who is said to have landed on the eastern coast of Britain in the year 547, with a company of warlike Teutonic followers, conveyed in forty or fifty vessels, and probably not amounting to more than a few hundred fighting men. Two places of landing are mentioned in the early traditions; the one being Flamborough Head on the coast of Yorkshire, and the other the rock of Bamborough on the coast of Northumberland, both commanding positions, and capable when fortified, even with earthworks and a stockade of timber, of giving shelter to an invading force against large bodies of the native Britons. According to the more generally received opinion, the first settlement of the Angles of the kingdom of Northumberland was at Bamborough in Northumberland. This steep and almost inaccessible rock is said to have been originally named Bebbanburh by the Angles, from the name of Bebba the queen of Ida, the Anglian chief who led the expedition, and whose successors gradually conquered the country as far south as the river Humber, and, according to Nennius, captured York, the Roman capital of Britain. Both at Bamborough and at Flamborough Head are marks and remains of ancient fortifications.

The following is the brief account of Ida, first king of Northumbria, given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:—

\* The Works of Gildas, edition of J. A. Giles, LL D. 1841.

† The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, edited, with a Translation, by Benjamin Thorpe, London, 1861



"A.D. 547.—In this year Ida assumed the kingdom, from whom arose the royal race of the Northumbrians, and reigned twelve years; and he built Ebbanburh (Bamborough), which was at first inclosed by a hedge (a stockade of timber), and afterwards by a wall. Ida was son of Eoppa, Eoppa of Esa, Esa was son of Ingui, Ingui of Angewit, Angewit of Aloc, Aloc of Benoc, Benoc of Brand, Brand of Bœldaeg, Bœldaeg of Woden, Woden of Freothelaf, Freothelaf of Freothewulf, Freothewulf of Finn, Finn of Godulf, Godulf of Geat."

The whole of the above names are probably those of gods and demigods in the Anglian mythology; or if any of them are the names of men, it is impossible to separate them from those of imaginary beings. One name is invariably found in those lists, namely, that of Woden, whom Tacitus mentions ages before, under the name of Mercury, as the supreme object of worship of all the Germanic tribes; and probably no Anglian or Saxon king would have been considered to belong to the royal race, if he had not included the name of Woden amongst his ancestors. But it will be seen that the makers of Ida's pedigree were not content to stop with Woden, but went back to still older gods.

Ida is said to have been succeeded by another chief, of whom the following short history and long pedigree have been preserved in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:—

"A.D. 559.—In this year Ceawlin succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons, and Ælle assumed the kingdom of the Northumbrians, Ida being dead; and each of them reigned thirty winters. Ælle was son of Yffe, Yffe of Uxfrea, Uxfrea of Wilgils, Wilgils of Westerfalena, Westerfalena of Sæfugl, Sæfugl of Sæbald, Sæbald of Sigegat, Sigegat of Swebdæg, Swebdæg of Sigegar, Sigegar of Wægdæg, Wægdæg of Woden, Woden of Frithowulf."

In the earlier period of the history of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, it appears to have been subdivided into two smaller kingdoms or districts. One of these was Deira, extending from the river Humber to the Tyne, and including the present Yorkshire, Durham, and perhaps Lancashire; the other was Bernicia, extending from the Tyne, certainly to the Tweed, and at some periods even to the Forth. It is uncertain at what time and under what circumstances the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia originated; but they were united into the kingdom of Northumbria soon after the time of the introduction of Christianity into that state. The country about York, the capital, belonged to the kingdom of Deira; as well as the county of Durham, which perhaps still preserves some trace of the original name. Deira extended southward to the rivers Hull and Humber, and the district of Holderness is also supposed to preserve a trace of the same name.

*Ethelfrid, the last Pagan king of Northumbria.*—The first of the

Anglian kings of Northumbria, mentioned by the Venerable Bede, whose name and history bear undoubted marks of reality, is Ethelfrid or Ethelfrith—the Noble Peace, or Peace-giver. He lived and reigned about the time of the introduction of Christianity into the kingdom of Kent. He was the last and greatest of the pagan kings who reigned on the northern side of the Humber. He was also the immediate ancestor of some of the most celebrated of the earlier Christian kings of Northumbria; and to that circumstance we owe the interesting account that Bede has left of his life and exploits. 8

Speaking of the events of the year 603, Bede says, “that at this time Ethelfrid, a most worthy king and ambitious of glory, governed the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and ravaged the Britons more than all the other chiefs of the English; insomuch that he might be compared to Saul, once king of the Israelites, excepting only in this, that he (Ethelfrid) was ignorant of the true religion.” “For,” says Bede, “he conquered more territories from the Britons than any other king or chief, either making them tributaries or driving the inhabitants clean out, and planting English in their places.” “To him,” says Bede, “might justly be applied the saying of the patriarch (Jacob), blessing his son—‘Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.’”<sup>\*</sup> This formidable Anglian chief appears to have been victorious over Ægthan king of the Scots, “who inhabited Britain;” that is, the Erse or Highlanders, who occupied the northern part of Scotland, and were closely connected with the Scots or Erse of Ireland. In the year 603 Ethelfrid repulsed and defeated Ægthan, who had invaded Northumbria, at a place called Degaston,† inflicting on the invaders so complete an overthrow, that they never afterwards attempted to invade the Anglian kingdom. Ethelfrid was equally successful in a great battle with the Britons of Wales, fought in the neighbourhood of Chester, the City of the Legion, in 607. As Bede informs us, Ethelfrid, having raised a mighty army, made a very great slaughter of the unfortunate Britons, whom Bede describes as “that perfidious nation, at that City of the Legion, which by the English is called Legacester, but by the Britons more correctly Caer Legion.” Bede further informs us, that on this occasion Ethelfrid caused to be

<sup>\*</sup> Bede's Ecclesiastical History, lib. i. c. 34.

† Perhaps Dalston, near Carlisle; or Danston, near Jedburgh.



attacked and slain several hundred Christian priests of the famous British monastery of Bangor, on the banks of the river Dee, who had accompanied the army of the Britons to the battle-field near Chester, to encourage them with their presence and their prayers. "Thus," adds Bede—with a violent burst of national and polemical hatred very unusual in so good and kind-hearted a man—"was fulfilled the prediction of the holy Bishop Augustine (though he himself had been long before taken up into the heavenly kingdom), that those perfidious men should feel the vengeance of the temporal death also, because they had despised the offer of eternal salvation."\* In addition to the national hatred of the Angle and the Briton in those early times, was the fact that the Britons had received the doctrines and the practices of Christianity some hundred years before Augustine landed in England, and did not see fit to abandon the practices and the traditions of their ancestors, in obedience to the haughty commands of Augustine.

The close of the career of Ethelfrid was as unfortunate, as its commencement and its progress had been brilliant. Having ventured to engage in war with Rædwald, the king of the East Angles, he was defeated and slain, his dominions were overrun, and those of his children who escaped from the slaughter were compelled to take refuge among the Christian Britons, in the northern part of the island. There they were kindly received, and were taught the doctrines of Christianity, as held amongst the ancient British race. There also one of the most distinguished of them (Oswald), who was afterwards celebrated amongst the Christian kings of Northumbria, acquired a knowledge of the language of the Britons. This seems to have been either the Gaelic, still spoken in the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, or some other Celtic dialect spoken amongst the Picts in the south-western districts of Scotland, and probably in Cumberland. The former is an Erse or Gaelic dialect; the latter is supposed to have been a Welsh or Cymrian dialect.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives the following summary of the three great battles fought by King Ethelfrid; in the first and second of which he was victorious over the Scots and Welsh, and in the third of which he was defeated by Rædwald, king of the East Angles. He ruled a large portion of the country between the Humber and the Thames, over which Ethelfrid also asserted a right.

\* Bede, lib. ii. c. 2.

Speaking of the battle with the Scots, fought in the year 603, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says—

“A.D. 603. In this year Ægthan, king of the Scots, fought against the Dalreods and against Æthelferth, king of the Northumbrians, at Dægastan (Dauston), and almost all his army was slain. There was slain Theodbald, Æthelferth's brother, with all his host. Since then no king of Scots has dared to lead an army into this nation. Hering, son of Husa, led the army hither.”

Ethelfrid's battle with the Welsh is thus described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:—

“A.D. 606. In this year Æthelfrith led his army to Chester, and there slew numberless Welsh; and so was fulfilled the prophecy of Augustine, which he uttered:—‘If the Welsh refuse peace with us, they shall perish at the hands of the Saxons.’ There were also slain 200 priests, who came thither that they might pray with the army of the Welsh. Their chief was named Scromail (Brocmal), who escaped thence with some fifty.”

The following is the account of the defeat and death of Ethelfrid:

“A.D. 617. In this year Æthelfrith, king of the Northumbrians, was slain by Rædwald, king of the East Angles; and Eadwine, son of Ælle, succeeded to the kingdom, and ravaged all Britain, save the Kentish people only; and drove out the Athelings, sons of Æthelfrith; that was, first, Eanfrith and Oswald; then Oswin, Oslac, Oswudu, Oslac, and Offa.”

*Eadwine, the first Christian King of Northumbria.*—There was no fixed law of succession to the throne either among the Angles or the Saxons, except that it was required that its occupant should be a member of the royal family, and a supposed descendant of Woden, and the other kings and heroes of the Anglo-Saxon mythology. This want of a fixed rule of succession continued even down to the time of the Norman conquest; and was one principal cause of the incessant civil wars which so much weakened the Anglian and Saxon kingdoms. In the present case the throne left vacant by the death of Ethelfrid was seized by Eadwine—the Prosperous Chief, or Man—the son of Ælle, who not only made himself king of Northumbria, but ravaged the whole of Britain, with the exception of the kingdom of Kent. Indeed it appears that the kings of Northumbria and Kent regarded themselves as the only lawful kings of Britain, and waged war with great fury, though ultimately without success, against the East Anglian and the Mercian kings, who between them claimed the territory from the Humber to the Thames. When Eadwine seized the kingdom, after the death of Ethelfrid, the children of the latter were compelled to take flight, and found shelter amongst the Christian population of the kingdom of Scotland. Amongst them were Eanfrith, Oswald, and Oswy,

the two latter of whom adopted the Christian religion during their exile, and afterwards succeeded to the throne of Northumbria.

But Eadwine, the fierce warrior above-named, and the successor of Ethelfrid, was the first Christian king of Northumbria. He was chiefly induced to adopt this religion by the influence of Ethelberga—the Noble Pledge—his wife, a daughter of the Christian king Ethelbert of Kent; and by the teaching of Paulinus, a companion of Augustine, and ultimately the first archbishop of York, who had accompanied Ethelberga to Northumbria. She had been received by Eadwine in marriage, on condition that he would in no manner act in opposition to the religion which she professed, but give leave to her, and to all who came with her, to follow the faith and worship of the Christians. The adoption of the Christian religion by Eadwine was accelerated by a narrow escape which he had from assassination, and by the destruction of his enemies, which he attributed to the influence of Paulinus, and the religion of his own wife Ethelberga.

According to the narrative of Bede, in the year following the marriage of Eadwine with Ethelberga, there came into the province of Northumbria, to the neighbourhood of York, an assassin, sent by Cuichelm, king of the West Saxons, to murder King Eadwine. This desperate wretch had a two-edged dagger dipped in poison, in order that if the wound was not sufficient to kill the king, he might be destroyed by the poison. The assassin came to the king on the first day of Easter, as Bede informs us, at the river Derwent, where then stood the royal residence (supposed to have been the Roman city Derventione, on the river Derwent, seven or eight miles from York the Northumbrian capital). Being admitted to deliver a message from his master, the king of the West Saxons, whilst he was in an artful manner discharging his pretended embassy, the assassin rushed forward suddenly, and drawing his dagger, assaulted the king. Lilla, Eadwine's favourite minister, seeing the danger of his master, and having no buckler at hand to protect the king, sprung forward, and received the stroke of the assassin in his own body. So violent was the blow, that the point of the dagger wounded the king through the body of his follower. The assassin, being then attacked on all sides, after slaying another soldier, whose name was Forthhere, was himself overpowered and killed. "On that same holy night of Easter (Sunday)," says Bede, "the queen had brought forth to the king a

daughter called Eanfled—the Happy Birth. The king, in the presence of Bishop Paulinus, gave thanks to his gods for the birth of his daughter; and the bishop, on the other hand, returned thanks to Christ, and endeavoured to persuade the king, that by his prayers to Christ he had obtained that the queen should bring forth the child in safety, and without much pain. The king, delighted with his words and with his own narrow escape from the assassin's dagger, promised that if God would grant him life and victory over the king of the West Saxons, he would cast off his idols and serve Christ; and, as a pledge that he would perform his promise, he delivered his infant daughter to Paulinus to be consecrated to Christ. She was the first baptized of the nation of the Northumbrians, the rite being performed on Whitsunday, when twelve others of the king's relations were also baptized.\*†

After King Eadwine had recovered from the wound of the assassin, he marched with his army against Cuichelm, the king of the West Saxons, defeated his forces, and either slew or subdued all who had been engaged in the conspiracy. Before consenting to adopt the Christian religion himself, King Eadwine spent much time in inquiring from Paulinus as to the evidences of its truth, and in consulting with his wisest councillors; "and being a man of extraordinary sagacity, he often sat alone by himself for a long time, silent as to his tongue, but deliberating in his heart how he should proceed, and which religion he should adhere to." According to the narrative of Bede he was finally induced to decide in favour of Christianity, by a belief that he had seen Paulinus in a dream, at a time when he was in great distress in his earlier days, and that he had promised to him the security and restoration to power, at a future time, which he afterwards attained.

After holding a witan or parliament of his principal friends and councillors (the proceedings of which are preserved by Bede), Eadwine decided to adopt the Christian religion, the high priest of the heathen gods taking the lead in profaning the temple and then destroying it by fire. Bede adds, "The place where the idols were is still shown, not far from York, to the eastward, beyond the river Derwent, and is now called Godmundingham"—the Home Protected by the Gods.† This is supposed to be at Godmanham, not far from

\* Bede's Ecclesiastical History, lib. ii. c. 9.

† Bede, lib. ii., c. 14.

Market-Weighton, or Mechil-Wongtune, as the name is written in the "Historia Regum" of Simeon of Durham.\*

*The Religion of the Angles and Saxons.*—The heathen gods worshipped by the Angles and the Saxons were probably the same as those worshipped by the other tribes of the Germanic race. We know this from the names in some cases, and from a resemblance of the supposed attributes in others. There appears to have been a certain degree of dignity even in the superstitions of the Teutonic race. According to the statement of Tacitus on this subject, the Germans did not "consider it consistent with the grandeur of celestial beings to confine the gods within walls, or to liken them to the form of any human countenance. They consecrated woods and groves, and applied the names of deities to the abstraction which they saw only in spiritual worship."†

Woden, whom the Romans identified with their own god, Mercury, was the deity whom the Angli and other Germanic tribes chiefly worshipped;‡ and to this day there are numerous places and objects in England, whose names are derived from the fact of their having been places or objects dedicated to the worship of Woden. Among others is the river Woden, or Ouden, amongst the hills in the south of Yorkshire. All the kings of the Angles and Saxons claimed to be descendants of Woden, so that there is no difficulty in tracing the pedigrees from Woden down to Alfred the Great, and from him down to Queen Victoria. The name of Wednesday also preserves the name of Woden, in a slightly altered form.

Another of their gods was Tuisco, "an earth-born god, and his son Mannus," whom they regarded as the founder of mankind, at least so far as the Germanic race was concerned.§ The name of Tuisco is still preserved in the name of Tuesday.

In some respects Thor was considered even greater than Woden, as he was supposed to have the control of the thunder and the lightning. The god of war was worshipped under the name of Wig; the supposed goddess of war under that of Hulda. The village of Wigston in Yorkshire, and the town of Wigan in Lancashire, with many other in places in England, derived their name from Wig, the heathen god of war. Fridaythorpe, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, still preserves the name of the Teutonic

\* Simeon of Durham, vol. i.; the Surtees Society's publications, vol. II. pp. 21 and 210.

† *Ibid.* The Germania of Tacitus, section 9. ‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.* section 2.

Venus, Friga; whilst Satterwaite may perhaps preserve the memory of the fancied deity from whom Saturday was named.

Amongst the Germanic tribes on the shores of the ocean, of whom the Angli or Angles formed a part, there also prevailed a custom of worshipping the Earth as a goddess or divinity. Speaking of the Angli and other powerful tribes belonging to the Suevic race, Tacitus gives the following account of their worship of the goddess Eartha:—"None of these tribes," he says, "have any note-worthy feature except their common worship of Eartha, or Mother Earth, and their belief that she interposes in human affairs, and visits different nations. In an island of the ocean," perhaps Heligoland, the only point of Germany now belonging to the English race, "there is a sacred grove, and within it a consecrated car, covered over with a garment. Only one priest is permitted to touch it. He can perceive the presence of the goddess in the sacred recess, and walks by her side with the utmost reverence, as she is drawn along by heifers. It is a season of rejoicing, and festivity reigns wherever she deigns to go and to be received. Then they neither undertake a war nor assume their arms, and every weapon is locked up; peace and tranquillity are known and welcomed only on these occasions, till the goddess, weary of human intercourse, is at length restored by the same priest to her temple. Afterwards the car, the vestments, and if you like to believe it, the divinity herself, are purified in a secret lake. Slaves perform the rite, who are instantly swallowed up by its waters. Hence arises a mysterious terror and a pious ignorance, concerning the nature of that which is seen only by men doomed to die."\*

The two great lights of heaven, the Sun and the Moon, were highly honoured, and probably worshipped by our pagan ancestors, as they have been by so many other nations. Thus the Sun and the Moon joined, with Tuisco, Woden, Thor, Friga, and perhaps Satære, to give the old English names to the days of the week, which still continue to be used wherever the English language is spoken. There was also an ancient Anglian or Germanic divinity, to whom our ancestors gave the name of Eastre. This name has been preserved in the English Easter, the great festival of the Christian world. As we are informed by the Venerable Bede, it was at that beautiful season of the year, and at that interesting

\* C. Cornelli Taciti Germania, cap. 28.



festival of the church, that the Christian religion was introduced amongst our pagan ancestors:—

“King Eadwine, therefore, with all the nobility of the Northumbrian nation, and a large body of the common people, received the Christian faith and the washing of regeneration in the eleventh year of his reign, which is the year of the incarnation of our Lord 627, and about 180 years after the coming of the Angles, or English, into Britain. He was baptized at York on the holy day of Easter, being the 12th day of April, in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, which he himself had built of timber, whilst he was being catechised and instructed to receive baptism. In that city also he appointed the see of the bishopric of his instructor and bishop, Paulinus. But as soon as he was baptized, he took care, by the direction of the same Paulinus, to build in the same place a larger and nobler church of stone, in the midst whereof that same oratory which he had first erected should be inclosed. Having therefore laid the foundation, he began to build the church square, encompassing the former oratory. But before the whole was raised to the proper height, the wicked assassination of the king left that work to be finished by Oswald, his successor.”

After describing the progress of the Christian religion under the teaching of Paulinus, Bede observes:—“These things happened in the province of the Bernicians,” that is, between the Tyne and Tweed; “but in the province of Deira also,” which included the present county of York, “where Paulinus was wont often to be with the king, he baptized in the river Swale, which runs by the village of Cataract”—the Cataractonium of the Romans, and the Catterick bridge of modern times. In those days rivers and streams were the favourite places of baptism; for, as Bede observes, “as yet oratories or fonts could not be made in the early infancy of the church in those parts. But Eadwine built a church in Campodonum” (either Doncaster—the camp on the Don—or the present Almondbury, near Huddersfield, which is by many writers supposed to be the ancient Cambodunum), “which afterwards the pagans, by whom King Eadwine was slain, burnt together with all the town. In place of which the later kings of Northumbria built themselves a country seat in the district called Loidis, or Leeds.” But the altar, being of stone, escaped the fire, and was still preserved, at the time when Bede wrote his history, in the monastery of the most reverend abbot and priest, Thridwulf,

which was in Elmet Wood. By some modern writers of authority Barwick-in-Elmet, in Skyrack wapentake, a few miles north-east of Leeds, is supposed to have been the site of this ancient residence of the Anglian kings.

“Of Paulinus,” Bede informs us that “he also preached the word of God to the province of Lindsay” (a part of Lincolnshire), “which is the first district on the south-side of the river Humber, stretching out as far as the sea.” According to the testimony of a priest of Bardney Abbey, who had received the information from a person who had been baptized by Paulinus, “he was tall in stature, a little stooping, his hair black, his visage meagre, his nose slender and aquiline, his aspect both venerable and majestic.” Paulinus had also with him in the ministry, James the deacon, a man of zeal and great fame in Christ’s church, of whom Bede says, “that he lived even to our days.”

Eadwine was the first Northumbrian king who held the rank of Bretwalda, or paramount sovereign in England, so named from the Anglian words “brytt,” powerful or supreme, and “walda,” lord.\* This was an honour assumed by the most powerful of the Anglian and Saxon sovereigns, and submitted to by those of their contemporary princes who were not strong enough to resist their authority. The dignity of Bretwalda bore a faint resemblance to that of the German emperors, at the time when they were chosen by the old electors of the empire; but it was not permanent even as an office, and was never hereditary in any one of the royal families of the English or Saxon race. According to Bede, “Eadwine was king of the nation of the Northumbrians, that is, of those who live on the north side of the river Humber, and also, probably as Bretwalda, with great power he commanded all the nations, as well of the English as of the Britons, except only the people of Kent. He also reduced under the dominion of the English the Mevanian islands of the British, lying between Ireland and Britain, that is to say, the Isle of Anglesea (the island of the Angles, or the English) and the Isle of Man.”

According to Bede, the reign of the first Christian king of England was a period of remarkable peace and public happiness. “It is reported,” he says, “that there was such perfect peace in Britain, wheresoever the dominion of King Eadwine extended, that, according to the common saying, a woman with her new-born babe

\* Bosworth’s Compendious Anglo-Saxon and English Dictionary, London, 1848.



might walk throughout the island, from sea to sea, without receiving any harm."

But few kings or chiefs died peacefully in those days, and King Eadwine was not more fortunate, in that respect, than most of his contemporary chiefs. His overthrow was brought about by a conspiracy and combination of Penda, king of Mercia, the last great heathen chief of the Anglian race, and Cadwalla, king of the Christian West Britons. A furious and senseless hatred existed between the Anglian and Saxon Christians trained by Augustine and other Romish teachers, and the British Christians, who spurned their authority, though they were willing to live with them as equals. These two powerful chiefs having united their forces, led them across the river Humber; and a great battle having been fought, on the plain that was then called Heathfield, and is now known as Hatfield Chase, situate in the West Riding of Yorkshire about seven miles from Doncaster, Eadwine was defeated and slain on the 12th October, in the year 633, being then forty-seven years of age. In the same year was slain Osfrid, one of the sons of Eadwine; and another of them, Eanfrid, was afterwards killed by the ferocious Penda. "At this time," says Bede, "a great slaughter was made in the church and nation of the Northumbrians, and the more so because one of the commanders was a pagan, and the other a barbarian more cruel than a pagan: for Penda, with all the nation of the Mercians, was an idolater, and a stranger to the name of Christ; but Cadwalla, though he bore the name and professed himself a Christian, was so barbarous in his disposition and behaviour, that he neither spared the female sex nor the innocent age of children, but with savage cruelty put them to tormenting deaths, ravaging all their country, and resolved to cut off all the race of the English within the borders of Britain." Nor did he pay any respect to the Christian religion, which had newly taken root among them; it being to this day, says Bede, the custom of the Britons not to pay any respect to the faith and the religion of the English, nor to correspond with them any more than with pagans. King Eadwine's head was brought to York, and afterwards into the church of St. Peter the Apostle, which he had begun, but which his successor Oswald finished. It was deposited in the porch of St. Gregory, pope, from whose disciples he had received the word of life.

The affairs of the Northumbrians being in utter confusion by reason of this disaster, without any prospect of safety except in

flight, Paulinus, taking with him Queen Ethelberga, whom he had brought into Northumbria, with her returned into Kent by sea, and was honourably received by the Archbishop Honorius and King Eadbald. He also took with him many rich goods of King Eadwine, amongst which were a large gold cup, and a gold chalice, dedicated to the use of the altar at York, which were long preserved and shown at the church of Canterbury.\*

*The Reign and History of King Oswald.*—The death of King Eadwine, the first Christian king of Northumbria, and the flight of his sons, who were of tender age, for a time left the kingdom of Northumbria without a head. But an avenger and a vindicator of its independence was soon found in the person of Oswald—the Hero Chief—the son of King Ethelfrid, who has already been mentioned as the last pagan king of Northumbria, who, after gaining many victories, was himself killed in battle with Redwald, king of East Anglia. Amongst the sons of Ethelfrid were Oswald and Oswy, who were in succession kings of Northumbria, and who, after many struggles with Penda and the pagan Mercians, ultimately succeeded, not only in restoring the independence of the kingdom of Northumbria, but in conquering the kingdom of Mercia, and in establishing Christianity throughout the greater part of the central districts of England. But these great results were not attained without long and sanguinary conflicts, in the course of which Oswald fell beneath the sword of the heathen Penda, who was himself ultimately slain by his brother Oswy—the Hero of War.

The first battle between Oswald the son of Ethelfrid, and the pagan and British invaders of Northumbria, was fought near the present borders of Scotland, at a place named in the English language, Denisisburn, supposed to be Dilston, though the site is somewhat doubtful† In this battle Oswald was victorious. Another engagement took place at a spot named Heavenfield, which seems to have been not far from Hexham. Speaking of the scene of this battle, Bede says, “The same place is near the wall with which the Romans formerly inclosed the island from sea to sea, to restrain the fury of barbarous nations.” He adds, “Hither also the brothers of the church of Hagulstad (Hexham), which is not far from thence, repair yearly, on the day before that on which King Oswald was afterwards slain, to watch there for the health

\* Bede.

† Bede, lib. c. 3, s. 2.

of his soul; and having sung many psalms, to offer for him in the morning the sacrifice of the Holy Oblation." About the year 673 Wilfrid, archbishop of York, founded a monastery and erected a church at this place, which church, according to Richard of Hexham, was the most beautiful and magnificent ecclesiastical edifice in the kingdom. In both the above battles Oswald was victorious, and gradually recovered the whole of the kingdom of Northumbria, as far south as the city of York and the river Humber.

As soon as Oswald had recovered the throne of Northumbria, being desirous that all his people should receive the Christian faith, he sent to the chiefs of the Christian Scots, among whom himself and his followers, when in banishment, had received the sacrament of baptism, desiring that they would send him a bishop or teacher by whose instruction and ministry the English nation, or the nation of the Angles, which he governed, might be taught the doctrines, and partake the sacraments, of the Christian faith. In compliance with this request, the Scots sent to Oswald, Aidan, "a man of singular meekness, piety, and moderation." He was appointed bishop of Lindisfarne, afterwards known as Holy Island, on the coast of Northumbria, from which place all the churches of Bernicia, from the Tyne to the Tweed, had their beginning or their revival, as had also some of those of Deira between the Tyne and the Humber.\*

We are told that King Oswald, after recovering his hereditary dominions, extended them so far as to bring under his authority races of men speaking four languages, namely, those of the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the English. These were all dialects either of the Celtic or the Teutonic languages—the language of the Britons, then spoken in the mountains of Cumbria, being certainly of the former, and that of the English of the latter. Some authors believe that the language of the Picts was a Germanic or Scandinavian dialect spoken in the lowlands of Scotland; but others maintain that it was the ancient British language, that long continued to linger in Galloway and the more mountainous districts of the south-west of Scotland. The language of the Scots was the Erse, or ancient Gaelic language, then and still spoken in the highlands and islands of Scotland, in Ireland, and in the Isle of Man. The existence of four languages is mentioned by Bede in his account of the reign

\* Bede, lib. iii. c. 3.

of King Oswald. Oswald was educated among the Scots and spoke their language, as well as that of the Angles of Northumbria. Bishop Aidan, when he first came into England, does not appear to have understood the English language, Oswald having had to act as his interpreter.

King Oswald appears to have been a man of distinguished virtue and piety, and, according to the belief of that age, to have worked many wonderful miracles. Unfortunately, neither his real virtues nor his supposed miraculous powers were sufficient to preserve his own life or kingdom. In the year 642, after a reign of nine years, his dominions were again invaded by Penda, and as Bede informs us, "Oswald was killed in a great battle, by the same pagan nation, and pagan king of the Mercians, who had slain his predecessor Eadwine." The place of his death is called in the English tongue Maserfelde, which corresponds more nearly with Makerfield, in Lancashire, than with any other place. The district is at the south-western pass leading into Northumbria from Mercia, the kingdom of Penda; and at the time of the Domesday survey there were already lands and a church in the parish of Winwick, and district of Makerfield, dedicated to St. Oswald. There is also an inscription of great antiquity on the outside of the south-wall of the parish church, in which the death of Oswald is stated to have taken place in that district. In Penda's first invasion of Northumbria he appears to have entered the kingdom by the Roman road leading through Doncaster, and to have defeated and slain King Eadwine on Hatfield Chase. In his second invasion he seems to have entered Northumbria on the south-western frontier, by the Roman road leading through the district of Makerfield, and to have defeated King Oswald in the parish of Winwick, in that district. We know from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, that the rivers Mersey and Humber were the south boundaries of the kingdom of Northumbria; and that Manchester, as well as Makerfield, Warrington, and Winwick, were in that kingdom.

*The Reign and Victories of King Oswy.*—After the death of King Oswald, the throne of Northumbria was claimed by Oswin the son of King Eadwine, who for seven years governed that part of Northumbria which extends from the Humber to the Tyne. But at the end of that period Oswin was dethroned and slain by Oswy, the brother of Oswald, and son of Ethelfrid, who had been succeeded by Eadwine.

King Oswy, or Oswig, which means in the Anglian language the warlike hero, or the hero of Mars, appears to have been one of the ablest and most prudent, as well as the most successful chiefs of that age. To him belongs the honour of having finally vanquished Penda, the last great heathen chief of the Anglian race, who had destroyed in successive invasions his predecessors, Eadwine and Oswald. For a while King Oswy appears to have avoided a struggle with Penda by prudent concessions; but at length the insolence and the threats of the pagan chief became so unbearable, that King Oswy collected all his forces and prepared for a final struggle with Penda, who was advancing against him at the head of an immense army, formed of his own forces and of those of no less than thirty allied or tributary chiefs. The great battle, which probably decided whether the kingdom of Northumbria should be Christian or Pagan, was fought in the district of Loidis, or Leeds, in the year 655. "The engagement beginning," says Bede, "the pagans were defeated;" the thirty commanders and all those who had come to their assistance were put to flight, and almost all of them slain. Amongst them were Penda himself and Ethelhere, brother and successor to Anna, king of the East Angles, who had been the occasion of the war, and who was now killed with all his soldiers. The battle was fought near the river Winwed, which then with recent rains had not only filled its channel, but overflowed its banks, so that many more of the defeated army were drowned in flight than destroyed by the sword. Some uncertainty exists as to the river which Bede describes by the name of the Winwed, which means the battle stream, or meadow; but he states that the war with Penda was concluded in the country of Loidis, or Leeds, and it has been generally assumed that the decisive battle was fought on Winmoor, between the Aire and the Wharfe, and not far from Barwick-in-Elmet, where the Anglian kings had a royal residence.

Previous to the great battle which decided his own fate and that of his army, King Oswy, according to the superstitions of that time, devoted to perpetual virginity his infant daughter Enflada, who was scarce a year old. After his decisive victory over Penda, he dedicated to the founding of monasteries twelve portions of land, six of which were in the province of Deira, between the Humber and the Tyne, and the other six in the province of the Bernicians, to the north of the latter river. Each

of the said possessions, as Bede informs us, contained ten families, that is, 120 in all. He does not inform us whether these were families of freemen or serfs; but from his language we should rather infer that they were attached to the soil, and not altogether free. Even previous to the invasion of Britain by the Angles a kind of serfdom prevailed amongst the German tribes, which no doubt continued after their arrival in Britain. On this subject Tacitus says in his "Germania," that "the other slaves are not employed after our (the Roman) manner, with distinct domestic duties assigned to them, but each one has the management of a house and home of his own. The master requires from the slave a certain quantity of grain, of cattle, and of clothing, as he would from a tenant; and this is the limit of subjection. All other household functions are discharged by the wife and children. To strike a slave, or to punish him with bonds or with hard labour, is a rare occurrence. They often kill them, not in enforcing strict discipline, but on the impulse of passion, as they would an enemy, only it is done with impunity. The freedmen (those who have been slaves) do not rank much above slaves, and are seldom of any weight in the family, never in the state, with the exception of those tribes which are ruled by kings. There indeed they rise above the free born and the noble; elsewhere the inferiority of the freedman marks the freedom of the state." These are the sentiments of a Roman patrician and slave-owner, who "thought it freedom when himself was free." They serve to show that there were degrees in ancient slavery, and that that of the rude Germans was not quite so hard as that of the polished Romans. A serfdom or slavery of the kind described, in the first part of the above quotation from Tacitus, as existing amongst the Germans, continued to prevail amongst their Anglian or English descendants for many hundred years after the adoption of Christianity in this country; but it was mitigated in its spirit by the influence of Christianity, and it finally disappeared, about three hundred years from the present time, under the influence of religion, knowledge, and the love of freedom.

The daughter of King Oswy, like the daughter of Jephtha, was sacrificed to insure victory for her father, but the sacrifice was one of freedom, and perhaps of happiness, not of life. The venerable Bede gives the following brief account of her life and fortunes:—

"The aforesaid daughter of King Oswy, thus dedicated to God, was put into the monastery called Heruteu (Hartlepool), or the Island

of the Hart, where at that time the Abbess Hilda presided; and two years after, having acquired a possession of ten families at the place called Streaneshalch, the Bay of the Lighthouse, (Whitby, in the North Riding of Yorkshire), she built a monastery there, in which the aforesaid king's daughter (Elfreda) was first a learner, and afterwards a teacher, of monastic life. In that same monastery, she and her father Oswy, her mother Ealfed, her brother's father Edwin, and many other noble persons, are buried in the church of the holy apostle Peter. King Oswy concluded the aforesaid war in the district of Loidis (Leeds) in the thirteenth year of his reign, on the 13th of November, to the great benefit of both nations; for he both delivered his own people from the hostile depredations of pagans, and having cut off the wicked king's (Penda's) head, converted the Mercians and the adjacent provinces to the grace of the Christian faith."\*

Before taking leave of the great civilizing event in the history of the Angles of Northumbria, namely, the introduction of Christianity in the place of Heathenism, we ought briefly to mention the names of three other eminent men who took part in bringing about that result. We have already spoken of Paulinus, of Eadwine, and of Oswald, and ought not to pass without notice the names of Aidan, Chadd, and Coleman, three great teachers, all belonging to the early Christian church of Britain. The Venerable Bede, though he looked upon them with disapprobation, as members of a church which differed in some respects from his own, has done justice to their great qualities.

*The Life and Character of Bishop Aidan.*—Aidan, the Scottish bishop sent into Northumbria at the request of King Oswald, may justly claim to share with Paulinus the title of the apostle of the Angles. After the Christian religion, as introduced by Paulinus amongst the Angles in the country lying to the north of the river Humber, had for a time been extinguished by the ravages of the pagan armies of Penda; and after Paulinus himself had been compelled to take refuge in the more peaceful regions of Kent, in which kingdom he held the office of bishop of Rochester to the time of his death—Christianity slowly revived under the influence of King Oswald and of Bishop Aidan, whom Oswald had introduced to instruct his subjects of the Anglian race. Although Bede entertained some prejudice against Aidan, on account of his refusal to

\* Bede, c. 24, p. 152.



follow the teaching of the Romish priests on the subject of the keeping of Easter, he seems to have been greatly struck with the noble character of the Scottish bishop. Of him he says :—"I have written thus much concerning the person and works of the aforesaid Aidan, in no way commending or approving what he imperfectly understood in relation to the observance of Easter; but, like an impartial historian, relating what was done by or with him, and commending such things as are praiseworthy in his actions, and preserving the memory thereof for the benefit of my readers: namely, his love of peace and charity; his continence and humility; his mind superior to anger and avarice, and despising pride and vainglory; his industry in keeping and teaching the heavenly commandments; his diligence in reading and watching; his authority, becoming a priest, in reproving the haughty and powerful; and at the same time, his tenderness in comforting the afflicted, and relieving or defending the poor. To say all in a few words, as near as I could be informed from those who knew him, he took care to omit none of those things which he found in the apostolical or prophetic writings, but to the utmost of his power endeavoured to perform them all."\*

*The Bishop Cedd or Chadd.*—After the death of Aidan, another bishop of the Scottish race, named Cedd or Chadd, appears to have been appointed as his successor. King Ethelwald, the son of King Oswald, who reigned for a short time amongst the Deiri, or people of the kingdom of Deira, which included the present counties of York and Durham, finding him to be a holy, wise, and good man, desired him to accept some land to build a monastery, to which the king himself might frequently resort to offer his prayers and hear the word of God, and where he might be buried when he died. In consequence of this request he built a monastery, which in Bede's time was named Lestingau, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, and therein established the religious customs of Lindisfarne, in which he had been educated. It is supposed that this monastery was situate at Lavingham, in Cleveland. Dugdale says in his "Monasticon," vol. i. p. 342, that it was situated in the deanery of Rydale, at no great distance from Whitby. It was completely ruined in the invasions of the Danes, in the year 870. "The beautiful old Saxon church at Lavingham," remarks Mr. Stevenson, in his edition of Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," "if not the

\* Bede, Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. c. 17.



original building of Cedd, or his brother Chadd, is one of the oldest churches in the kingdom." "When seeking for a situation," as Bede informs us, "Chadd chose himself a place to build a monastery among craggy and distant mountains, which looked more like lurking-places for robbers and retreats of wild beasts, than habitations for men."\*

*Bishop Coleman.*—After the death of Bishop Cedd, or Chadd, Coleman became bishop of the Northumbrians. In his time, the dispute between the Scottish and Romish priests about the mode and time of keeping Easter, which had raged more or less fiercely from the time of Augustine, again broke out. In the hope of bringing the controversy to a close, King Oswy and his son Alfrid called together a synod at the present town of Whitby, in Yorkshire. After a long debate King Oswy and the synod came to the conclusion that the followers of Augustine had made out the better case, and gave the decision in their favour. The result was that Coleman, the leading bishop of the Scots, "perceiving that his doctrine was rejected and his sect despised, returned to Scotland, carrying with him part of the bones of Aidan, but leaving part of them in the church where he had resided, ordering them to be interred in the sacristy."

*The Reign of King Egfrid.*—Oswy, king of the Northumbrians, died in the year 670, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son Egfrid. In the eighth year of the reign of Egfrid, or Ecefrid—Eternal Peace, in the Anglian language—in the month of August appeared a comet, which continued visible for three months, "rising in the morning and darting out, as it were, a pillar of radiant flame." This seems to have been thought ominous by some, as Bede informs us that in the same year a dissension broke out between King Egfrid and the most reverend prelate, Wilfrid; who was driven from his see, and two bishops substituted in his stead, to preside over the nation of the Northumbrians; namely, Bosa to preside over the nation of the Deiri, and Eatæ over that of the Bernicians. The former had his see in the city of York, the latter in the church of Hagulstad, or Hexham, or at Lindisfarne.†

Egfrid appears to have been an unfortunate prince, unhappy in his marriage with a woman who seems to have been encouraged by the priests in her worst follies, and whose strange and unnatural

\* Bede's Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. c. 23.

† Ibid. lib. iv. c. 12.

history caused her to be an object of admiration to the priests, by whom she was surrounded and misled during her life, and almost canonized after her death.\* Her husband also seems to have been alike unfortunate in his life and death. Bede tells us that "in the year of our Lord's incarnation 684, Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, sending Beort his general with an army into Ireland, miserably wasted that harmless nation, which had always been most friendly to the English, the invaders in their rage sparing not even the churches and monasteries. The Irish to the utmost of their power repelled force with force, and, imploring the assistance of the Divine mercy, prayed long and fervently for vengeance. Though such a curse," says Bede, "cannot possess the kingdom of God, it is believed that those who were justly cursed on account of their impiety did soon suffer the penalty of their guilt. For the very same year, that same king rashly leading his army to ravage the provinces of the Picts (that is, of the Britons of Strathclyde), much against the advice of his friends, and particularly of Cuthbert, of blessed memory, who had been lately ordained bishop, the enemy made show as if they fled, and the king was drawn into the straits of inaccessible mountains, and slain, with the greatest part of his forces, on the 20th of May, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign."†

After this great disaster, the kingdom of Northumbria, with the hopes and strength of the Anglian crown, began to waver and retrograde; for the Picts recovered their own lands, which had been held by the English and the Scots that were in Britain, and some of the Britons their liberty, which, says Bede, "they have now enjoyed for about forty-six years. Among the many English who then either fell by the sword or were made slaves, or who escaped by flight out of the country of the Picts, was the most reverent man of God, Trumwine, who had been made bishop over them, and who withdrew with his people that were in the monastery of Abercurnig (Abercorn) seated in the country of the English, but close by the arm of the "sea which parts the lands of the English and the Scots."‡ It would appear from this passage of Bede, that in this age the kingdom of Northumbria extended from the Humber as far north as the river Forth.

Notwithstanding these and other misfortunes, the Northumbrian kingdom seems to have enjoyed greater peace and happiness during

\* Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. iv. c. 19. † *Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 5. ‡ *Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 6.

the latter years of the life of the Venerable Bede (731-35), than it had done at any previous time, and sanguine hopes were then entertained of still happier times to come. Bede thus winds up his great work in the latter years of his life, about 731:—“In the province of the Northumbrians, where King Ceolwulf reigns, four bishops now reside, Wilfrid, in the church of York; Ethelwald, in that of Lindisfarne (or Holy Island); Acca, in that of Hagulstad (or Hexham); Pechhelm, in that which is called White House, or Whiterne (*Candida casa*), which, from the increased number of believers, has lately become an episcopal see, and has him for its first prelate. The Picts also (probably the Britons of Strathclyde, and of Western Scotland), at this time are at peace with the English nation, and rejoice in being united in peace and truth with the whole Catholic church. The Scots that inhabit Britain (probably the Scottish Highlanders and Islanders), satisfied with their own territories, meditate no hostility against the nation of the English. The Britons (perhaps the British inhabitants of the Cumbrian mountains, and the Welsh also of the British race), though they for the most part, through innate hatred, are adverse to the Anglian (or English) nation, and wrongfully and from wicked custom, oppose the appointed Easter of the whole Catholic church; yet, from both a divine and human power withstanding them, can in no way prevail as they desire; though, in part, they are their own masters (as in Cumbria and Wales), yet, elsewhere, they are also brought under subjection to the English. Such being the peaceable and calm disposition of the times, many of the Northumbrians, as well of the nobility as private persons, laying aside their weapons, rather incline to dedicate both themselves and their children to the tonsure and monastic vows, than to study martial discipline. What will be the end hereof the next age will show.” The next age did indeed show the consequence of laying aside the study of martial discipline; for in that age the Danes and other northern invaders commenced their savage inroads into England, which continued, almost without cessation, for upwards of three hundred years, laying waste great part of the island, and introducing a new race of men in that part of England which lies between the Humber and the Tyne.

Having followed the first great historian of Northumbria, the Venerable Bede, to this point, we shall now take up the annals

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and the history of Simeon of Durham, who, like his predecessor, was a native of the same kingdom, and who has brought down the history of the northern districts of England from the time when Bede concluded his history, which was about the year 735, to 1129, the twenty-ninth or thirtieth year of Henry I. But before proceeding with the narrative of Simeon of Durham, it will be well to give some account of the language, the literature, and the arts of life of the Angles, or English, of Northumbria, whose books and traditions contain the earliest contemporary accounts of the English nation.

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE ANGLES OR EARLY ENGLISH IN YORKSHIRE.

*The Habits, Occupations, Territorial Arrangements, Literature, and Language of the Angles, or Earliest English, of Yorkshire, and the other Provinces of Northumbria.*—Before narrating the events which led to the overthrow of the Anglian power in the districts now included in the county of York, and made the city of Eboracum, to which the Angles gave the name of Eoforvic,\* the military capital and the principal settlement of the Danes, the Norwegians, and the other Scandinavian invaders of Britain, for a period of more than two hundred years, it will be desirable that we should give a brief account of the habits of life of our Anglian ancestors; of the territorial divisions and arrangements which they made in this part of the Northumbrian kingdom, for the purposes of civil government; of the origin of Anglian or English literature, poetry, and historical composition in Northumbria; and of the Anglian language, which is much the oldest dialect of the English tongue of which we possess any written records. It is in the words of this most ancient language that we find the explanation of the origin and meaning of the names of persons and places in Yorkshire, and the other northern districts, even to the present day; and from its words and grammatical forms that we find how great was the resemblance between the earliest modes of writing and speaking the English language, and those dialects, now considered provincial, which still exist in Yorkshire, in the other northern districts of England, and even in the lowlands of Scotland. In the ages of which we are writing, the Anglian language appears to have been spoken, on the eastern side of Britain, from the river and estuary of the Humber to the river and estuary of the Forth; whilst the old British language still held its ground in the whole of the mountainous district included in the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and through great part of the south-western portion

\* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. i. p. 15.

of Scotland, then still inhabited by the Picts of the ancient British race.\*

*The Habits and Occupations of the Angles, or Earliest English.*—One principal point in which the Angles and Saxons differed from the Romans, and probably from the Romanized Britons, was that their free population chiefly dwelt in forests or in the open country, whilst the freemen of Rome and those trained under their institutions were principally inhabitants of towns and cities, leaving the rural districts to be cultivated by the labour of slaves. At the time when Tacitus wrote his account of the Germanic tribes, from whom the Angles sprang, they possessed neither towns nor cities, but dwelt either in small villages, or in farm-houses or cottages, on the banks of streams, on fertile plains, or in small clearings, in their boundless forests. "It is well known," says Tacitus, "that the nations of Germany have no cities; and they do not even inhabit closely contiguous dwellings. They live scattered and apart, just as a spring, a meadow, or a wood has attracted them. Their villages they do not arrange in our fashion, with the buildings connected and joined together, but every person surrounds his dwelling with an open space, either as a precaution against the disasters of fire, or because they do not know how to build. No use is made by them of stone or tile; they employ timber for all purposes, rude masses without ornament or beauty."† This continued to be the case, both as to their dwellings and their mode of building, to the time of the Germanic invasion of Britain; for their buildings in early times were scattered widely, and their name for building was "getimbring," or putting together of timber. This was the case even after they had learned the art of building with stone and lime. Thus we are told in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, that the first church or minster built by King Eadwine at York was formed of trees or wood (getimbrian of treone); but that the larger minster which he afterwards built was formed of stone (timbrian of stane).‡ The country life of England seems to have been chiefly formed by our Anglian and Saxon ancestors, who dwelt in wooden houses, and divided the land into what they called marks or districts, constructed small villages in most of those marks, and founded few towns, although their chiefs and leading men generally established

\* Bede's Ecclesiastical History, b. 3. c. 7.

† C. Cornelii Taciti Germania, c. 16.

‡ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. i. p. 43; edited by Benjamin Thorpe, 1861.

their courts and seats of justice in the ancient deserted cities, from which the Romans had retired, and the Britons had been expelled. To the present time a considerable portion of the towns and cities of Britain bear names which are clearly either of Roman or British origin; whilst nearly all the villages, of which thousands existed at the time when the Domesday Survey was made—hundreds of which have since become towns in the modern sense—retain for the most part the names given to them by the Angles, by the Saxons, or by the Danes, the last of whom were also, to a considerable extent, a people of rural habits though with a strong leaning to nautical life.

*The Towns and Villages founded by the Angles in Yorkshire.—*

The great majority of the names of places in Yorkshire are of Anglian or Teutonic origin. This is especially the case in the interior of the county, and throughout nearly the whole of the West Riding. In the districts along the sea-coasts, both of the East and the North Riding, and along the Humber and other navigable rivers, a large portion of the names of places are of Danish or Scandinavian origin. But the Anglian names, even in the East and North Ridings, are numerous, and are of greater antiquity than the names given to the same places by the Danes. Thus the old Anglian name of Whitby was Streaneshalh (supposed to mean the Lighthouse, or the Bay of the Lighthouse), in the time of the Venerable Bede, though that name was afterwards changed to Whitby (or the White ton or town) by the Danes, who settled on the Yorkshire coast a hundred years after the time of Bede. Many other changes of name, either entire or partial, took place in the same age, and from the same cause; but the Anglian or Germanic language is still the foundation of the greater part of the Yorkshire names of places. We have already traced the origin of such of the Yorkshire names of persons and places as appear to be derived from the old British language, which greatly resembled the Welsh and the Gaelic of the present day;\* and in the course of this and succeeding chapters, after giving a general account of the Anglian or English language, as it existed in the present Yorkshire more than a thousand years ago, we shall show the roots from which a considerable portion of the names of persons once celebrated in this district, and of those of many of the

\* See List of "Celtic, Roman, and Greek Words found in the Names of Persons and Places, in the Territory of the Brigantes, of which the Present Yorkshire was a part," p. 310, vol. i. of this work.

towns and villages founded in the early Anglian times, and which are still in existence, were probably derived.

*The Anglian Tun, or Town, and the Township which sprang from it.*—The Anglian and Saxon word *ton*, or *tun*, expanded by modern usage into *town*, is said to be a sort of test word by which we may distinguish Anglian and Saxon settlements.\* This seems to be the case. But it is very remarkable that this word *ton*, or *town*, which is so frequent in England, is scarcely found at all in any part of Germany, as the name of a place, though it was introduced into England by German settlers and conquerors. The original meaning of the word *ton*, or *town*, appears to have been very much the same as that in which it is still used in the country districts, in the north of England and in the south of Scotland, where it means a farm-steading, or inhabited inclosure, frequently containing only one, two, or three houses. Sir Walter Scott, in describing the residence of the famous Dandie Dinmont, says:—"Descending by a path towards a well-known ford, Dumble crossed the small river, and then quickening his pace, trotted about a mile briskly on its banks, and approached two or three low thatched houses, placed with their angles to each other, with a great contempt of regularity. This was the farm-steading of Charlie's-hope, or, in the language of the country, 'the Town.'"<sup>†</sup> Writing on this word, the Rev. Isaac Taylor, the learned author of "Words and Places," says:—"The primary meaning of the suffix 'ton' is to be found in the Gothic 'tains,' the old Norse 'teinn,' and the Frisian 'têne,' all of which mean a twig, or measuring rod, a signification which survives in the phrase the 'tine' of a fork. We speak also of the *tines*, as stags' horns. In modern German we find the word 'tzaun,' a hedge, and in the Anglo-Saxon we have the verb 'tynan,' to hedge. Hence a 'tun,' or 'ton,' was a place surrounded by a hedge, or rudely fortified by a palisade. Originally it meant only a single croft, a homestead or farm; and the word kept this meaning in the time of Wycliffe. He translates Matthew xxii. 5: 'But thei dispiseden, and wenten forth, oon into his toun (*agros*), another to his merchandise.'" This usage is still retained in Scotland, where a solitary farm-stead goes by the name of "the toun;" and in Iceland, where the homestead, with its girlding wall, is called

\* Words and Places, or Etymological Illustrations of History, Ethnology, and Geography, by the Rev. Isaac Taylor, M.A., p. 126.

† The Waverley Novels, Guy Mannering, or the Astrologer, by Sir Walter Scott, Bart.



a tun. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we are told that when Ida, the first king of Northumbria, landed at Bebbanburh, or Bamborough, the position was surrounded by him, first with a hedge or wooden fence, and afterwards with a wall; or in the words of the original, "seo was arost mid hegge betyned, and thar after mid walle."<sup>\*</sup>

The number of names of places ending in ton, or town, still existing in Yorkshire is upwards of 450, and in many instances a ton, or town, which originally contained half a dozen persons, has increased in population until it contains from 10,000 to 20,000, or even 100,000 inhabitants. In Germany, where there was in those remote ages no permanent private property in land, owing to the immense extent of uninclosed ground, at the disposal of any one who chose to raise crops upon it, and where, even in modern times, it is very difficult to raise thorn hedges, owing to the severity of the winter frosts, there were and are few inclosures. But in England, where growing fences are easily formed and preserved, and where the whole quantity of land is small and its value great, the numerous tribes of German invaders, who contended with the native Britons for the possession of the soil, soon began to form inclosures on the conquered land and in the primeval forests, to which they gave the name of tons, or towns, meaning inclosures. These spread over the whole of England and of the lowlands of Scotland.

*The Township.*—The township naturally arose out of the town, including the town itself and a portion of the surrounding lands. At a very early age the township became an area of local government, and was used in combining the efforts of the people for the opening and upholding of roads, and for other useful and necessary purposes. The number of townships in Yorkshire at the middle of the present century amounted to many hundreds, most of which have probably existed from the early Anglian period.

*The Parish, and the uncertainty as to the time at which it was introduced into England.*—The division into parishes is of still greater antiquity; but it originated with the Greeks and Romans, and it is rather uncertain whether it was introduced into Britain by the Romans, when they conquered this country, or whether it was established at the time when the Christian religion was first organized in England. Parishes, and parishioners described as

<sup>\*</sup> Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. i. p. 28.

*parochi*, are mentioned by the poet Horace, in the amusing account that he has left of his journey from Rome to Brundisium, made in the time of Augustus. As he was accompanied by Mæcenas, and by some of the friends of Marc Antony, and made the journey for a public purpose, he and his friends claimed supplies of firewood and salt from the *parochi*, at the places at which they stopped, to rest or revel for the night.\* These payments of the *parochi* seem to have been those of a small district, for public purposes; and it is very probable that the Romans may have introduced this division of territory after they had conquered Britain. But there is no positive evidence of this; and it is quite possible that the name and division of parish may have been introduced by some of the followers of St. Augustine the Monk, after the establishment of Christianity in England. Parish, in its present form, has a slightly French or Norman sound; but the *parochi* mentioned by Horace originated either with the Greeks or the Romans; and the word "paroisse" is merely a French translation of a Greek or Latin word. Camden states in his "Britannia" that there were over 104 parishes, besides chapelries, in Yorkshire, in the time of Queen Elizabeth.†

*The Anglian Mark.*—The mark was one of the oldest territorial divisions of our Anglian ancestors. Originally the term mark was applied to the lands of a small sept or tribe; but it ultimately came to be applied to the boundaries of considerable kingdoms, as in the case of Denmark, and of Mercia; or the Markland, on the southern border of Northumbria, the present Yorkshire. These boundaries, whether large or small, were watched and guarded with the greatest care; they were marked, wherever it was possible, by some natural object, as the stream of a river or brook, a deep ravine, a lofty rock, a large tree (cut and marked), and where there was no natural obstacle, by heaps of stones, piles of wood, mounds of earth, deep ditches, and other conspicuous objects. The removing of a landmark was, is, and ever will be, regarded as a crime. In the poems of Cædmon, which were written at Whitby about the middle of the seventh century, and which form the oldest work in the English language, the mark or, as it was then written, the "mearc," is frequently mentioned. He also mentions "mearc-land," as the border-land, and "mearc weards,"‡ as guards appointed specially to

\* Horatius, Sat. l. lib. v.

† Camden's *Britannia*, p. 589; edition 1599.

‡ Cædmon's *Poems*, p. 181.

watch a frontier or other boundary. Amongst the places in Yorkshire erected on or in ancient marks we may mention Markington, Friesmark (the mark of the Frisians), and perhaps Marton, Marston, Marsden, all of which names are believed to preserve the memory of ancient Anglian marks. The names mentioned in Domesday Book which appear to preserve the recollection of the Yorkshire marks are:—Merchfield, Merchinton, Merchintone, Merse, Merse Parva, Mersche, Mersitone, Mersintone, and Merstone.\* Some of these names may also mean a marsh; but that, too, was a frequent mark or boundary.

*The Anglian Ga, or Gau, and the English Shire.*—Another most ancient division was that of the ga, which originally meant an extensive district of country governed by an officer named the ga-reeve, or garefa, as the word was then written by Cædmon and other early writers.† The ga-reeve was the steward of the king in the district, managed his revenues, and carried out the decisions of the courts of justice. He was, in fact, what the high sheriff has been, since England was divided into shires, and in old documents the sheriff is often called the garefa. The division of the ga was much older than that of the shire; and at one time prevailed throughout England, as it still prevails on the Continent, in the case of the Rhingau, Aargau, and the innumerable other “gaus” of Germany and Switzerland. The name scarcely remains in this part of England, though it is probably found, in slightly altered form, in the name of Thurgoland, or the ga of the lands of Thor, the most formidable of the gods of our pagan ancestors, in the south-west of Yorkshire; and in Lastingau, the gau of some now forgotten tribe, whose chief ham, or home, was at Lastingham in Cleveland, in the north-eastern division of the county. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mentions, that, in a great insurrection in the kingdom of Northumbria, in the year 778, three “heah-garefas,” or as we should say, three high sheriffs, were slain; and also that in the following year the surviving “heah-garefas” rose and put to death the earl, or ealdorman, of the same district.

*The English Schire.*—The Shire, or as it was called in the Northumbrian provinces, the Skyre, has been a familiar word from very early times, meaning, in its original form, merely a share or division of territory. Some of the present names of the

\* Domesday Book, fol. 302a, 303, 303, 303a, 322, 329a, 303b, 329a. † Cædmon's Poems, p 131.

English shires existed before the time of Alfred the Great, and others, were formed by him, his son Edward the Elder, and his grandson Athelstane. This does not, however, seem to have been the case with Eoforwicshire or Yorkshire, which is not mentioned by its present name until near the time of the Norman conquest; or with Lancashire, which is not mentioned by that name before the reign of Henry II. But some of the smaller divisions, which are now only hundreds or wapentakes, seem to have been called shires in very early times. Thus we have Skyrack, or the Shireoak, in the West Riding, which seems to belong to a very early period, both shire and oak being found, in their earliest forms, in the name of the wapentake of Skyrack. The people residing in Yorkshire, in their collective capacity, seem to have been known from the earliest Anglian times by the names of Eoforwicingas, or inhabitants of York.\* The names of Eoforwicshire, Euerwicshire, and finally of Yorksbire,† came into use before or about the time of the Norman conquest. Symeon of Durham, writing in the Latin language, uses also the word, Eborasciseira.

*The Anglian Ceastres and the Danish Caster.*—Ceastre, probably pronounced Keastre (being derived from the Roman *castrum*), was the name by which cities were described by the Angles in the time of Cædmon, about A.D. 670.‡ We find from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that the city of York was sometimes called Eoforwic-Ceastre, or Ceastre only, by pre-eminence, to distinguish it from other places, and especially from other Roman encampments in the district.§ It is probable that Doncaster was called by nearly its present name, both by the Angles and the Danes, though caster is a decidedly Danish rendering of *castrum*.

*The Anglian Burhs, or Boroughs.*—But the principal name employed by the Angles, or earliest English, in describing large or strong towns or cities, was burh, sometimes altered into burgh, and byrig, and ultimately into the more familiar form of borough. Thus we have in Cædmon, "burh-stede," as the place on which a borough or burh stood; "burh-leod," as the people of a borough; "burh-wearde," as the keeper of a borough; "burh-geate," as the gate of a borough; and "burh-faesten," as the fastenings or fortifications of a borough. Frequently,

\* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. i. pp. 192, 193.

† Symeon of Durham, vol. i. pp. 155, 157, 221, and 222.

‡ Cædmon's Poems, p. 100.

§ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. i. pp. 63, 89, 95.

however, the word burh, a borough, is now confounded with beorh, a hill or mountain, as in the case of Ingleborough, Rhosbury; and sometimes with the word burh, meaning a company or clan bound to each other. Cædmon, however, never does so. Thus he speaks of a "beorh-hlither," or a mountain height; and of "maeg-burh," or a clan or kindred. Most of the following places still bearing the name of burh, burg, or borough, meaning a fortress or place of strength, must have been of some consequence, at least as military positions, soon after Yorkshire was first peopled by the English race. In the West Riding we find Aldborough, the old Roman Isurium, and in that parish is Boroughbridge, or the bridge of the borough; Almondbury, is said to be the successor of the Roman Cambodunum, and probably the meaning of this word is the "all-protecting or well protected fortress," from the Anglian words al, mund, and burh. Barmbrough, in the same parish; Burg Wallis, the hill or fortress of the Welsh, or ancient Britons, in Burgh Wallis parish; Conisbrough, or the King's borough, in Conisbrough parish; Worsbrough, in Darfield parish; Barough or the borough, or hill, in Darton parish; Kexborough, perhaps from the word keek or bold, in Darton parish; Dewsbury, either from the British word Diu, God, or the Anglian word Tiu, Tuesco, one of the Teutonic gods; Goldsborough, in Goldsborough parish; the lofty Ingleborough where there are clear marks of ancient fortifications; Knaresborough, or the tribe's fortress, from the Anglian word cneoris, a tribe, in Knaresborough parish; Mexborough, or the union of the family or clan, which in the Anglian language was maeg-burh, in Mexborough parish; Greasbrough, or the grassy hill, in Rotherham parish; Sedbergh, or the broad or firm hill or fortress, in Sedbergh parish; Stainbrough, or the stone hill or fortress, in Silkstone parish; Thrybergh, probably the third fortress on the Anglian frontier, in Thrybergh parish; and Horbury, the hord or treasure burh, in Wakefield parish.

In the East Riding the following places include burh, burgh, or borough, in their names:—Aldbrough, in Aldbrough parish, which like the Aldbrough already mentioned, marks it as the site of an old fortification, even in the time of the Angles; Flamborough, the hill of flame, or of the lighthouse, in Flamborough parish, the most conspicuous object on the Yorkshire coast, with many marks of ancient fortifications; Hemingbrough, in Hemingbrough parish; Londesbrough, or the Landsburh, in Londes-

brough parish; Scarborough, perhaps the burh of the scur, storm, or tempest, in Scarborough parish; Brough, the burh, or the hill; and Bilbrough, probably the fortress of the bill, beil, or battle-axe, in Bilbrough parish.

The number of burhs, burgs, or boroughs in the North Riding is also considerable. Amongst these is Brough in Catterick parish, no doubt built from the old ruins of the Roman Cataracton; Newbrough, in Coxwold parish; Thornbrough, in Kilvington parish; Barugh, or the hill or fortress, in Kirby Misperton parish; Breckenbrough, or the hill of the brackens or ferns, or, perhaps, of the broken land, in Kirkby Wiske parish; Middlesborough, or the middle fortress, now a parliamentary borough, and a flourishing town; Scarborough, the hill or fortress of the scar or cliff, now the queen of watering-places, which however, probably received the present form of its name from the Danes or Norwegians; Cornbrough, the high sheriff's storehouse, in Sheriff Hutton parish; Aldbrough, in Stanwick, St. John's parish, another place of great antiquity, on the stoneway or Roman road; and Guisbrough, the castle of which is said to have been built by an Earl Guy in Norman times, though the name seems to be much older.

Most of the places above named stand either on lofty hills, or on elevated grounds, and some of them may have been named from that circumstance alone; but the Anglian burh was a place inhabited, fenced, and inclosed, and many of the burhs above named are still amongst the chief places of the districts in which they stand.

*The Anglian Wics, or Military Stations.*—The numerous places whose names terminate in wic, derive that portion of their name from having been the sites of camps, or permanent military stations, during the early ages of the Anglian occupation of what now forms the territory of Yorkshire. This we learn from the pages of Cædmon, who was a contemporary witness of the events of that time, and who informs us that the meaning of the old English word "wicigean" was to encamp an army. Thus, after describing the march of the children of Israel out of Egypt, he informs us that they were ordered by their illustrious chief, and the direction of God, to encamp, or as the original Anglian expresses it, "wicigean."\* He subsequently speaks of the third station of the army as the "thridda wic," or third encampment,† and soon after, at the close of the day or journey, he states

\* Cædmon, p. 181.

† Cædmon, p. 183.

that a camp for the army arose, or as he expresses it in the original, "fyrd-wic aras."\*

Of all the camps or wics of Yorkshire, the most distinguished was that of Eoforwic or York, the great military capital of the Anglian capital of Northumbria. The termination wic in this name is manifestly Anglian, being substituted for the syllables acum, in the Roman word Eboracum. The efor is also probably an Anglian variation of the Roman syllables ebor. But there may have been an accidental, or possibly an intentional, play upon words in the substitution of efor for ebor. Efor, as well as ebor, was the Anglian name for the wild boar, which was dedicated by the Angles to their god of war, whom they called Wig, and the wild boar was considered to be especially under his protection. In using the word Eoforwic the Angles may possibly have intended to speak of it as the camp of the Wild Boar; and as a place under the especial protection of their god of war.

The number of camps or wics spread over the county of York was large; and with regard to some of them it is easy to see what was the origin of the name.

In the West Riding, taking them in their alphabetical order, we ancient Anglian language means a place of sacrifice, and is repeated Adwick-le-street and Adwick-upon-Dearne. The ad in the edly mentioned by Cædmon with that meaning, as in the syllables Adfyr,\* the first being the ad, or altar, and the second the fire blazing upon it, in the case of the offered sacrifice of the youthful Isaac by Abraham.† The next is Appletreewick, or the camp of the appletree. Then comes Austwick, or the eastern camp. This is followed by Barnoldswick, or the camp of Barnold. The name of Barwick-in-Elmett probably means the barred or fortified camp, in the elmtree wood, the word bar being used, in this case, in the same sense in which it is employed in that of Bootham Bar and Micklegate Bar at York. Cowick probably means the camp of the cow or cows. Fenwick is perhaps named from the then adjoining fens. Giggleswick, for which we cannot find any meaning in its present form, is perhaps Gieselwick, the camp of the gushing water. The syllable el is occasionally introduced to improve the sound, as in Heidelberg. The two Hardwicks probably mean the steep or lofty camps. Keswick East probably derives its name from the German word kies (gravel); and Professor Phillips is of opinion

\* Cædmon, pp. 173, 203.

† Cædmon, p. 185.



that the name Hessle is derived from kiesel, which means a flint. Kildwick means the camp of the spring or fountain, kild or kelde being translated *fons*, a fountain, by Symeon of Durham. Nunwick probably means the camp of the nuns; and Westwick the western camp. Wixley is merely the field of the camp, or vic. Heckmondwike probably means the camp of Egmond, an Anglian chief mentioned by Symeon of Durham.

It is important to keep in mind the difference between the Anglian word wic, a camp, and the Norse or Danish word vic, a bay or gulf, which is an entirely different word, though they are both found in many places in Yorkshire. In general the former of these words is still written wick, in Yorkshire names, whilst the latter, vic, is now generally written wike or wyke. The wics are also usually found in the interior, whilst the vics are of course found along the sea coast.

In the East Riding we find several examples both of the wic and of the wike or vic. Amongst the former Beswick, Burstwick, and also probably Catwick, belong to this class of names. Elstronwick is probably the camp of the holtster, the name given by the Angles to a cavern overgrown with trees. Kilnwick, as well as Kilnwick Percy in the West Riding, are most likely both named from kilds, or springs of water. Welwick is the camp of the well or spring.

In the interior of the North Riding, in which the greater part of the old villages were renamed by the Danes, the number of places ending with the Anglian word wic is small; whilst the number of places along the sea coast ending with the Danish termination vic, now turned into wike, is very large. Amongst the Anglian wicks are Oswaldwick or Oswald's wic or camp; Butterwick; Earswick, probably Eas or the Aaterwick; Holwick, or the camp in the hollow; and Stanwick, or the camp on the stone or Roman road, which ran a mile or two east of Stanwick. These appear to have been the most celebrated of the permanent camps formed by the Angles in the present territory of Yorkshire.

*The Ridings, Wapentakes, and Hundreds.*—The shire of York, being too large to be administered as a whole, was divided into third parts or Thridings, corrupted afterwards into Ridings. The meaning of the name was well known down to the time of the Norman conquest, one of the Ridings, the North, being spoken of as a Riding, or Triding, in Domesday Book.



The word wapentake is of Anglian origin, and means a district in which the people were organized to take arms, when summoned to do so by their kings or their local chiefs. The names of most of the Yorkshire wapentakes are older than the Danish invasion, and most of them are derived from Anglian or English roots. The wapentakes or hundreds were more numerous before the Norman conquest than they are now; but the greater part of the names of the ancient wapentakes are still preserved, either in those of the modern wapentakes, or in those of the lieutenancy divisions, which were formed, though in a very much later age, for the purpose of organizing the military forces of the crown in each of the three lord-lieutenancies of the county. We shall give the modern names of the wapentakes of the three Ridings; the names of all the Yorkshire wapentakes, as written in the Domesday Survey, A.D. 1084-86; and those of the modern lieutenancy divisions, made in a much later age, but for the same purpose. Even the ancient names, though now gone out of use, throw light on the early organization of the county for civil and military purposes.

*The Wapentakes of Yorkshire.*—The origin of the names of most of the Yorkshire wapentakes is very evident, and most of them belong to the Anglian period. There are a few, however, which belong to the age of the Danes; and one or two may belong to the still later times of the Normans. Taking them in their alphabetical order they are as follows:—

The Ainsty of York we may take first. In the Domesday Survey it is described as the Ainsti or Einesti wapentake. It derives its name from the circumstance of its standing ana, ein, or alone. Agbrigg (West Riding) in the Domesday Survey is Hagebrige, which, like Agbrigg, means the oak bridge. Allerton (North Riding) spelt Alvertone in Domesday, is named from North Allerton, the town of the alder trees. Barkston Ash (West Riding) appears in the Domesday Survey as Barcheston, Barchestone, Borcheshire, and Borgesire. There is no mention in Domesday of the ash tree, which has since become part of the name of the district. All the names of this wapentake, given above, mean the ton, town, or inclosure, of the birch tree. Buckrose (East Riding) does not appear in Domesday. It may be named from some famous boe or beech tree; or possibly, from the rising of the buck, in some great hunting party. Birdforth does not appear in Domesday;

but probably means the bird's ford. Bulmer (North Riding) is given in Domesday as Bolesford, which means the bull's ford, as Bulmer means the bull's mere. The name of Claro (West Riding) does not appear in Domesday. It is probably derived from the Norman French *clairaux*, or the clear waters; all the streams of that district flowing over rocks or pebbles, and being beautifully clear and bright. Dickering (East Riding) appears in Domesday Book, under the short title of *Dic wapentake*; and is probably derived from the dykes or drains which had already begun to be constructed. Derwent (East Riding) does not appear, either with or without the Ouse, in Domesday Survey. The name is evidently derived from the river Derwent, which flows through it. Ewecross (West Riding) is not mentioned in Domesday. It either means the ewe's cross or the yew-tree cross. Gilling East (North Riding) and Gilling West (North Riding) are both of them mentioned in Domesday. They derive their name from Gilling Castle, which was a very strongly fortified castle of *Alen*, the first earl of Richmond, and of his successors in after times. Halikeld (North Riding) appears in Domesday as *Halichelde*, or the holy kelde or spring. The wapentakes of Hang East (North Riding) and Hang West (North Riding), mean the eastern and western dependencies or ranges. Harthill (East Riding) is not mentioned in Domesday; it no doubt means the hill of the hart. Neither is Howdenshire (East Riding) mentioned in Domesday, the name of that district being at that time derived from its caves. Howden is merely an abbreviation of *Hovenden*, or the high valley. Langbargh (North Riding) is spelt *Langeberg-vel-Langeberige wapentake*, in Domesday Survey, which means a long hill, or chain of hills. Morley (West Riding) is written *Moreleia* in Domesday, and probably means the field of the mor, or moor. Osgoldcross is spelt *Osgotcross* in Domesday. These names either mean *Oswaldscross*, or the cross of the hero's (Os) god, or the hero's gold cross. We suspect the first to be the correct mode of spelling the word, and greatly prefer it, as it retains the name of the noble Oswald. But custom has fixed the last. Ouse wapentake (East Riding) is given singly, without the Derwent, in the Domesday Survey, and is always spelt *Hase* in Domesday, to the great discredit of the Norman scribe who could thus miswrite the fine old name of the river Ouse. Pickering Lythe (North Riding) is the only place in Yorkshire which bears the name of a lythe; but that term occurs in

some of the southern counties, where it has the same meaning as wapentake or hundred. In this case it is named after the town and castle of Pickering; but there is no mention of the Pickering Lythe in Domesday Book. Ryedale (North Riding), the dale or valley of the river Rye, is not mentioned by that name in Domesday. Sky-rack (West Riding) is mentioned in Domesday as Siraches. It evidently means the shire oak, which, according to tradition, was either the ancient tree at Headingley, of which some remains still exist, or an older oak growing near the same spot, from which the present tree may have derived its name, and probably its germ. Staincliffe appears in Domesday, in the form of Staingrif. Its meaning evidently is the stone cliff. Staincross appears in Domesday almost without any change, as Stancros. Strafforth (West Riding) appears in Domesday as Strafordes; but without any mention of Tickhill, which was first a great Anglian castle and was afterwards much strengthened by its Norman lords. The meaning of the word Strafforth is the same as that of Stafford, Stratford, and several other places which are named from the fact of the Roman road, the street or stratum, running through the district, and crossing the ford of its principal river, or perhaps from the British word fyrd, a road. Whitby Strand (North Riding) is the strand or shore of Whitby. It is not mentioned by that name in Domesday, though there was an alderman, or earl, and a borough-reeve in the town and neighbourhood, 100 years before the Danes gave it the name of Whitby, and about 400 years before the Norman conquest.

Cleveland (North Riding) is not mentioned as a wapentake in the Domesday Survey, but it is spoken of by Symeon of Durham, in his account of events which occurred hundreds of years earlier, under the name of Cleaveland, Cliveland, and Clyveland.\* Cleveland was probably too extensive to be united into one wapentake. Its name is, of course, derived from the cliffs and slopes, which form so striking a portion of its fine scenery.

Craven (West Riding) is repeatedly mentioned in Domesday Book as a district, but not as a wapentake or hundred. The name of this beautiful and interesting district is derived from the Anglian name, Screfan, for the wonderful caves which are found at so many places in its mountain limestone rocks. These caves were amongst the last places of refuge of the unfortunate Britons, when they were driven

\* Symeon of Durham, vol. i. pp. 28, 87, 104, 258, 261, 266a.

into the mountains, rocks, and caverns, by the victorious Angles. Numerous remains of the Romanized Britons and of their conquerors have been found in the caves of Craven and Ribblesdale during the last few years, of which we shall speak more fully when we describe the district of Craven in detail, in a subsequent part of this work. We may mention now, however, that the ancient Anglian name for caves or caverns was *screfan*—a name which occurs, almost in its original form, in that of the parish of Scriven, near Knaresbrough, and in the *Scraftun* mentioned in *Domesday Book*; and no doubt in the name of the great district of the caves, though there softened down into Craven. *Cædmon*, the Anglian and Yorkshire poet, writing in the seventh century, uses this word repeatedly in his poems. Thus he speaks of an ever open den as “open ece *scraef* ;”\* of a dreary den, as “*atole scref*.”† This latter expression he employs three times; and he afterwards speaks of the “*hate scraef*,” or the hot den. In the name of Scriven the *s* and *c* are both retained, whilst in that of Craven the *s* has gradually, or perhaps suddenly, been dropped to please, it may be, the Norman scribe.

The district of Holderness (East Riding) is mentioned in *Domesday* as *Heldernesse*. This ancient name is derived by Professor Phillips and other writers from the three words *holi*, *deir*, and *nesse*, meaning the promontory of the hollow lands of Deira. The derivation of the first and third of these syllables is evident, and that of the second syllable is very probable; for we are informed, both by the Venerable Bede and by Symeon of Durham, that the cell of St. John of Beverley stood in Deira *Wudu*, or the forest of Deira, which then covered a great part of the East Riding. The Ness or Promontory belongs to the old Norse, or ancient Norwegian language. The name of Driffeld is also supposed, by the same accomplished writer, to be a contraction of Deira-field, or the field of Deira.

Hallam, but not Hallamshire (West Riding), is mentioned in *Domesday Book*. It is a name of great antiquity, and is very frequently spoken of in early times.

The following names of wapentakes or hundreds which have now gone out of use are mentioned in *Domesday Book*:—Burton hundred, Cave hundred, Drifel or Driffeld hundred, Gerlestre wapentake, Hacle hundred, Huntou hundred, Maneshou wap-

\* *Cædmon's Poems*, pp. 266, 269, 272.

† *Ibid.* p. 266.

entake, Mith hundred, Nort hundred, Poclinton hundred, Scard hundred, Sneculfros hundred, Torbar hundred (otherwise spelt Turbar), Toreshou hundred, Uth hundred, Warte hundred, Welle-ton hundred, and Wicston hundred. Some of these names, now almost forgotten, are of Danish origin, and will be spoken of in a subsequent chapter. Most of them seem to have been changed or dropt soon after the Norman conquest.

THE MODERN NAMES OF THE YORKSHIRE WAPENTAKES.

West Riding.	East Riding.	North Riding.
Ainsty.	Buckrose.	Allerton.
Agbrigg.	Dickering.	Birdforth.
Barkston Ash.	Harthill.	Bulmer.
Claro.	Holderness.	Gilling, East.
Morley.	Howdenshire.	Gilling, West.
Osgoldcross.	Ouse and Derwent.	Halikeld.
Skyrack.		Hang, East.
Staincliffe and Ewe-		Hang, West.
cross.		Langbargh.
Staincross.		Pickering Lythe.
Strafforth and Tick-		Ryedale.
hill.		Whitby Strand.

It is stated in the laws of Edward the Confessor that "Yorkshire (Eurwichescire), Lincolnshire (Nicholescire), Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and as far as Watling Street, and seven miles beyond Watling Street, were under the law of the Angles, and what others called Hundreds the above-named counties call Wapentakes."<sup>\*</sup>

*The Gilds and Fridborhs of Yorkshire.*—A further subdivision of this and other counties, which existed in ancient times, was that of gylds, or tithings, within which each man became a pledge or surety, both to his fellow men and to the state, for the maintenance of the public peace and the observance of the laws. On this subject one of the laws of Edward the Confessor states as follows:—"Another peace, the greatest of all there is, whereby all are maintained in firmer state, to wit, in the establishment of a guarantee, which the English call Frithborgas, or Fridborgas, with the exception of the men of York, who call it Tenmannetale, that is, the number of the men, namely, ten. And it consists in this, that in the vills throughout the kingdom all men are bound to be in a guarantee by tens, so that if one of the ten men offend, the other nine may hold him to right. But if he should

<sup>\*</sup> Lappenberg's "England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings," vol. i. p. 90.

flee, and they allege that they could not have him to right, then there should be given them by the king's justice a space of at least thirty days and one; that if they could find him they might bring him to justice. But if, within the aforesaid term, he could not be found, since in every Frithborh there was one headman whom they called Frithborh Heved, then this headman should take two of the best men of his Frithborh, and the headman of each of the three Frithborhs, most nearly neighbouring to his own, and likewise two of the best in each if he can have them; and so with the eleven others he shall, if he can, clear both himself and his Frithborh, both of the offence and flight of the aforesaid malefactor, which if he cannot do, he shall restore the damage done out of the property of the doer so long as this shall last, and then out of his own and out of his Frithborh; and they shall make amends to the justice according as it shall be by law adjudged them."<sup>2</sup>

*The Hams, or Homes, of the Anglian Tribes.*—There are upwards of one hundred places in Yorkshire, the names of which terminate with the syllable ham; and there are many hundred places, in different parts of England, which have the same termination. This termination also occurs in many German names of places, only altered to heim; and in some Frisian names of places, though in the less familiar form of um. The meaning, under these different forms, is said to be the same, namely, a home or dwelling-place. It is thus an entirely different word from the Danish or Scandinavian name holme, which is also frequent in Yorkshire, and which means a small island, generally in a river, or a meadow on a river's bank. The word ham, or home, as used in the names of places, is generally, though not always, accompanied with some preceding word, either expressive of the nature of the home, as Newsham, Oldham, Eastham, Westham; or it is found in combination with the word ing, as in the words Addingham, Manningham, and Bellingham. In the latter case it is now generally supposed to indicate the home or dwelling-place of some ancient Anglian sept or tribe; as, in the above case, the home of the Adelings, the Mannings, and the Billings, or Belini.

*Places in Yorkshire supposed to be named from Anglian Septs or Tribes.*—The word ing, though sometimes used as the name of a meadow, and in several other senses, is frequently used as the name

\* Kemble's Saxons in England, vol. i. p. 251.

of an Anglian or Saxon tribe or clan. The original meaning of *ing* was "the son of," like *Mac* in the Gaelic, and *O* in the Irish language. Thus we are told, in the pedigree of *Ida*, the first king of Northumbria, that *Ida* was "Eopping," that is, the son of *Eoppa*; that *Eopping* was "Esing," or the son of *Esa*; that *Esa* was "Inguing," or the son of *Inguy*; and that *Inguy* was "Angenwiting," or the son of *Angenwit*. According to the late *J. M. Kemble*, there are no less than 1329 English names which contain this root; and subsequent examination of the Ordnance maps shows the number of places containing the root *ing* to be more than 2000. Many of these are supposed to be the names of ancient tribes, or of the numerous offshoots which they sent out over the country, for the purposes of conquest or colonization. Much the greatest number of names of this description are found in the counties of *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Middlesex*, *Essex*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Bedford*, and *Huntingdon*, on the sea coast, and on navigable streams, in the counties in which the Saxon settlers or conquerors of England made their first landings. From these districts the *Angles* or *Saxons* appear to have spread over the whole of England. In *Yorkshire* the number of names of original German tribes, which appear to have come directly from the Continent, is said to be not more than three; but the number of tribes which originally landed in the south of England, fought their way to the north, and sent out colonies which reached *Yorkshire*, is nearly thirty. This confirms the statement of *Bede*, that when the great pagan chief, *Penda*, led his army into *Yorkshire*, on his last expedition, he was accompanied by no less than thirty tribes, with their leaders. This was his third invasion of the country lying to the north of the river *Humber*, and in his two previous invasions he had overrun *Northumbria*, at least as far north as *Holy Island*, and probably even as far as the river *Forth*, with a mixed host of *Angles* and *Saxons*, supported by large bodies of *Britons*, under the command of *Caedwalla*. Many of the names of the Anglian tribes can still be traced in the names of places in *Yorkshire*, and the other northern counties.

Among the Anglian septs and tribes whose names are supposed to be traced in *Yorkshire* are the following:—The *Scyldings*, an ancient family, to which *Beowolf*, the Anglo-Saxon hero belonged, who gave name to *Skelding*. The *Irings* of the royal family of the *Aruns* are supposed to have left traces of their name and residence at *Errington*.



The Billings of the royal race of the Varini are said to have given their name to Billingham in Yorkshire; as well as to many other places in different parts of England. The Adelings are supposed to have given their name to Addingham; the Collings to Collingham; the Ellings to Ellington; the Eorings to Erringden; the Gills to Gilling; the Heardings to Heardinctona, mentioned in the Domesday Survey; the Helvelings to Elvington; the Myrcings to Markington; the Millings to Millington; the Mannings to Manningham; the Sinnings to Sinnington; the Feorlings to Forlington; and the Wadings to Waddington.\*

The Anglian yard or gard, and the Norse word garth, had nearly the same meaning as ton. Both denote a place girded round or inclosed. The Tains, a twig, stands in relation to the word ton as the old English word yard, a switch or rod, does to yard, garth, and garden. The inclosure is named from the nature of the surrounding fence.†

Worth, woerth, or worthy, signifies a place warded or protected.‡

Hay, or haigh, is a place surrounded by a hedge; but the word hay is probably of Norman origin.

Fold, or field, originally meant a wide open plain, but has gradually been limited to a single inclosure.

Stoke, is a place surrounded by stocks or piles.

Park, is supposed to be derived from the Celtic word parwg, an inclosed field.

Beorgan and Bergan, to shelter or hide, is said to be the verb from which burh, bury, borough, burgh, brough, and burrow are all derived.§

*The Archbishopric of York under the Anglian Kings.*—York has been the seat of an archbishopric almost from the time when Christianity was introduced into Britain, and is still the see of the northern province of England. A circumstance which shows the important position of the city at the time when Christianity was introduced amongst the Angles, is that Pope Gregory I., in writing to Augustine, says, "But we will have you send to the city of York such a bishop as you shall think fit to ordain; yet so, that if that city, with the places adjoining, shall receive the word of God, that bishop shall also ordain twelve bishops and enjoy the honour of a metropolitan; for we design, if we live, by the help of God, to

\* The Rev. Isaac Taylor's *Names of Persons and Places*, p. 517.

† *Ibid.* p. 128.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 128.

§ *Ibid.* p. 130.



bestow on him also a pall, and yet we will have him to be subservient to your authority; but after your decease he shall so preside over the bishops he shall ordain, as to be in no way subject to the jurisdiction of a bishop of London. But for the future let this distinction be between the bishops of the cities of London and York, that he may have the precedence who shall be first ordained."\*

It is said by some authorities that York and London were the first metropolitan sees amongst the ancient Christian Britons; but however that may be, they were at that time the two principal cities of Britain. The archbishopric of York, as at present constituted, extends over an area of 9,294,065 statute acres. In 1861 it contained 1,161,208 inhabited houses, and a population of 6,138,507 persons. The population of the several dioceses included in the province of York, was as follows, in 1861:—Carlisle, 266,591; Chester, 1,248,416; Durham, 858,095; Manchester, 1,679,326; Ripon, 1,103,394; Sodor and Man, 52,469; and York, 930,216. Of these dioceses, York and Ripon are included in the county of York. The diocese of York consists of the whole of the North Riding, the city of York, and that portion of the West Riding which lies eastward of the western boundaries of the parishes of Monkton-Moor, Bilton, Walton, Thorpe-Arch, Bramham, Aberford, Ledsham, Castleford, Featherstone, Normanton, Warmfield, Crofton, Wragby, Felkirk, Roystone, Darfield, Tankersley, and Ecclesfield. The number of inhabited houses in the diocese of York in 1861 was 84,121, and the population 404,402.

*The Bishopric of Ripon.*—The diocese of Ripon, formed in the year 1836, in consequence of the immense increase of population in the West Riding of York, includes that portion of the West Riding which lies westward of the eastern boundaries of the parishes of Nun-Monkton, Kirk Hammerton, Whixley, Hunsingore, Cowthorpe, Kirk Deighton, Spofforth, Collingham, Bardsey, Barwick-in-Elmet, Garforth, Kippax, Methley, Wakefield, Sandal Magna, Darton, Silkstone, and Penistone. The diocese of Ripon, in 1861, contained 231,610 inhabited houses, and a population of 1,103,394 persons.†

*Origin of English Literature, in the Poems of Cædmon of Whitby and the Historical Works of the Venerable Bede of Wearmouth.*—Both English poetry and English history originated amongst the Angles or English of the kingdom of Northumbria, the former in that portion

\* Bede, b. i. c. 29. † Census of England and Wales, 1861, Population Returns, vol. i. pp. 26 and 29.

of the Northumbrian kingdom which now forms the county of York; the latter in that now included in the county of Durham. In England, as in Greece, the poet preceded the historian, in order of time; the earliest of English poets, Cædmon of Streaneshalh, now called Whitby, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, having composed his poems in the Anglian or English language, near the end of the seventh century, or about A.D. 670, whilst the Venerable Bede composed his "Ecclesiastical History" of the English, at Wearmouth, in the county of Durham, about A.D. 720.\* Both of these early and distinguished authors wrote in the language most suited to their powers, the former producing a series of fine poems on the creation and the fall of man, and all the great events recorded in the Old and New Testaments, in the English language, which alone was intelligible to the mass of his fellow countrymen; whilst the latter wrote in the Latin language, which was then, and for many succeeding ages, the language of the clergy, and of a few learned men belonging to the laity, in this and other countries. It was owing to the circumstance of the works of the Venerable Bede having been written in the Latin language that the wise and accomplished king, Alfred the Great, more than a century after the death of Bede, devoted his energies to the noble task of rendering them intelligible to the English people, by translating them into the English language, as it was then spoken in the kingdom of the West Saxons, which included the south of England from the valley of the Thames to the British Channel.

*The Life and Works of the Venerable Bede.*—The Venerable Bede, as he well deserves to be called, was born at Jarrow, near Wearmouth, in the county of Durham, in 673, on the lands belonging to the twin monasteries of St. Peter and St. Paul. The place of his birth was only a few miles south of the Roman Wall, whose eastern extremity was at Wallsend on the river Tyne. Something of the civilization introduced by the Romans, in the neighbourhood of their settlements in Britain, as well as a knowledge of the Christian religion, remained among the Britons after the Romans had retired; and seems to have exercised a certain influence on the Anglian settlers, after they had been settled in those parts of Britain for a few years. William of Malmesbury, writing on the subject of the birth of Bede, the first English historian, a few years after the Norman

\* Wright's Essay on the Literature of the Anglo-Saxons.

conquest, says, "that Britain, which some writers have called another world, because from its lying at a distance it has been overlooked by most geographers, contains in its remotest parts a place on the borders of Scotland, where Bede was born and educated. The whole country was formerly studded with monasteries, and beautiful cities founded therein by the Romans; but now, owing to the devastations of the Danes and Normans, it has nothing to allure the senses. Through it runs the Wear, a river of no mean width, and of tolerable rapidity. A certain Benedict built two churches on its banks, and founded there two monasteries named after St. Peter and St. Paul, and united together by the same rule and bond of brotherly love." Bede was born in the third year of the reign of Egfrid, son of Oswy, the first of the kings of Northumbria after the complete establishment of Christianity in that kingdom. The capital of Egfrid's kingdom was York, and the principal journey of Bede's life seems to have been from the monastery of St. Paul, at Jarrow on the banks of the Tyne, to the city of York, and afterwards to Canterbury. Nearly the whole of Bede's life seems to have been spent in the monastery at Jarrow; but in a letter to Egbert, archbishop of York and nephew to king Coelwulf of Northumbria, he alludes to a visit which he paid to that nobleman and prelate; and in another letter, addressed to Wictred king of Kent, he speaks of the kindness and affability with which he had been received by him on a former occasion. After a life of learning, industry, and piety, in which he may be said to have laid the foundations of English history, the Venerable Bede died on Ascension-day in the year 735, which was the 26th of May in that year.

The Venerable Bede, in writing that part of his "Ecclesiastical History" which relates to the kingdom of Northumbria, of which York was the capital, and the territory included in the county of York the most fertile and populous part, had great advantages beyond those which he possessed in preparing the other parts of his history. It is stated by Stevenson, in his valuable edition of the "Historia Ecclesiastica," published by the English Historical Society in the year 1838, "That, in the history of Northumbria, Bede, as a native of that kingdom, was particularly interested, and would probably exert himself to procure the most copious and authentic information regarding it. Although he gives no intimation of having had access to previous historical documents, when speaking on his

sources of information, yet there seems reason to believe that he had made use of such materials. We may infer from what he says of the mode in which Oswald's reign was generally calculated, that in that king's time there existed annals or chronological tables, in which events were inserted as they occurred; the regal year of the monarch who then filled the throne being at the time specified. These annals appear to have extended beyond the period of the conversion of Northumbria to Christianity, although it is difficult to imagine how any chronological calculation or record of events could be preserved before the use of letters had become known. But the history of Eadwine, with its interesting details, shows that Bede must have had access to highly valuable materials, which reached back to the very earliest era of authentic English history; and we need not be surprised at finding information of a similar character throughout the remainder of the history of Northumbria.

"A considerable portion of Bede's '*Historia Ecclesiastica*,' especially that part of it which relates to the kingdom of Northumbria, is founded upon local information which its author derived from various individuals. On almost every occasion Bede gives the name and designation of his informant, being anxious, apparently, to show that nothing is inserted for which he had not the testimony of some respectable witness. Some of these persons are credible from having been present at the event which they relate; others from the high rank which they held in the church, such as Acca bishop of Hexham, Guthfrid abbot of Lindisfarne, Berthun abbot of Beverley, and Pechthelm bishop of Whitehern. Bede received secondary evidence with caution, for he distinguishes between the statements which he received from eye-witnesses, and those which reached him through a succession of informants. In the last of these instances, the channel of information is always pointed out with scrupulous exactness, whatever opinion we may entertain, as in the case of some visions and miracles, of the credibility of the facts themselves." Of the value of this work, as Giles observes in his edition of the Venerable Bede's "*Ecclesiastical History of England*," we can have no better evidence, than the fact of its having been so often translated into the vernacular tongue. King Alfred thought it not beneath his dignity to render it familiar to his Anglo-Saxon subjects by translating it into their language.

Bede's principal authority in his "*Ecclesiastical History*," was the learned and reverend Abbot Albinus, who was educated in

the church at Canterbury, by the venerable and learned Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, a Greek by birth, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, in an age when the language and literature of Greece were familiarly known, and usually read and spoken, in that district of Asia. With the instruction of such teachers Bede appears to have become well acquainted with the literature of Greece and Rome, as well as with the writings and the traditions of the Anglian race. In addition to these attainments he seems to have possessed great natural good sense, and a candid and generous disposition. It was a happy circumstance for the English race, that their first historian should have possessed such admirable qualifications and attainments. He must have had considerable influence in forming the character of our Anglian ancestors.

*The Anglian Library at York.*—From the death of the Venerable Bede to the time of the overthrow of all learning in England, by the irruption of the Danish and other northern tribes, who were at once pagans and barbarians when they first burst into England, though they afterwards became fully equal to the Angles, or English, in all the arts of life—during that period a considerable knowledge of Latin literature was spread amongst the clergy in the north of England.

Amongst the Anglian bishops and chiefs who took a conspicuous part in laying the foundations of literature in this portion of England was Egbert, archbishop of York, the brother of Eadbert, king of Northumbria. He founded a noble library in his metropolitan city of York, which was probably furnished from Rome and Constantinople with the works of the best Latin and Greek authors. Our countryman Alcuinus, or Alcyn, who was a pupil of Archbishop Egbert, and the keeper of the library at York, left a catalogue of the books in it. It appears from his letters that the state of learning in\* the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria was considerably advanced. This is shown by a letter addressed by him to his pupil and valued friend the Emperor Charlemagne, after Alcuin had retired to the abbacy at Tours, to which he had been appointed by the emperor. In his privacy he addressed a letter to his royal and imperial patron, whence the following extracts are taken:—"The employments of your Alcuinus in his retreat are suited to his humble sphere; but they are neither inglorious nor displeasing. I spend my time in the

\* Gale, *Scrip.* xv. p. 730. *De Pontificibus Sanct. Eccles. Ebo.* I. 1536.

halls of St. Martin, in teaching some of the noble youths under my care the intricacies of grammar, and inspiring them with a taste for the learning of the ancients; in describing to others the order and revolutions of those shining balls which adorn the azure vault of heaven; and in explaining to others the mysteries of divine wisdom, which are contained in the Holy Scriptures; suiting my instructions to the views and capacities of my scholars, that I may train up many to be ornaments to the church of God, and the court of your imperial majesty. In doing this, I find a great want of several things, particularly of those excellent books in all arts and sciences, which I enjoyed in my native country, through the expense and care of my great master, Egbert. May it therefore please your Majesty, animated with the most ardent love of learning, to permit me to send some of our youth into England, to procure for us those books which we want, and transplant the flowers of Britain into France, that their fragrance may no longer be confined to youth, but may perfume the palaces of Tours." This letter concludes with a noble statement of the advantages of knowledge to men of every rank. Alcuin, addressing Charlemagne, says:—"I need not put your majesty in mind, how earnestly we are exhorted in the Holy Scriptures to the pursuit of wisdom; than which nothing is more conducive to a pleasant, happy and honourable life; nothing a greater preservation from vice; nothing more becoming or more necessary to those especially who have the administration of public affairs and the government of empires. Learning and wisdom exalt the low, and give additional lustre to the honours of the great. By wisdom kings reign, and princes decree justice. Cease not then, ever gracious king, to press the nobility of your court to the eager pursuit of wisdom and learning in their youth, that they may attain to an honourable old age and a blessed immortality."\* No stronger perception of the value of knowledge can be conceived than is expressed in this admirable letter; though written in the eighth century, it is worthy of the most enlightened period of the human race.†

*Account of Cædmon, the first Anglian or English Poet.*—Cædmon, the poet of Streaneshalh, or Whitby, to whom we owe the first poems in the English language, flourished about the year 680. The merits of his poems are considerable; and it is even thought that the germ of some of the descriptions in Milton's "Paradise Lost" may pos-

\* The Works of Nennius, edition of J. A. Giles, LL.D. 1841. † Henry's Hist. Eng. vol. iv. p. 37.

sibly have been sown in these fine old poems. The subjects are to a considerable extent the same, namely, the delights of paradise, the rebellion of the angels, and the fall of man. Cædmon's poems, however, touch on nearly all the great events described in the Old Testament; and also contain some poems on the life and passion of Jesus Christ.

These poems possess a great additional interest from the circumstance of their being not only the earliest work of any kind written in the Anglian or oldest English language, but from their also being the most ancient specimens, not only of English, but of Teutonic or German literature, now in existence, with the exception of a translation of some portions of the New Testament into the Mæso-Gothic, another Teutonic language, which was spoken by the Goths who captured Rome under their king Alaric, and who dwelt on the banks of the Danube.

What gives the poems of Cædmon a particular interest to us is, that they were originally written in the dialect which was spoken in the present Yorkshire and the other northern districts of England about 1200 years ago; and that, though afterwards translated into other Anglian and Saxon dialects, they contain many of the words and forms of expression which still continue in use in the Yorkshire and other northern dialects.

Before proceeding to give a brief sketch of the poems of Cædmon, and some account of that earliest of all the forms of the English language in which they are written, and in which they have now been preserved for so many ages, it may interest our readers to read a slight sketch of his life, and of his first inspiration, by what we may venture to call the Muse of English Poetry. He was a self-formed poet, created, not made, as we are told by the high authority of Horace that all true poets must be. His first compositions in sacred poetry excited unbounded admiration, and his poetical gift was considered by his contemporaries to be something, not only wonderful, but miraculous. It was regarded by them as the special gift of God to a pure and simple-minded man.

We are informed by the Venerable Bede, in his history of the Anglian church and nation, that Cædmon lived about the middle of the seventh century. He does not mention the place of Cædmon's birth, but the poet seems to have spent the greater part of his life, and was no doubt born, in the town or neighbourhood of



Whitby, in what we now call the North Riding of Yorkshire. At that time Whitby was named Streaneshalh, or the Bay of the Lighthouse. There is no record of the age in which the lighthouse was built, but it is supposed to have stood on or near the site of the Roman port of Dunum Sinus, and may very probably have been in existence from the time of the Roman occupation of Britain. At or near this celebrated spot the first English poet produced his earliest poems, and here he spent the whole of his life.

The account of the early life and of the first poetical inspiration of Cædmon, written in Latin by the Venerable Bede, and translated into the language of England by Alfred the Great about two hundred years later, is so simple and beautiful that we give it in modern English. Before doing so, however, we may state that Cædmon seems to have found a kind friend and protector in Hilda the abbess of Whitby, who was a friend and connection of the great Anglian King Oswy, of Northumbria, who successfully defended the Christian kingdom of Northumbria from the attacks of the pagan army of Mercia, commanded by the terrible Penda, the scourge of the Northumbrian race, and the most formidable enemy of the Christian religion, when it was first introduced into the north of England. It was in commemoration of this great victory that the abbey of Whitby was founded, and there no doubt the daughter of King Oswy (Elfreda), who had been devoted to a life of perpetual seclusion and virginity by her father, in acknowledgment of the victory, spent her time with Hilda her aunt, and the other votaries of that institution. Hilda appears to have been an excellent and kind-hearted woman, and has even received the honour of being ranked as a saint, chiefly in reliance on a supposed miracle, in turning vast swarms of serpents into twisted stones. Modern science has put an end to the faith in this miracle, by proving that the remains, which are still so abundant near Whitby, are not those of serpents, but of very harmless and beautiful creatures which formerly existed in the northern seas, and whose petrified remains are found in vast numbers in the Lias formation. But nothing can deprive the good Hilda of Whitby the honour of having been the kind friend and protector of Cædmon. She seems also to have been a warm friend of Coleman, and other teachers of the old British church in Scotland, who came into this country at the request of King Oswald, to instruct the Northumbrians.



The following is Bede's account of Cædmon's first inspiration as a poet:—

SOME ACCOUNT OF CÆDMON, FROM BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY  
AND KING ALFRED'S ANGLO-SAXON TRANSLATION.

“In this abbess's minster\* was a certain brother extraordinarily magnified and honoured with a divine gift; for he was wont to make fitting songs which conduced to religion and piety; so that whatever he learned, through clerks, of the Holy Writings, that he, after a little space, would usually adorn with the greatest sweetness and feeling, and bring forth in the English tongue; and by his songs the minds of many men were often inflamed with contempt for the world, and with desire of heavenly life. And, moreover, many others after him in the English nation sought to make pious songs; but yet none could do like to him, for he had not been taught from men, nor through man, to learn the poetic art; but he was divinely aided, and through God's grace received the art of song. And he therefore never might make aught of leasing or of idle poems, but those only which conduced to religion, and which it became his pious tongue to sing.

“This man (Cædmon) was placed in worldly life until the time that he was of mature age, and had never learned any poem; and he, therefore, in convivial society, when for the sake of mirth it was resolved that they all in turn should sing to the harp, when he saw the harp approaching him, then for shame he would rise from the assembly and go home to his house.

“When he on a certain time left the house of the convivial meeting, and was gone out to the stall of the cattle, the care of which that night had been committed to him, he there, at proper time, placed his limbs on the bed and slept; then stood some one by him, in a dream, and hailed and greeted him, and named him by his name, saying, ‘Cædmon, sing me something.’ Then he answered and said, ‘I cannot sing any thing, and therefore I went from this convivial meeting, and retired hither, because I could not.’ Again, he who was speaking with him said, ‘Yet thou must sing to me.’ Said he, ‘What shall I sing?’ Said he, ‘Sing me the Origin of things.’

\* Hilda of Streaneshalh, or Whitby.

“When he received this answer, then he began forthwith to sing, in praise of God the Creator, the verses and the words which he had never heard—the order of which is this :—

Now must we praise  
 The Guardian of heaven's kingdom,  
 The Creator's might,  
 And His mind's thought ;  
 Glorious Father of men !  
 As of every wonder he,  
     Lord eternal,  
 Formed the beginning.  
 He first framed  
 For the children of earth  
 The heaven as a roof ;  
     Holy Creator !  
 Then mid-earth,  
 The Guardian of mankind,  
 The eternal Lord,  
 Afterwards produced  
 The earth for men ;  
     Lord Almighty !

Nu we seolan herian  
 Heofon-rices weard,  
 Metodes mihte,  
 And his mod-gethonc  
 Wera wulder-faeder !  
 Swa he wundra gehwaes  
     Ece Dryhten,  
 Oord onstealde.  
 He ærest gesecop  
 Eorþan bearnum  
 Heofon to hrofe ;  
     Halig Scyppend !  
 Tha middangeard,  
 Monecynnes weard,  
 Ece Dryhten,  
 Æfter teode  
 Firum foldan ;  
     Frea Ælmihtig !

“Then he arose from sleep, and had fast in mind all that he sleeping had sung, and to those words forthwith joined many words of song, worthy of God, in the same measure.

“Then came he in the morning to the town-reeve (tun-garefa), who was his superior (ealdormon), and said to him what gift he had received ; and he forthwith led him to the abbess, and told, and made that known to her. Then she bade all the most learned men and the learners to assemble, and in their presence bade him tell the dream, and sing the poem, that, by the judgment of them all, it might be determined why or whence that was come. Then it seemed to them all, so as it was, that to him, from the Lord himself, a heavenly gift had been given. Then they expounded to him and said some holy history, and words of godly lore ; then bade him, if he could, to sing some of them, and turn them into the melody of song. When he had undertaken the thing, then went he home to his house, and came again in the morning, and sang and gave to them, adorned with the best poetry, what had been bidden him. Then began the abbess to make much of and love the grace of God in the man ; and she then exhorted and instructed him to forsake worldly life and take to monkhood : and he that well approved.

“And she received him into the minster with his goods, and united him with the congregation of those servants of God,

and caused him to be taught the series of the Holy History and Gospel. And he, all that he could learn by hearing meditated with himself, and, as a clean animal ruminating, turned into the sweetest verse: and his song and his verse were so winsome to hear, that his teachers themselves wrote and learned from his mouth. He first sang of earth's creation, and of the origin of mankind, and all the history of Genesis, which is the first book of Moses; and then of the departure of the people of Israel from the Egyptians' land, and of the entrance of the land of promise, and of many other histories of the canonical books of Holy Writ; and of Christ's Incarnation, and of his Passion, and of his Ascension into heaven; and of the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the doctrine of the apostles; and also of the terror of the doom to come, and the fear of hell-torment, and the sweetness of the heavenly kingdom, he made many poems. And, in like manner, many other of the divine benefits and judgments he made; in all which he earnestly took care to draw men from the love of sin and wicked deeds, and to excite to a love and desire of good deeds."

So far the Venerable Bede. The poems of Cædmon, after having been preserved in manuscript for nearly a thousand years, were published at Amsterdam in the year 1655, by the celebrated Anglo-Saxon scholar, Francis Junius, and were republished by the Society of the Antiquaries of London, in the year 1832, under the superintendence of a not less celebrated scholar, Benjamin Thorpe, F.S.A., with the title of "Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of parts of the Holy Scriptures, in Anglo-Saxon." With regard to these poems, Sir Frederick Madden observes, in his introduction to Wycliffe's Bible: "To commence with the Anglo-Saxon period. The poem which bears the name of Cædmon gives several passages of the Scriptures with tolerable fidelity, and it might require extended notice if the epic and legendary character of the composition suffered it to be ranked among the versions of Holy Writ."\*

Cædmon's poems make no pretensions to be a translation of the Old or New Testament, though it is probable that they formed the only summary of the contents of those books that was accessible

\* The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books in the earliest English versions made from the Latin Vulgate, by John Wycliffe and his followers: edited by the Rev. Josiah Forster, F.R.S., &c., late Fellow of Exeter College, and Sir Frederick Madden, K.H.F.R.S., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum: Oxford, at the University Press, 1850.

and intelligible to the English laity for many ages. Their value even in that respect is very considerable, more especially as they could easily be committed to memory, and would thus be remembered by those who had no other books in their native language. Their chief merit, however, is as poems, and in that respect their epic and legendary character may be considered as amongst their greatest merits. The glory of Cædmon's numbers, like that of Chaucer's, is past and gone, but they have still contributed not a little to fill that well of English undefiled, from whose waters English poets have drawn both language and inspiration.

Cædmon's first poem commences with an invocation of the Almighty, in which he declares that it is most right that we the Guardian of the Skies, the glorious King of Hosts, with our words should praise in our minds' love. He is of power the essence, the head of all exalted creatures, the Lord Almighty, without beginning or end, the eternal Lord, ruling with high majesty the heavenly concaves, which were placed far and wide through the power of God, for the children of glory, the guardian of spirits.

He then proceeds to describe the lustre and joy (gleam and dream) of the hosts of angels, and their bright bliss before their fall; he afterwards describes how one of them became discontented and began to frame evil councils:—

First to frame,  
To weave and agitate.  
Then spake he the words,  
From malice thirsty,  
That he in the North part  
A home and lofty seat  
Of Heaven's kingdom  
Would possess.

Ærest fremman,  
Wefan and weccæan.  
Tha he worde cwaeth,  
Nithes of thyrsted,  
Tha he on North-daele  
Ham and heah-setl  
Heofena-rices  
Agan wolde.

He then describes God as angry with the rebellious angels, and as driving them from heaven into the fiery abyss.

When he knew it ready,  
Furnished with perpetual night,  
With sulphur charged,  
With fire filled throughout  
And cold intense,  
Smoke and red flame.

Tha he hit geara wiste,  
Sinnihte beseald,  
Susle geinnod,  
Geond-folen fyre  
And faer cyle,  
Rcce and reade lege.\*

\* Cædmon, page 3.

After speaking of the fall of the angels, Cædmon proceeds to describe the creation of the world and of man. He commences by speaking of chaos as spreading over the whole universe.

There had not here as yet  
 Save cavern-shade  
 Aught been ;  
 But this wide abyss  
 Stood deep and dim  
 Strange to its Lord.  
 Idle and useless :  
 The earth as yet was  
 Not green with grass.  
 Ocean covered,  
 Swart in eternal night,  
 Far and wide  
 The dusky ways.

Ne waes her tha giet  
 Nymthe heolster-seado  
 Wilt geworden ;  
 Ae thes wida grund  
 Stod deep and dim  
 Drihtne fremde.  
 Idel and unnyt.  
 Folde waes tha gyt  
 Graes ungrene.  
 Garseeg theahte,  
 Sweart synnihte,  
 Side and wyde  
 Wonne waegas.\*

The poet then proceeds to describe the creation of light, of the firmament, of the plants, the animals, and finally of man, but unfortunately three pages of the manuscript have been destroyed. He gives, however, a fine account of the creation of Eve.

## THE CREATION OF EVE.

Then seemed it not fitting  
 To the Guardian of the firmament  
 That Adam longer  
 Were alone  
 Of Paradise,  
 Of the new creation,  
 Keeper and ruler ;  
 Therefore for him the High King,  
 The Lord Almighty,  
 Created a helpmate,  
 Raised up a woman,  
 And her gave for a support  
 The Author of life's light  
 To the beloved man.  
 He the substance  
 From Adam's  
 Body dismember'd,  
 And from it skilfully extracted  
 A rib from the side.  
 He was fast at rest,  
 And softly slept,  
 Knew not pain,  
 No share of sufferings,  
 Nor came there any  
 Blood from the wound ;  
 But from him the Lord of angels,  
 From his body drew  
 A jointed bone,

Ne thuhste tha gerysne  
 Rodora wearde  
 Tha Adam leng  
 Ana waere  
 Neorxna wonges,  
 Niwre gesceafte,  
 Hyrde and baldend ;  
 Forthon him Heah-cyning,  
 Frea Ælmihtig,  
 Fultum tiode,  
 Wif-awehte,  
 And tha wrathe sealde  
 Lifes leoht-fruma.  
 Leofum rince.  
 He tha andweorc  
 Of Adames  
 Lice aleothode,  
 And him listum ateah  
 Rib of sidan.  
 He waes reste-fiest,  
 And softe swaef,  
 Sar ne-wiste,  
 Earfotha dæl,  
 Ne thaer aenig coum  
 Blod of benne ;  
 Ae him Brego engla,  
 Of lice ateah  
 Liodende ban,

The man unwounded,  
 Of which God wrought  
 A goodly woman,  
 Inspired life into her,  
 An immortal soul :  
 They were like unto angels.  
 Then was Adam's bride  
 With spirit endued.  
 They in youth both,  
 Bright in beauty, were  
 Into the world brought forth  
 By the Creator's might.  
 Crime they knew not  
 To do nor suffer ;  
 But of the Lord was to them  
 Both, in their breasts,  
 Burning Love.  
 Then blessed  
 The blithe-heart King,  
 The Lord of all things,  
 Of mankind  
 The first two,  
 Father and Mother,  
 Female and Male.

Wer unwundod,  
 Of tham worhte God  
 Freolicu faeman,  
 Feorb in-gedyde,  
 Ece saule :  
 Heo waeron Englum gelice.  
 Tha waes Adames bryd  
 Gaste gegearwod.  
 Hie on geogothu bu  
 Wlite beorht waeron  
 On woruld cenned  
 Meotodes mihtum.  
 Man ne euthon  
 Don ne dreogan :  
 Ac him drihtnes waes  
 Bam on breostum,  
 Byrnende Lufu.  
 Tha gebletsode  
 Blyth-heort Cyning,  
 Metod alwihta,  
 Monna cynnes  
 Tha forman twa,  
 Faeder and Moder,  
 Wif and Waepned.\*

We give the above extracts both in the oldest form of the English language that is known to exist, and in that of the present day, in order to show how that language was written in Yorkshire and in the north of England so many hundred years ago. We add a few additional passages in modern English.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF CREATION.

Here first-shaped  
 The Lord eternal  
 Chief of all creatures,  
 Heaven and earth,  
 The firmament upreared,  
 And this spacious land  
 Established  
 By his strong powers,  
 The Lord Almighty.  
 The earth as yet was  
 Not green with grass ;  
 Ocean cover'd,  
 Swart in eternal night,  
 Far and wide  
 The dusky ways.  
 Then was the glory-bright  
 Spirit of heaven's Guardian  
 Borne over the deep,  
 With utmost speed :  
 The Creator of angels bade,

The Lord of life,  
 Light to come forth  
 Over the spacious deep.  
 Quickly was fulfilled  
 The High King's behest,  
 For him was holy light  
 Over the waste,  
 As the Maker bade.  
 Then sunder'd  
 The Lord of triumphs  
 Over the ocean flood  
 Light from darkness,  
 Shade from brightness ;  
 Then gave names to both,  
 The Lord of life.  
 Light was first  
 Through the Lord's word  
 Named Day ;  
 Beauteous bright creation !

## THE GARDEN OF EDEN.

<p>Then beheld Our Creator The beauty of his works And the excellence of his productions, Of the new creatures. Paradise stood Good and spiritual, Filled with gifts, With forward benefits. Fair washed The genial land The running water, The well-brook ; No clouds as yet Over the ample ground Bore rains Lowering with wind ; Yet with fruits stood Earth adorn'd. Held their onward course River-streams Four noble ones From the new Paradise. These were parted, By the Lord's might, All from one (When he this earth created) Water with beauty bright,</p>	<p>And sent into the world ; Which the first men call (Earth's inhabitants), (The men of the country) Pison, The mariue parts It widely compasseth : With its bright streams He shut it out. In that country Men find, From near and far, Gold and gems (The children of men) The most excellent, From what books tell us. Then the next The Ethiop-land And territory . Encompasseth, Ample realms ; Its name is Gihon. The third is Tigris, Which towards the nation (The river in its flow) Of Assyria lieth. This is the fourth, That now, 'mongst many folks, Men Euphrates Widely call.</p>
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After describing the temptation and the fall of man with great beauty, Cædmon proceeds to trace the history of the human race, in a succession of scenes drawn from the Old and the New Testaments. He descends step by step through the ages before the Flood. He describes Cain and Abel, one of whom "his strength to the earth applied," whilst the other kept cattle, or, as he expresses it of the former, "earthan tilode," and of the other, "aehte heold." After describing the murder of Abel by Cain, he speaks of the different patriarchs before the Flood in succession. He describes Cain as building a city, "ceastre timbran," and of that city being inhabited by men who were the first sword-bearers, "sweord-berende." He speaks of Jubal, who "first on the harp with his hands, the sound awoke of melodious strains," and of Tubal Cain, who by dint of skill was a smith-craftsman, "smith-craeftega," and the inventor of the plough and of plough work upon earth, "sulh geweorces." The expression the sole of the plough still remains. He afterwards

speaks of Tubal Cain as the first worker in brass and iron, "aeres and isernes."

Cædmon then proceeds to describe the Flood and the great sea-house built by Noah, "Mere Hus micel." He describes him as sending forth first the raven, "sweartan hrefne," and afterwards the livid dove, "hasur culufnan." To the wife of Noah and the wives of his three sons he gives the names of Percova, Olla, Olliva, and Ollivani.

Passing forward, Cædmon describes the descendants of Noah spread over the plain of Shinar, spacious and wide, "sidne and widne," engaged in building a tower, "beacne torr" which might reach to the stars of heaven; and then describes the confusion of tongues, when as he says, "Neaig wiste, waet other cqaeth."

He next proceeds to describe Haran and Abraham, whom he speaks of as two "earls, of whom God was the friend and patron." He afterwards describes Lot as an "earl," and then relates fully all their wanderings in the Promised Land and in the land of Egypt. He gives a fine picture of a campaign of his own times, in his account of the war between the five kings and the cities of the plain, and describes Earl Abram, and his victory over his enemies, with wild triumph. He subsequently gives a very fine account of God's command to Abram to sacrifice his only son Isaac, and describes the conveying of the child to the high downs, "hea dune" in a distant land; the building of the "ad," or altar of sacrifice; Abram standing, ready to light the fire: and at the moment when the pile stood on fire, "ad stod onaled," God calling from heaven; the ram, "rom," caught in the branches, "brenburn faestne," and of the altar reeking with the ram's blood, "rommes blode," sacrificed to God, in place of Isaac.

The poem then passes on to the time of Moses and the deliverance of the Hebrews from Egyptian bondage. The finest portion of this part of the poem is the account of the march of the children of Israel out of Egypt; the crossing of the Red Sea; the destruction of the Egyptian hosts in its waters; and the encampments, marches, and battles of the Hebrew host, and its final arrival in the Promised Land.

The poem then passes on to the times of the two great kings, David and Solomon, the former of whom is described as a great warrior; the latter, as the wisest of men. Of David Cædmon says—



He in exile lived,  
 After he had led,  
 Most beloved of men,  
 At Holy One's behest  
 A high land to ascend,  
 His kinsmen on Sion's hill.

He on wræce lifde,  
 Sittan he gelacde,  
 Leofost feora,  
 Haliges haesum  
 Heah lond stigung,  
 Sib-gemagas on Seone beorh.

In describing Solomon in his glory, Cædmon says—

There afterwards the sagacious  
 Son of David,  
 Glorious king!  
 By the prophet's counsels  
 Built  
 To God a Temple,  
 A Holy Fane  
 (Of earthly kings  
 The wisest in  
 The world's realm),  
 Highest and holiest,  
 Amongst men most famed,  
 Chiefest and greatest  
 Of those that the sons of men,  
 Of mortals throughout earth,  
 Have wrought with hands.

Thær eft se snotra  
 Sunu Dauides,  
 Wuldorfaest cyning!  
 Witgan'larum  
 Getimbrede  
 Tempel Gode,  
 Alhu haligne  
 (Eorth-cyninga  
 Se wysesta on  
 Woruld-ricc),  
 Heahst and haligost,  
 Haelethum gefreagost,  
 Maest and maerost  
 Thara the manna bearu,  
 Fira aefter foldan,  
 Folmum geworhte.

The poem then passes on to the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, to the wisdom of the prophet Daniel, the pride and insolence of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, and finally to the capture and destruction of Babylon. This part of the poem contains a very fine version of the song of the three Hebrew children, Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael, in the fiery furnace. There are two versions given of this part of the poem, one of them apparently of Northumbrian origin, and perhaps written at York; the other long preserved in manuscript in the cathedral at Exeter. The latter may perhaps be regarded as the West Saxon version of these fine poems, which were adapted to all the dialects of the English language. The first part of the poems of Cædmon ends with the death of Belshazzar, the overthrow of Babylon, and the triumph of Daniel.

The second book of Cædmon, which is very much shorter than the first, and appears to have suffered much from ignorant transcribers, bears, if we may venture to say so, a somewhat similar relation to the first, to that which the "Paradise Regained" of Milton bears to "Paradise Lost." It is confined to a few of the most striking scenes in the history of the birth, the preaching, and the sacrifice of Jesus Christ.

*The Close of the Life of Cædmon.*—We have spoken of the early part of the life of Cædmon, from the time when he first discovered his poetic talent, to the time when he gave up his occupation as a herdsman; and went to reside in the abbey at Whitby, under the kind patronage of Hilda, giving himself up entirely to the composition of poetry. He there seems to have lived a peaceful and happy life; for we are told by Bede that he was a very pious man, zealous for what he believed to be truth, “and with a fair end he closed his life.” The following is the Venerable Bede’s account of the last days and the death of this ancient Anglian poet, the worthy founder of the poetry of a language which will soon be, if it is not already, more widely spoken than any other language of the civilized world. Bede thus concludes the notice of his life:—

“For when the time approached of his decease and departure, then was he for fourteen days ere that oppressed and troubled with bodily infirmity; yet so moderately, that, during all that time, he could both speak and walk. There was in the neighbourhood a house for infirm men, in which it was their custom to bring the infirm, and those who were on the point of departure, and there attend to them together. Then bade he his servant, on the eve of the night when he was going from the world, to prepare him a place in that house, that he might rest. Whereupon the servant wondered why he this bade, for it seemed to him that his departure was not so near: yet he did as he said and commanded. And when he there went to bed, and in joyful mood was speaking some things, and talking with those who were therein previously; then it was over midnight that he asked, ‘Whether they had the Eucharist within?’ They answered, ‘What need is to thee of the Eucharist? Thy departure is not so near, now thou thus cheerfully and thus gladly art speaking to us.’ Again he said, ‘Bring me nevertheless the Eucharist.’ When he had it in his hands, he asked, ‘Whether they had all a placid mind and kind, and without any ill-will towards him?’ But they all were very kindly disposed; and they besought him in turn that he would be kindly disposed to them all. Then he answered and said, ‘My beloved brethren, I am very kindly disposed to you and all God’s men.’ And he thus was strengthening himself with the heavenly viaticum, and preparing himself an entrance into another life. Again he asked, ‘How near it was to the hour that the brethren must rise and teach the people of

God, and sing their nocturns !' They answered, 'It is not far to that.' He said, 'It is well : let us await the hour.' And then he prayed and signed himself with Christ's cross, and reclined his head on the bolster and slept for a little space : and so with stillness ended his life. And thus it was that as he, with pure and calm mind and tranquil devotion, had served God, he, in like manner, left the world with as calm a death, and went to his presence ; and the tongue which had composed so many holy words in the Creator's praise, he then, in like manner, its last words closed in his praise ; crossing himself, and committing his soul into his hands. Thus it was seen that he was conscious of his own departure, from what we have now heard say."

*The Anglian Language and its resemblance to the Yorkshire and other Northern dialects.*—The Anglian language as spoken in the present Yorkshire, and in Northumbria generally, and probably also as employed in those eastern districts of England which constituted the kingdom of East Anglia, though derived from the same Teutonic root, differed considerably from the English language as spoken further south, in the central districts of England, then known as the kingdom of Mercia ; and still more from the language of the West Saxons, which was used in the valley of the Thames, and with some variations, from the coast of Kent to the borders of Cornwall. All these languages have been blended and united together to form the modern English language ; but the preponderating dialect in modern English is that of Mercia, and not that of Northumbria. The influence of London, the capital of the kingdom, where the English parliaments have met and the government has been carried on for more than eight hundred years ; the influence of the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, at which the clergy and the flower of the English youth have been educated for as long a period ; the writings of Shakspeare and Milton, of Camden and of Bacon, all of whom wrote in the language of the central districts of England ; and the translation of the Bible into the English tongue, by men thoroughly acquainted with the language of the universities and the capital—have given a decided preponderance to the dialects of Mercia, and even to the West Saxon dialects, over the Northumbrian. No writers of any great note have written in the Northumbrian dialect of the English language, from the time of Gower and Wycliffe, though in more recent times multitudes of the old Anglian words have given additional zest to the poems of Robert

Burns, to the Scottish dialogues in the novels of Walter Scott, and to the Yorkshire stories of Charlotte Bronte, who gloried in being a Yorkshire woman, and who knew the old dialect well. In earlier times, this was the language of statesmen and historians, and it still retains its hold amongst the lovers of antiquity, and amongst the labouring classes in the country districts from the Humber to the Forth.

The following are a few specimens of the old Anglian language which may be clearly traced in the pronunciation and the grammatical forms of the present Yorkshire dialect:—Aefter, after or next; aet, eat; alh, a hall; abrocen, broken; adrincan, to drink; abidan, to abide, or like; acsian, to ask; afyrran, to frighten or deter; areccan, to reckon or count; awinnan, to win or overcome; axan, ashes. Bearn, a child; beam, a beam or tree; beor-sele, a beer-hall, or house; brennan, to burn; befeore, before; beacen, a beacon; ban, a bone; bald, bold; blod, blood. Com, come; ciste, a chest; candel, a candle; cwic, quick; cwen, a quean, a woman; cynn, kindred. Deorc, dark; don, to do; deaw, dew; deop, deep; de-ath, death; deor, deer. Eorth, earth; eal, ale; eorl, an earl. Forborsten, burst; fyr, fire; fyerna sweorde, fiery swords; feower, four; flod, flood; folc, folk or people; flor, floor; forst, frost; foreswapen, swept; freolic, frolicsome. Gast, a ghost; grund, ground; gang, to go; gefylled, filled; geblonden, blinded; gemercod, marked; graedig, greedy. He-ap, a heap; heo, she; hea, high; hus, a house; handweorc, handywork; hreown, to rue; healig, holy; hired, hired. Idel, idle; iren, iron. Leng, long; licod, liked or pleased; langsome, tiresome; lacunde, larking or playing; leoffic, lovely; leoht, light; lic, like; lim, lime; lof-song, love song. Mistas, mists; maest, the mast of a ship; maest rapas, mast ropes; mon, a man; meal inete, a meal's meat; mire, dark. Nacod, naked; niht, night; niht-lang, night-long. Other, either, and also othther; ongan, began; offan, an oven. Path, a path; pegan, a plague. Ric, rich; and rom, a ram; regn, rain; rand, round; reke, smoke; reccan, to count. Stod, stood; sar, sore; straete, street; stane, a stone; sweart, swart or black; saule, a soul; seofan, seven; snawas, snows. Thrang, throng or crowded; twa, two; tor, a tower; thur, through; theccan, to thatch; thurst, to thirst; and thuht, thought. Uht, out; uplang, uplong; and unweaxen, ungrown. Wefan, to weave; weater, water; waepen, weapon; weald, a wild; weall, a wall; wuluf, a wolf; woruld, the world; weder, the weather; wyde stodun, widely stood; weorc,

work ; wracca, a wreck ; wynsom, winsome ; and wrixle, to wrestle. We give the above merely as specimens, which might be increased to any extent. At the same time there are a considerable number of characteristic Yorkshire words which are not of Anglian origin, but are derived either from the Frisian or from the old Norse or Norwegian language, which was spoken by the Danes and Norwegians during the Danish dominion in Yorkshire. We shall show the influence of the Norse or old Scandinavian language in the next chapter.

*The influence of the Frisian Language on the Yorkshire and other Northern dialects of England.*—It has been stated by some writers of judgment and learning, that the old Frisian language, as it was spoken at the time of the conquest of England, had a considerable influence on the old English language, especially as it is employed north of the Humber. If we may judge from the remains of a language which is rapidly dying out under the pressure of the German language on one side, and the Danish on another, and which is now chiefly confined to a few small islands and districts along the German and Danish coasts, we should be disposed to say that this was the case. We should also add that the Frisian dialect has had a considerable influence on the English language generally. This is shown by a glossary of this language, composed a few years ago by a Frisian clergyman, named Outzen, who lived for a period of forty years in the district in which the language was spoken, and who made it his object to collect and arrange the words of the old language, in order to show the points in which it agreed with, and those in which it differed from, the German, Danish, and English languages.

The names of the days of the week are much more like the English in the Frisian, than they are in any other Germanic language. Beginning with Sunday, they are stated by Outzen to be as follows:—Senni, Mond, Teisdi, Weensdi, Tursdei, Freidei, and Saterdei. It appears also that the use of the indefinite article in the Frisian language very much resembles its use in the English, being a and an, just as we use them. The north of England forms for yes and no, ae or a, and na or nea, also exist in the Frisian language. There are a great many words in the Frisian which very closely resemble the same words in the English language, and more especially the Yorkshire and other Northumbrian dialects of that language, and also several which seem to have been used in

giving names to persons and places in Yorkshire, in very early times. Thus we have *arn*, an eagle, which is found in the name of Arncliffe; *aesk*, an ash tree, found in the name of Askrigg, or the ridge of ash trees; *babe*, the name given to a baby or infant; *barm*, the name of yeast, or something used to raise bread; *bar*, for barley, or *bere*, as it is still called in the north; *banner*, for a flag or colour used in war; *barn*, a child, just as in Yorkshire; *beest*, used for horned cattle, as it is probably found in the name of Beeston; *bull*, a bull, as in English; *bos*, a small cottage (occurring in the names of places, as Boston, which is not always a contraction of Botolphs town, as it is in the Lincolnshire Boston); *dam*, an embankment; *dead*, the dead; *dor*, a door; *duf*, a dove; *Dus*, the Deuce, a demon worshipped or dreaded by Frieslanders.

The Frieslanders call themselves, and were pleased to be called, "*Ela fria Fresena*," which means the noble free Frieslanders. The name *Ela* is probably that of two of the Northumbrian kings, one named *Elle* and the other *Ella*, the latter of whom was the founder of the church at Kirk Ella, near Hull. *Eske* means ask, even means even, and *feder* means father, in the Frisian language. In taking leave of each other they exclaimed, *Fahrwhel!* *Feest* with them was a fist; *finger* was a finger; *tome* was a thumb; *skotfinger* was the finger used in shooting with the bow; *longe finger* was the middle; *gold finger* was the ring finger; and the *lightge finger* was the little finger. *Fletan*, was to flit or move from one house to another; *flieten* was to float; *flock* was a flock of birds; *firk* was a fork, and *freese* meant to freeze. They called grass *gars*, as in Garsdale; *gavel*, the gable end of a house; *glas*, glass, and *gyld*, a company. They called God *God*, as we do. The managers of the public dykes or ditches they named the *Dik-graves*; and the managers of the land, the *Gagraves* or *Gargreves*, which is translated into Latin by *Outzen*, as *Comes limitis*.

An oak they named an *ik*; and fire they named *ild*. They used the word *ing* to describe the descendants of a family, even as late as the year 1499, whilst, according to *Outzen*, the English gave up the use of the word *ing* after the year 901, when they described Alfred the Great, as *Aelfred Adulfing*, or Alfred the son of *Ethelwulf*. An Angle or Englishman they named an *Ingel*; *England*, *Ingkland*, and the English language, *Ingklisch*. This is probably the origin of the name of the place in Yorkshire still known as *Ingleton*, and of that of the noble mountain of *Ing-*

borough, or the mountain or hill, and perhaps also the fortress, of the Angles or the English.

Amongst other Frisian words in use in Yorkshire, where the old language is still spoken, we may venture to mention *kaat*, a cat; *kai*, a key; *kiste*, a chest; *klaid*, a set of clothes; *klaver*, a field of clover; *klay*, a bed of clay; *klock*, or the noise that a hen makes after laying an egg; *co*, a cow; *krune*, the crown of the head; *kickkuk*, a cuckoo; *kulf*, a calf; and *kys* when they call home the cows.

In the time of the Frisians lime was called *leahm*, which is probably the origin of *Leeming Lane*, a portion of the old Roman road, which runs in that part of its course with an abundant supply of lime on one side, and a country that is greatly benefited by the free use of it on the other. Pliny informs us that the Gauls were well acquainted with the use of lime for the improvement of land; and there is no reason to suppose that our Anglian ancestors were less intelligent. *Mar* was used as a Frisian contraction for a mark or boundary. According to *Outzen* this is the meaning of the syllable *mar*, in the names *Colmar*, *Cismar*, *Wismar*, and also *Teahmern*, and *Stormar*. This also gives a key to the use of the same word in many English names of places. In the same language *min* means little; *molke*, milk; *marg* means marl; *nagt*, the night; *nom*, a name; *oel*, oil; *onkel*, an ankle; and *ower*, over, as in *Northowram* and *Southowram*; *paer* or *peer* means a pear or pear tree; *quey*, a young cow; *quern*, a hand mill or millstone; *reit* is reed; *rek* is smoke; *rin*, is a run of water; *rock* is a rook or crow; *rum* is a room; *sammar* is summer; *saed* is seed for sowing; *siel* is the soul; *skal* is skill; *skere*, is to share or divide; *skog* is a wood; *spad*, a spade; *span*, to spin; *stahl*, to steal; *stane* is a stone; *sted* is a place; *steer* is a star; *stien* is also a stone; *tid* is time, which form of the word is also in use; *tree* is a tree; *tun* is an inclosure, or a town; *ur* is an ear; *use* is use or custom; *welp*, a young hound; the *weg* is the way; *wiht* is wheat; *wold* is a wold, the exact form of the name in the wolds of Yorkshire; *wong* is a field or garden, and *neorxna-wong* is a garden of pleasure, or paradise.

On the whole it appears as if Frisian colonists or conquerors had taken a considerable share in the formation of the old Northumbrian language, once universally spoken in Yorkshire, and not yet quite forgotten; as well as in that of the English language in general.



*Original Meaning of Names of Places in Yorkshire derived from the Anglian or Early English Language.*—The names of most of the mountains, hills, dales or valleys, cities, boroughs, castles, and villages, existing in Yorkshire at the time of the Domesday Survey, 1084–86, were given by the Angles or English, and were chiefly derived from the natural features of that district. At the time when those names were given Yorkshire was in a great measure covered with forests of natural timber, composed of oak, ash, elm, birch, beech, linden or lime, and other forest trees. In each of the three Ridings there was one great forest, and many smaller ones. In the West Riding the forest of Sherwood extended from the banks of the rivers Aire and Calder, southward, to the neighbourhood of Sheffield and Rotherham, and far beyond the southern boundaries of Yorkshire, covering great part of the neighbouring counties of Nottingham and Derby. In the East Riding the great forest or wood of Deira, mentioned by Bede and Symeon of Durham, extended widely over the wolds and deep valleys of the chalk district almost to the sea, the cell of St. John of Beverley standing in the recesses of that ancient forest. In the North Riding the great forest of Galtrees stretched northward from the neighbourhood of the city of York to Cric or Creyke Castle, so-named from the crags on which it was built, and thence still farther northward towards the mountains and cliffs of Cleveland. Many smaller forests existed, and the whole region of Craven was covered either with natural woods or with grassy hills. The general aspect of the county was that of a country of hills or mountains covered in many places with cliffs and rocks, and sinking, with shelving sides, into numerous dales or valleys watered by rivers or smaller streams. The hills were still inhabited by wild cattle and herds of deer, the forests by bears and wolves; and along the banks of the numerous streams the otters, badgers, or brocks, and even the beavers, formed their dwelling-places. The arn or earn, afterwards named the eagle by the Normans, built its nest amongst the cliffs, and the hawk and raven still frequented the rocks, where also the rock pigeon or culfer built its nest, whilst the wood pigeons collected in vast flocks, in the beech-tree woods. The fox and other smaller animals were found on the moors and cliffs, and the wild boar still infested the oak forests.

It was in clearings of these forests or in natural meadows that



the Angles began to form and to inclose their tuns, or towns; their worths; their yards, their folds, and their fields; and there also, in a later age, the Danish settlers formed their bys, their byrs, their tofts, their garths, and their throps, or country seats. Occasionally sites originally insignificant became connected with important events; with the names of English or Danish chiefs, with those of the imaginary gods of the Anglian and Scandinavian mythologies, with holy fountains or wells, and with various ancient superstitions. In two, if not three different ages, this county was covered with churches; first by the Britons; then by the Angles, who adopted the Christian religion about A.D. 600, and again by the Danes, who received the same religion about A.D. 1000. In the latter part of the Danish period the Danes settled in England—whose descendants still dwell there—built from eighty to a hundred churches, chiefly in the counties of York, Lincoln, Derby, and Nottingham, most of which give the name of Kirk, Kirby, or Kirkdale to the towns, villages, and pleasant dales in which they are situated.

In quiet times, the Angles, and afterwards the Danes, cultivated the apple tree in their orchards, and named many of their villages from that tree and fruit, which was no doubt introduced into Britain by the Romans. They probably also cultivated the pear tree, so named by the Frisians, but not by the other Germans; the plum tree, especially the delicious Winesour plum, and the cherry tree; and gathered the produce of such fruit-bearing bushes as grow naturally in this mild climate, including the hazel, the elder bush, and even the bramble, with its pleasant fruit. The various crops which the Angles and Anglo-Danes cultivated in their inclosures were bere, or barley, the chief bread corn of early times; a little wheat, in favoured situations; perhaps rye; hafer, or oats, from which they made their haver, or oaten cakes; and beans, pease, and kale; kle, or clover of the perennial kind, grew naturally; and flax and hemp were cultivated. Their clothing consisted either of tanned skins and furs, or of coarse cloth formed of flax or wool, and generally spun and woven by the females of every family, from the queen to the peasant. The domestic animals in these early times were what were called neate, or horned cattle, including the bull, the cow, the ox, the steer, the heifer, the quey, and the calf. They had also the horse, the mare, and the colt. They had sheep, originally called skeep (as in Skipton), and also

hammel. They had numerous dogs to guard their flocks. Their swine were also very numerous, but more than half wild, and lived chiefly on acorns, beech-mast, and the roots that they could pick up in field or forest.

From a very early period there were hedges of hawthorn round their fields, wherever the land was of good quality. Large quantities of hay were made in the summer months for the support of cattle, which at that time had no food in the winter except small branches of trees brought from the forests, and the withered grass which they could pick up in the fields. Large quantities of fern grew on the drier grounds, and was no doubt used along with straw for the bedding of cattle.

The climate of Yorkshire was then, as it still is, cold, but fresh and wholesome. It was probably colder than it is now, owing to the great extent of the forests and of the marshes and mosses near the mouths of the rivers, and amongst the undrained moors. Many places were named chill, or cold, both of which words were used in the same sense then as they are now.

The rivers had nearly the same names as at present; and all the smaller streams were known as burns or becks, as in Sherburn, Holbeck, and almost innumerable other streams.

The only roads of any value existing in Yorkshire in those ages, were such as had been left by the Romans. To those they gave the name of Watling Street; Deer Street, or the road of Deira; Leeming Lane, or Street; without any other distinction. Dykes, or ditches, were constructed in early times for military defence, and perhaps in a few of the districts most liable to be flooded.

We have enumerated all these circumstances connected with the natural aspect of the country—its form and levels, its forest and fruit trees, its plants, its animals, its crops, its rivers, and its streams—because in these we find the explanation of most of the names given to the towns and villages of the county by our Anglian ancestors.

*Names of Places derived from Forest Trees.*—A large number of the names of places in Yorkshire are derived from the kinds of forest trees growing upon them at the time when they were inclosed, as the oak, the ash, the alder, the beech, the linden or lime, the birch, the maple, and the poplar.

The number of places named from the oak tree, which then grew everywhere on the stronger soils, is very great; but we

always find the name with some one of the old Anglian forms of spelling, as *ac*, *ack*, *ag*, *ach*, *ec*, *eg*, *hac*, *hag*, *heck*, *hick*, and even *og* and *ug*. The ancient names of the oak, with these numerous variations of sound and spelling, occur in the Domesday Survey, in the names of the following places:—*Ach* (pronounced *ack*, as in *Ackworth* and *Skyrack*), *Acheburg*, *Acheford*, *Achelu*, *Achu*, *Aclum*, *Aclun* (in four places), *Actone* (twice), *Actum* (twice), *Acurde*, *Acum*, *Echescard*, *Echescol*, *Echope*, *Ecinton*, *Eclesfelt*, *Ectone*, *Egescop*, *Egetune*, *Egistun*, *Eglestun*, *Hacestone* (twice), *Hagebrige*, or *Agbrigg wapentake*, *Hagnesse*, *Hageneword*, *Haghedeneby*, *Hickleton*, *Occany*, *Oglestorp*, *Ogleston*, *Ughetorp*, *Ughill*, and *Uggleberdesby*. The name of the oak rarely, if ever, occurs in its modern form in this part of the Domesday Survey, though it is now found in the names of many places in Yorkshire.

The ash tree, or as it was then spelt, the *aesk*, or *esk*, which at that time must have abounded on the Yorkshire hills, as it does to the present day, has given its name to a multitude of places. The tough wood of the ash tree was generally used for the purpose of making spears for war; and the spearman was called the “*aesk-bearer*.” Thus in *Cædmon’s* poems we have the spearman described as “*aesc-berend*.”\* We also read in his poems of “*aesk-tir*,”† and of “*aesc-thraec*.”‡ The presence of the ash tree we find in the names of the *Barkstone Ash wapentake*; also in *Askrigg*, *Escrick*, *Ashton*, *Aston*, *Eshton*, and probably in all the following names which occur in the Domesday Survey of Yorkshire:—*Ascam*, *Asch*, *Aschebi*, *Ascheltorp*, *Aschilebi*, *Achilesmeres*, *Aschiltorp*, *Ascri*, *Ascric*, *Ascvid*, *Asebi*, *Aserla*, *Aslachesbi*, *Astune*, *Escafelde*, *Eschalchedene*, *Eschedala*, *Escriangham*, *Escriegghan*, *Esdesai*, *Esingeton*, *Esingetone*, *Esingetune*, *Eslingsby*, *Hesintone*, and *Hessam*. There are, however, two other words that are frequently found in the Yorkshire names of places, which are liable to be confounded with the old names partly derived from the ash tree. These are *ais*, a word found in such words as *Aysgarth* and *Aismunderby*, which is derived from the word *aesir*, the inferior gods of the Danish or Norwegian mythology; and *es*, as a contraction of *east*.

The linden tree, named the lime tree by the French and Normans, was also much cultivated by the Angles, who made the shields which they used in battle from the wood of the

\* *Cædmon’s Poems*, pp. 123–27.† *Ibid.* pp. 124–27.‡ *Ibid.* pp. 130–32.

linden, as they made their spears from the tougher wood of the ash tree. In *Cædmon's* poems the linden is called the *fealwe linden*, from the light colour of its wood,\* and he mentions a noble race of warriors as assembling under *linden-bucklers*, "under linden." The name of the linden occurs in *Domesday Book* in the words *Lindlie*, *Linlie*, and *Lintone*, and is still preserved in the modern names of *Linton-upon-Ouse*, *Lindley*, *Lindrick*, *Lingarh*, *Linthorpe*, and *Linthwaite*. Some of these places may perhaps be named from another very valuable product, namely, the flax, named by the Northmen *lin*, which supplied them with linseed, and from which they spun the linen which formed the finest part of their clothing.

The name of the beech tree, called by the Angles *buc* (as in *Buckinghamshire*, which was named from its woods of beech), is found in the names of many ancient places, sometimes under the forms of *buc*, *bec*, *boc*, *bach*, or *bag*. It is probably found in *Domesday* in the words *Bagenton*, *Bagentone*, *Becvi*, *Bocheton*, *Bogewurde*, *Buchetorpe*, and *Bughetorpe*.

The name of the birch tree, written *berk*, and pronounced *bark*, as in *Berkshire*, is found in the name of the *Barkstone wapentake*, which at the time of the *Domesday Survey* was described as *Barcheston*, *Barchestone*, or *Borchescire*, and is also found in the following places mentioned in *Domesday*—*Berch*, *Berchinge*, *Bercervorde*, *Bercevorde*, *Borc*, *Borch*, *Boretune*, and *Burc*.

The name of the elm tree is found in *Elmeslac* and *Elmeswelle* in *Domesday Book*, and with the aspirate in *Helmeswelle*, and *Helmsley*.

The alder, or *aller*, tree appears to have been very abundant along the rivers of *Yorkshire*, when the names of places were fixed. It is found in the name of the *wapentake* of *Allerton*, in *Northallerton*, the capital of the *North Riding*, and the chief place of the *Allerton wapentake*, which is described as the *Alverton wapentake* in the *Domesday Survey*. From the alder, or *aller*, are probably derived the names of the following places mentioned in the *Domesday Book*—*Alrebec*, *Alrecher*, *Alreton*, *Alretone*, *Alretun*, *Alretune*, *Alverton*, *Alvertone*, *Alvertune*, *Alvestune*, *Alvretone*, and *Alvertone*.

The poplar tree seems to have been cultivated, if we may judge by the name of *Popleton*, which occurs three times in *Domesday*.

\* *Cædmon*, p. 123.

The apple tree was at that time the best known fruit tree, and the apple the best known fruit, and hence, probably, it is that we have it mentioned by Cædmon as the fruit which was offered by Eve to Adam in Paradise. We find this word in Appletreewick, and the apple is also mentioned in the Domesday Survey in the names of Apeltona, Apelton, Apeltun, Aplebi, and Apeltone, Apletune.

The cherry tree is mentioned very early in Cherry-Burton, but we do not find it in Domesday. The Anglo-Saxon name of the cherry is Crisetreow.

Begbeam is said to have been the name of the mulberry tree, and also of the blackberry bush. The former is very rare in Yorkshire, the latter very abundant. It is not improbable that Bagbi and Bagentone, mentioned in Domesday, may have been named from the latter bush. Bremble was also the name for a bramble, and brom for a broom.

The plum is mentioned at an early age in the name of Plumpton. In Domesday we have Plumpton and Plontone.

Other places were named from various kinds of plants: as, Farnley, Thornton, Bramley, Bramham, Farnham, Brierley, Weeton, Bramwith, Scammonden, Grassington, Clotherholme, Hazelwood, Wortley, Thorne, Thornhill, Thornes, Brackenholme, and Bracken. Rosedale, however, is probably named from the neighbouring hill of Rohsbury.

The number of places named from the kinds of crops grown upon the land, or for which it was supposed to be specially favourable, is very great. Amongst them are Hampole, Havercroft, Haverah park, Hemsworth, Otley, Barton, Ryehill, Flaxton, and Cornbrough.

A great number of places were named from the wild animals, and the birds of prey, with which they were originally infested, as Arncliffe, Buckden, Hawkswith, Brogden, Barlow, Hartshead, Hiendley, Swinden, Heptonstal, Hipperholme, Harthill, Hartwith, Wooddale, Otterburn, Ouston, Ravenfield, Catcliffe, Oulton, Attercliffe, Buckton, Ellerton, Foxholes, Cranswic, Scrayingham, Wheldrake, Appleton-Roebuck, Everston, Foston, Broxa, Harwood, Hawkwell, Ravensworth, and perhaps Goathland.

Several places are also named from the domestic or tamed animals found upon them, as Stourton, Coxwold, Cookridge, or Cockridge, Hunsworth, Shipley, Hambleton, Pigburn, Calverley, Shafton, Fish-

lake, Hammerton, Handsworth, Harewood, Cattal, Stotfold, Cowling, Fowlston, Hunshef, Studley, Rossington, Woolley, Beeford, Catton, Cowlam, Hambleton, Laxton, Skipwith, Swine, Oxtun, Coneysthorpe, Troutsdale, Cowton, Catton.

Yorkshire is a district of mountains, hills, slopes, cliffs, dales, and valleys, in which a large portion of the towns and villages are high or low, up or down, in comparison with other and neighbouring places. There are also many places built on the shelving sides of steep hills, which take their names from their position. Amongst the high towns we have: High Abbotside, High Bishopside, High Hoyland, High Molton, and High Worsal. We have still more names in which the old Anglian word *heah*, or *hea*, appears in the place of the modern word *high*. Thus we have Heaton, Earls-Heaton, Cleckheaton, Healaugh, or the high hill, in the Anglian speech, Helaugh, Hedon, and Heworth. We have also other ancient words expressing the same idea of elevation, including a multitude of hills; such as Hillam, Hilston, Hilton, Harthill, Farnhill, Pickhill, Monkhill, and Ryehill. The same idea of height of position is contained in the words, Hovingham, Upton, Ouram, Lofthouse, Cleveland, Upsal, Overton, Upleatham, High Catton, Overton, Broughton, Brotton, Coxwold, and Easingwold. If we include the words of Norse or Danish origin, we have the same idea of elevation or height conveyed in the familiar names of Hutton, Hetton, Hoton, Hooton, Howgrave, Huggate, and perhaps of Heydon, Hotham, Howden, Howthorpe, Quernhowe, and Hodon. We may also include the great number of places named from cliffs and rocks, ridges, and what are called edges, such as Arncliffe, Roecliffe, Langcliffe, Cookridge, Liversedge, Clifford, Clifton, Wycliffe, Whitstonecliffe, Witcliffe, Catcliffe, Attercliffe, Cliffe, Topcliffe, Cliffe-with-Lund, Blackston-edge, Stanega, Wincobank, and others that might be mentioned.

The number of places built on the side of hills, and bearing the Anglian name of shelf, is very considerable, and was much greater formerly. We have still the villages of Shelf, Tanshef, near Pontefract, Ulleskelfe, and Underskelfe. There are also a great number of places mentioned in the Domesday Survey which begin with the syllable *chel*, some of which are probably derived from the same word. There are also a considerable number which begin with the syllable *scel*, which is probably also an old form of the word shelf.

The number of dales, and of towns and villages named after them, is very great. Thus we have Airedale, Eskdale, Niddale, Swaledale, Teesdale, and Wharfedale; and along with the greater dales, we have the less familiar names of Arkengarthdale, Bishopdale, Bedale, Givendale, Garsdale, Gordale, Harwood-dale, Bilsdale, Kildale, Bransdale, Farndale, Staintondale, Dinsdale, Thorntondale, Westerdale, Askdale-side, Grindale, Thixendale, Kirkdale, Troutdale, and Cundale.

The number of places named from rivers, becks, burns, meres, flowing waters and wells and springs, is much greater. Thus we have Airton, on the river Aire, Kirkby-on-Wharfe, Burton-on-Ure, Linton-on-Ouse, Barmby-on-Don, as well as Doncaster on the same river; and Hull, on the river Hull. The number of places named from the burns or brooks is also very great. Thus we have Gisburn, Winterburn, Eastburn, Stainburn, Fairburn, Glusburn, Otterburn, Kirkburn, Southburn, Nunburn, Colburne, Kilburn, Stockburn, Leyburn, Ellerburn, and Welburn. There are a few places in which the streams bear the Norse name of becks, as Sandbeck, Firbeck, Holbeck, Melbeck; and there are two or three places, but scarcely more, in which the beck is called a brook. The number of places which end in ea, or in ey, as it is now generally spelt, which also means a flowing stream, is rather considerable. Thus we have Kilnsey, Brierey, Arksey, Bardsey, Haddlesey, and Kilnsey. Wells, springs, and keldes, which is an Anglian name for a spring of water, have also given names to many places, as in the instances of Well, Churwell, Bracewell, Wombwell, Letwell, Rothwell, Shadwell, Hemswell, Hartswell, Kettlewell, Welbury, Welwick, Welburn, Hipswell, Whitewell, Hawkswell, Caldwell, Hurdswell, Hinderwell, and what was called Hunderthwaite by the Danes, but was previously named Hunderkelde by the Angles, which meant the hundred springs or fountains.

A number of Anglian names of persons also appear as forming a portion of the names of places, though the Angles were not so much accustomed to give personal names to places as the Danes. Amongst the Anglian names of this description in Yorkshire are Alurestan, Alwintone, Arnold, Barnoldswick, Bened, or Bennetsfield, Burnulfeswick, Brandsburton, Cotherston, a contraction of St. Cuthberston, Ella, East and West, Emeric, Feliskirk, Felkirk, and Felliscliffe, from Felix, the apostle of the East Angles; Flixton, named from the same saint, Osset, the hero's seat,



Oswaldkirk, Romaldskirk, and Wilfrid, after the archbishop of that name.

In addition to the above names, which are derived from general causes, there are a great number which are drawn from peculiar and local circumstances. The following alphabetical list will show the roots from which a considerable number of these local names, derived from Anglian, that is from Teutonic roots, are drawn :—

PROBABLE ORIGIN OF YORKSHIRE NAMES OF PLACES AND PERSONS DERIVED FROM THE ANGLIAN OR ANCIENT ENGLISH, THE ANGLO-SAXON, THE FRISIAN, AND OTHER GERMANIC OR TEUTONIC DIALECTS.

The Common Words from which the Proper Names given in the following list of Yorkshire Names of Persons and Places are probably derived, are taken chiefly from the following works :—

- 1st. (C. P.) *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scripture, in Anglo-Saxon.* By Benjamin Thorpe, F.S.A. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 1832.
- 2nd. (B.W.) *Bede's Works : (B. V. O.) Bedæ (Venerabilis), Opera Omnia.* J. A. Giles, 8vo.—Oxon. 1843-5.
- 3rd. (S. of D.) *Symeon of Durham, the Surtrees Society, 1867, vol. 51. Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea, vol. i.* 1868.
- 4th. (B. A.-S. D.) *Bosworth's Compendious Anglo-Saxon and English Dictionary, 1848.*
- 5th. (O. G. F.) *Outzen's Glossary of the Frieslandish Language.* Kopenhagen, 1837.
- 6th. (A.-S. C.) *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* Edited by Benjamin Thorpe. 1861.
- 7th. (F. G. D.) *Flugel's Dictionary of the German and English Languages.* London. 1853.
- 8th. In a few instances the initials of the author (T. B) are given as the authority, which in such cases he wishes to be regarded as merely conjectural.

Ac, or ack, an oak (B. A. S. D.). In Ackworth, the oakinclosure, and Skyrack, the shire oak.  
 Ad, a funeral pile or place of sacrifice (C. P. p. 175). Adwick, the camp of the pile, and Adwalton, the walled town of the pile.  
 Adel, noble (C. P. p. 83). In Adel and Adlingfleet; and in Adelfrid, the noble peace, the name of one of the Northumbrian kings.

Æ, lawful (C. P. p. 217), legitimate, in the names of the two Northumbrian kings Æle, Ælla, from one of whom Kirk Ella is named.

Æsc, an ash tree (C. P. p. 123). In Escrick, the ash ridge, and Eshton, the ash town.

Ald, old (C. P. p. 209). In Aldbrough, the old burh, the Roman Isurium, and in Aldfrid, old or general peace, the name of one of the Northumbrian kings.

Aller, an alder tree (B. A.-S. D.). In Chapel Allerton, Northallerton, and Allerton Bywater.

Arn, an eagle (O. G. F. at word). In Arncliffe, the eagle's cliff.

Balder, a chief (C. P. p. 163). In the name of the river Balder.

Bael, a fire of sacrifice (C. P. p. 172). In Baildon.

Bar, a bear (B. A. S. D.). In Barden, the bear's den or valley, and Barlow, the bear's hill, perhaps in Bierlow.

Bar, barley (B. A.-S. D.). In Barton.

Beaber, or Beaffer, a beaver (B. A.-S. D.). In Beverley.

Beacen, a beacon (C. P. p. 64). In Wilton Beacon.

Beam, a tree (C. P. p. 15). In Bampton.

Bec, a beck or brook (C. P. p. 15). In Holbeck, Sandbeck, &c.

Beofor, a beaver (A.-S. C. p. 173). In Beverley.

Beorh, a mountain or hill (C. P. p. 206). In Ingleborough.

Beorn, a chief (B. A.-S. D.). Probably in Barnsley and Barnbow; or these words may be derived from barn, a child.

Bio, a bee (B. A.-S. D.). Perhaps in Bedale.



- Bleo, the colour blue (B. A.-S. D.). In Bleo-ber-houses, the Blueberry houses; not Blubberhouses, as spelt at present.
- Brand, fire (C. P. p. 21). In Brand, the name of an Anglian chief, and in Brandsburton.
- Brember, a bramble (C. P. p. 177). In Bramham Moor, Bramley, &c.
- Brim, the ocean (C. P. p. 13). Perhaps in Brimham, from a supposed resemblance of the rocks to the sea cliffs; though some derive the name of those wonderful rocks from the Norse word *brime*, a flame or fire beacon.
- Brom, or broom, a flowering shrub (B. A.-S.D.); in Bromley, and in Brompton.
- Brunnen, springs of water, as in Brunnenburh (A.-S. C. vol. i. p. 200), the scene of a great battle in the reign of King Athelstane.
- Brycg, a bridge (B. A.-S. D.). In Brighouse and Briggate.
- Burh, a borough or city (C. P. p. 65). In Boroughbridge.
- Burn, or Burne, a burn or brook (C. P. p. 14). In Sherburn, Fairburn, and numerous other Anglian names of streams and places.
- Caegun, keys (C. P. p. 211). In Caeton.
- Cald, cold (C. P. p. 20); in Caldwell or the Coldwell.
- Campa, warriors (C. P. p. 260). In Campsal, the warrior's hall.
- Ceape, cattle or goods, or a place at which they were sold (C. P. p. 115). In Chipping.
- Cneoris, a tribe or sept (C. P. p. 117). Probably in Knaresborough, or the Tribe's Camp.
- Culuf, a dove or wood pigeon (C. P. p. 87). In Coverham, Coverdale, and perhaps in Calverley.
- Cumbrian, a Cumber or Briton (T. B.). This may be the origin of Cumberworth.
- Cwic, lively or active (C. P. p. 79). In the township of Quick, in Saddleworth.
- Cyme, sources or springs (C. P. p. 240). In Newton Kyme.
- Cyning, a king (C. P. p. 1). In Conisborough.
- Daele, a dale or division (C. P. p. 2). In the numerous dales of Yorkshire.
- Den, a den or valley, both in the Anglian and British languages. In Denton, Shibden, Todmorden, Holden, and many other names.
- Deop, deep (C. P. p. 2). In Deop or Deep dale.
- Deor, a wild beast (C. P. p. 240). As in the kingdom of Deira, which included the ancient Yorkshire and Durham.
- Dece, the people of Deira (A. S. C. vol. ii. p. 63). In Derawudu, the forest of Deira, near Beverley.
- Don or Dun, a down or hill, both in the Anglian and British languages (C. P. 84). In Baildon, or the hill of sacrifice, and in Yeadon, which is a very ancient form of Headon, the high hill.
- Ea, a stream of water (C. P. p. 14). In Eaton, probably Elland, and at the close of many Yorkshire names of places, generally in the form of *ey*, as in Kilsney, or the spring water.
- Ece, eternal (C. P. p. 1). In Egfrid, or Eefrid, king of Northumbria, whose name means lasting or eternal peace, though he lived in war and died in battle.
- Ege, an edge or ridge (C. P. p. 109). As in Stanege or Stanedge, and Blackstone Edge, meaning the Stone ridge and the Blackstone ridge.
- Eger, a torrent (C. P. p. 83). Perhaps in Egton.
- Ellen, courage, bravery (C. P. p. 78). In Ellenton.
- Eorl, an Earl (C. P. p. 72). In Earlsheaton.
- Fang, capture or imprisonment (T. B.). In Fangfoss, near York.
- Farn, fern. In Farnley.
- Feax, hair (C. P. p. 141). In Halifax and Fairfax, the holy hair and the fair hair.
- Feld, a plain or field (C. P. p. 100). As Stanfeld, Wakefield, Sheffield.
- Fole, folk or people (C. P. p. 10). In Folkton.
- Fold, a field, or sometimes the earth (C. P. p. 7).
- Frid, or Frith, peace (C. P. p. 2). In Frithburh.
- Fyrd, a march or an army (C. P. p. 180). In Strafforth.
- Garefa, the chief of the ga (A.-S. C. vol. ii. p. 322). In Gargrave.
- Giess, a torrent (F. G. D.). In Gisburn, Guisley, and perhaps in Gieselwick or Giggleswick.
- Gled, a place of sacrifice (C. P. p. 108). In Gledhow, the hill of sacrifice.
- Gold, gold (C. P. p. 14). As in Goldsborough.
- God, God (C. P. p. 230). In Godmundham, the God-protected home.
- Graes, grass (C. P. p. 7). In Graesdale.
- Gumena, men (C. P. p. 111). Perhaps in Gomersal, the common hall.
- Gyld, a gild (C. P. p. 226). Perhaps in Gildersome, or the home of the gylt.

- Halga, holy (C. P. p. 18). In Halifax, and, according to Domesday, in Helgafelde, now written Hellefield.
- Halle, a home (C. P. p. 261). Perhaps in Hallam.
- Halse, the neck (C. P. p. 24). Perhaps in Hawes, which, according to Professor Phillips, stands on a neck of land between two valleys.
- Ham, a home or residence of a tribe (C. P. p. 3). In Addingham, and numerous other places in Yorkshire.
- Hammel, a sheep (F. G. D.), or wether. In Hambleton, the sheep downs.
- Hart or Heort, a hart (C. P. p. 252). In Hartshill.
- Hath or Haeth, a heath (C. P. p. 185). In Hatfield chase, and in Heath, near Wakefield.
- Heah, high (C. P. p. 1). In Heaton.
- Heolden, a lair of wild beasts (C. P. p. 248). In Holden.
- Hild, favour (C. P. p. 214). In Hilda.
- Hleo, a law or hill (C. P. p. 88); as in Healaugh, the high hill.
- Holt, a wood (C. P. p. 53). In Holton.
- Hord, a hoard or treasure (C. P. p. 121). In Horbury, the treasure town of some ancient Anglian tribe.
- Humber, the Humber river, in Humberton.
- Hwearfe, to turn or wind (C. P. p. 47); in Wharfe river and Wharfedale.
- Idel, idle, and perhaps the place of an idol (C. P. p. 7). Idle, and in the river Idle, a slow flowing stream.
- Kelde, a spring or water (S. of D.). As in Halichelde, the holy well, and Hunderkelde, the hundred springs.
- Kluft, a cleft, in Clough (F. G. D.). As in Barrowclough, Deadmansclough, and many other names.
- Lang, long, in Langcliffe.
- Lea or Ley, a field or pasture (S. of D.). In Aclea, the oak, and Shipley, the sheep pasture.
- Leod, the people (C. P. p. 14).
- Leod-Bruh is the peoples, or a populous town. This is perhaps the root of the word Loidis, mentioned by Bede (pp. 98, 152), though some authorities derive the name of Leeds from the British city of Caer-Loid.
- Lehm, lime (O. G. F.). In Leeming lane.
- Lind, a linden or lime tree (C. P. p. 120). In Linton and Lindley.
- Locan, a recess (C. P. p. 226). Perhaps in Leonfield.
- Lond, land (C. P. p. 10). In Londesbrough.
- Maegburg, a tribe or family (C. P. p. 68). Probably in Mexborough.
- Mearc, a mark or boundary (C. P. p. 104). In Frisemark, Marston, Marsden, and perhaps in Mirfield.
- Mere, the sea or lake (C. P. p. 9). In Merton.
- Methel, a council, as in Methel-stede, the council place (C. P. p. 224). In Methley.
- Micel, much or great (C. P. p. 1). In Micklefell, Micklegate, and numerous other names.
- Molan, earth (C. P. p. 251). Perhaps in Mold-Green.
- Mon, man (C. P. p. 25). In Monton.
- Mor, a moor. In Morley and Morton.
- Mundbyrde, protection (C. P. p. 111). Perhaps in Almondbury, which may mean either all protection, or the all protected or protecting burh.
- Ofn, an oven (C. P. p. 229), Pot-Ovens.
- Os, a hero (B. A.-S. D.). In Oswald and in Ossett, the hero's seat.
- Rinc, a prince or chief (C. P. p. 98). In Runcton.
- Scræf, a cavern; Scraefen, caverns (C. P. p. 156). In Scriven and probably in Craven, the land of caverns.
- Seld, a seat (C. P. p. 260).
- Sele, a hall or palace (C. P. p. 111). In Gomersal, the common hall, or the people's hall.
- Setel, a seat or abode (C. P. p. 6). In Settle.
- Sige, victorious (C. P. p. 107). In Sigglesthorne.
- Snawas, snows (C. P. p. 239). In Snaton.
- Staeth, the shore (C. P. p. 83).
- Stan or Stean, a stone (C. P. p. 101). In Stancliffe, Stanfeld, Stanedge, and Stanton.
- Stathol, stations (C. P. p. 196). In Langstrothdale.
- Stowe, a place (C. P. p. 6). In Temple-Stowe.
- Straete, a Roman road (C. P. p. 147). In Stratford, Appleton-le-Street, Barton-le-Street, and Stretton.
- Strith, or Strid, strife (C. P. p. 19). The strid or conflict of waters in the river Wharfe.
- Sumera, summer (C. P. p. 233). In Simmerwater.

- Sweart, swart or black (C. P. p. 7). In Swart-fell or the Blackfell.
- Thorn, a thorn tree. In Thornton.
- Torr, a tower (C. P. p. 102). In Torton.
- Waepen, a weapon (C. P. p. 178). Hence, wapentak or wapentake.
- Wang, or Wong, a plain or open country (C. P. p. 100). In Wetwong. The Anglian name for Eden or Paradise was Neorxna Wonges, or the field of rest and peace (C. P. p. 11).
- Weall, a wall (C. P. p. 108). In Adwalton.
- Weorc, a work or fortification (C. P. p. 49). In Aldwark.
- Westen, a waste (C. P. p. 8).
- Wic, a camp (C. P. p. 183). In Eofervic, Adwic, and many other places.
- Wig, war (C. P. p. 125). In Wigton.
- Wille, a well (C. P. p. 14). In Well, Welton, Churwel, which is probably Shirewell.
- Winnan, to fight (C. P. p. 135). In Winweyd, the battle-field or meadow.
- Wudu, a tree or wood (C. P. p. 54). In Woodlesford.
- Wynsum, delightful, or winsome (C. P. p. 237). In the Winsour plum.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE DANISH INVASION OF ENGLAND, AND THE SETTLEMENT OF THE  
DANES AND NORWEGIANS IN YORKSHIRE.

THE Anglian rule in Yorkshire, and in the other districts included in the ancient kingdom of Northumbria, continued from the landing of Ida, the first Anglian king, in the year 547, to the time of the conquest of the same districts of England by the Danes and Norwegians. This was effected about the year 867 of the Christian era, making the period of Anglian rule about 320 years. In 867 the two rival Anglian kings of Northumbria, Osbert (which means the bright hero), and Ælla (the lawful chief), were slain, at the storming of York by the Danish armies. The Danes then obtained possession of that city, and York, or as they named it Jorvik, continued to be the chief stronghold of their power in England, down to the time of the Norman conquest, in the year 1066. At that time the Danish settlers and their descendants formed a considerable portion of the inhabitants of the city and county of York, though the Angles were intermixed with them, and possessed the hilly districts in the interior.

Though the Danish and Norwegian incursions, during the next 200 years, extended more or less to all parts of the coasts of England, and although their armies repeatedly marched across and wasted the whole country, their settlements, properly so called, were confined to the north-eastern districts of England, and more especially to the counties of York and Lincoln. In those counties they established themselves, chiefly on the coasts and along the navigable rivers, in fixed homes, building numerous towns and villages, intermarrying with the Anglian population, cultivating the soil, and opening a considerable commerce from the River Humber, with all the countries discovered, conquered, or peopled by the Scandinavian race. Those countries extended ultimately from the deepest bays of the Baltic Sea and the coasts of Russia, on the east, to Iceland and Greenland, if not beyond the mouth of the St. Lawrence, on the mainland of America; and from the

Icy Cape and Spitzbergen, on the north, to the Mediterranean, with Sicily, Constantinople, and Palestine on the south. In the north and eastern districts of England, there must from that time have been a large intermixture of the Scandinavian blood with the Teutonic blood of the Angles. This union of the most energetic and enterprising people of Northern Europe with the calmer and more patient Anglo-Saxons, has no doubt had a considerable influence in forming the character of the northern races of England, which have ever been, and still are, remarkable for industry at home, and for enterprise abroad.

At the time when the Danish and Norwegian power in England had obtained its fullest development, England was divided between the Anglo-Saxon and the Scandinavian races, by a line extending along the old Roman road, to which the English gave the name of Watling Street, from London, by Bedford, to Chester. The territory to the south and west of this line was governed by the West Saxons and Mercians, under King Alfred and his successors; whilst that to the north and east of it was ruled by the Danish race, under Guthrum, Eric, and other chiefs, who were themselves more or less subject to the kings of Denmark and Norway. The district subject to the Danelagh, or Danish law, included the counties of York, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Chester, with the five or six great towns which form the capitals of those counties or shires. But the border line was often contested, and frequently varied. There were times when the Anglo-Saxons were driven back into the west of England, and others when the Danes could scarcely hold their ground to the north of the Humber.

*First Landing of the Danes, Norse, or Northmen, in England.*—The first landing of the Danes or Norwegians in England seems to have been in 787, in which year “there first came three ships of Northmen out of Haretha-land.” These were mere pirates, or, as they were then called, vikings, the inhabitants of viks, or creeks, who in those days were all given to piracy. The reeve or boroughreeve of the place, the name of which is not given, endeavoured to drive them to the king’s town as prisoners. On this they attacked and slew the reeve. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says:—“These were the first ships of Danish men which sought the land of the English nation.”\*

The impunity with which the earlier attacks of the vikings were

\* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A D. 787.

made, encouraged them to renew their predatory excursions on a larger scale. In the year 793 "dire forewarnings came over the land of the Northumbrians, and miserably terrified the people." According to the Anglo Saxon-Chronicle, there were in that year excessive whirlwinds and lightnings, and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air. These were probably meteors or falling stars, the recurrence of which on St. Lawrence's day, August 10, and at other seasons, has been rendered highly interesting by modern science.\* Famine and war soon followed. On the sixth day before the ides of March, the Danes landed on Holy Island, and "the ravaging of the heathen men lamentably destroyed God's church at Lindisfarne, through rapine and slaughter." In the following year the heathen (Danes) again ravaged the country of the Northumbrians, and plundered Egferth's monastery, at the mouth of the river Wear. There, however, the invaders met with a repulse. One of their leaders was slain; some of their ships were wrecked by a tempest, and many of their men were drowned. Those who escaped to the land were slain at the river's mouth.†

From the year 793, for many succeeding years, the Danes effected almost yearly landings on the eastern, southern, or western coasts of England. Every year their numbers became larger; and ultimately they fitted out fleets consisting of hundreds of vessels, conveying thousands of men. After overrunning extensive districts, and plundering the country, they generally returned home to gather in the crops, which they had sown before they sailed on their naval expeditions. In those days, amongst the northern tribes, piracy was not considered a crime, any more than amongst the ancient Greeks, in the time of Homer, or among the early Angles and Saxons.

Encouraged by the success of numerous piratical chiefs, the kings of Denmark and Norway ultimately took the command of these expeditions, and formed plans for conquering, first the separate provinces of England, and ultimately the whole island. For the first time the Danish armies remained in England during the winter in the year 865. Their main army then occupied an impregnable position in the Isle of Sheppy, at the entrance of the Thames and the Medway, near the modern fortified lines of Chatham. At this time the Saxons and Angles, though originally the boldest seamen on the German Ocean, had allowed their navy to go to

\* Humboldt's *Cosmos*, vol. i. p. 107.

† Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. i. p. 49.

ruin, and had thus lost the power of resisting the Danes at sea. In consequence of this gross neglect, the invaders landed whenever and wherever they thought fit; occupied and fortified strong positions on islands, and in bays and creeks; there drew together large armies from the coasts of Scandinavia; and with them marched into the interior, to plunder and ultimately to conquer the country.

At this time England, instead of being united under one government, was divided into the four kingdoms of Northumbria, East Anglia, Mercia, and the kingdom of the West Saxons. In only one of those kingdoms was there any good military organization, or any leader capable of conducting a successful contest for the independence of England. Northumbria was at that time weakened by a desperate civil war. The kings of Mercia and East Anglia were entirely governed by the monks. It was only in the kingdom of the West Saxons, and in the family of which Alfred the Great was the brightest ornament, that there was a man found capable of organizing and of leading a nation to victory and independence. In the same year one large Danish army occupied Kent and Essex, and threatened London, which was only saved by the strength of its fortifications and the courage of its citizens, whilst another great heathen, or Danish army, "came to the land of the English nation, and took up their winter quarters in the kingdom of the East Angles," which then extended along the eastern coast of England, from the Thames to the Humber. This country the Danes conquered, compelling the East Angles to pay tribute to them, and to supply them with horses, for the purpose of overrunning the rest of the kingdom.

*The Conquest of the Anglian Kingdom of Northumbria by the Danes.*—"In the year 867," as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle informs us, "the Danish army went from East Anglia, over the mouth of the Humber, to York, in Northumbria. At that time there was much dissension amongst the Northumbrian people, who had cast out their king, Osbert, and had taken to themselves a king, Ælla, not of royal blood." But late in the year, on hearing of the approach of the invaders, the rival kings, with their armies, concluded a peace, and marched to the city of York, which had already been attacked by the Danish army. A furious battle took place, partly within and partly outside the walls. In this battle, after enormous loss on both sides, the two Anglian kings, Osbert and Ælla, were slain;

their armies were defeated; and the survivors were compelled to make peace, and to submit to the Danish yoke. Such was the close of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, which commenced with Ida, in 547 (or perhaps from fifty to a hundred years earlier), and ended in 867, with the storming of York, and the death of Osbert and Ælla.\* From that time, what we now call Yorkshire became a Danish or Norwegian province, and with a few intervals continued to be so till the Norman Conquest, in the year 1066. The Danish chiefs of York first called themselves kings of Northumbria, and ruled as independent princes; but with the Danes and Norwegians on the one side, and the Mercians and West Saxons on the other, they were frequently overrun by each, and were compelled to seek protection from both of them in turns.

For some time Nottingham, the strongest city of Mercia, held out against the Danish army, being powerfully assisted by a West Saxon army under the youthful Alfred, who had been sent by his brother Ethelred to assist in the defence of the kingdom of Mercia. But his efforts were for a while unavailing, and he was ultimately compelled to fall back to the banks of the Thames, where the West Saxon king with his people were preparing to defend themselves against the Danish armies, which were collecting on every side. Before renewing the contest the Danish forces rested for some time at York, and in the neighbourhood; and on again advancing southward, they left the third part of their forces to defend and hold their conquests in Northumbria.† They then again advanced southward with two thirds of their forces, secured their conquests of Mercia and East Anglia, forming the central and eastern counties of England, and then joined the main Danish army in the valley of the Thames, to complete the conquest of England, by the subjugation of the West Saxon kingdom.

It is not our intention to refer at length to the events of the conflict, of two hundred years' duration, which raged between the Danish and the English races, for the possession of England. We shall speak very briefly of the events which occurred beyond the limits of the present county of York, and shall only refer to them so far as is necessary to show the course and causes of the events which ultimately decided the fortunes of that portion of England, of which Yorkshire forms a part.

In the year 871-72 the Danish invaders collected all their forces

\* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p. 357.

† The Surtees Society, Symeon of Durham, vol. i. p. 144.



for the conquest of England, and sailing up the Thames, passed London, which at that time was well fortified, and advanced into the centre of the West Saxon kingdom between Kingston-on-Thames and Reading, where they were encountered by King Ethelred and Alfred his brother. The Danes were commanded by Guthrum, or Guthorm, who was their chief leader or king, and by two other Danish kings named Bagsecg and Helfdean, the last-named of whom was the chief who had conquered York, and who ruled the kingdom of Northumbria. The West Saxons were finally driven back, after nine general battles fought on the south of the Thames; and after a struggle which continued for five or six years, Alfred, who had succeeded to the crown, was compelled to take refuge in the island of Athelney, in the marshes of Somersetshire. There he again began to muster an army, and in the seventh week after Easter, in the year 878, he advanced with his army to Selwood Forest; "where there came to meet him all the men of Somerset, and the men of Wiltshire, and that portion of the men of Hampshire, which was on this side of the sea; and they were joyful at his presence." On the following day Alfred advanced from that station to Iglea (Ely), and on the next day to Heddington. There he fought a great battle against the whole Danish army, put it to flight, and pursued it to its fortress. This fortress Alfred besieged for fourteen days, and in the end compelled the Danish army and its leaders to surrender. This they did on condition that they should either leave the kingdom, or receive the sacrament of baptism, and become subject to the West Saxon rule. In about three weeks after this agreement Guthrum, the king of the Danes, came to Alfred, with about thirty of his principal chiefs, and was baptized, Alfred acting as sponsor to Guthrum, and giving him the name of Athelstane (the noble rock or stone) as his Christian name. At the same time Alfred and Guthrum divided England between them, Alfred retaining his own hereditary kingdom of the West Saxons, and that part of the kingdom of Mercia which lay to the south and the west of Watling Street; and the Danes being acknowledged by him as the masters of those portions of England which extend from Watling Street, eastward and northward, to the German Ocean, and the present borders of Scotland. By this arrangement the dominions of Alfred, who was originally merely king of the West Saxons, and whose territory lay chiefly to the south of the

Thames, were greatly extended, both to the north and east; but on the other hand, the Danes obtained peaceful possession of extensive territories in the north and east of England, which they at once proceeded to settle and to occupy as masters. The Danish provinces were considered to be equal in value and extent to one-third of England.

It was in the year 876 that the Danes settled permanently on the lands of Yorkshire and the neighbouring districts. As the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle informs us, "in that year Helfdean, the Danish chief, apportioned the lands of Northumbria, and from that time they (the Danes) continued to plough and to till the soil." The conquered Angles became subject to them, and, no doubt, assisted in tilling the ground. In the same year Rollo, the ancestor of William the Conqueror, overran Normandy with his army, and there reigned during many years; thus founding another race of conquerors, in the north of France, of whom we shall have to speak again in a subsequent chapter. Neither England nor France at that time had a fleet, whilst the fleets of the Danes and Norwegians swept every sea, and threatened the shores of every land, from Iceland to the British Islands, and from these islands to Sicily. It is said that Charlemagne, powerful as his armies were on land, shed tears, when he saw for the first time the Danish and Norwegian fleets in the Mediterranean.

From this time to the year 893 England appears to have enjoyed comparative tranquillity, the Danes under Guthrum being overawed by the military genius of King Alfred, and remaining quiet in the north-eastern and northern districts of England, according to the agreement between Alfred and Guthrum. This tranquillity, however, did not continue long; for in that age the Danish chiefs, from being mere pirates, had begun to aspire to the conquest of whole kingdoms, and were powerfully assisted by those of their fellow-countrymen who had been established in the threatened countries in former incursions. Thus, in the incursions into England, which commenced in the year 893, the invaders were powerfully assisted by the Danes of Northumbria and East Anglia.

In the year 893 a great army of Danes, under the command of a most formidable chief named Hasten, conveyed by 250 ships, landed at Linnemouth on the coast of Kent, overran that county, and seized the principal islands and other strong positions on the

banks of the Thames, laying siege to the city of London. In the following year, 894, the Danes of Northumbria and East Anglia, "although they had given oaths and hostages to King Alfred, contrary to their plighted troth, advanced into his kingdom, and joined their strength with that of the invaders, besides fitting out a fleet of a hundred ships, with which they went about south, as far as Devonshire, where they laid siege to the city of Exeter." But though thus attacked on all sides, Alfred not only held his ground through three successful campaigns, but drove the Danish invaders from one position to another, finally compelling the army of Hasten to retire from England, and not merely forcing the Northumbrian Danes back beyond Watling Street, but compelling them to pay tribute to him, as their master and lord. Had his life been prolonged for a few years, he would no doubt have made himself undisputed master of the whole of England, and have formed it into one kingdom.

"But in the year 901 died Alfred, the son of Ethelwulf, six days before the Mass of All Saints. He was king of the whole English nation, except that part which was under the dominion of the Danes; and he held the kingdom one year and a half less than thirty years."\* He was succeeded by his son Edward, known in history as Edward the Elder; but in those times the rule of succession to the throne was very unsettled, and the crown was claimed by Ethelwald, the Atheling or prince, his uncle's son, who stole away by night, and joined the Danish army, in Northumbria. The Danes received him as their king, and, under his command, waged war against Edward, the son of Alfred the Great.

*The Conflicts between the Danes and Edward the Elder, Ethelfleda and Athelstane.*—But Edward the Elder was scarcely less distinguished as a warrior than his father Alfred, and what is even more remarkable, Ethelfleda, the daughter of Alfred, who was married to the Anglian earl of Mercia, was fully equal in military talents and statesman-like views to her father Alfred and her brother Edward. Under her command the kingdom of Mercia, which had been completely overrun by the Danes, was gradually reconquered by the West Saxons and the Angles. After her death the earls of Mercia lost their independent position, though without being reconciled to the rule of the West Saxon kings.

\* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 75.

From this time England was thus divided:—The kingdom of the West Saxons, the capital of which was first Winchester and afterwards Kingston-on-Thames, was governed by Edward the Elder, and by the other direct male descendants of Alfred the Great. The earldom of Mercia, of which sometimes Tamworth and other times Coventry and Warwick were the capitals, was governed by descendants of the ancient kings of Mercia, with the title of earls, and under a nominal subjection to the kings of the West Saxons. At the same time the kingdom of Northumbria, which gradually sank into an earldom, together with a considerable part of East Anglia, was governed by Danish earls or kings, who were generally independent both of the West Saxon kings and the Mercian earls, although on some occasions the kings of the West Saxons succeeded in establishing their authority in Northumbria, even as far north as the borders of Scotland.

In the four years which followed the death of Alfred the Great, from the year 901 to the year 905, Ethelwald, the nephew of Alfred, held his ground against Edward the Elder, his son. But in the year 905, Ethelwald and his ally and supporter Eric, the Danish king who ruled at York, were defeated with great slaughter by the West Saxons and the Mercians, and both Ethelwald and Eric were left dead on the field of battle, with many chiefs. In the following year, 906, Edward the Elder was recognized as king of the West Saxons, and of great part of Mercia; the Danish kings being again acknowledged as the masters of all the territories lying to the north and east of Watling Street.

This arrangement continued until the year 911, when, as we are told, the Northumbrian Danes broke the peace, and despising the terms which King Edward and his witan, or parliament, offered them, overran the land of Mercia. But Edward had now the advantage of the powerful fleet which his father Alfred had built; and with these and his land forces he fell upon the Danes as they were marching back into Northumbria, fought against them, and put them to flight, slaying many thousands.

In the following year King Edward pressed forward into Mercia in one direction, taking possession of London and Oxford, "and of the land which owed obedience thereto." He also continued to advance northward, conquering the western part of England, as far as the ancient Roman and British cities of Chester and Manchester.

Meanwhile Ethelfleda, his sister, "the lady of the Mercians," was equally successful. She defeated the Danes in many battles, and built fortresses at Derby, Tamworth, Stafford, Warwick, Eddisbury, in Cheshire, and at Chirbury. In the following year, 917, the Danes having again advanced from Northampton and Leicester, she defeated them in a great battle, took those cities, and also captured the town and fortress of Derby.

In the year 918, Ethelfleda appeared to be about to complete her conquests by the capture of the great Danish fortress of York. As we are told in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "In the year 918, in the early part of the year, by God's help, she got into her power by treaty the fortress of Leicester, and great part of the Danish army which owed obedience thereto became subject to her; and the people of York had also covenanted with her, some having given a pledge, and some having bound themselves by oath, that they would be at her command."\*

Unfortunately the career of this able and heroic woman was cut short by death, in the year 918. After recording her triumphs, and the submission of nearly all the Danish chiefs, we are told that "very shortly after they had become subject, she died at Tamworth, twelve days before Midsummer, in the eighth year of her rule and lordship over the Mercians; and her body lies at Gloucester, within the east porch of St. Peter's church." Another still briefer chronicle says, "This year died Ethelfleda, the Lady of the Mercians."

*King Athelstane's Victory at Brunnenburh.*—Between 918 and 924, Edward the Elder succeeded in establishing his authority over the whole of Mercia and part of Northumbria, but leaving the Danish chiefs in possession of York. In the year 925 King Edward the Elder died, and Athelstane his son succeeded to the throne. In the first year of his reign, Athelstane and Sihtric, the king of the Northumbrians, came together at Tamworth, and Athelstane gave him his sister as his wife. The peace between them was, however, very short, for in the year 926, we are told in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, that "this year fiery lights appeared in the north part of the heavens, and King Athelstane obtained the kingdom of Northumbria." Not satisfied with this, Athelstane set up a claim to the obedience of Constantine, king of the Scots, and to that of Aldred, the Anglian or Danish chief of Bamborough; the result was a coalition of all the Danish, Scottish,

\* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. i. p. 81.

and Anglian chiefs against Athelstane. This led to the great battle of Brunnenburh, one of the most important battles ever fought between the Germanic and the Scandinavian races. In this battle Athelstane and his brother, Edmund Atheling, were completely victorious; and for some years the Saxon rule was established throughout England, the Danish chiefs at York being reduced to the rank of earls, and to the position of tributaries.

For some years after the battle of Brunnenburh, the authority of the West Saxon kings was partially established in the northern parts of England. It was about this time that the English begin to be spoken of as the Anglo-Saxon race, chiefly in honour of the West Saxon kings, from Alfred to Edgar, who for five generations produced princes and princesses possessing many of the noble qualities of Alfred himself. At this time the West Saxon kings paid great attention to the maintaining of a powerful naval force in all the English seas; and so great was the influence of this policy that when King Edgar visited Chester, a few years later, all the Danish and Norwegian and other chiefs, from the surrounding coasts and islands, came and paid homage to him there.

In the year 946 the West Saxon king Eadred, a descendant of Alfred the Great, marched into Northumbria, to Taddescliff, or Tanshelf, near Pontefract; and there Wulfstan, the archbishop of York, and the Northumbrian witan, or parliament, came to meet him, plighted their faith to him, and acknowledged him to be their lord and master. But within a few months they broke away from their allegiance; and in the year 948 King Eadred ravaged all Northumbria, because the people had taken Eric, a Danish or Norwegian chief, to be their king. During this devastation the great minster at Ripon, built by St. Wilfrid, was burned to the ground. As King Eadred marched southward, the Danish army of York followed and overtook him, when the rear of his forces was at Chesterfield; and there they made great slaughter in his ranks. "Then," as we are told, "was the king (Eadred) so wroth that he would have marched his forces into Northumbria again, and wholly destroyed the land; but when the Northumbrian witan heard of his approach, they forsook Eric, and made compensation to King Eadred."

During the reign of Eadgar all parts of England were comparatively quiet, and at this time the Danes of Northumbria appear

to have turned their attention to the arts of peace. But Eadgar died in the year 975, and Edward, Eadgar's son, was murdered in the year 979. From that time the kingdom again fell into confusion. Edward was succeeded by Ethelred, known as the Unready, during whose reign the navy formed by Alfred and his successors was destroyed by negligence or treason. From that time large bands of Danish and Norwegian invaders began again to overrun England, under the command of the kings of Norway and Denmark, Olaff, Svein, and ultimately of Canute the Great.

*Invasion of England by Olaff, Svein, and Canute the Great, Kings of Norway and Denmark.*—In the year 993 the Danish and Norwegian fleet and army came to the mouth of the Humber, and there “wrought great evil” both in Lindsey and in Northumbria, that is, in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. In the following year, 994, Olave, or Olaff, and Svein, chiefs or kings of Norway and Denmark, invaded England with large armies. By this time Christianity had been established amongst the Scandinavian races, and Olaff on his death received the honour of a Christian saint, as St. Olave, or Olaff. The church of St. Olave, at York, as well as many other churches in the northern and eastern parts of the kingdom, were named after him. Svein, king of Denmark, was also a powerful chief in the northern parts of England; and memorials of his exploits are still found in the names of places in Yorkshire and other counties, as in Svein or Swine, and Swinefleet, on the Humber, and probably Swinegate, or Sveingate, one of the oldest streets in the town of Leeds.

In the year 1013 King Svein, with his fleet, entered the river Humber, and sailed along the Trent until he came to Gainsborough. There Uchtred, the earl of Northumbria, and all the people from the Humber northward submitted to him, as well as those of Lindsey (or Lincolnshire), and afterwards the people of the five boroughs, namely, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, Leicester, and Derby, and of all the Danish districts north of Watling Street.\* After thus possessing himself of the ancient Danish territory in England, King Svein marched southward, committing the ships and the hostages to his son Canute, who advanced along the coast. When the Danish army had passed Watling Street, which divided the Anglian and Saxon from the Danish parts of the kingdom,

\* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. ii. pp. 118, 403.



“it wrought the most evil that any army could do.” In fact, it laid waste, and ultimately conquered the whole of the southern parts of England.

In the year 1014 Svein ended his days, and all his fleets and army chose his son, Canute, as their king. Canute put to death Uchtred, the earl of Northumbria, in his advance upon York. He afterwards again overran the southern parts of England, and firmly established himself as king and lord of England, as well as of Denmark. King Canute died in the year 1035, after having reigned in England for about twenty-eight years.\*

A period of anarchy followed the death of Canute; but in 1043 Edward the Confessor, the last representative of the race of the Anglian and Saxon kings of England, succeeded to the throne. During his reign Godwin, earl of Kent, obtained the command of the military forces of England, and Harold, Tosti, and the other sons of Godwin, governed the kingdom, as lieutenants of the king, gradually concentrating all power in their own hands. In the early part of this reign the county of York, and the whole of Northumbria, were governed by Siward, the Danish earl, who is chiefly memorable in history for having led the army into Scotland which defeated Macbeth,† and, in doing so, formed a subject for one of the noblest creations of the genius of Shakspeare.

In the year 1055 died Siward, the earl, at York; “and his body lies within the minster at Galmanho, which himself had before built to the glory of God and all his saints.” Galmanho was an Anglian abbey, merged afterwards in the abbey of St. Mary of York.

After the death of Earl Siward, who was the last of the Danish earls of Northumbria, Tosti, a younger son of Earl Godwin, and the brother of Harold, the last Saxon king of England, was appointed earl of Northumbria. He appears to have been a cruel tyrant; and in the year 1065 he was driven from his earldom by an insurrection of the people.

However richly Earl Tosti may have deserved expulsion from the earldom of Northumbria, that event was followed by most disastrous consequences. On the death of Edward the Confessor, Harold, the elder brother of Tosti, had succeeded in causing himself to be elected king of England, although there were members of the royal race of Alfred still living, whilst he did not belong to the royal family. Indeed Harold had no claim to the throne, according

\* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 129.

† Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 156.



to the recognized principles of the Anglian and Saxon laws. The seizing of the throne by Harold, gave William duke of Normandy, who had just as little right as he, a pretence for claiming the throne of England; and being supported by a numerous fleet and a powerful army, he passed over into England, and won the crown and the kingdom at the battle of Hastings.

One principal cause of the defeat of King Harold at Hastings was, that his brother, Earl Tosti, had about a month previously landed in the neighbourhood of York with a large army, composed partly of his own followers, and partly of the Norwegian followers of Harald Hardrada, king of Norway, who, though both of them defeated and slain, inflicted very heavy losses on the English army which afterwards fought with the Normans at Hastings. We possess both Anglian and Norwegian accounts of the battles fought in the neighbourhood of York, which had so great an influence on the fortunes of England. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives the following account of these last glories of the Saxon race. In recording the events of 1066, the Anglo-Saxon chronicler says:—"In this year King Harold came from York to Westminster at Easter, which was after the mid-winter in which the king (Edward the Confessor) died. Then was seen over all England such a sign in the heavens as no man ever before saw; some said it was the star Cometa, which some men call the haired star; and it first appeared on the eve of Litani-major, the 8th of the Kalends of May (April 24th), and so shone all the seven nights. And shortly after, Earl Tosti came from beyond the sea into (the Isle of) Wight, with as large a fleet as he could get; and then he was paid (by the inhabitants) both in money and provisions. And King Harold, his brother, gathered so great a naval force and also a land force, as no king here in the land had before him; because it had been made known to him that William the Bastard (of Normandy) would come hither and win this land all, as it afterwards came to pass. And the while came Tosti into the Humber with sixty ships, and Earl Eadwin came with a land force and drove him out. And the butse-carls (seamen) forsook him; and he went to Scotland with twelve smacks, and there Harald, king of Norway, met him with three hundred ships; and Tosti submitted to him, and became his man (or dependent). Then they both went into the Humber, until they came to York; and there fought against them Earl Eadwin and Earl Morecar, his brother; but the Normen

(Norwegians) had the victory. It was then made known to Harold, king of the English, that this had thus happened; and this battle was on St. Matthew's eve (September 20th). Then came Harold our king, unawares, on the Normen (Norwegians), and met them beyond York, at Stamford Bridge, with a large army of English folk; and there, during the day, was a very severe fight on each side. There were slain Harald Hardrada and Earl Tosti; and the Normen (Norwegians) who were there left were put to flight, and the English hotly slew them from behind, until they came to their ships. Some were drowned, some also were burnt, and so diversely perished, that few were left; and the English had possession of the place of carnage. The king then gave peace to Olaf, the Normen (Norwegian) king's son, and to their bishop, and to the earl of Orkney, and to all those who were left in the ships; and they then went to our king, and swore oaths that they would ever observe peace and friendship to this land, and the king let them go home with twenty-four ships. These two great battles (namely, those of Fulford near York, and Stamford Bridge near the same city), were fought within five nights (or, as we say, days), of each other."

*Norse Account of the Campaign, and of the Defeat and Death of Harald Hardrada (the Stern) in Yorkshire, A.D. 1066.*—We have another and much fuller account of the battles fought at Fulford on the Ouse, and at Stamford Bridge on the Derwent, both of them in the immediate neighbourhood of the city of York, in the "Heimskringla," or Chronicle of the kings of Norway, in the Icelandic of Snorro Sturleson. In his saga or history of Harald Hardrada, he informs us that Harald was the son of Sigurd Syr, brother of Olaff the saint, by the same mother, and that he reigned from about the year 1046 to 1066. He was the most successful of all the Norwegian kings during the greater part of his career, and his adventures extended over the greater part of Europe. At the beginning of his career he went eastward in the summer months to Russia, to King Jarisleif, and was with him all the following winter, having fought many battles with his own enemies and those of the king of Russia. After spending several years in Russia, and travelling through eastern lands, he began an expedition against Greece, proceeding in the first instance to Constantinople, which was at that time ruled by the Empress Zoe the Great, and with her by Michael Catalactus. On arriving there, Harald and his warriors entered into

the service of the empress, went on board the Greek galleys, and made a voyage amongst the Greek islands, giving battle to the Mahomedan corsairs who infested those seas. He afterwards commanded in a great expedition against the Saracens' land, in which he took eighty castles, some of which surrendered, whilst others were stormed by him. There, we are told, he gathered together extraordinary treasure, plundering that part of the world which is richest in gold and articles of value. Thence Harald went to Sicily, where he captured several strong castles held by the Saracens, and fought numerous battles, it is said no less than eighteen in number. Thence, according to the saga, Harald went with his men to the land of Jerusalem, and then up to the city of Jerusalem, and where-soever he came in the land all the towns and strongholds were given up to him. From Jerusalem he went to the river Jordan and bathed in the river, according to the custom of other pilgrims. Harald, also, according to the saga, gave great gifts to our Lord's grave, to the Holy Cross, and to other holy places, in the land of Jerusalem. He also cleared the road all the way to the river Jordan, by killing robbers and other disturbers of the public peace.

After performing these acts of piety and war, he returned to Constantinople, where he soon involved himself in a quarrel with the Empress Zoe, by making love to a young and beautiful girl named Maria, a brother's daughter of the empress. The empress having refused to give her niece to Harald, he finally retired from Constantinople, and again entered into the service of King Jarisleif of Russia, who willingly gave his daughter Elizabeth to Harald in marriage. In the next summer, journeying by Novogorod, he returned to Sweden, and afterwards to Norway, where, after a variety of adventures, he obtained half the kingdom from King Magnus, and ultimately the whole of it, on the death of that king. From that time he was known as King Harald Sigurdsson, being the son of Sigurd the brother of King Olaff. He soon made himself the most formidable sovereign in the north, waging war with the Danes, the Swedes, and numerous small chiefs in the islands of the Baltic.

The last great exploit of Harald Hardrada, or Sigurdsson, was the invasion of Northumbria, at the invitation and solicitation of Earl Tosti, the brother of Harold, king of England, whom the Norse writers describe as Harold Godwinsson, he being the son of Godwin, earl of Kent. After numerous adventures the armies of the two

kings met in battle-array at Stamford Bridge, near York, where Harold, king of England, entirely defeated his rival the king of Norway. The following are a few particulars of this memorable campaign, according to the Scandinavian historian.\*

The first landing of the Norwegian Harald in Yorkshire was in Cleveland, or as the Norse writers call it, Kliflond. There he went on shore, and plundered and brought the country into subjection to himself without opposition, the district being chiefly inhabited by Danes and Northmen. Thence he sailed to the strong fortress of Scarborough, or as the Norse writers call it, Skardaborg, and fought with the people of the place. We are told that he led his army to the top of a hill that overlooks the town, and made a great pile of fagots there. This he set on fire, and when the fire was burning fiercely, his men took large forks and pitched the burning wood into the town, setting it on fire in many places and compelling the inhabitants to surrender. "There the Northmen killed many people, and took all the booty they could lay their hands on." †

From Scarborough, King Harald marched with the Norwegian army into Holderness, called Hellorness in the saga, where he was joined by his fleet, and where he defeated a force that had come out to meet him. At this time the Scandinavians had a fortress at Grimsby on the south side of the Humber, and there is reason to believe that they had a naval, if not a military position at the vik or wyke, that is to say, the bay or creek, through which the river Hull flows into the Humber. What the Scandinavians call the Vik, and the English Wyke or the Wyke, was the fine natural harbour of the present port of Hull, which was growing up to be a place of trade long before it received the name of Hull from the river, or of Kingston-upon-Hull, from the favour of King Edward I.

The following is a summary of the Norse account of the subsequent battles fought in the neighbourhood of York, or as the Norwegian writers call it, Jorvik, after King Harald of Norway had sailed up the Humber and the river (Ouse), and had landed near Riccall. In York were Earls Morcar and Eadwin; and while the English army was coming down from the upper part of the country, the fleet of King Harald of Norway lay in the Ouse or Usa.

*The Battle of Fulford.*—When the English were assembled, Harald

\* The Heimskringla; or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway. Translated from the Icelandic of Snorro Sturleson, with a preliminary Dissertation by Samuel Laing, Esq. London, 1844.

† The Heimskringla or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, vol. iii. p. 83.

landed and drew up his men. The one wing of his line stood at the outer edge of the river supported by his ships, the other turned up towards the land along a ditch; and there was also a morass, deep, broad, and full of water. The English earls led their army slowly down the river side, with all their troops in line. The Norwegian king's banner was next the river, where the line was thickest. It was thinnest at the ditch, where also the weakest of the men were. When the earls advanced downwards along the ditch, the wing of the Northmen's line which was at the ditch gave way; and the Englishmen followed, thinking the Northmen would fly. The banner of Earl Mauro-Kaare (Morcar) advanced then bravely. When King Harald saw that the English array had come to the ditch against him, he ordered the charge to be sounded, and urged on his men. He ordered the banner, which was called "the Land-ravager," to be carried before him, and made so fierce an assault that all had to give way before it. There was a great loss among the men of the two English earls, and they soon broke into flight, some running up the river, some down, and the most leaping into the ditch, which was so filled with dead that the Norsemen could go dry foot over the fen. Earl Walthiof and the people who escaped fled up to the castle in York; and there the greatest loss of men had been. This battle took place upon the Wednesday next Mathias' day (20th September).

"Earl Tosti had come from Flanders to King Harald as soon as he arrived in England, and the earl was present at all these battles. It happened, as he had foretold, that many people flocked to them, as being friends and relations of Earl Tosti, and thus the Norwegian forces were much strengthened. After the first battle, many of the people in the nearest districts submitted to Harald, but some fled. Then the Norwegians advanced to take the castle of York, and led their whole army to Stamford Bridge.\* King Harald having gained so great a victory, against so great chiefs and so large an army, the people were dismayed, and doubted if they could make any opposition. The men of the castle therefore determined, in a council, to send a message to King Harald, and deliver up the castle into his power. All this was soon settled; so that on Sunday the king of Norway proceeded with the whole army to the castle, and appointed a Thing (general assembly) of the people without the castle, at which the people of the castle were to be present. At this Thing

\* Stafnerdo-bryggja.

all the people accepted the condition of submitting to Harald, and gave him, as hostages, the children of the most considerable persons; for Earl Tosti was well acquainted with all the people of that town. In the evening the Norwegian king returned to his ships, after this victory achieved with his own force, and was very merry. A Thing was appointed within the castle early on Monday morning, and then King Harald was to name officers to rule over the town, to give out laws, and bestow fiefs.

*The Battle of Stamford Bridge.*—But the same evening, after sunset, King Harold Godwinsson (King Harold of England), came from the south to the castle with a numerous army, and rode into the city, with the goodwill and consent of the people of the castle. All the gates and walls were beset by the English, so that the Northmen could receive no intelligence, and the English remained all night in the city. On Monday, when King Harald Sigurdsson had taken breakfast, he ordered the trumpets to sound for going ashore. The army accordingly got ready, and he divided the men into the parties who should go, and who should stay behind. In every division he allowed two men to land, and one to remain behind. Earl Tosti and his retinue prepared to land with King Harald; and for watching the ships, remained behind the king's son Olaf; the earls of Orkney, Paul and Eclend; and also Eystein Orre, a son of Thorberg Ameson, who was the most able and best beloved by the king of all the lendersmen, and to whom the king had promised his daughter Maria. The weather was uncommonly fine, and it was hot sunshine. The men, therefore, laid aside their armour, and went on the land only with their shields, helmets, and spears, and girt with swords; and many had also arrows and bows, and all were very merry. Now as they came near York a great army seemed coming against them, and they saw a cloud of dust as from horses' feet, and under it shining shields and bright armour. The king of Norway halted his people, and called to him Earl Tosti, and asked him what army this could be. The earl replied that he thought it most likely to be a hostile army; but possibly it might be some of his relations who were seeking for mercy and friendship, in order to obtain certain peace and safety from the king. Then the king said, "We must all halt, to discover what kind of a force this is." They did so; and the nearer this force came the greater it appeared, "and their shining arms were to the sight like glancing ice."

A few minutes were sufficient to convince them that it was the English army, commanded by the king in person, which was advancing from York on Stamford Bridge, or, as the saga expresses it, "that King Harold Godwinsson had come up with an immense army both of cavalry and infantry." This being the case, the Norwegian king, or as he is called King Harald Sigurdsson, rode round his army to see how every front was drawn up. He was on a black horse, as we are told, and the horse stumbled under him, and so the king fell off. Harald got up in haste, and said, "A fall is lucky for a traveller." The English King Harold said to the Northmen who were with him, "Do ye know the stout man who fell from his horse, with a blue kirtle and the beautiful helmet?" "That is the king himself," said they. The English king said, "A great man, and of stately appearance is he; but I think his luck has left him."

After this conversation, it is said that an interview took place between King Harold of England and his traitor brother Earl Tosti, in which the king of England offered to restore to him the whole of Northumbria, from the Humber to the Tweed, and even to give him the third part of his kingdom, to prevent a war. But the English king refused to make any concession to the king of Norway, saying, "I will give him seven feet of English ground; or as much more as he may be taller than other men."

After this defiance the battle began, or, as the saga states, "the Englishmen made a hot assault upon the Northmen, who sustained it bravely. It was no easy matter for the English to ride against the Northmen on account of their spears; therefore they rode in a circle around them, and the fight at first was but loose and light, as long as the Northmen kept their order of battle; for although the English rode hard against the Northmen, they were unable to break through their array of spears, and fell back immediately. Now when the Northmen thought that the English were making weak assaults, they set after them and would drive them into flight; but when they had broken their shield rampart, the Englishmen rode up from all sides, and threw arrows and spears on them; and when King Harald Sigurdsson, the king of Norway, saw this, he went into the affray where the greatest crash of weapons was; and there was a sharp conflict, in which many people fell on both sides. King Harald was then in a rage, and ran out in front of the array, and hewed down with both hands; so that neither helmet nor armour could withstand him, and all who were nearest gave way before him. "It was then



very near with the English," as we are told, "that they had taken to flight." But, however, they did not do so, and at this moment Harald, king of Norway, was hit by an arrow in the windpipe, and that was his death wound. He fell, and all who had advanced with him, except those who retired with the banner.

"There was afterwards the warmest conflict, for Earl Tosti had taken charge of the king of Norway's banner. Before the battle began again, King Harold of England offered his brother Earl Tosti peace, and also quarter to the Northmen who were still alive; but the Northmen called out all of them together, that they would rather fall one across the other, than accept of quarter from the Englishmen. Then each side set up a war shout, and the battle began again."

"At this moment, one of the most distinguished of the fallen king's warriors, by name Eystein Orre, came up from the ships of the Norwegian fleet, which were anchored in the Ouse near Riccall, at the head of an army of Norwegians all clad in armour." Then Eystein got King Harald's banner named Land-ravager; and now was for the third time one of the sharpest of conflicts, in which many Englishmen fell, and they were near to taking flight, as the Norwegians supposed, though no flight took place. This conflict was called Orre's storm. "Eystein and his men had hastened so fast from the ships that they were quite exhausted, and scarcely fit to fight before they came into the battle; but afterwards they became so furious, that they did not cover themselves with their shields so long as they could stand upright. At last they threw off their coats of ringmail, and then the Englishmen could easily lay their blows on them; and many fell from weariness, and died without a wound. Thus almost all the chief men fell among the Norway people. This happened towards evening, and then it went, as one might expect, that all had not the same fate, for many fled and were lucky enough to escape in various ways, and darkness fell before the slaughter was altogether ended."

The king of Norway's eldest son, Olaf Haraldsson, had not gone out on land with the others, and when he heard of his father's fall he made ready to sail with the men who remained.\*

*The Battle of Hastings.*—The Anglo-Saxon chronicler then proceeds with the account of the landing of William the Conqueror and the battle of Hastings:—"Then came William, count of

\* Chronicles of the Kings of Norway, vol. ii. p. 92.



Normandy, to Pevensey (on the coast of Sussex), on St. Michael's Mass eve (September 28); and immediately after they were ready they constructed a castle (or rather a stockade) at the town of Hastings. This was then made known to King Harold, and he gathered a great army, and came to meet him at the Hoar Apple-tree (near Battle Abbey); and William came against him unawares, ere his people were in battle order. But the king, nevertheless, boldly fought against him, with those men who had followed him; and there was a great slaughter made on each side. There were slain King Harold, and Earl Leofwine his brother, and Gyrth his brother, and many other good men; and the French (Normans) had possession of the place of carnage, as to them God granted, for the people's sins."\*

There is no more reason to suppose that the brave King Harold, and the gallant English warriors who fell with him at Hastings, in defence of their native land, were greater sinners than William the Conqueror and his invading hosts of Normans and Frenchmen, than there is to believe that the eighteen men on whom the tower in Siloam fell and slew them, were greater sinners than the other dwellers in Jerusalem. The Anglo-Saxon kingdom was conquered by the Normans, because the government and people had neglected to adopt sufficient means for its defence. The powerful fleets of large and swift vessels constructed by Alfred the Great, by his son Edward the Elder, his grandson Athelstane, and even down to the time of King Edgar, had been allowed to disappear from the seas, sacrificed by neglect, by false notions of economy, or by wilful treason. The first line of national defence had thus been lost, and the fleets of hostile nations, conveying powerful armies, were able to approach the shores of England, whenever and wherever they chose. The result was, that the Norwegian army landed on the coast of Yorkshire, almost at the same time at which the Norman army landed on the coast of Sussex; the English having only one army to resist the whole strength of Normandy and Norway. So far as mere courage could enable them to do this, they did it nobly; but owing to the fatal loss of the sea, and to the want of sufficient reserves of well-trained troops on land, they were overwhelmed in successive battles, and the Normans remained masters of England, after the Norwegians and their king had fallen under the walls of York.

\* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A. D. 1066.

*The Influence of the Danish and other Scandinavian Settlements in Yorkshire.*—The Danish or Scandinavian dominion in Yorkshire continued through a period of more than two hundred years, and left marks in the names, the language, and in the commercial relations of the district with foreign countries, which endured for many ages after the Norman conquest, and are not altogether obliterated at the present time. The Danish occupation of Northumbria, and especially of those parts of that ancient kingdom which extend from the Humber to the Tees, was not a mere military occupation, but a permanent colonization and settlement. The proof of this is to be found in the fact, that there are still some hundred villages or towns in Yorkshire bearing the names that were given to them by the Scandinavian settlers; which names differ altogether from the Anglian and Anglo-Saxon names, found in those parts of England that were merely overrun, without being colonized, by the Norwegians or the Danes. The two great colonies of the Scandinavian race were Northumbria in England, and the island of Iceland, which is now generally considered to be a part of America. Iceland was discovered by the Norwegians at a very early period, and began to be peopled by them in 874, at the time when the kindred race of the Danes were pressing the conquest of England. Together with these two great settlements, and the duchy of Normandy, an infinite number of islands in the Atlantic Ocean were occupied or conquered by them, extending from the Faroe Islands in the Icy seas, as far south as the Scilly Islands, and what we now call the Channel Islands, on the coast of France. Amongst the other islands subject to the Norwegian or Danish authority were the groups of the Shetland, the Orkney, and the Hebrides, together with the Isle of Man, which became one of the great centres of their naval power, from which they sent numerous expeditions against the western coasts both of England and Scotland. The power of the Danes and Norwegians was also very great in Ireland, where they held the cities or ports of Dublin, Strangford, Wexford, Waterford, and Limerick, with most of the islands on the Irish coast. On the continent of Europe they were masters of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, also of the whole of the islands of the Baltic, and of several ports and towns on the coasts of the present empires both of Germany and Russia. In the interval of two hundred years that elapsed between the landing of the Danes in England and the Norman conquest, the

Danes and Norwegians had formed a large commercial and military marine, and traded, as well as warred, with many parts of Northern and Central Europe. Amongst the most important ports in their English possessions were York, and probably the Vik or Wyke, that is to say, the bay or harbour, of the river Hull; with Scarborough, Whitby, and Ravenspurn, or Ravensaer, on the Yorkshire coast, and Grimsby, on the southern bank of the Humber. The commerce of the Humber with Iceland, with the northern fisheries, and with the north of Europe, commenced in those ages, and maintained the direction thus given to it until the discovery of America, by Christopher Columbus, in the year 1492. In the trade with Iceland in those early ages, England is said to have supplied meal and malt to the Norwegian settlers in that inclement island, where it is almost impossible to bring any kind of grain to maturity; Norway furnished timber and ships to the Icelanders; whilst the Icelanders in return supplied this part of England and Norway with dried fish, oil, feathers, skins, dried meat, butter, cheese, wool, and coarse woollen and linen cloth. These are all articles of great value and necessity, and formed the basis of an extensive trade between England, Iceland, and the extensive regions of Scandinavia, for several hundred years.\* We shall trace the history of this trade more fully, when we come to describe the early commerce of the port of Hull.

*The Influence of the Norse Language on the English Language, and on the Yorkshire and other Northern Dialects.*—The old Norse language, as we are informed by Rask and Haldorsen, was the language which was conveyed from Norway to the island of Iceland by the first colonists, who migrated to that country, near the end of the ninth century, and which is still spoken, with slight alteration, in the interior parts of that island.† This language rose to a high reputation in those early ages, and produced a literature which still ranks amongst the oldest and the most varied of northern literatures. From this language nearly all the names of the places which originated in that age, and amongst that people, were formed; and it also entered extensively into the words and construction of the languages spoken in the countries that were conquered and peopled by the Danes and Norwegians. The English language,

\* Laing's *Heimskringla*, or *Chronicles of the Kings of Norway*. London, 1814. Vol. i. p. 58.

† Introduction to the *Lexicon Islandico-Latino-Danicum*, *Biornonis Haldorseui*, *Havnice* (Copenhagen), 1814, Vol. i. p. v.

even as it is now spoken, throughout this country generally, has been much more extensively influenced by the old Norse language than is commonly supposed, many of the most familiar words now in use in England being derived from the Norse, and not from the ancient Anglian language. But this is especially the case in Yorkshire, and the other districts of the ancient Danelagh, in the northern and eastern counties, in which the provincial dialects are full of words and forms of expression derived from the Norse. The following list of words, from Haldorsen's Norse or Icelandic Lexicon, may serve as evidence of the similarity of the two languages; and it might be very greatly extended. We shall afterwards endeavour to show, chiefly from the same authority, how considerable a portion of the existing Yorkshire names of places are derived from the same source:—

*English Words derived from the Norse Language.*—Almr, an elm tree; askr, an ash tree; asna, an ass; austan, eastern; ax, an axe; axhamar, an axe hammer; alfr, an elf; alun, alum; apalldr, an apple tree; areid, a raid, or incursion on horseback; aska, ashes.

Bak, the back; bakari, a baker; bakbitari, a backbiter; bana, bane or injury; batr, a boat; bedr, a bed; bein, a bone; byrdengr, a ship of burden; bi, a bee; bid, to invite; bior, beer; blek, the colour black; blom, a bloom or flower; bitr, bitter; boga-strengr, a bow-string; blastr, a blast; brimi, flame; bygg, barley; bravd, bread; byr-log, a byelaw; balkr, balks of wood; bekr, a beck; barn, a child; berg, a rock; biork, a birch tree; blaber, a blaeberry; bland, to blend; blinda, blindness; blod, blood; blok, a block; bucr, a buck; bole, a bull; by, an abode; briest, the breast.

The letter c was seldom, if ever, used in the Norse language, its place being supplied by the letter k or the letter s.

Daggedr, a dagger; damur, a dam; dar, dour; dregg, the dregs; dyki, a dyke or ditch; dripp, to drip; dockr, to dock the tail of a horse or dog; drag-net, a drag-net; dom-hringer, a judgment circle.

Efter, after; egg, an egg; egg, an edge; einn, one; eliding, lightning; ellitree, an elder tree; epla-gardr, an apple orchard; eski, an ash tree; eyk, an oak tree; espi, an aspen tree; ern, an earn or eagle; elldi, to kindle fire.

Fell, the steep side of a hill; fell, a skin; fell, fallen; fen, a marsh; fiskr, a fish; floti, a fleet; fodr, fodder; fol, a fool; folk, people; fyr, a fire; fox, a fox; flotman, a seaman.

Gangr, a goer; gata, a road or street; gledra, a glede or kite; gra, grey; gras, grass; griepa, to gripe; greyhunder, a greyhound.

Hafr, a field of oats; haghorn, a cornel tree; half-brodr, half-brother; hammr, a hammer; hampr, hemp; har, hair; hasl, a hazel bush; hawkr, a hawk; heim, a home; heima, at home; heri, a hare; hay, hay; haystackr, a haystack; heytoft, a hay field; hloupe, a leap; hunder, a hound or dog; huss-modr, the mother of the house; hus-rum, house-room; haena, a hen.

Ia, yes; iarn, iron; inntek, an intake or inclosure; Jol, Yule or Christmas; is, ice; iarl, an earl; iarlðomer, an earldom.

Kabal, a cable; kalfr, a calf; kenni, to know; kid, a kidd; kida-hus, a goat-fold; kioll, a keel; klek, a clang of birds; korn, corn; korn akr, a corn field; korn seedi, corn seed; kraka, a crow; kross, a cross; ku, a cow; kyn, kindred; kyrkai, a church; kyrtil, a kirtle or tunic; kal, kail; kalk, chalk; kindi, to kindle; kirne, to churn; klo, a claw; klaedr, clothes; knefall, falling on the knees; kingr, a king; kyll, a stream; klappa, to clap; klif, a cliff.

Lamb, a lamb; land, the land; langskip, a long ship; langer, longer; ligg, to lie down; leik, to lake or play; lembing, lambing; litill, little; lolla, to loll; lam, lame; langkal, longkale.

Manfolk, mankind; manslag, manslaughter; mansal, the selling of men; mar (masc.), a horse; mere (fem.), a mare; markar, a marker; mata, meat; mel, to meddle; midneti, midnight; midsumr, midsummer; miolk, milk; miol, meal; mis, to lose the way; mold, dust or earth; mouldvarpe, a mole; mot, a meeting; mylna, a mill; mani, the moon; margrenn, sea-green.

Nal, a nail; nebbi, the neb or beak of a bird; ness, a nose or projection of land; nop, a hill or promontory; naer, near; naerst, nearest; natt, night; naut, neat-cattle; neip, to nip.

Ofran, an offering; opin, open; otr, an otter; ox, an ox; oxu, oxen; ol, ale; odal, allodial; ord, a word.

Paloxi, a pole-axe; Paskir, the Passover or Easter; plogr, a plough; plomertre, a plum tree; poki, a poke or bag; potternakir, a potmaker; Puki, Puck, a mischievous elf.

Quak, to quack; quernstone, a millstone; quorn, a millstone; quik-sand, quicksand; quan, a queen; quikr, quick or living.

Rafr, a rafter; ransaka, to ransack; reid, riding; reinr, a rhymer; renta, rent; rodu-kross, the cross; rockr, a tunic; ros, a rose; rum, a room or place; raef, a roof.

Sad-akr, a sown field; saffran, yellow; saungr, a song; saup,

soup; seckr, a sack; sel, to sell; selr, a seal; serkr, a shirt; seydr, cyder or juice; skynn, the skin; skipri, a sailor or skipper; sky, the sky or clouds; snakr, a snake; sodall, a saddle; spann, a spoon; spinn, to spin; steinn, a stone; stiki, a stick; stingr, a sting; stod, a stud of horses; stoll, a stool; stra, straw; strond, strand; sveinn, a swain, a boy or youth, as a boatswain; svin, swine; svina-ste, a swine sty; surbraud, sour bread; saga, a saga or story.

Ta, a toe; tar, a tear; tek, to take; tel, to tell or count; tem, to tame; tenter, toothed; tik, a tyke; tolla, to impose toll; tollfri, toll-free; ton, a tone; tre, a tree; tru, true; tunna, a ton; turtill-dufa, a turtle-dove; time, time; tun, a field or inclosure.

Vax, wax (the letter v does not appear in the Norse vocabularies, the letters v or u being employed in its place); varp, to throw or cast; vatn, water; verk, work; vindr, the wind.

Ull, wool; undar, a wonder; uns, once; upp, up; uppur, upper; ut, out; utan, without; utlægr, an outlaw.

The th is a separate letter; as in thing, a public assembly; thing, a parish or district; thingmenn, men having the right to take part in public assemblies; thorn, a thorn; Thorsdager, Thursday. The th, though written by the Danes in England, was seldom, if ever, pronounced by them. The th and the w were, and are, peculiarly English sounds. A Dane spoke of a viti; or look-out; an Anglian, of a with, as in Skipwith and Bromwith.

*Norse and Danish Names of Places in the Interior of Yorkshire.*—The Scandinavian names of places differ very considerably from the Anglian and Saxon names, although both the Scandinavian and the Teutonic languages belong to the same great family of languages which is generally called the Gothic, and which extended from the banks of the Danube to the borders of Finland and Lapland. From this circumstance there are some points of resemblance between the Anglian and the Danish names found in Yorkshire, and in other districts in which those two races have struggled for ascendancy. But there are also many points of difference, which may be very easily traced.

The principal Scandinavian or Norse terminations of names and places found in Yorkshire are the following:—

The most frequent and familiar of all the Scandinavian terminations is that of By, an abode, of which termination there are said to be upwards of 200 examples in the county of York, including the names of nearly one hundred townships or towns, the rest being

the names of hamlets or separate estates. The meaning of the word By, is a place inhabited and cultivated, as stated by Haldorsen in his "Lexicon Islandico-Latino-Danicum." The Latin words which he gives as expressing the meaning of By, are *habitare*, *incolere*, *parare*, *adornare*, and *rusticare*. The word By is as characteristic of a Scandinavian town or village, as the word Ton or Tun is of an Anglian or Anglo-Saxon; indeed, more so, for the Icelanders had the word Tun, an inclosure, whilst the English did not use the word By in that sense.

Much less frequent is the word Byr, which means a city or town, or, as Haldorsen gives it, *urbs*, a city. The Danes and Norwegians had many villages, but few towns. This word Byr is now seldom found in English names, though the original name of Grimsby in Lincolnshire was Grymsbyr, and we still find in Yorkshire, Ackber, Langber, Birstal, or Byrstal, and a few other names, of Danish Byrs. It seems to be an equivalent to the Anglian burh, and has probably been merged in that word, in many cases. The term bye-laws is originally byr-laws, and means the laws of the particular By or Byr, that is town or village, in which such laws were established. The Northmen, amongst other public assemblies, had Byr Things, or what we should call town meetings or councils, in which the government of their towns was regulated. These meetings were held at the moot or meeting halls; such as the Moot Hall at Leeds, which some of the readers of this work will remember, though in a comparatively modern form.

The Norse word Berg or Borg, which originally means a rocky hill, from berg, *saxum*, is occasionally applied to a fortress, as in the case of Skardeborg, the modern Scarborough.

The word Holme, which occurs very frequently in Yorkshire names, means originally a small island in a river, from holmi, *insula*, but is sometimes applied to a meadow on the river's banks. The word Holme chiefly prevails in Sweden, as in the word Stockholm, and the names of many other places on the Swedish coast. It is also very prevalent in Yorkshire down to the present time, a fact which shows that those portions of the Northmen or Scandinavians, whom we now call Swedes, were amongst the early colonists of that part of Northumbria. It is sometimes confounded with the Anglian word Ham, a home, but had originally quite a different meaning.



The word Thwaite is said to be of Norwegian origin, and to mean a forest-clearing.\* It occurs very frequently in Cumberland and Westmoreland, and occasionally in Yorkshire.

The word Garth is another northern word, and means a place guarded or inclosed, *agger, prædium nobile*.

Haugr is the Norse name for a hill; or as Haldorsen renders it, *haugr, collis, tumulus mortuorum*. In English names the last syllable, *gr*, is often dropped. Hol is the Norse name for a hollow, *cavitas*; *holr, cavus*.

Fiord, which means a bay or harbour, is occasionally found in Yorkshire names, but is very liable to be confounded with the Anglian word Ford, which has quite a different meaning.

The word Thorpe is a Norse word meaning a village, town, or district, *oppidum, pagus*. It also means a country seat or landed estate, and is found in the Danish districts of England more frequently than any other name except By. The word Thorpe, or *torp*, occurs very frequently in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.

Things, or popular assemblies, for making laws, were held in numerous places, amongst the Scandinavians, which were often designated from that circumstance. Thus we have Thingwalls both in Lancashire and Cheshire, as well as in Iceland and Norway; Tynwald in the Isle of Man; Dingwall in Scotland; and several places in Yorkshire, which seem to have been named from being the sites of these ancient national assemblies. The word is preserved in the English word Hus-tings. Amongst the places in Yorkshire at which Things were held were probably Thwing, Tinsley, Dinsley, and Morthing, in the south of Yorkshire. Laughton-en-le-Merthen, is the law town at the moor Thing; the great object of the Norse Things being the passing of laws, the execution of which was committed to the laghman, who was at once the lawyer and judge of the district, and scarcely inferior in power to the king. Tankersley, Upper Thong, and Nether Thong, near Huddersfield, and Tong, near Bradford, may perhaps, some or all of them, have been the seats of ancient Northumbrian Things or councils.

One of the Norse names for a clearance in a forest was Riodr, *locus arboribus nudatus*, according to Haldorsen's Lexicon, and the word royd or royds, which is found in one of the Yorkshire valleys, and scarcely anywhere else in England, is probably derived from this root. The name Ackroyd seems to mean the clearing in the oak

\* Isaac Taylor, Names of Places, p. 77.



forest; Ormroyd is the clearing in the elm forest; Holroyd is the clearing in the hollow. Murgatroyd is probably the great clearing; and Mythomroyd is perhaps the clearing in the girls' meadow. The roots of these names will be given in a subsequent page.

Holt is the Norse name for a rough stony hill. Haldorsen gives as its meaning, *colliculus saxeti*.

The word Nope, means, in the Norse language, a recess, and also the source of a river, *recessus, derivatio fluminis*.

The words Nope, Nop, and Gnope, mean a hill, a slope, or projection of land, from gnop, *prominentia*.

The Norse word Viti, pronounced with, in English names, means *specula*, a look-out.

The Norse word for a river or stream contained only one letter, namely, the first. A, in the Norse language, meant a flowing stream or river. It was, however, frequently spelt Aa, and sometimes as Au. It is found in one form or other in such words as Becka, the water-beck, and in Aburn or Auburn. It is also found in the name given to those curious land springs or temporary streams, which burst out at the foot of the Wolds, in the chalk districts of Yorkshire, after long-continued rains; but cease to flow on the return of dry weather. These streams are named Gypsies, a word which is derived from the Norse Gypa, a whirlpool, or sudden gush of water; or as Haldorsen gives the meaning of the word Gypa, *vorago*, which Riddle renders a deep and almost bottomless place, an abyss in water, also a deep chasm or hole in the earth.

*The Norse Names of Places on the Sea Coasts and on the Navigable Rivers of Yorkshire.*—Nearly all the names of the bays, ports, creeks, headlands, and promontories on the Yorkshire coast, are of Norse or Scandinavian origin, and must have been given at the time when the Danes and Norwegians were masters of those coasts. They seem even to have changed the ancient names of the towns and villages along the coasts, as in the case of Whithy and other places, which had originally either British or Anglian names. There is scarcely any exception to this remark, unless in the case of Flamborough Head, and perhaps of Bridlington, near the base of that great promontory. The names of these two places may perhaps be of Anglian origin, though they are both quite capable of being accounted for by Norse derivations.

The most frequent and characteristic of the Norse names along this coast is that of Vik, which in the Norse language means a

creek, harbour, or port, and which was originally given as a general name to all ports and harbours, independent of their local names. Thus, Filey Bay was known to the Norwegians as Philey Vik, and is so described in one of their oldest Sagas, or historical narratives. In that case, however, the name of vik does not appear to have gone into use locally, as it has done in so many others. After the influence of the Norsemen had been superseded by that of the English or Angles, the word vik, meaning a harbour or port, was generally changed to wyke, which is the form in which it is now usually written. But the Norsemen had no such letter in their alphabet as the W, and invariably used the V or the U in its place. They could not even have pronounced the word wyke, except by a great effort. One inconvenience arising from the change of the word vik into wyke is, that it is liable, in the latter form, to be confounded with the Anglian word wic, or wyke, which has a totally different meaning, namely, that of a military encampment.

In the earlier periods of Scandinavian history, the sea-faring population along the coasts and bays were named vikings, or inhabitants of the viks, and had the reputation generally of being pirates rather than fishermen or traders. Hence a viking became the name for a pirate, and viking meant piracy or *piratica*. These vikings were amongst the earliest plunderers of the English coast, and formed settlements throughout all the northern seas; but as the Norwegian and the Danish kings became more powerful, regular war took the place of piracy, and gradually the vikings united commerce with war, and ultimately became traders instead of pirates.

The two most celebrated viks on the coast of Yorkshire, and in the Humber, were the vik or wyke on the River Hull, from which the port of Hull draws its origin, and the vik on the Ouse or the Yore, to which the Scandinavians gave the name of Jorvik, or as we now pronounce it, York. Previous to the Norman conquest, and down to the reign of King John, Hull seems to have been known by the name of Wyke-upon-Hull. In the reign of King John it is described as the port of Hull; and in the reign of King Edward I. it received the name of Kingston-upon-Hull, from that monarch. York was known in succession to the Romans, as Eboracum; to the Angles as Eoferwic; to the Norse and Danes as Jorvik; and to the English, from the Norman times, by the name of York.

Next to the viks or ports and harbours, the most important points along the coasts were the headlands or promontories, known by the Norse name of Nesses, as in the celebrated case of the great promontory of Holderness; also in that of Haconess, named after the Norwegian king, or earl, Hacon. The headlands along these coasts were generally known by the Norse name of Nabs, which means heads, or headlands. The smaller points were named Nebs, from a fancied resemblance to the nebs or beaks of birds.

At numerous places along the Yorkshire coast the land rose into what the Norwegians called skars or skers, as at Scarborough and other conspicuous points. The Norse word Berg, a sea cliff, was also sometimes combined with the word Sker, as in the name of Scarborough.

The word Spern, which is the great point of look-out at the entrance of the Humber, may be equally well explained as an Anglian or a Norse word. In both it means a look-out or place of inquiry. The German word Sporn means a place of marks, the Norse word Sporni means a place of inquiry. It was the point first made by the Norwegian fleets in approaching the Humber; and whether these fleets came in peace or in war, their approach must have been watched with great anxiety.

In order to show more clearly the influence which the Norse language has had in fixing the names of the villages, towns, and country residences of the Norse or Norwegians in the interior of Yorkshire, in common with the other districts of the Danelagh; and also the influence which it has had in fixing the names of the harbours, promontories, headlands, and points along the coast; we conclude this chapter with the following list of names of places in Yorkshire which are not derived either from British or from Anglian roots, but are supposed by Norse scholars to be derived from the Norse or Scandinavian language. In giving these derivations we chiefly follow the *Lexicon of the Icelandic or Norse language*, translated into Latin and into the modern Danish, which was published at Copenhagen, in the year 1814, under the direction of the celebrated northern scholar, R. K. Rask. We occasionally also use the authority of the late S. Laing, the translator of the "*Heimskringla, or Chronicles of the Kings of Norway*;" and also the translations from the Norse, and the dissertations on the language and literature of the northern nations, of Dr. Dasent, who justly ranks as one of the first Norse scholars of modern times.

NAMES OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES IN YORKSHIRE DERIVED FROM THE NORSE OR SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGE, AND ENDING IN BY AND BYR, MEANING A VILLAGE OR TOWN.

Aikbar, North Riding, Ley.	The Oak-town, from aik or eyk, an oak, and byr, a town.
Ainderby, Myers, N. R.	A contraction of Aismunderby, the God-given town. See below.
Ainderby, Quernhow, N. R.	Do. do.
Ainderby Steeple, N. R.	Do. do.
Aislaby, N. R., Whitby.	The town of the Aiser or gods.
Aislaby, N. R., Pickering.	Do. do.
Aismunderby, W. R., Ripon, Pickering.	The God-given town, from Ais or Aisir, the name of one of the orders of Scandinavian gods, mundr, a gift, and by, a village or town.
Amotherby, N. R., Malton district.	Perhaps the God-minded town, from Aisir and modr, <i>animus</i> , the mind.
Anclaby, E. R., Sculcoates district.	Amands town.
Asselby, E. R., Howden district.	The God's town.
Balby-with-Hexthorpe, W. R., Doncaster dis.	The Baldric town, from bal, <i>vagina ensis</i> , or perhaps from bal, meaning <i>rogus</i> , <i>pyra</i> , <i>strues lignorum</i> .
Baldersby, N. R., Ripon district.	Balder's town, from Balder, one of the northern gods.
Barlby, E. R., Selby, W. R. district.	Fruitful-town, from barlegr, <i>adhuc fertilis</i> , <i>prolifer</i> .
Barlby with-Islebeck, N. R., Thirsk.	Do. do.
Barmby-on-the-Marsh, E. R., Howden.	Brother's town, from barmi, <i>frater ex eodem sinu</i> .
Barmby-on-the-Moor, E. R., Pocklington.	Do. do.
Barnby, N. R., Whitby district.	The Child's town, from barn, <i>puer</i> , <i>proles humana</i> , or from Beorn, a chief, making it Chief's town.
Barnby-upon-Don, W. R., Doncaster district.	The Child's town or Chief's-town on the river Don.
Battersby, N. R., Stokesley district.	Boat town, from batr, <i>cymba</i> , <i>navicula</i> , <i>scapha</i> .
Baxby, N. R., Easingwold district.	Back town, from bak, <i>dorsum</i> .
Bellerby, R. N., Leyburn district.	Cow's town, from belia, <i>vacca</i> .
Bessingby, E. R., Bridlington district.	The Bear's town, from bessi or bersi, <i>ursus</i> .
Bielby, E. R., Pocklington district.	Perhaps Ugly town, from bilfi, <i>informis</i> .
Birkby, N. R., Northallerton district.	The Birch-tree town, from birki, <i>betula</i> .
Boltby, N. R., Thirsk district.	The Bolt town, or bolted town, from bolti, <i>clavis ferreus</i> .
Bonowby, N. R., Northallerton district.	Sledge town, from boner, a sledge, <i>traha</i> .
Bonowby, N. R., Whitby district.	Do. do.
Brandsby, N. R., Easingwold district.	Perhaps Sword town, from brandr, <i>lamina ensis</i> ; or it may be from Brand, the name of a northern hero.
Brawby, N. R., Malton district.	Bread town, from bravd, <i>panis</i> .
Burnby, E. R., Pocklington district.	Perhaps the Burn town, from the Anglian word burn, a brook.

Busby, Great and Little, N. R.,	The plough or coulter town, from basi, <i>culter obtusus</i> .
Cadeby, W. R., Doncaster district.	Poultry town, from kada, <i>gallina, pulletra</i> . In the Norse language the letter <i>k</i> was always used for the letter <i>c</i> hard.
Carnaby, E. R., Bridlington district.	Perhaps the shipbuilding town, from the Norse word <i>karina</i> , which, however, is taken from the Latin word <i>carina</i> , the keel of a ship, upon which it is built, or the ship itself.
Carpetsby-cum-Thoresby, N. R., Askrigg.	Perhaps the town of strife, from karp, <i>contentio</i> .
Cleasby, N. R., Darlington district.	Perhaps Cluster town, from klasl, <i>racemus</i> , a cluster of grapes or berries.
Coldkirky, N. R., Helmsley district.	Perhaps the Coal or Charcoal town, with the church, from the Norse words, kol, <i>carbo</i> , and kyrkia, <i>ecclesia</i> .
Crosby, N. R., Northallerton district.	The town of the Cross, from the Norse, kross, <i>crux</i> , a cross.
Dalby, N. R., Easingwold district.	The Dale town, from dalr, a dale or valley.
Danby, N. R., Guisborough district.	The Danes' town, from Dani, the Danish people.
Danby Wiske, N. R., Northallerton district.	The Danes' town on the river Wiske.
Denby, W. R., Wortley district.	Probably the Danes' town.
Duggleby, E. R., Malton district.	The Fisherman's town, from dugga, <i>navis piscatoria</i> , and duggari, <i>nauta, piscator</i> .
Easby, N. R., Richmond district.	Perhaps Mare's town, from ess, <i>equa, jumentum</i> , or possibly East town.
“ “ Stokesley district.	Do. do.
Eastby, W. R., Skipton district.	East town.
Ellerby, E. R., Skirlaugh district.	Elder-tree town, from elle-tre, <i>alnus</i> .
“ “ N. R., Whitby district.	Do. do.
Eppleby, N. R., Richmond district.	Apple town, from epli, <i>pomum</i> .
Exelby, N. R., Bedale district.	Axe-town, from oex, <i>securis</i> , an axe; or axle-town, from oexl, <i>scapula, ala, axilla</i> .
Faceby, N. R., Stokesley district.	The Boaster's town, from the Norse word <i>fakr, thraso</i> .
Farmanby, N. R., Pickering district.	The Sailor's or Traveller's town, from farmadr, <i>nauta, peregrinator</i> .
Fearby, N. R., Leyburn district.	Sheep town, from facr, <i>ovis</i> .
Fernsby, W. R., Knaresborough district.	Perhaps Fourth town, fernir, <i>quaterni</i> .
Ferryby, E. R., Seuloates district.	Ferry town, from feria, <i>cymba, ponto, linter</i> ; or from feria, <i>transportare</i> , to transport or set over.
Firby, E. R., Malton. N. R.	Far town, from from firr, <i>procul, eminus</i> .
Firby, N. R., Bedale district.	Do. do.
Fixby, W. R., Halifax district.	The Fish or the Fishing town, from fiskr, <i>piscis</i> .
Flasby-with-Winterburn, W. R., Skipton dist.	Perhaps Hurried town, from flasa, <i>precipit- anter opus aggredi</i> ; but “the flashes” is sometimes used for a sudden flush of water.
Fockerby, W. R., Goole district.	The Folk's town, from folk, <i>populus</i> .
Foulby, W. R., Hemsworth district.	Perhaps Snow town, from foel, <i>nix</i> ; or foelna, <i>pallescere</i> .

- Gatenby. The Town on the Gata or Road, from *gata*, a road.
- Grisby, N. R., Darlington district. Grice, or Pig town, from *gris*, *porcellus*.
- Great Busby, N. R., Stokesley district. Plough town. See Busby.
- Haldenby, W. R., Goole district. Hill town, from *halendi*, *loca superiora, montana*.
- Hawaby, N. R., Helmsley district. Perhaps Goat's town, from *haudna*, *capra*.
- Haxby, N. R., York, E. R. Axe town, from *oex*, an axe.
- Hellaby, W. R., Doncaster district. The Rock town, from *hella*, *petra*.
- Helperby, N. R., Easingwold district. Helper's town. Helper was the name of one of the Northern gods.
- Holtby, W. R., York, E. R. The Hill town, from *holt*, *colliculus saxeti*.
- Holtby, N. R., Bedale district. Do. do.
- Hornby, N. R., Leyburn district. Horn or Pointed town, from *horn*, *angulus*; a name applied to towns built on pointed hills.
- Hornby, N. R., Northallerton district. Do. do.
- Huby, N. R., Easingwold district. The Hill town, from *haugr*, a hill, *collis, tumulus mortuum*.
- Ingleby Arncliffe, N. R., Stokesley district. The English town at the Eagles' cliff.
- Ingleby Barwick, N. R., Stockton district. The English town at the barred or fortified camp.
- Ingleby Greenho, N. R., Stokesley district. The English town at the green hill.
- Kexby, E. R., York. Lance town, from *kesia*, *caestum*, a heavy javelin or lance.
- Kirby, W. R., Knaresborough district. The Church town, from *kyrkia*, the general name given by the Danes to the towns or villages in which they erected churches.
- Killerby, N. R., Bedale district. Stream town, from *kyll*, a stream, *rivus*.
- Kirby Hill, N. R., Ripon, W. R. The Church town at the hill.
- Kirby in Cleveland, N. R., Stokesley district. Do. in Cleveland.
- Kirby Knowle, N. R., Thirsk district. Do. at the knoll or hill.
- Kirby Wiske, N. R., Thirsk district. Do. on the river Wiske.
- Kirk Bramwith, W. R., Doncaster district. The Church town at the signal hill, from *bram*, *tumultus*, and *vik*, with, *specula*.
- Kirkby-Grindalith, E. R., Malton, N. R. The Church town in the green dale.
- Kirkby-Hall, W. R., Knaresborough district. Do. at the hall.
- Kirkby Malham Dale, W. R., Settle district. Do. in Malham-dale.
- Kirkby Malzeard, W. R., Ripon district. Do. afterwards named Malzeard, from a Norman family.
- Kirkby Misperton, N. R., Malton district. Do. do.
- Kirkby Moorside, N. R., Helmsley district. Do. on the side of the moors.
- Kirkby-on-the-Hill, N. R., Richmond district. Do. on the hill.
- Kirkby-on-the-Moor, N. R., Ripon district. Do. on the moor.
- Kirkby Overblow, W. R., Knaresborough dist. Do. According to Thoresby named from the iron ore blowers of the district.
- Kirkby Ravensworth, N.R., Richmond district. Do. in Ravensworth, or the Ravensfield; the latter both an Anglian and a Norse name.
- Kirkby South, W. R., York. Do. to the south.
- Kirkby-under-Dale, E.R., Pocklington district. Do. in, or under, the dale.

Kirkby Wharfe, W. R., Tadcaster district.	The Church town on the Wharfe.
Lazenby, N. R., Northallerton district.	Perhaps the Feeble town, from lasium, <i>invalidus, debilis</i> .
Leckby, N. R., Ripon.	Perhaps Dripping town, from leki, <i>stillatio</i> ; or Luck's town, from loka, good fortune.
Little Busby, N. R., Stokesley district.	See Busby, Little.
Lumby, W. R., Pontefract district.	Perhaps Grove town, from lundr, <i>nemus</i> , a grove or sacred wood.
Maltby, W. R., Rotherham district.	Malt town, from malt, <i>far tostum</i> , roasted grain.
Maunby, N. R., Thirsk district.	Little town, from minni, <i>minimus</i> .
Melmerby, N. R., Leyburn district.	Miller's town, from melder, <i>farina</i> , meal or ground corn.
Melmerby, N. R., Ripon, W. R.	Do. do.
Meltonby, E. R., Pocklington district.	Meeting town.
Mickleby, N. R., Whitby district.	Great or large town, from mikill, <i>magnus</i> .
Milby, N. R., Ripon district.	Mile town, from mila, <i>milliare lapis</i> .
Moxby, N. R., Easingwold district.	Sleeping town, from mok, <i>somnus levissimus</i> .
Netherby, W. R., Knaresborough district.	Lower town, from nedar, <i>inferius</i> .
Newby, N. R., Stokesley district.	New town.
Newby, N. R., Scarborough district.	Do.
Newby, W. R., Settle district.	Do.
Newby, W. R., Ripon district.	Do.
Newby Wiske, N. R., Thirsk district.	Do.
Newby with Mulwith, W. R., Ripon district.	Do.
Normanby, N. R., Helmsley district.	The Northman's town.
North Ferriby, E. R., Sulcoates district.	See Ferriby.
Ormsby, N. R., Guisborough district.	Orm's town, from King Orm of Norway, or some other chief named Orm; originally from ormr, <i>serpens</i> , a serpent or dragon.
Osgodby, E. R., Selby, W. R.	The Ais, or Aisers, God town.
Osgodby, N. R., Scarborough district.	Do. do.
Osgodby, N. R., Thirsk district.	Do. do.
Quarumby, W. R., Huddersfield district.	The Quern, or millstone town, from quarmarstein, <i>lapis molaris</i> .
Risby, E. R., Beverley district.	Perhaps Giant's town, from risi, <i>gigas cyclops</i> ; or rising town, possibly from ris, <i>surgere</i> .
Rokeby, N. R. (Teesdale Dlm).	Rook's town, from brokr, <i>avis</i> , a rook.
Roxby, N. R., Whitby district.	Do. do.
Rudby in Cleveland, N. R., Stokesley district.	Perhaps Cross town, from rodu-kross, the cross.
Scalby, E. R., Howden district.	Skald's, or prophet's town, from skald, <i>poeta</i> .
Scalby, N. R., Scarborough district.	Do. do.
Scausby, W. R., Doncaster district.	Perhaps Saucy town, from skass, <i>insolens</i> .
Scoreby, E. R., York district.	Sker or Scar town.
Selby, W. R., Selby district.	The selling or trading town, from sel, <i>vendere, tradere</i> .
Skeby, N. R., Richmond district.	Perhaps Lost town, from skc, <i>damnum</i> , loss.
South Kirkby, W. R., Hemsworth district.	South church town.
Sowerby, W. R., Halifax district.	Sowertown, from sai, <i>serere</i> , to sow corn.
Sowerby, N. R., Thirsk district.	Do. do.
Sowerby-under-Cotcliffe, N. R., Northallerton district.	Sowertown, from sai, <i>serere</i> , to sow corn.

Swainby-with-Allerthorpe, N. R., Bedale dis.	Youth's town, from Sveinn, <i>puer castus</i> , or from King Svein.
Thirkleby, N. R., Northallerton district.	Thirkel's town; the name of a Danish chief.
Thirtleby, E. R., Shirlaugh district.	Thurtel's town, Do.
Thoralby, N. R., Askrigg district.	Thorold's town, Do.
Thorganby, E. R., York district.	The Thor-going town, from Thor, and <i>ganga, gressus, incessus</i> .
Thormanby, N. R., Easingwold district.	The Thor or God given town, from Thor and <i>mundr</i> , a gift.
Thornaby, N. R., Stockton, Durham district.	Thor's Stream town, from thor and <i>A, rivus</i>
Throxenby, N. R., Scarborough district.	Perhaps the Market town, from <i>torg, forum</i> , or <i>torga, consumere, vendere</i> .
Uckerby, N. R., Richmond district.	The Oak-tree town.
Ugglebarnby, N. R., Whitby district.	The Child's-oak town.
Warlaby, N. R., Northallerton district.	Difficult town, from <i>varla, aegre, item caute</i> . The Norse did not use the letter W., employing V in its place.
Wetherby, W. R., Knaresborough district.	The Ford or ferry town, from <i>ved, vada, vadre</i> , a ford or ferry town.
Whenby, N. R., Easingwold district.	Perhaps Weaving town, from <i>vend, textum, woven; textura</i> .
Whitby, N. R., Whitby district.	The White town, from <i>hvitr, albus, candidus</i> .
Willerby, E. R., Scarborough, N. R.	Perhaps Pleasant town, from <i>villiaundr, bene placitum</i> .
Willerby, E. R., Sculcoates district.	Do. do.

NAMES OF THE PLACES IN YORKSHIRE WITH THE NORSE TERMINATIONS THORPE AND TOFT, A LANDED ESTATE OR FIELD.

Allerthorpe, East Riding, Pocklington district.	The Alder-tree thorpe or country house, from <i>elni</i> , the alder tree.
Allerthorpe, N. R., Bedale district.	Do. do.
Altofts, W. R., Wakefield district.	The Old inclosures, or home field, from <i>ald, old, and toft, area domus vacua</i> .
Alverthorpe, W. R., Wakefield district.	The Elf's thorpe, from <i>alp and elf, generis faunus</i> , or perhaps from <i>alft, cygnus, olor</i> , a swan.
Agglethorpe, N. R., Layburn district.	The Oak-tree thorpe, from <i>eyk, quercus</i> , an oak.
Armthorpe, W. R., York district.	The Elm-tree thorpe, from <i>almr, ulmus</i> .
Austhorpe, W. R., Hunslet district.	The East thorpe.
Barthorpe, E. R., Malton district.	The Budding thorpe, from <i>bar</i> , a bud, <i>gemma vel oculus arborum</i> .
Belthorpe, E. R., Pocklington district.	The Cows' or cattle thorpe, from <i>belia, vacca</i> .
Bishopthorpe, N. R., Ainsty district.	The Bishop's thorpe, or country seat.
Bishop Wilton-with-Belthorpe, E.R. Pocklington district.	The Cows' or cattle thorpe, near Bishop Wilton.
Blacktoft, E. R., Howden district.	The Black or dark field, or croft.
Bowthorpe, E. R., Howden district.	Bowthorpe, from <i>bogr</i> , a bow.
Boythorpe, E. R., Driffield district.	Boys' thorpe, from <i>boer, filius</i> .
Bugthorpe, E. R., Pocklington district.	The Beech-tree thorpe, from <i>boeg</i> , or <i>beyki, fagus</i> , a beech tree.



- Burythorpe, E. R., Malton district.  
 Carthorpe, N. R., Bedale district.
- Cowthorpe, W. R., Knaresborough district.  
 Eastoft, W. R., Goole district.  
 Eddlethorpe, E. R., Malton district.  
 Ellenthorpe, N. R., Knaresborough district.
- Everthorpe, E. R., Howden district.  
 Fraisthorpe, E. R., Bridlington district.
- Fridaythorpe, E. R., Pocklington district.
- Ganthorpe, N. R., Malton district.  
 Gawthorpe, N. R., Dewsbury district.
- Gowthorpe, N. R., Pocklington district.  
 Gruelthorpe, W. R., Ripon district.
- Gribthorpe, E. R., Howden district.
- Grimthorpe, E. R., Pocklington district.  
 Gristhorpe, N. R., Scarborough district.
- Histhorpe, E. R., Bridlington district.  
 Harmby, N. R., Leyburn district.
- Helperthorpe, E. R. Driffield district.  
 Hilderthorpe with Hilsthorpe, E. R. Bridlington district.  
 Howthorpe, E. R., Malton district.
- Hunmanby, E. R., Bridlington district.
- Ingerthorpe, W. R., Ripon district.  
 Kennythorpe, E. R., Malton, N. R.  
 Langthorpe, N. R., Ripon, W. R.  
 Langtoft, E. R., Driffield district.  
 Laysthorpe, N. R., Helmsley district.  
 Linthorpe, N. R. (Stockton).
- Lowthorpe, E. R., Driffield district.  
 Menethorpe, E. R., Malton district.  
 Menthorpe with Bowthorpe, E. R., Howdenside.  
 Nunthorpe, N. R., Stokesley district.  
 Ousethorpe, E. R., Pocklington district.  
 Pinchingthorpe, N. R., Guisborough district.
- Raisthorpe, E. R., Malton, N. R.  
 Scagglethorpe, E. R., Malton, N. R.
- Scorthorpe, W. R., Settle district.  
 Thorpe Arch, Ainsty, Tadcaster, W. R.
- Countrythorpe, from buri, *rusticus*, rural.  
 The Carle's thorpe, from karl, *vir*, a man, a small cultivator.  
 The Cows' or Cattle thorpe.  
 The East Toft or Croft.  
 The Nobles' thorpe, from *cdla*, *nobilis*.  
 The Elder-tree thorpe, from *elli tre*, the elder bush.  
 Higher thorpe, from *efra*, *superius*.  
 Freya or Venus' thorpe, from Freya, the Northern goddess of love.  
 Fridur or Fridesthorpe, from Frider, the name of a nymph in the Eddas.  
 Magic thorpe, from *gan*, *magica machinatio*.  
 Gaudsthorpe, from Gaud, *numen ethnicorum*, one of the gods of the Scandinavians.  
 Do.  
 Perhaps from Grael-thorpe, from *grae*, flourishing, *florescere*.  
 Perhaps Gridthorpe, from *grid*, peace, *pax*, *securitas*.  
 Grim's thorpe, from a celebrated Northern hero.  
 Grice or Pig thorpe, from *gris*, *porcellus*, *porculus*.  
 From hes, a straw yard for oxen, *paleare bovum*.  
 Harm or Grief town, from *harmr*, *luctus*, *dolor*, grief or lamentation.  
 Whelpsthorpe, from *hvelpr*, *catulus*, *canis*.  
 Hilder's thorpe, from Hulder, *Bellona*, the Northern goddess of war.  
 The Hill thorpe, from *haugr*, *collis*, *tumulus mortuum*.  
 The Hundred Men's town, or town of the hundred.  
 Perhaps Entrance thorpe, from *ingangr*, *aditus*.  
 Perhaps Teaching thorpe, from *kain*, *docere*.  
 Long thorpe.  
 The Long toft.  
 The Lea or Pasture thorpe.  
 Either Line or Flax thorpe, from *lin*, flax, or *hlinden*, a lime tree.  
 The Low thorpe.  
 The Little thorpe, from *minni*, *minor*, *minimus*.  
 Do. do.  
 The Nun's thorpe.  
 The Ouse thorpe.  
 Pinching thorpe, from *pina*, *cruciatus*, to pine, or perhaps from *pindingar*, *exactiones*.  
 The Roe or Deer thorpe, from *ra*, *caprea*.  
 The thorpe of the point, from *skagi*, *promontorium*.  
 The Skar thorpe, from *sker*, a scar.  
 The Thorpe of the Archis family.

Thorp Audlin, W. R., Hemsworth district.	The Thorpe of the Audlins.
Thorpe, E. R., Howden district.	The Thorpe.
Thorpe, W. R., Teesdale district.	Do.
Thorpe, W. R., Wakefield district.	Do.
Thorpe, W. R., Ripon district.	Do.
Thorpe Bassett, E. R., Malton, N. R.	The Thorpe of the Bassetts.
Thorpe Brantingham, E. R., Beverley district.	Do. at Brantingham.
Thorpe in Balne, W. R., Doncaster district.	Do. at Balne.
Thorpe le Street, E. R., Pocklington district.	Do. on the Roman road or street.
Thorpe Salvin, W. R., Worksop district.	Do. of the Salvins.
Thorpe Stapleton, W. R., Hunslet district.	Do. of the Stapletons.
Thorpe sub-Montem, W. R., Skipton district.	Do. under the mountain or hill.
Thorpe Willoughby, W. R., Selby district.	Do. of the Willoughbys.

NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE ENDING IN HOLME, MEANING AN ISLAND OR  
MEADOW.

Aryholme, N. R., Malton district.	Eagle-holme, from ari, an eagle, and holme <i>insula</i> , an island or meadow.
Bellingholme, E. R., Skirraugh district.	The Cattle's meadow, from <i>belia</i> , <i>vacca</i> , and holme.
Bracken Holme, E. R., Howden district.	The Bracken meadow.
Clotherholme, W. R., Ripon district.	The Clover meadow.
Downholme, N. R., Richmond district.	The Lower meadow.
Eryholme, N. R., Darlington district.	The Eagle holme or meadow.
Hempholme, E. R., Skirraugh district.	The Hemp meadow.
Hipperholme, W. R., Halifax district.	The Wild Boar's meadow.
Holme, E. R., Howden district.	The Holme or meadow.
Holme, N. R., Thirsk district.	Do.
Holme, W. R., Huddersfield district.	Do.
Holme, Holme North, N. R.	Do.
Holme-on-the-Wolds, E. R., Beverley district.	Do.
Holme, South, N. R.	Do.
Holme-upon-Spalding-Moor, E. R., Howdendis.	Do.
Holmfirth, W. R., Huddersfield district.	The Meadow inclosure. Firth is probably from the British word Frith, an inclosure.
Holmton, E. R., Patrington district.	The Holme or meadow town.
Moorsholm-cum-Grivock, N. R., Guisborough district.	The Holme on the Moors, with the Grieve's Oak.
Newholm-cum-Dunsley, N. R., Whitby dist.	The New Meadow with Dunsley; the latter supposed to be the Dunum Sinus of Ptolemy, near to the present port of Whitby.
North Holme, N. R., Helmsley district.	The Northern meadow.
Nun Burnholme, E. R., Pocklington district.	The Nun's-burn meadow.
Sandholme, E. R., Beverley district.	The Sandy holme or meadow.
Thornholme, E. R., Bridlington district.	Thor's Meadow, or the Thorn meadow.

NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE ENDING IN KNOPE, NOPE, OR GNOPE, WHICH MEANS A  
HILL OR PROMINENCE, AND HOPE, A RECESS.

Adel-cum-Eccup, W. R., Otley district.	The Nobles' town, with the oak slope, from adel, <i>nobilis</i> , eyk, <i>quercus</i> , an oak-tree, and hofe or hope, <i>recessus</i> .
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Boysnope.	The Boys' hill, from boy, and guope, <i>prominentia</i> .
Bramhope, W. R., Otley district.	The Bramble slope or hill.
Knapton, E. R., York district.	The Knop or hill town.

## NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE ENDING IN THWAITE, MEANING A CLEARING IN A FOREST.

Gunthwaite, W. R., Wortley district.	Fighting thwaite, from gunn, <i>pugna</i> , or gunni, <i>vir pugnae</i> .
Hampsthwaite, W. R., Knaresborough dist.	The Hemp clearings, or the clearings for hemp.
Husthwaite, N. R., Easingwold district.	The Clearing about the house.
Langthwaite, W. R., Doncaster district.	The Long clearing
Linthwaite, W. R., Huddersfield district.	The Linden or Lime tree clearing.
Longthwaite, W. R., Doncaster district.	The Long clearing.
Micklethwaite, W. R., Keighley district.	The Great clearing.
Slathwaite, W. R., Huddersfield district.	The Sloe-tree clearings, from sla, a sloe tree.
Thornthwaite, W. R., Pateley Bridge district.	The Thorn clearings.
Wallerthwaite, W. R., Ripon district.	The Great clearing, from valdr, <i>validus</i> .

NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE ENDING OR BEGINNING WITH THORN, WHICH MEANS  
A THORN HEDGE OR ENCLOSURE.

Arrathorne, N. R., Leyburn district.	Eagle thorn, from ari, an eagle.
Bogthorn, W. R., Keighley district.	The Beechtree inclosure, from bog, a beech-tree, and Thorn.
Cawthorn, N. R., Pickering district.	The Cows' thorn, from ko, <i>vacca</i> , and thorn.
Cawthorn, W. R., Wortley district.	Do. do.
Crathorne, N. R., Stokesley district.	The Crows' thorn.
Owthorne, E. R., Patrington district.	Perhaps Wolfthorpe, from ulfer, a wolf.
Paythorne, W. R., Clitheroe, Lancas. district.	Perhaps Priesthorpe, from pavi, <i>pontifex</i> .
Sigglesthorpe, E. R., Skirlaugh district.	The Thorn of victory.
Thearne, E. R., Beverley district.	The Thorn.
Spennithorne, N. R., Leyburn district.	The Spreading thorn tree, from spenni, <i>amplecti</i> .
Thorne, W. R., Thorne district.	The Thorn-tree, <i>spina</i> .
Thorn Gumbold, E. R., Patrington district.	The Thorn or inclosure of the Gumbold family.
Thornton-le-Beans, N. R., Northallerton dist.	Thornton beanfield, from baun, <i>faba</i> .
Thornton-le-Moor, Thirsk district.	Do. on the moor.
Thornton-le-Street, N. R., Thirsk district.	Do. on the street.
Thornton-on-the-Hill, N. R., Easingwold dis.	Do. on the hill.
Thornton Risebrough, N. R., Helmsley dist.	Do. on the rising hill, from ris, <i>surgere</i> , or perhaps risi, <i>gigas</i> , a giant.
Thornton Rust, N. R., Askrigg district.	Rusty or rude, from rust, <i>rudus</i> .
Thornton Steward, N. R., Leyburn district.	Do. of the Steward.
Thornton Watlas, N. R., Bedale district.	Do. Waterless, from vatn, water.

## NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE ENDING IN GATA, OR GATE, MEANING A ROAD.

Bondgate, W. R., Ripon district.	The Farmers' or Peasants' road, from bondi, <i>colonus</i> , and gata, a road.
Fulford Gate, E. R., York district.	Fulford on the gate or road.
Gateforth, W. R., Selby district.	The Gate or Road ford.
Gate Helmsley, N. R., York, E. R.	Helmsley on the gata or road.

Harrogate, W. R., Knaresborough district.	The Hero's or the King's road, from <i>harri</i> , a hero, <i>rex</i> , <i>heros</i> , and <i>gata</i> , a road.
Holdgate, Ainsty, York, E. R.	The Commander's road, from <i>hold</i> , a commander, and <i>gata</i> , a road.
Holgate, Ainsty, York, E. R.	Either the Commander's road, or the road through the hollow.
Huggate, E. R., Pocklington district.	The High or Higher road, from <i>hogr</i> , a hill, and <i>gata</i> , a road.
Tentergate, W. R., Knaresborough district.	The road by the Tenters, or the rough road, from <i>tentr</i> , <i>dentatus</i> .

NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE ENDING IN GARTH, WHICH MEANS AN INCLOSURE OR A GARDEN.

Applegarth.	The Apple tree inclosure.
Aysgarth, N. R., Askrig district.	The garden of the gods, from <i>gardr</i> , an inclosure, and <i>æsir</i> , a name of the Scandinavian gods.
Lingards, or Lingarths, W. R., Huddersfield district.	The Flax Garths or inclosures, or perhaps the Linden tree inclosures, from <i>hlin</i> , a linden.

NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE ENDING IN HAUGR, HAW, OR HOE, MEANING A HILL OR HEIGHT.

Aiskew, N. R., Bedale district.	The Ash-tree height, from <i>askr</i> , an ash tree, and <i>haugr</i> , a hill or height.
Askew, N. R., Bedale district.	The Ash-tree height.
Great Houghton, W. R., Hemsworth district.	The Large town on the hill.
Hutton-Rudby, N. R., Stokesley district.	The High town, with the road or cross town.
Little Houghton, W. R., Hemsworth district.	The Little high town.
Middleton-Quernhow, N. R., Ripon, W. R.	Middleton at the Millstone hill.
Sexhow, N. R., Stokesley district.	The Six hills.
Skellow, W. R., Doncaster district.	The Scalds' hill.
Skirlaugh, E. R.	The Shire hill, or perhaps the Clear hill, from <i>skir</i> , clear, <i>perspicuus</i> , and <i>hlaw</i> , a hill.
Stangow, N. R., Guisborough district.	The Stone hill, from <i>stan</i> and <i>haugr</i> , a hill.

NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE ENDING IN HOL, OR BEGINNING WITH THAT WORD, WHICH MEANS A HOLLOW.

Holbeck, W. R., Hunslet district.	The Beck in the hollow.
Holderness, E. R., Holderness district.	The Hollow-ness, or promontory of the hollow.
Hollym, E. R., Patrington district.	The Hollow meadow or holme.
Hull, E. R.	The River Hull, or river of the hollow.

NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE BEGINNING OR ENDING WITH THE WORD SCAR OR SKER, MEANING A ROCK OR PRECIPICE.

Preston-under Scar, N. R., Leyburn district.	The Red Scar, from <i>ryd</i> , red or blood-coloured <i>rubescere</i> , and <i>sker</i> , <i>scopulus marinus</i> .
Redcar or Scar.	
Scarborough, N. R.	The Sea-cliff, rock, or hill.
Scargill, N. R., Teesdale district.	The Cliff-gill or ravine.
Skerne, E. R., Driffield district.	Perhaps the Cliff town, from <i>sker</i> , a cliff.

West Scar.	The West Scar.
Salt Scar.	The Salt Scar.
Hummersea Scar.	The Western scar, from humar, <i>vesperascere</i> .
Bias Scar.	The Stained scar, from bias, <i>maculo</i> .

NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE ENDING IN VIK OR WYKE, WHICH MEANS A  
CREEK, BAY, OR HARBOUR.

Atwick Sands, near Atwick village.	At the vik or harbour.
Blea Wyke Point.	Blue Harbour point, from blae, <i>ceruleus</i> .
Cloughton Wyke.	The Kluff, Clifton vik, or harbour.
Deepgrove Wyke.	The Vik of the deep trench, from grof, <i>fovea</i> , a pit or trench, or perhaps a hollow.
Elstronwick, E. R., Skirlaugh district.	Perhaps the Safe harbour, from <i>integer, sanus</i> , <i>prosper</i> .
Hayburn Wyke.	The Vik or the harbour of the Hayburn, or perhaps Eaburn, the waterburn.
Loop Wyke, near Goldsborough.	Perhaps the Lofty bay, from loop, <i>aer, aura</i> , <i>caelum</i> .
Overdale Wyke.	The Vik, or Wyke, of Overdale.
Rosedale Wyke.	The harbour of Rosedale.
Runswick Bay.	The Round Vik, or the bay of the Runir or Runes.
Sandsend Wyke, or Dunsley Bay.	Sands-end Vik, or Dunsley bay.
Saltwich Scar.	Salt vik rocks.
Thornwick Nab.	Thor's vik, or Harbour head.
Vik, or Wyke-upon-Hull.	The Vik or Harbour on the river Hull. The Scandinavian name of Kingston-upon-Hull.

NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE DERIVED FROM NAB, WHICH MEANS A HEAD, OR  
HEADLAND.

Black Nab.	The Black head.
Cat Nab.	The Cat's head.
Cunstone Nab.	
Long Nab.	The Long head or headland.
Old Nab.	The Old Headland.
Saltwich Nab.	The Salt vik or bay head.
The Scale Nab.	
The White Nab.	The White head.
Yous Nab.	

NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE BEGINNING OR ENDING WITH A OR AU, OR  
KIL, OR BECK, ALL OF WHICH MEAN A RUNNING STREAM.

Auburn, E. R., Bridlington district.	The Water-burn, from A, <i>flumen</i> , and burn, a brook.
Broxa, N. R., Scarborough district.	Brock's, or Badger water, from brock or badger, and A, a stream of water.
Ellerbeck, N. R., Northallerton district.	The Elder-bush beck.
Gypses.	The peridical streams at the foot of the chalk wolds.
Melbecks, N. R., Reeth district.	The Mill beck.
Melsa, E. R., Beverley district.	The Mill stream.
Stonebeck-down, W. R.	The Stone beck.

NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE ENDING WITH RIODR, WHICH MEANS A  
CLEARING IN A FOREST.

Akroyd.	The Oak clearing, from ack, an oak tree, and riodr, a clearing.
Barker-royds.	The Bark clearings, from bark-riodr, the clearing of the bark of trees.
Eckroyd.	The Oak clearing, from eyk, an oak tree, and riodr, a clearing.
Ellenroyd.	The Elder-tree clearing.
Greenroyd.	The Green clearing.
Hollinroyd.	The clearing in the Hollies.
Ormroyd.	The Elm-tree clearing, from almr, an elm tree, and riodr, a clearing; or perhaps Orm's clearing, that being the name of a celebrated Danish chief.
Murgatroyd.	The Great clearings, from margr, great or wide, and riodr, a clearing.
Mytholmroyd.	The Girl's Meadow clearing, from mey, a girl, holm, a meadow, and riodr, a clearing.
Royds.	The Riodrs or clearings, applied to most of the clearings in the original forest, made by the Norse settlers in the vale of the Calder.

NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE BEGINNING OR ENDING WITH THE WORD THING,  
WHICH MEANS A PARLIAMENT OR POPULAR ASSEMBLY.

Brampton-en-le-Morthen, W. R., Rotherham district.	The Town of Tumult, at the Moor Thing, from bram, <i>tumultus</i> , or bramla, <i>tumultuari</i> .
Dringhoe, E. R., Bridlington district.	Either the Warrior's hill, or the Thing, or Public Meeting hill. If the former, from dreng, a dreng or warrior, <i>vir animo fortis et virtuosus</i> ; if the latter, from ting, a Norse Parliament.
Dringhouses, E. R., York district.	Either the Soldiers' houses, or the meeting place of the Thing.
Landmoth-with-Catto, N.R., Northallerton dis.	The Land-owners' Meeting place or Thing. Catto is either a contraction of Catterick, or means the Cat's hill.
Laughton-en-le-Morthen, W.R. Rotherham dis.	The Law-town at the Moor-thing, or Parliament.
Tanfield, East, R. N., Ripon, W. R.	Either Thanefield or Thingfield.
Tanfield, West, N. R., Ripon district.	Do. do.
Tankersley, W. R., Wortley district.	Perhaps Thingersley, or the field of the Thing or Parliament. There is a Tankerness in the Orkney Islands.
Tong, W. R.	Perhaps the place of the Thing or Parliament.
Thong, Nether, W. R., Huddersfield district.	Perhaps the Lower Thing.
Thong, Upper, W. R., Huddersfield district.	Perhaps the Upper Thing.
Thrin Toft, N. R., Northallerton district.	The Parliament field.

NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE ENDING WITH STALL, WHICH MEANS  
A STATION OR PLACE.

Heptonstall, W. R., Todmorden district.	Fortunate place, from happ, <i>bona sors</i> or good fortune, and stall, a place or habitation.
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Tunstall.	The Town place or residence.
Kirkstall.	The Church place or abode.

NORSE NAMES IN YORKSHIRE BEGINNING OR ENDING WITH THE WORD NESS,  
WHICH MEANS A PROMONTORY.

Reedness, W. R., Goole district.	The Reedy promontory.
Holderness.	Hellerness, in the Chronicles of the kings of Norway.
Kettle Ness.	Kettle's, or Chetel's, ness or point.
Sandsend Ness.	Sand-end Point.
Scalby Ness Point.	The Scalds' Town ness or promontory.

MISCELLANEOUS NORSE WORDS FOUND IN THE NAMES OF PLACES IN YORKSHIRE.

Acklam, N. R., Malton district.	The Broken Oak, from eyk and lomi, <i>fractus</i> .
Aldmergill, N. R., Skipton district.	The old mere gill.
Angram, Ainsty district.	Narrow home, from angr, <i>locus angustus</i> .
Angram Grange, N. R., Easingwold district.	Do. do.
Armin, W. R., Goole district.	The Little home, from ar, <i>focus domesticus</i> , and minni, <i>minor</i> .
Aske, N. R., Richmond district.	The Ash tree, from askr, <i>fraxinus</i> .
Askern, W. R., Doncaster district.	The Ash trees.
Austerfield, N. R., Doncaster district.	The Eastern field, from austern, eastern.
Balk, N. R., Thirsk district.	The balks or stumps of trees, from balker, <i>strues</i> .
Bolesford.	Bulls' ford, from bole, <i>taurus</i> .
Brafferton, N. R., Easingwold district.	Steep town, from bratter, <i>activis, arduus</i> .
Burlington.	Perhaps from berlinger, a moderate working of the sea, <i>modica fluctuatio maris</i> .
Dishforth, N. R., Ripon district.	The Ford of the funeral pile, from dis, a funeral pile.
Doncaster, W. R., Doncaster district.	The Caster, or camp on the river Don. Caster is the Danish form of the Latin name of <i>castrum</i> a camp; Chester is generally the Anglian and the Saxon form.
Sculcoates, E. R., Sculcoates district.	The Safety cottages, from skuli, <i>prolector</i> .
Faxfleet, E. R., Howden district.	Serpent's harbour, from faxi, <i>coluber</i> , the name sometimes given to a Danish ship of war.
Gilberdike, E. R., Howden district.	Crooked dyke, from gilbia, crooked, <i>inaequalitas, sinus</i> .
Hunslet, W. R.	If derived from the Norse, the Hound's field, from hund, and sletta, a plain, <i>planities</i> .
Idle.	Constant, from idal, <i>continuus</i> .
Laxton, E. R., Howden district.	Salmon's town, from lax, <i>salmo</i> .
Lillings Ambo, N. R., York, E. R.	The Two Little Ones, though the <i>ambo</i> is Latin and the lillings Danish.
Lissett, E. R., Bridlington district.	Perhaps Lisseat, from list, skill, or art, and seat.
Little Kelk, E. R., Driffield district.	Chalk, from kalk, <i>calx, cementum</i> .
Little Preston, W. R., Preston district.	Priests' town, from prestr, the Norse form of presbyter.
Lockton, N. R., Pickering district.	Luck's town.
Lockwood, W. R., Huddersfield district.	Luck's wood, from lucka, <i>fortuna, sors</i> .

- Lund, E. R., Beverley district.  
 Lythe, N. R., Whitby district.
- Marfleet, E. R., Sculecoates district.  
 Marishes, N. R., Pickering district.
- Markengfield Hall, W. R., Ripon district.
- Marrick, N. R., Reeth district.  
 Marske, N. R., Guisborough district.  
 Minskip, W. R., Knaresborough district.
- Molescroft, E. R., Beverley district.
- Muscoates, N. R. Helmsley district.  
 Nafferton, E. R., Driffield district.
- Nappa, W. R., Settle district.  
 Nesfield-with-Langbar, W. R., Skipton dist.  
 North Grimston, E. R., Malton district.
- Old Byland, N. R., Helmsley district.  
 Osmotherley, N. R., Northallerton district.
- Ousefleet, W. R., Goole district.  
 Oxendike, W. R., Selby district.  
 Paul, E. R., Patrington district.  
 Pickering.
- Rastrick, W. R., Huddersfield district.
- Ravensaer.
- Redmire, N. R., Leyburn district.  
 Seamer, N. R., Stokesley district.
- Seamer, N. R., Scarborough district.  
 Smeaton.
- Sigston Kirby, N. R., Northallerton district.
- Skelding, W. R., Ripon district.  
 Skelton, E. R., York district.
- Skelton, E. R., Howden district.  
 Skelton, N. R., Richmond district.  
 Skelton, N. R., Guisborough district.  
 Skelton, N. R., York, E. R.  
 Skelton, W. R., Ripon district.  
 Storkhill-with-Sandholme, E. R., Beverley dis.  
 Swine, E. R., Skirlaugh district.  
 Swinefleet, W. R., Goole district.
- The Sacred grove, from *lundr*, *nemus*, a grove.  
 From *leidangr*, a leading, a naval expedition,  
 or district, *expeditio navalis*.  
 The Sea fleet or float.  
 The Marshes—Milton uses the word *marish*  
 for marsh.  
 The Woodland field, from *Marklond*, *loca*  
*sylvestris*.  
 The Marsh.  
 The Marsh.  
 The Boat or little ship, from *minni*, *minor*,  
 and ship, *navis*.  
 The Moles'croft or field. The mole was called  
 mold *varpa*, as it is still called in Yorkshire.  
 The Mouse cottages, from *mus*, a mouse.  
 The Name town, or the famous town, from  
*nafn*, *nomen*, *honos*.  
 The Slope or Gnope water.  
 The Ness field with the Long Byr.  
 Grim's town, named from a popular Danish  
 hero, named Grim the Stern.  
 The Old-town land.  
 The Field of the mother of the gods, *æsir*, or  
 of the heroes.  
 The Harbour of the Ouse.  
 The Oxen dyke.  
 Probably the Pool, from *pula*, *palus limosa*.  
 The Maiden ring, from *pika*, *virgo*, and *hringr*,  
*circulus*, a circle or ring.  
 The Roe's track, from *ra*, a roe, and *strika*,  
*recta fugeré*.  
 The Ravens' sea, from *hrafn*, and *sær*, *mare*,  
 the sea.  
 The Red Mere.  
 The Open sea, from *sær* and *mergd*, greatness  
 or vastness.  
 Do.  
 Small town, from *smar*, small, *parvus*; or clover  
 town, from *smari*, white clover, *trifolium*  
*pratense album*.  
 The Town of victory, from *sigra*, to conquer,  
*vincere*.  
 The Meadow on the river Skell.  
 The Scalds' town, from *skald*, a prophet; or  
 perhaps, Skel town, a shell town.  
 Do.  
 Do.  
 Do.  
 Do.  
 Do.  
 Stork hill, from *storkr*, a stork, *ciconia*.  
 Sveins' town, or Youths' town.  
 King Svein's harbour.



Swinton-with-Warthermask, N. R., Bedale dis.	Svein's town.
Sledmere, E. R., Driffield district.	The Sledging mere, from sledi, <i>traha</i> , a sledge.
Snaith, W. R., Selby district.	A segment or piece of land cut off, from sneid, segment, or snerdi, <i>secare</i> .
Snape, N. R., Bedale district.	The Gnope, or hill, <i>prominentia</i> .
Snydale, W. R., Wakefield district.	Winding-dale, from sny, <i>vertere, flectere</i> , to wind.
Stancil-with-Wellingley, W. R., Doncaster dis.	The Standing water, from stan-kyl, the standing kyl.
Startforth, N. R., Teesdale, Durham district.	The Difficult ford, from stata, <i>conatus difficilis</i> .
Stillingfleet-with Moreby, E. R., York dist.	The Fortified harbour, or fleet, from stilli, <i>agger</i> , and fleet, a fleet or harbour.
Stirton-with-Thorlby, W. R., Skipton district.	Sturlo's town.
Stoneferry, E. R., Sculcoates district.	The Stone ferry.
Stonegrave, N. R., Helmsley district.	The Stone grave, from stan, and groef, a grave.
Thirsk, N. R., Thirsk district.	Thors' Ash-tree, from Thor, and askr, an ash tree.
Threshold, W. R., Skipton district.	Threshing-field, from threska, <i>tribula</i> , an instrument for threshing corn.
Thurlstone, W. R., Wortley district.	Thorald's town.
Towthorpe, E. R., Driffield district.	Turf thorpe, from to, <i>cæspes</i> , a turf.
Weaverthorpe, E. R., Driffield district.	Weaver's thorpe, from vefari, <i>textor</i> .
Willtoft, E. R., Howden district.	Wild thorpe, from villi, wild.
Wilsthorpe, E. R., Bridlington district.	The Wild thorpe.
Wilsthorpe, Ainsty, Tadcaster, W. R.	Do.
Wrenthorpe, W. R., Wakefield district.	Stream thorpe, from renni, <i>fluere</i> .
Waghen, E. R., Beverley district.	The Waggon town, from vagn, <i>currus, plaustrum</i> , or the road town.
Warsill, W. R., Pateley bridge district.	Grass hill, from var, <i>gramina</i> , or perhaps the Market hill, from vara, <i>merx</i> .
Was, N. R., Helmsley district.	From vasl, a marsh, <i>udus per paludes cursus</i> .
Wetwang, E. R., Driffield district.	Vetfang, a neighbourhood or proximity, as in Vetfangs-buar, the next neighbours, <i>proximi vicini</i> .
Youlthorpe-with-Goldthorpe, E. R., Pocklington district.	Yule, or Christmas thorpe, from Yol, Yule.

Such appear to us to be some of the principal Yorkshire names of places derived from the old Norse, or Scandinavian language. We now take leave of this great, free, and noble race; and proceed to describe the stern but able rule of the Norman conquerors of England.

## CHAPTER IX.

## YORKSHIRE UNDER THE NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET KINGS.

*Resistance to the Normans in Yorkshire and the other Northern Counties.*—The resistance both of the English and the Danish population of Yorkshire, Durham, and the other northern counties, to the Norman invaders, was long and obstinate, and did not cease until the greater part of Yorkshire had been reduced to the state of a wilderness, desolated by fire and sword, and with a population all but extirpated in those districts into which the Normans were able to penetrate. For some years, this district was the battlefield on which not only the English and the Normans contended for victory, but on which the Danes and Norwegians made repeated efforts to retain or to re-establish their authority. But finally all these efforts proved unavailing, against the skill and determination of the Conqueror, and the superior discipline of his troops; and the result of the struggle was to unite the whole of England lying north of the river Humber to the rest of the kingdom, under the stern but able rule of William the Conqueror.

In the month of May (1067), William, having occupied London and overrun the southern and central districts of the kingdom, immediately after the battle of Hastings, and having heard that the people in the north had gathered themselves together, "and would stand against him," marched northward with a large Norman army, and occupied Nottingham, Lincoln, and finally York, without meeting with any immediate resistance. According to the Norman plan of conquest, he built two strong castles at York, and one each at Nottingham and Lincoln, placing strong garrisons in all. By way of distracting his attention and creating a diversion, the English, under one of the sons of Harold, landed in the west of England, and attempted to carry the city of Bristol by storm. The effect of this movement was to draw the war towards the west. The Normans, however, retained their garrisons, not only in York, but as far north as Durham.

In the following year (1068) the enemies of the Conqueror's rule

made desperate efforts to expel the Normans. At Durham they rose upon and slaughtered the Norman garrison, and Edgar Ætheling, the feeble representative of the race of Alfred, who had taken refuge in Scotland, advanced into Northumbria, and marched to York, where the citizens and the people of the surrounding country threw open their gates, and received him joyfully. But the Conqueror gave them little time to arrange their plans of resistance, for in the course of the summer he marched into Yorkshire with a large army, slew many thousands of his enemies, and again captured and plundered the city. On this Edgar Ætheling fell back into Scotland, where the king of Scotland, who was closely united to him by marriage, received him kindly and protected him from all his enemies.

In the year 1069 a combined attack was made on the position of the Normans at York by all their enemies. Edgar Ætheling again advanced out of Scotland into Northumbria, where he was received by the Anglian Earls Waltheof and Gospatric, and by "the Northumbrians and all the country people riding and walking—on foot and on horseback—with a countless army, greatly rejoicing." In their approach to York they were joined by three sons of King Svein and two Norwegian jarls, who had arrived in the Humber, with 240 ships and a large army of Danes and Norwegians. These forces, as we are told in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "all unanimously went to York, stormed and demolished the castle, gained innumerable treasures therein, slew many hundreds of the Normans, and carried many as prisoners to their ships." But before the Danes and Norwegians arrived, the Normans had burnt the city, and both plundered and burnt the monastery of St. Peter. When the king heard of the Danish invasion and the English insurrection, he marched northward with all the force that he could gather, and completely plundered and laid waste the whole shire. Having driven the Danes out of York he formed his camp there, and remained in that position during the whole of the winter, the Danish fleet also remaining all the winter in the Humber, where the king could not come at it.\*

In the year 1070 Earl Waltheof made peace with the Conqueror. In the same year two of the sons of Svein, king of Denmark, came into the Humber with a fleet and an army, and the country people came out to meet them, and to make peace with them, thinking they would overrun the land. But the Danish chiefs, not venturing

\* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 175.

again to encounter the Conqueror on the same ground, sailed away to the Isle of Ely, and there plundered the country, until they were encountered and defeated by the Normans. Soon after this Edgar Ætheling and Earl Waltheof submitted to the Conqueror. The submission of Edgar Ætheling was so complete as to put an end to all thought of resistance, on the part of the Anglian population. On Edgar's journey from Scotland to Normandy the sheriff of Yorkshire came to meet him at Durham, went all the way with him, and enabled him and his followers to find food, attendance, and fodder for their horses, at every castle they staid at, until they came to the king in Normandy. King William there received Edgar with contemptuous kindness, and he was there in his court and took such rights as William allowed him. A few years later Henry I., youngest son of the Conqueror, married the niece of Edgar Ætheling, who was also the daughter of the king of Scotland. Henry was himself of English birth, having, according to tradition, been born at Selby in Yorkshire, during the siege of York. His birth and his marriage gave him a hold on the affections of the English people, who willingly submitted to him, and supported the claims of his daughter, the Empress Maude, and of her son Henry Plantagenet, to the English throne. It was not, however, until the Conqueror had reigned for many years, that the kings of Denmark and Norway gave up their hopes of reconquering the northern part of England.

In the year 1075, on the occasion of a conspiracy against William the Conqueror, in which several of the Norman as well as the English nobles took part, a Danish fleet of 200 ships, with a numerous army, appeared on the English coast. Their chiefs were Cnut, son of King Svein, and Hakon Jarl. We are told, however, that they did not dare to maintain a battle against King William. But they marched to York, and broke into St. Peter's monastery, and therein took much spoil, and so went away. As to the English and Norman conspirators,\* we are informed, that all perished who were in that council.

The conquest of England by the Normans was followed by a complete change in the chief owners, or holders, of land throughout the kingdom. A large portion of the Anglian, Saxon, and Danish thanes were slain in battle, and of those who survived the greater portion were deprived of their estates. In general, the change seems to have been confined to the class whom we should describe as large

\* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 182.

landowners, and not to have extended to those whom we should describe as tenants. Hence, whilst the sufferings of the higher classes were very great, there is no reason to believe that any very great change was made in the position of the smaller class of tenants, when they submitted to their new masters.

Amongst the most important, and ultimately the most beneficial changes, that resulted from the Norman Conquest, was the complete organization which then took place of the people, for the purposes of national defence. As we have already seen, neither the Angles nor the Saxons possessed the talent for military organization which was necessary to secure the country against the attacks of foreign enemies. There was scarcely a period of a dozen years, from the year 800 to the year 1066, in which some portion of the English coast was not overrun and plundered by the pirates of the northern seas; and during that time there were five or six occasions on which the Danes and Northmen invaded the kingdom, with large fleets and armies, and aspired to conquer the whole country, and make themselves kings of England. This, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, was the case with Guthrum and Hasten, in the time of Alfred the Great; with Svein and his son Canute, the latter of whom was recognized as king of England for twenty-eight years; and, lastly, with William the Norman, who succeeded in completely conquering England. He then organized the national defences on so extensive and national a scale, that no succeeding invader ever had even a chance of effecting the same object. For the first time in English history, William succeeded in uniting the broken tribes of the Heptarchy into one nation; and by rendering all property liable to be employed for the defence of the kingdom, and the whole population liable to be called to arms in defence of their own homes, he gave this kingdom that security against successful attack, which it has ever since possessed.

Down to the time of the Norman Conquest, and for some time later, England was frequently attacked by land as well as by sea. The Welsh were still a formidable and independent race, whose incursions kept the borders of Cheshire, Shropshire, Hereford, and Monmouth in continual activity. The Scotch were a still more formidable people; and in addition to Scotland, properly so called, they held the present counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, as portions of the earldom of Cumberland. In addition to this, they

kept the counties of Northumberland and Durham in constant turmoil, occasionally penetrating far into Yorkshire. During the whole of the Norman period the northern boundary of England was very unsettled; so much so that nothing north of the county of York, with the exception of a few parishes on the southern side of Westmoreland, is described in the Domesday Survey. Even so late as the reign of King Stephen the district of Craven, in Yorkshire, was claimed and overrun by the earls of Cumberland, who were of the royal family of Scotland.

When William the Conqueror divided the lands of England amongst the earls, the barons, the knights, and the soldiers of inferior rank who had followed him to battle, the lands of Yorkshire were thus divided amongst his warlike followers, as will be seen from the following list of landowners, holding directly from the crown, which we take chiefly from the general introduction to Domesday Book, drawn up by the late Sir Henry Ellis:—

NAMES OF THE TENANTS IN CAPITE IN THE COUNTY OF YORK, WHO AT THE TIME OF THE DOMESDAY SURVEY, A.D. 1084–86, HELD THEIR LANDS DIRECTLY FROM THE KING, WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

<p><u>Eldredus</u> Archiepiscopus, archbishop of York A.D. 1061–69.</p>	<p>Arbalistarius, Odo, probably the person named above.</p>
<p>Aincurt, Walterius de. Edmund Deincourt, the last of the elder branch of this family died early in the reign of Edward III.</p>	<p>Arches, Osbernus de. Archil; King Edward the Confessor had held the lands.</p>
<p>Alanus, Comes. Alan, earl of Brittany and Richmond: he married Constance, daughter of the Conqueror, and commanded the rear of the Norman army at the battle of Hastings. His greatest possessions were the lands in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which had belonged to Earl Edwin, constituting Richmondshire.</p>	<p>Archis, Osbertus. Alregrin, he retained his lands. Artor, presbyter, or priest; he also retained his lands.</p>
<p>Abercius, Comes, a Norman, who, according to Symeon of Durham, was made earl of Northumberland about the year 1080, but who soon afterwards returned to Normandy.</p>	<p>Authert. He had been the possessor before the Conquest, and had not been displaced. Balistarius, Odo. He held three mansions in the city of York.</p>
<p>Alselin, Goisfridus. The lands in Yorkshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire, granted to Geoffrey Alselin, had all belonged to a Saxon named Tochi. His estates, after two generations, went by a daughter to the Bardolphs.</p>	<p>Bevraria, Drogo de. A Fleming by birth, who accompanied the Conqueror in his invasion. He is believed to have been the ancestor of William Briwire, who stood in favour of King Henry II.</p>
<p>Als, Chetelber.</p>	<p>Beverley, St. John of. King William the Conqueror confirmed the Charter of St. John at Beverley. In the deed of confirmation the Riding is spoken of as the Treding.</p>
<p>Arbalistarius, Odo, the commander of the cross-bowmen.</p>	<p>Brus, Robertus de. The founder of the family of Brus of Skelton, from whom the kings of Scotland and the family of Bruce, marquises of Ailesbury, are descended. His seal is en-</p>

- graved in the Registrum Honoris de Richmond, p. 98.
- Burun, Ernegis, or Erneis de. The founder of the Byrons. He held four mansions in the city of York, and seventeen manors, nearly all of which had belonged to Earl Gospatric.
- Busli, Rogerus de. Roger de Busli had his principal residence at Tickhill Castle, Yorkshire, in which county, and Nottinghamshire, he had his largest possessions. He founded the priory of Blythe, in Nottinghamshire, in 1088. The barony terminated in John, his grandson, who left one daughter.
- Canonici Eboracenses. The canons of York.
- Carle. He seems to have been a small proprietor, who was not disturbed; probably what the Angles called a Ceorl, the smallest class of free tenants.
- Carpentarius, Landricus. Landric, a carpenter, who was probably employed in the king's castles, and paid in land, instead of money.
- Censores Duo.
- Censorius, Unus. In Skelton: in this land Torber held two carucates, with a hall and six bovates. One Censor held it under the king.
- Chetel. He was a tenant who had not been disturbed.
- Chilbert; we know nothing but his name.
- Clamores, de Evervicscire. Disputed claims.
- Clibert. He had been the previous possessor, and had not been disturbed.
- Coci, Albericus de. Albert, the king's cook.
- Cuthbertus, Sanctus. "St. Cuthbert has in the city of York one house, which he always had, as many people say, free from all custom; but the burgesses say that it was not free in the time of King Edward, except as to one burgage, except only on account of it he had his toll, and that of the canons. Besides this, the bishop of Durham, as of the gift of the king, holds the church of All Saints and whatever belonged to it, and the whole of the land of Uctred, and the land of Ernuin, which Hugo, the sheriff, delivered to Bishop Walcher, according to the letter of the king. And the burgesses who dwell there, say that they hold it under the king."
- Dolfin; of whom we are told nothing but the name.
- Droge, Clam. Ebor; a disputed title.
- Dunelmensis Episcopus, William de Karilepho, consecrated bishop of Durham, January 3, 1082. He held the office of chief-justice of England under William I. He was driven from his see for a considerable time by William Rufus. He died January 6, 1095.\*
- Eboracenses Canonici, the Canons of York. Some of the lands had been held under Edward the Confessor.
- Eboracensis Archiep. Thomas, Archbishop of York, the successor of Archbishop Aldred, had been a caupon of Bayeux, in Normandy. He was consecrated archbishop in 1070, and died November 18, 1100.
- Eboracensis, S. (St. Peter of York). The cathedral or minster of York.
- Ebrardus, Homo, William de Perci (military follower of William de Percy).
- Elricus; no further information.
- Ernuin; no further information.
- Ernuin, presbyter; he occurs as holding a manse at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, in the time of Edward the Confessor.
- Esnebern. Esnebern had the manor in Stoll. "Now he holds it of the king."
- Forne; no particulars.
- Fossard, Nigellus. Two mansions in the city of York; but says he "has returned them to the bishop of Coutance." This was Geoffrey de Montbray, who was chief justiciary of England.
- Fossart, Nigellus. Two mansions in the city of York. Probably the person mentioned in the previous entry.
- Game, probably Gamel, or the Old. Land which King Edward had held.
- Game, or Gamel, with his mother and brother.
- Gamel. He also held land which had belonged to King Edward.
- Gand, Gislebertus de. He was the son-in-law of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, whose sister the Conqueror had married. He was one of the few who escaped with life from York, when the Danes besieged it so furiously in 1069. He was the re-founder of Bardney Abbey in Lincolnshire, and is believed to have died about the year 1094.
- Gospatric. With regard to this Gospatric Kelham says, "Whether this Gospatric is the same who was earl of Northumberland, and had forfeited his estates for treason."

\* Surtees, History of Durham, vol. I. p. 18.



- son, for taking part with the insurgents at York against the Conqueror, is not certain, as I do not find the exact time of Gospatric's death; but after an enumeration of many manors in the West Riding, it is said in Domesday, 'All these had and has Gospatric; but now they are waste.\*' Dugdale in Baronage (tome 1, p. 54), represents the Earl Gospatric to have died in Scotland, leaving three sons, Dolfín, Waltheof, and Gospatric. A different Waltheof, the son of Earl Siward, who had married Judith, the Conqueror's niece, succeeded to the earldom of Northumberland.
- Gospatric et Uchil.  
H. fil. Bald.  
Hamelinus.  
Hardulf. He had previously possessed it.  
Haregrin et Siward. They had previously held the same.  
Homines, duo, two men or soldiers.  
Hugo, filius Baldrici. Four mansions in the city of York.  
Hugo, filius Baldrici. Spoken of, in the account of Nottinghamshire, as vicecomes or sheriff. Kelham says he was sheriff of Northumberland.  
Hugo, Comes. Hugh de Abrincis, or Avanches, or Abranches, surnamed Lupus, received the earldom of Chester from the Conqueror, A.D. 1070, to be held as freely by the sword, as the king held England by his crown.  
Ibertus; probably de Laci.  
Laci, Ibertus de. He received from the Conqueror all that part of the county of Lancaster, known as the honour of Clitheroe, and great estates in Yorkshire. His principal residence was at the castle of Pontefract.  
Landri.  
Landricus. He is probably the same person as Landricus Carpentarius mentioned in the account of York, as holding ten mansions and a half, to which the vicecomes, or sheriff, appointed.  
Lawiroe, Gosfridus. He is called Goisfridus de Wirce in the body of entry, as well as in other parts of the Survey.  
Lauire, God. de, no doubt a Norman.  
Ligulf. He had been the holder previous to the Survey.
- Lusoriis, Fulco de. Two bovates of the land of Ulfner.  
Malcolun.  
Maldred.  
Malet, Robertus. Eight mansions in the city of York. He was the son of William Malet, to whom the Conqueror, after the battle of Hastings, committed the body of Harold to see it buried. Robert Malet was the founder of the monastery of Eye.  
Maminot, Gislebertus. His great-grandson, Wakelin de Maminot, died without issue.\* In Yorkshire Gislebertus Maminot held two mansions in the city of York.  
Monneville, Nigellus de. One mansion of the Monetarius  
Moritoniensis, Comes. Robert, earl of Mortaine, in Normandy, was advanced soon after the Conquest to the earldom of Cornwall. He held lands in several counties, and amongst others in Yorkshire, in which latter county he had eight different possessions.  
Mortimer, Radulfus de. The chief estates of Ralph de Mortimer were in Shropshire and Herefordshire, where he received Wigmore Castle from William the Conqueror, for his services in subduing and taking prisoner Edric the Saxon, earl of Shrewsbury. He founded Wigmore Abbey, and died towards the close of the reign of Henry I. He held estates in several counties, including that of York.  
Norman. He had possessed the lands previous to the Survey.  
Odo, Arbalistarius.  
Odo, Balistarius. Two mansions in the city of York.  
Orm. Also held in the time of King Edward the Confessor.  
Orme.  
Osbernus, filius Bosonis.  
Osward. He had held the lands previous to the Survey.  
Oswenard et Rodmund.  
Pagnel, Radulfus. He founded the nunnery of the Holy Trinity at York, in 1089. At that time he was sheriff of Yorkshire. William Pagnel, the last of this family, was summoned to Parliament as a baron in the reign of Edward III.  
Percy, Willielmus de. The founder of the

\* Illust p. 121.

\* Hasted's Kent, vol. i. p. 118.



abbey of Whitby in Yorkshire, where his brother Serlo was the first abbot. He married Emma de Port, by whom he had three sons, Alan, Walter, and William. Dugdale gives a minute account of the descent of the first William from Mainfred de Perci, who came out of Denmark into Normandy previous to Rollo's arrival there.\* William de Perci's lauds in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire seem to have been given to him after the suppression of the rising in 1069.

Petrus, S., of York. The cathedral.  
Picot.

Pictaviensis, Rogerus, the third son of Roger de Montgomery, earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, called Pictaviensis because he had married a Poitevin woman. His lands between the Ribble and the Mersey in Lancashire, in Derbyshire, and in Nottinghamshire, appear to have been in the king's hands at the time of the Domesday Survey. In Norfolk his lands are styled "Terræ quæ fuerunt Rogeri Pictaviensis." His lands in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Essex, and Suffolk are entered in the Survey as if he had them then in actual possession, although he had forfeited his lands by joining in a conspiracy against the king.

Ramechil. He had possession previous to the Survey.

Ramechil et Archil. They had been its previous possessors.

Rex Willielmus. The Conqueror himself, who held lands in nearly all the counties in England, amounting in the whole to 1290 manors, exclusive of berewicks and sokes. The king's lands in Yorkshire (Terra Regis) present a large list of forfeitures, amounting to more than 350 manors; of which nine had been Earl Morcar's, ten had belonged to Turchil, thirteen to Ulchel, nine to Leising, eleven to Gamel, ten to Ulf, nine to Chut, and eighteen to Gospatric. The rest were single manors, which had belonged to individuals of less note. Sir Henry Ellis, after giving this account of the Conqueror's possessions, says—"This examination of the possessions entered in Domesday under the title of Terra Regis, shows that William the Conqueror had a landed revenue immensely exceeding that of Edward the Confessor, who only held 165 manors,

\* Baronage, tome i. p. 269.

or Harold, who held 118 manors; and no doubt exceeding that of the Saxon kings, their predecessors." It has been said that the revenue of William the Conqueror was £1000 a-day, equal to fifteen times as much in modern money.

Ricardus, filius Erfasti.

Rodmund.

Rogerus, Comes. Roger de Montgomery, earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury. Led the centre of the Norman army at the battle of Hastings.

Sasferd, Siward.

Siuward. Held and holds from the king.

Surdewal. Two houses in the city of York.

Suen. He held his lands previously.

Taini, Tres. Three thanes who had previously held from Edward the Confessor.

Taini Regis. The thanes of the king.

Tison, Gislebertus. The lands of Gislebertus Tison, consisting of twenty-nine manors, were evidently forfeited upon the ravaging of Yorkshire: ten had belonged to Gamelbar, and one to Gamel. Of six which had belonged to Gamelbar, it is said, "These lands has Gislebertus Tison, but they are all waste; only Beltone renders 3s. of rent." Of several manors in Craven no estimated value is given.

Todeni, Robertus de, the founder of Belvoir Castle, and of the cell of Monks there, which he annexed to St. Albans Abbey. With other possessions he held two mansions in the city of York, which had belonged to Gamelcarle and Altuin.

Tona.

Tor; he had previously held the same land.

Torber and Uchtred; they had previously held the same lands.

Torbern; he had previously held it.

Torchil et Ravenchil; they had before held them.

Tored; he had held previous to the Survey.

Turbern; had previously held.

Uchtred.

Ulchil.

Ulchil; he had held previously.

Ulchil and his wife.

Ulf.

Ulsi.

Waldinus. Two mansions.

Warene, Willielmus de. William de Warren, earl of Warren, in Normandy, who came

into England with the Conqueror, and was made earl of Surrey, by William Rufus. He and his wife Gundreda, who was a daughter of the Conqueror, founded the priory of St.

Pancras, at Lewes, in 1078, as a cell to the great abbey of Clugni, in France. William de Warren had estates in many counties, including two in Yorkshire.

The above were the chief landowners in Yorkshire at the time when the Domesday Survey was made, in the year 1086. It will be seen that the king himself, William the Conqueror, held upwards of 350 Yorkshire manors in his own hands; most of which had no doubt been confiscated in consequence of the desperate resistance made by the Danish and Anglian population of that and the other northern counties, to the arms of the Norman invaders. Next to the king, the greatest of the Norman landowners was Alan earl of Brittany and Richmond, the son-in-law of William the Conqueror, whose vast earldom included the greater part of the North Riding, from the centre of the county to the present borders of Lancashire, and extended beyond those borders to the Irish Sea. Amongst other families of great antiquity, which then held lands from the crown, were the Bruces, whose descendants became kings of Scotland; the Burons or Byrons; the De Buslis, of Tickhill Castle; the Gands, or Gaunts; the De Lacys of Pontefract Castle; the Malets; the earls of Mortaine; the founders of the great family of Mortimer; of that of Pagnel, and still more of the famous house of Percy. Earl Roger Pictaviensis was one of the greatest of Norman landowners; and the Earls de Warren were amongst the most powerful and warlike of the Norman peers. These Normans had chiefly taken the place of the Anglian and Danish thanes, who had held the land of the county previous to the Norman conquest; but a few thanes, either of Danish or Anglian race, still remained in possession, and a considerable number of the smaller tenants of the crown. Under the great barons and their knights, the whole population was soon organized for warlike purposes.

*Population of Yorkshire at the time of the Domesday Survey.*—Although the Domesday Survey does not profess to give as exact an account of the population of England, in the reign of William the Conqueror (A.D. 1084–86), as it does of the taxable property, it still affords what may be regarded as an approximation to the numbers of the people of most of the English counties, and therefore of nearly the whole kingdom at that time. The only places or districts omitted in the Domesday Survey were the city of London, which for some unknown reason does not

appear in it; and those parts of England that lie to the north of the county of York. These were neither surveyed nor described at that time. The omission of the northern districts is easily accounted for. They had been so much desolated by war, and were at that time in so unsettled a state, that it must have been very difficult to obtain any returns that would have been useful, for the very practical purpose for which the Domesday Survey was made, namely, the imposing of a tax of four shillings, equal to three pounds of our money, on every hide of land throughout the kingdom. No doubt the citizens of London, who already formed the richest community in the kingdom, paid handsomely to that tax, although we have no return of the amount of their contribution. As to the northern counties, if they were exempted, it must have been either because they were lying waste under the ravages of war, or because there were no means of enforcing the tax.

Another circumstance that may have prevented the carrying of the Domesday Survey further north than the river Tees, may perhaps have been, that the limits of the respective kingdoms of England and Scotland were not, at that time, absolutely fixed. The earldom of Cumberland, which extended as far south as the borders of Furness, in Lancashire, and which at times was forced as far south as the district of Craven, in Yorkshire, was a disputed territory, and was frequently overrun by the armies of both countries. Even so late as the reign of King Stephen, the nephew of the king of Scotland occupied the greater part of Craven, and punished with fire and sword all who disputed his authority.

But with the exception of London and the debatable lands on the north of Yorkshire, a very fair account was taken at the time of the Domesday Survey, both of the numbers of the male adult population and of their occupations. They were divided into the following classes:—Tenants *in capite*, including the earls and barons who held their lands directly from the king; under-tenants of the Crown; *bordariï*, or cottagers; *bovariï*, or herdsmen; citizens, or burgesses, generally described, however, as burgesses; drengs, or military followers, generally of the Danish or other Scandinavian races, the word dreng, or dring, meaning a warrior, in the Norse language; *fabri*, workmen or artisans; *Francigenæ*, meaning Frenchmen or Normans; *homines*, men, or military followers; *hospites*, persons in hospitals; *liberi homines*, or freemen; *molinariï*, or millers; *piscatores*, or fishermen; *præpositi villarium*, reeves or bailiffs; *presbyteri*,

priests ; radmen, knights or horsemen ; *servi*, slaves ; and *villani*, villeins or cultivators of the soil. Society was at that time chiefly composed of these classes, the most numerous divisions being the *bordarii* or cottagers, the *servi*, or slaves, and the *villani*, or cultivators of the soil. These were the classes of men whom the Normans found on the soil. The most numerous of all were the *villani*, the inhabitants of the vills or townships, who were the chief cultivators, and no doubt the most peaceful and useful part of the population. The burgesses, though existing in the city of York and two or three other places, were few in number in the north of England, or indeed everywhere, in comparison with the cultivators of the soil ; manufactures being almost unknown in those times, except those carried on within each family, for its own clothing. There were a few corn mills turned by water even in that early age, but windmills were not known, until brought from the East by the most intelligent of the Crusaders, and more especially by William, earl of Mortaine, the son of King Stephen, of whom we shall have to speak, as one of the great landowners of Yorkshire and Lancashire.

According to the estimate of the late Sir Henry Ellis, in his essay on the Domesday Survey, the adult male population of all the counties of England, excluding Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and the city of London, amounted to 286,926. This, however, is merely the male population ; but we easily get the whole population by multiplying the adult males by five. This gives a total of 1,435,630, or taking London and the counties north of Yorkshire into the account, of about one million and a half, for the whole of England.

Although the boundaries of Yorkshire at that time were even more extensive than they are at present, including the two present Lancashire hundreds of Lonsdale and Amounderness, and even some portions of Cumberland and Westmoreland, the population of that county was very far from being the largest amongst the counties of England.

According to Sir Henry Ellis' computation, the male population of Yorkshire at that time was not more than 8055, which multiplied by five, to include the women and children, would give a total of 40,275 persons for the whole county. At the same time, the population of the county of Essex, including women and children, was about 80,300 persons ; that of Hampshire, 51,865 ; that of Kent, 61,025 ; that of Lincolnshire, 126,525 ; that of Norfolk, which

was the most populous county in England, 135,435; and that of Suffolk, 102,455. It will thus be seen that the southern and eastern districts were at that time much more populous than the northern. This they owed, to a considerable extent, to their comparative freedom from the ravages of war; but also, in some degree, to their milder climate and their more fertile soil. In Sir James Mackintosh's "History of England," vol. i. page 383, the adult population of Yorkshire at this time is estimated at 9646, which multiplied by five, to obtain the proper proportion of women and children, would give a total of 48,230. Neither of these estimates carries the population of Yorkshire, at the close of the Norman conquest, up to 50,000 persons. The adult population of burgesses in Yorkshire at this time was 1826, or allowing for women and children, less than 10,000 persons. These numbers, however, are mere approximations.

*The Norman Wars of Succession.*—The wars of succession to the throne of England, on the deaths of William the Conqueror (A.D. 1087), of William Rufus (A.D. 1100), of Henry I. (1135), the latter of which lasted during the whole reign of King Stephen, from 1135 to 1154, led to numerous confiscations of the estates of the earls and barons, whose possessions are described in the list given above of the tenants of the crown in Yorkshire.

Amongst the earls holding extensive lands in Yorkshire, who forfeited their estates in those wars, were Earl Roger de Montgomery, known as Pictaviensis, and his brother-in-law the earl of Morton or Mortaine, in Normandy. The other members of the family were equally powerful, holding the earldoms of Shrewsbury and Arundel, besides great estates in Pembrokeshire. All these estates in Yorkshire and other parts of England, were forfeited by the Montgomery family, in the wars which broke out owing to the claims put forward by the Conqueror's younger sons, William Rufus and Henry Beaulerc, to the throne, which belonged by hereditary right to his eldest son Robert, duke of Normandy. After the estates had been finally confiscated by King Henry I., they were given by him to his nephew Stephen, earl of Blois and Mortaine, who afterwards employed the great power and wealth thus conferred upon him, in wresting the throne from Matilda or Maude, the only surviving child of King Henry I. But at the close of the civil war in the reign of King Stephen, it was arranged that the son of the Empress Maude, Henry Plantagenet, should inherit the kingdom of England,

and that the estates of the two earldoms should descend to William, Earl of Blois, the son of King Stephen. This arrangement was carried out, and the earldoms remained in possession of William, earl of Blois, until he died childless; when they again passed into the hands of the crown, represented by Henry II., the first king of the Plantagenet dynasty.

*The Battle of the Standard*, A.D. 1138.—The desperate contest for the crown of England, between King Stephen, the nephew of King Henry I., and the Empress Maude, King Henry's daughter, had the great national result of securing the succession to the throne, both in the direct and in the female lines, which has given to this kingdom some of the best sovereigns that it ever possessed. But this result was not attained without heavy loss and great suffering; for the reign of King Stephen was a succession of sanguinary civil wars, in which almost every part of the kingdom was laid waste or deluged with blood. In the north of England, the evil was greatly aggravated by the invasion of an immense Scottish army, which overran the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Durham, and advanced into Yorkshire, for the purpose of uniting the whole of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria, from the Humber to the Tyne, to the kingdom of Scotland. In that disturbed and distracted age, David, the king of Scotland, although professing to be a supporter of the Empress Maude, as queen of England, claimed for his own son the earldom of Northumbria, in right of his wife, who was the daughter of the great Anglian earl of Northumbria, Waltheof, whose possessions had been seized, and who had himself been put to death, by William the Conqueror.

In order to carry out this object, King David of Scotland collected a very large army, in the year 1138, the 4th of King Stephen, and after overrunning and laying waste the counties of Northumberland and Durham, marched southward towards York, by the great northern road, through Northallerton. At that time the bishops of Durham had a very strong castle near Northallerton, which formed an important rallying point for resisting an attack from the north; and there the whole strength of the county of York was assembled, to oppose the further advance of the Scottish army. The chief commander of the English forces was Walter d'Espeç, supported by William de Albemarle, Walter de Gant, Robert de Brus, Roger de Mowbray, Gilbert de Lacy, William de Lacy, William de Percy, Richard de Courcy, William Fossard, and

Robert de Stuteville. Thurstan, the venerable archbishop of York, encouraged the assembled hosts by his counsels; and Randolph, bishop of Orkney, excited them by his eloquence. A lofty standard with a crucifix, erected on a carriage as a military ensign, with the holy banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon, was floated over the English host. Previous to the commencement of the battle of the Standard, Bishop Randolph roused the courage of the soldiers by a passionate address, and he was followed by Walter d'Espece, a noble soldier. The following opening passage of one of these speeches has been preserved:—  
“Illustrious chiefs of England, by blood and race Normans; before whom bold France trembles; to whom fierce England has submitted; under whom Apulia has been restored to her station; and whose names are famous at Antioch and Jerusalem.”\*

Almost before the addresses were ended the Picts or Celts of Galloway rushed upon the English army, but were received with an overwhelming discharge of arrows from the English archers, by which most of their leaders were killed, and the main body was put to flight. A furious attack, made on the main position of the English army by Prince Henry of Scotland, threatened to be successful; and it is even said that it would have been so, had not the head of one of the English, who was killed in the battle, been cut off, and exhibited at the end of a spear, as the head of the king of Scotland. Whether this was the real cause of the loss of confidence of the Scottish troops, or the defeat of the Picts of Galloway, and the firm attitude of the English troops, is uncertain. But about this time the Scottish army broke and retreated; carrying off King David in its retreat. The Prince of Scotland also succeeded in escaping from the field of battle, and the Scottish army was so effectually dispersed that it did not again rally in strength until it had reached the city of Carlisle. The only Englishman of rank killed in this battle was Gilbert de Lacy; nor was the loss of the Scottish army very great in the battle, though it lost many thousand men in its long and difficult retreat to the Scottish borders.

One great and lasting advantage resulted to Yorkshire from this victory; which was, that the borders of Scotland, instead of being advanced to the Humber or even to the Tees, were fixed at the Tweed and the Solway—Yorkshire being thus freed from the evil of becoming a debatable ground between England and Scotland.

\* Sir James Mackintosh's *History of England*, vol. i. pp. 126, 134.



From this cause the county of York was freed from the ravages of any great war for more than one hundred years after the battle of the Standard, and would have been freed much longer if it had not been for the ambition of Edward I., and the weakness of his son and successor.

*The Fixing of the Limits of the County of York by King Henry II—* The battle of the Standard, fought, as we have seen, in the year 1138, was the only great conflict of arms that took place in Yorkshire, from the accession of King Henry I., in the year 1110, to the death of King Edward I. in the year 1307. This was the longest period of peace that this part of England had experienced for many centuries; and although there were occasional tumults, they did not altogether arrest the progress of society. It was in the reign of King Henry II., in the year 1177, that the whole kingdom was organized by that king for the purpose of administering justice, by means of judges, making their circuit through England, and holding courts of assize in the chief cities of every county.

Previous to that time justice was administered either at the king's court at Westminster, or in the hundred courts, which were very much under the influence of local passion, prejudice, and influence, although they may have often administered substantial justice. But from the reign of King Henry II., courts of assize have been regularly held in all the counties of the kingdom, and have gradually risen to the high reputation for justice which they have now maintained for so many ages.

It was at the time when the kingdom was divided by King Henry II. into circuits for the administration of justice, that the county of York received the territorial limits which it has retained to the present time. Up to that time there was no county of Lancaster; the county of York including the two northern hundreds of Lonsdale and Amounderness (now forming part of Lancashire), and the six southern hundreds of Lancashire, forming the district then known as the land between the Ribble and the Mersey. But at the time when the circuits of the judges were arranged by King Henry II. and his advisers, Lancashire received its present name and limits; and Yorkshire was also settled with its present very ample bounds.

*The Crusades and the Captivity of Richard I.—* From the death of King Henry II., and the accession to the throne of his warlike son, Richard I., to the death of King Henry III., York-



shire was not only free from invasion, but also from the ravages of any great civil war, though not without occasional disturbances. Thus, on the return of Richard I. from his brilliant and not useless campaigns in the East, when it was ascertained that his treacherous brother, Prince John, had joined with the archduke of Austria and the king of France, to keep him a prisoner in an Austrian dungeon, there was a general rising against Prince John, whose castles were seized in every part of the kingdom. Amongst these castles were those of Tickhill in Yorkshire, Lancaster, Marlborough in Wiltshire, St. Michael's, near the Lands End, and several other strong places in different parts of England. The castle of Tickhill, in Yorkshire, was besieged and taken by an army under the command of Hugh de Pudsey, bishop of Durham.

*The Barons' Wars with King John and Henry III.* — The still more important wars between King John and his son, King Henry III., on one side, and the barons of England on the other, which led ultimately to the granting of Magna Charta, of the great Charter of the Forests, and of Parliaments in which not merely the nobles and the clergy, but also the knights, freeholders, and burgesses of England were represented, and out of which the system of parliamentary government finally grew in the reign of King Edward I., the son of Henry III., were chiefly fought out in the southern and midland parts of the kingdom, although several of the Yorkshire and other northern barons took part in those memorable conflicts. Amongst the most formidable of the opponents of King John was Hugh de Lacy, who was in arms against King John in his last campaign, when, at the head of an immense army of foreign adventurers, the tyrant was endeavouring to wash out Magna Charta, with the blood of those who had compelled him to sign it. This dangerous conflict was put an end to by the sudden death of King John; when the earls of Pembroke and Kent were appointed regents of the kingdom, during the minority of King Henry III., who was then a boy of eleven years of age. When they succeeded to the regency, they commanded, in the name of the youthful king, that Magna Charta and the Charter of Forests should be publicly read by the high sheriffs, in all the counties of England; that all forests which had been formed previous to legal memory, which was fixed to be previous to the first year of Richard I., should be disforested; and also, that all the castles that had been built in different parts of the kingdom without lawful authority, and

which they described as the adulterine castles, should be destroyed. The regents of the kingdom further promised in the king's name, that Hugh de Lacy, if he returned to his fealty, should have all his rights restored.\* By these means they soon restored peace to the kingdom, and got rid of the foreign armies that had been brought into the kingdom by both parties. In order to secure the support of the Count of Brittany, who was also earl of Richmond, they entered into negotiations with him, in the course of which the Count agreed that he would only claim such lands beyond the Humber—that is, in Richmondshire—as should be awarded to him by the king's council. On this agreement the king's advisers ordered the seisin, or delivery, of the honour of Richmond, and other lands in England, to Peter, count of Brittany, except certain knights' fees which they retained.†

In due time King Henry III. grew up to man's estate, and took the government of the kingdom out of the hands of the able men who had managed it during his minority, transferring it to a number of worthless favourites, who very soon threw everything into confusion. In a few years he rendered the crown almost bankrupt, partly by engaging in rash wars with France, in which he had not even the merit of success; and partly by making most profuse grants to the queen, a beautiful princess of the house of Savoy, and to all her brothers, sisters, and relations. Amongst other things, he made a promise to Amadeus, count of Savoy, that he would give his younger daughter the choice of marrying either the heir to the estates of John de Warren, who would be in due time earl of Surrey, or Edmund de Lacy, who would be earl of Lincoln.‡

But the climax of the folly of King Henry III., and that which brought on what are generally known as the Barons' Wars, in which the barons of England compelled the king to transfer the government to wiser councillors, was an agreement between the pope and the king, by which the kingdom of Sicily was to be conferred on Edmund, the younger son of the English king, after it had been conquered by English arms. The news of this rash enterprise produced a violent commotion throughout the kingdom, in the course of which affairs became so threatening that the king was compelled to notify that he had consented to a

\* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. pp. 145, 150.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. pp. 151–153.

‡ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 246.

meeting at Oxford, for the reform of the state of the realm. On this occasion, and for the first time, writs were ordered to be issued for the appointment of four knights of the shire, for the correction of injuries, according to the provisions of the Parliament at Oxford. In addition to this, the king ordered to be sent to each county of England the ordinances made for the government of the realm by his council. He further sent out a proclamation written in the English language, which was to be distributed through all the English counties, and which was probably the first appeal ever made to the people in their native tongue by any of the Norman or Plantagenet kings.

But neither these proclamations, nor promises, nor the threats which Pope Alexander IV. directed against the barons, had the effect of turning them from their determination, which was to put an end to the threatened expedition for the conquest of Sicily. It was in vain that Edmund, who describes himself as king of Sicily, the king's younger son, appointed proctors to receive possession of that kingdom. It was equally in vain that Pope Alexander IV. absolved the king of England from an oath made to his nobles, to the injury of the liberties of the crown. It was also in vain that the archbishop of Canterbury sent to the barons a copy of the bull of Pope Alexander IV., by which he excommunicated Hugh Bigod, the northern leader of the barons, unless he gave up to the king the castles of Scarborough and Pickering. The barons, having fully made up their minds to compel the king to abandon the rash project into which he had been drawn by the pope, refused to make any surrender, and prepared to resist both the king and the pope with all the means at their disposal. Before doing so, however, they induced R. de Neville to urge the king to make arrangements for the preservation of the peace to the north of the Trent, informing him that the fleets of the kings of Norway and Denmark were cruising off Scotland, and were likely to reassert their ancient claims, if they found England in arms against itself. In the hope of avoiding this and other dangers, it was arranged that Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward I., and a much wiser man than his father, should meet certain of the barons, and that they should endeavour to settle their disputes by the arbitration of two referees. But this well-meant negotiation failed, and on the 24th May, 1264, the army of the king and that of the barons, the latter supported by the citizens of London, met in battle-array at Lewes, in Sussex,

to decide the dispute with the sword. The king's army was commanded by his eldest son, Prince Edward, who, though unsuccessful in this battle, afterwards became the greatest commander of the age; and he was supported by a considerable party of the barons, and by some very distinguished soldiers. The barons' army was commanded by Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, Robert de Ferrers, earl of Derby, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, William de Warren, earl of Surrey, and other nobles of the barons' party, and was assisted by a large body of the armed citizens of London. The chief barons who rose against Henry III., in 1263, were his own nephew Henry, son of the earl of Cornwall; Henry Montford, Hugh Spenser, Baldwin Wake, who had great possessions in the neighbourhood of Hull; Gilbert Gifford, Richard Gray, John Ros, one of the Yorkshire barons; William Marmion, one of the Marmions of Tanfield Castle; Henry Hastings, Haimon L'Estrange, John Fitzjohn, Godfrey Lacy, Nicolas Segrave, Roger de Layburn, John Vesey, one of the Yorkshire barons; Roger de Clifford, of Skipton Castle; John de Vaux, Gilbert de Clare, Gilbert de Lacy, a member of another great Yorkshire house; and Roger de Vipont. The commander-in-chief was Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, aided by the earls of Gloucester, Derby, and Warren, of Sandal Castle. On the side of the king were the Percys of Northumberland, with their warlike borderers, including John Comyn, John Baliol, lord of Galloway, and Robert Brus, lord of Annandale, with several other powerful barons.

This battle, which was desperately contested, and in which upwards of 5000 men were slain, ended in the total defeat of the royal army. The king, Prince Edward, and the principal leaders of the king's party were taken prisoners; and though their lives were spared, the government of the kingdom passed into the hands of Simon de Montfort, and the other leaders of the barons. Amongst the conditions demanded by them, one was, that the king should surrender into their hands for five years the castles of Scarborough, Dover, Bamborough in Northumberland, Nottingham, and Corfe Castle in Dorsetshire, which were considered to be five of the strongest places in the kingdom. Those castles were accordingly surrendered, though long before the five years for which they were to be held had expired, the power of the barons had been completely overthrown. This took place in the month of June, in the year 1265, previous to which time Prince Edward had escaped from captivity, and brought together a powerful army, at the head of

which he encountered and totally defeated the barons' army at Evesham, in Worcestershire. In this battle Simon de Montfort, and many others of the great barons, were slain, and for a time the cause for which they had fought appeared to be totally lost. But that was not the case, for all the claims which they had made were again revived in the reign of Edward I.; and that king, being an infinitely wiser man than his father, took the lead both of the barons and of the people; called together a Parliament in which the barons, the knights, who represented the landed interest, the citizens and burgesses, as well as the crown and the clergy, were all represented; and thus established a form of government, which in its leading principles has continued to the present day, and has secured for England the proud title of the Mother of Parliaments.

*The Parliamentary Representation of Yorkshire under the Plantagenet and Tudor Sovereigns.*—When parliamentary government was established in England, the number of members returned to represent the whole kingdom was about three hundred, of whom the knights of the shires were about seventy-four, and the citizens and burgesses two hundred and thirty-six. The county of York received the right of returning about thirty members to the early English Parliaments; though the number was not always the same, some places exercising the right very irregularly. The number of members given to each constituency, whether small or great, except the city of London, was two; and this number continued unaltered until modern times, when the county of York received the same privilege of returning four members, which London had possessed for many ages. Since that time the number has been greatly increased. The electoral arrangements in Yorkshire were as follows, from the reign of the three Edwards to the present century.

The freeholders of the county were summoned to return two members; a number very much short of the amount due to the population, property, and importance of the constituency.

The city of York was also summoned to return two members, an honour to which it was very well entitled, as the second city in the kingdom, the real capital of the north, the seat of an archbishop, and a numerous and wealthy clergy, as well as a considerable place of foreign commerce, and as possessing more inland trade than any other town or city in the north of England.

The port of Kingston-upon-Hull was also summoned to return two members, to most of the earlier Parliaments of this and the

succeeding reigns. This port, long before it had received the name of Kingston-upon-Hull, had become the seat of considerable commerce, first under the name of Vik, or Wyke, upon Hull, and afterwards of Hull. We shall trace the history of the rise of the port of Hull in a subsequent part of this work. All that is necessary to say at present is, that Hull was the fifth port in the kingdom in point of trade, in the reign of King John; that when the rights of the abbey of Meaux, or Melsa, in Wyke-upon-Hull were purchased by King Edward I., they were worth in modern money about £1200 a year; and that a few years later, the leading merchant of Hull, William de la Pole, "the king's merchant," as he was called, was able to lend to King Edward III. a sum equal to £100,000 of modern money, probably with the assistance of other merchants of Hull.

At the time when the right of returning members was conferred on the Yorkshire boroughs, there were three other places on or near to the Humber which also received that right. Two of these places were on the Yorkshire side of the estuary, namely, Hedon and Ravenspurn, or as it was written in earlier times, Ravensaer. The other was Grimsby, on the Lincolnshire coast.

Hedon, which continued to return members to Parliament quite down to modern times, possessed some facilities as a port; but those were so very much inferior to the advantages possessed by Hull, that Hedon could never have been a serious rival of the prosperity of Hull.

Ravenspurn, at the mouth of the Humber, also possessed somewhat similar advantages; and there it was that two claimants to the crown of England landed in succession. The first was Henry of Bolingbroke, afterwards the first king of the house of Lancaster, as Henry IV.; and the second was Edward of York, who was the first king of the house of York, under the title of Edward IV. But Ravenspurn was built on the treacherous cliffs and sands of a shore which was soon afterwards undermined by the ocean, and has long since been swallowed up by its waves.

Proceeding northward from the mouth of the Humber, the only other Yorkshire port which received the privilege of returning two members to Parliament, in the early English Parliaments, was Scarborough, the best port on the Yorkshire coast, out of the Humber, and at the same time one of the greatest fortresses in England. Although burnt and plundered by Harald Hardrada,

previous to the Norman conquest, Scarborough had risen from its ruins, and had become of so much consequence in the reign of Henry III. as to defy even a Papal Bull, and to be held as one of the most important material guarantees, in a great national contest.

Proceeding from the coast to the interior of the East Riding, Beverley was the most considerable place. It had, in addition to a noble minster, several rich monastic houses, a considerable population, and a greater share of the woollen manufacture than was at that time possessed by any other town in Yorkshire, with the exception of York. In those early times Beverley had considerable advantages, from its position on the river Hull; from its large supplies of wool; and from its nearness to the most flourishing port of Yorkshire.

The West Riding of Yorkshire was not, in the reign of Edward I., the busy seat of manufactures which it is at present, though the foundations were already laid of the manufacturing prosperity of Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, and Sheffield; as we shall show when we come to speak of the early history of those great seats of industry. But they were none of them, at that time, what were called royal boroughs; that is to say, they were none of them the immediate property of the Crown, and none of them possessed charters from the crown. As a general rule—though not a rule without many exceptions—the early boroughs, which received the right of returning members to Parliament, were the royal boroughs; and as the borough of Leeds belonged, at that time, to the St. Quintin family; that of Bradford, to the De Lacys, earls of Lincoln; Wakefield and Halifax to the earls de Warren; and Sheffield to the Furnivals—they none of them received writs to send members to Parliament.

The boroughs of the West Riding of Yorkshire which received summonses to send members to Parliament under the Plantagenet and Tudor kings, were Pontefract, Knaresborough, and Ripon. Aldborough and Boroughbridge received the same privilege; but at a somewhat later period.

Pontefract was one of the boroughs of the West Riding which were summoned to return members to Parliament, from the time of the introduction of parliamentary government into England. It was in early times the chief castle and residence of the great family of the De Lacys, earls of Lincoln; and afterwards the principal fortress of the dukes of Lancaster, the rivals of the kings for the



possession of the throne. It was a military position of the greatest importance, overlooking the fords and ferries of the deep and wide stream formed by the union of the Aire and the Calder ; and it was also an admirable position for commanding the line of communication along the great north road, which was the main road from London to York. In addition to these advantages, it was the market of one of the richest districts of Yorkshire, and had weekly markets, and several fairs at different seasons of the year, at which all the produce of the neighbouring districts was sold, and other articles purchased in return. It was one of the most important military positions in the north of England, and also one of the most flourishing towns.

Knaresborough, on the river Nidd, was also one of the early parliamentary boroughs of Yorkshire. As a military position it was only second to Pontefract, having a very strong and ancient castle, which belonged to the crown in early times, afterwards to the De Burghs, earls of Kent; then to the earls of Cornwall, the descendants of Henry III.; and ultimately to the famous John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Knaresborough had many houses held by burgage tenure. It was a market of an extensive district; and in early times possessed a share of the woollen manufacture. It had also considerable iron mines, the ore of which was smelted with the charcoal of the great forest of Knaresborough, then twenty miles in length, eight miles in breadth, and covered with thickets.

Ripon was another parliamentary borough of the West Riding. It owed its name to St. Wilfred and the early Anglian monks who gave it the name of Ad Ripam, from its position on the banks of the charming rivers, Ure and Skell. The minster and shrine of Ripon were greatly venerated in those ages, and even down to the time of the Reformation they gave to Ripon security, on more than one occasion, from the ravages of war. Very valuable charters were granted to Ripon by King Athelstane; and in a later age than his, though soon after the Norman conquest, the most beautiful and magnificent of the Yorkshire abbeys was erected in the neighbourhood of that town. Ripon was also celebrated in early times for its woollen manufactures, and for its steel and iron work; especially for its spurs, which were kept in constant use in those unsettled and warlike times, when men almost lived in the saddle. Ripon had also extensive markets and fairs; at which all the produce of the



neighbouring districts were sold, and from which all their wants were supplied.

Aldbrough and Boroughbridge, both of them in the parish of Aldbrough, presented the very remarkable example of two parliamentary boroughs within a single parish.

Aldbrough, though not enfranchised so early as some other of the Yorkshire boroughs, is generally supposed to be the oldest town in Yorkshire, standing on the site of *Isu Brigantum*, or *Isurium*, which is believed to have been the capital of the *Brigantes*, even previous to the Roman invasion of Britain. Its greatness passed away with the founding of *Eboracum*, or *York*, lower down the course of the streams which unite near Aldbrough to form the river *Ouse*. Yet Aldbrough retained a certain amount of importance for many ages; from its position on those rivers, and upon the great northern road, as well as from the richness of the surrounding country.

Boroughbridge was the bridge of the borough of Aldbrough and derived its importance chiefly from the circumstance of possessing a convenient bridge, in an age when bridges across wide rivers were very uncommon in Yorkshire. This circumstance caused Boroughbridge to become the scene of a great battle between the army of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, and that of King Edward II. in a succeeding age. It may also have been one principal cause why Boroughbridge was made a parliamentary borough, in the time of the Tudors and Plantagenets.

The early parliamentary boroughs in the North Riding of Yorkshire were Richmond, Northallerton, Thirsk, Malton, and Scarborough. At one time Pickering also returned members to Parliament.

Richmond was in early times the capital of the district known as *Richmondshire*, which included five Yorkshire wapentakes, besides large districts in Lancashire and Westmoreland. The earls of Richmond were counts and dukes of Brittany. The castle of Richmond was one of the strongest fortresses of Yorkshire, as it is now one of its finest ruins. As the seat of government of the greatest earldom of Yorkshire, and the principal place of trade and point of communication on the river *Swale*, Richmond was summoned to return members to Parliament, in a very early age.

Northallerton was also summoned to send members. It was from very early times noted for its markets and fairs; and there also the bishops of Durham, who possessed palatial powers, and immense

estates, both in Durham and Yorkshire, built a great castle. Northallerton, standing on the great line of road from Scotland to York was greatly frequented by travellers, and was even of importance in military movements.

The castle of Thirsk was the chief residence of the noble family of the Mowbrays, whose barony extended over all the neighbouring district, and whose memory is still preserved by the name of the Vale of Mowbray. The town of Thirsk sprang up at the foot of the castle; and became the chief town and place of trade of an extensive district. Thirsk was summoned to return members at an early period, and has continued to do so to the present time.

Malton is another Yorkshire borough which sent members to Parliament in the reign of Edward I. It was then, as it is now, the chief town on the river Derwent. It had a strong castle, commanding an important military position; and was the principal place of trade in the district. Its markets and fairs were frequent and well attended.

Pickering returned two members to Parliament in early times, but lost that privilege. It had a strong castle, and belonged to the powerful duchy of Lancaster.

We have already spoken of Scarborough as one of the oldest parliamentary boroughs, as well as one of the principal ports and military positions of Yorkshire. It has well maintained its position amongst the towns on the Yorkshire coast, though it now owes more to its beauty than its strength.

*The Early Charters of the Yorkshire Boroughs.*—Many of the Yorkshire boroughs, and of the English boroughs in general, besides obtaining the right to return members to Parliament, also received charters from the crown or from the great barons of those ages, which secured to them the possession of valuable rights, and greatly promoted their growth and prosperity. The following are the most important advantages which the inhabitants of the freest and best-regulated of the Yorkshire boroughs obtained under these charters:—

First, they were freed from liability to appear before the hundred or wapentake courts, in questions of dispute arising within their respective boroughs.

Second, they were authorized to form courts of their own, for trying all cases arising within their own boroughs, not involving the great crimes of murder, highway robbery, and other pleas of the crown.

Third, they were authorized to elect a public officer, corresponding in position to the modern mayors of boroughs, though usually known in those early ages as the bailiff, the prætor, or the *præpositus*, who was the chief local authority. In some of the larger boroughs they were also authorized to elect courts of aldermen, to assist and advise the mayor.

The burgesses, in return for a fixed yearly payment, were in many cases freed from the obligation to pay the ancient tolls and dues of the crown or lord of the manor, not only in their own borough, but in all boroughs belonging to the crown in different parts of the kingdom.

In a great many boroughs the holding of land by burgage tenure was also introduced, the principle of which was that each burgess held his burgage of half an acre, or an acre of land, from the crown or lord, on a lease renewable, on a small fine, for ever. The yearly rent was usually 1s. an acre, equal then to about 15s. an acre, of modern money.

Thus the burgesses obtained security against oppression in distant courts; the right of trying cases arising within their boroughs in their own courts; a local authority elected by themselves; freedom from all taxes not authorized by a grant of Parliament, on payment of a moderate composition; and in a great number of cases, permanent possession of their houses, gardens, and crofts, on payment of a moderate fixed rent.

*The Wars of Edward I., Edward II., and Edward III. with Scotland.*—King Edward I., and his grandson King Edward III., with many great qualities, and the authors of many excellent laws, were both of them infatuated with a desire for conquest. The chief object of Edward I. was to unite the whole of the British islands under one sovereign, and that sovereign himself—an excellent object, if it could have been effected by peaceful means, and which was ultimately attained by such means, though nearly three hundred years later. The objects of Edward III. were still bolder; and included the conquest of France, to which he pretended to have a claim, in right of his mother, which might have been good, if the law of succession to the throne of France had not been fundamentally different from that of England. Edward II., the huckless son, and the unfortunate father of two of the greatest of English kings, entertained the same schemes of conquest as Edward I., but possessed neither the civil nor the military qualities that

were necessary to insure success. By his incapacity he threw away all that his father had gained, and laid open his own kingdom to invasion and desolation, up to the gates of York.

The military system of England, as organized by the celebrated statute of Wynton, or Winchester, passed in the 13th year of King Edward I., A.D. 1284-85, required that every man in the kingdom, between the ages of fifteen and sixty, should be trained to the use of arms, and should have arms in his possession according to his rank, fortune, and position. By this Act it was required that every one between the above ages, who had land of the value of fifteen pounds a year, or forty marks' worth of goods, should be provided with a helmet or headpiece, a breastplate of iron, a sword, a knife, and a horse fit for military service. He who had ten pounds in land, or twenty marks in goods, was required to have the kind of arms and armour mentioned above, but without the horse, so that he belonged to the infantry, and not to the cavalry. Whoever had five pounds in land was required to have in his possession a doublet, a breastplate of iron, a sword, and a knife. The next class, including the great body of the archers, who formed the main strength and the great superiority of the English armies in ancient times, were such as possessed between forty shillings and ten shillings of land, and they were required to have a sword, a bow and arrows, and a knife. All persons of smaller means, possessed of not more than forty shillings in land, were required to have swords and knives; and all other persons of a still lower class were required to have bows and arrows, if living out of the forests, and cross-bows and bolts, if living within their precincts. Thus the whole population was required to possess arms; and an inspection took place twice a year to ascertain that they had the arms and armour prescribed by law, and knew also how to make use of their weapons. Particular attention was given to the training of the archers, who formed the main body of the people, and the most formidable part of the English armies. The whole population was trained to the use of the bow and arrow from boyhood to manhood; and as no other nation of Europe paid anything like the same attention to the training of the people to the use of that weapon, the English archers were everywhere dreaded, and frequently decided the fate of great battles before the men-at-arms and the spearmen could get near enough for close conflict. We learn from Rymer's "Fœdera," that in the year 1335, the arrayers of Yorkshire were ordered to

inquire whether the whole people of the East Riding were provided with arms, according to the statute of Wynton, the provisions of which have been above described.

From the difficulty of moving and manœuvring large armies in times when there were few roads, and those only passable in the summer months; and from the difficulty of collecting the supplies which were necessary to maintain large bodies of troops—military operations in early times assumed much more of a local character than they possess in modern times, when the means of transport are much better in all the countries of Western Europe, and when the means of feeding armies in the field are more abundant. From this circumstance, the great weight of the wars with Scotland fell upon the six northern counties of England, just as the pressure of the wars with the Welsh fell chiefly on the counties of Chester, Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Hereford. This was so fully recognized that the knights and yeomen of the six northern counties were not employed except as volunteers in the wars with France, but were left at home to guard the northern frontier; which was no easy matter, as the Scottish armies usually invaded the northern counties when the English armies were engaged in wars with France. On such occasions, the whole of the fighting population of the six northern counties of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, had to take the field, either to resist the invaders, or to follow them back into their own country. On one occasion, in the year 1300, according to Rymer's "Fœdera," King Edward I. called on the county of York to furnish five thousand nine hundred men for the invasion of Scotland. Much the greater part of the soldiers of those times perished either in battle or from the consequences of wounds, disease, or want of wholesome food; and on more than one occasion the population of the northern counties was so much reduced, in a long course of sanguinary campaigns, as to be quite unable to defend the frontier, without assistance from other parts of the kingdom.

*The Knights' Fees of Yorkshire.*—The mass of the population was organized for war by the barons and knights of each county. The knights' fees of Yorkshire varied from eight to sixteen carucates. There has been much difference of opinion as to the extent of the carucate; Spelman estimates it at 120 statute acres, whilst in "Flota" it is taken at 180 acres. This estimate is to a considerable degree confirmed by Walter de Henley, an early writer on English agricul-

ture, who says, that the carucate consisted of 180 acres, on land suited for a three years' rotation of crops, and of 160 on other soils.\* From the extent of the lands in the earldom of Richmond, in the county of York, it would appear as if the carucate was even larger than the largest of these estimates: for we are told in Maddox's "History of the Exchequer," that the county of Richmond included 140 knights' fees, its jurisdiction extending over the five wapentakes of Halikeld, Gilling East, and Gilling West, and Hang East, and Hang West. These five wapentakes contain several hundred thousand acres of land, which, if divided equally amongst the 140 knights, would give each of them a very handsome estate. We may very safely conclude, that in the north of England the ten or twelve carucates included in each knight's fee extended over at least 2000 acres, without taking into account the waste lands. The word *terra*, land, in the old records generally includes nothing but arable land, although the pasture lands, the forests, and especially the meadows, were also of great value.

*Baronies, Honours, Knights' Fees, Hereditary Offices and Rights of the Crown in Yorkshire, at the time of the Great Wars with Scotland.*—The particulars as to honours and baronies in the county of York, given in Testa de Nevill, an ancient record which was drawn up chiefly in the reign of King Henry III., the son of King John, and the father of Edward I., may be considered as affording a fair account of the Yorkshire military tenures in the greater part of the thirteenth, and even in part of the fourteenth century. The honour of Roger de Mowbray, whose chief castle was at Thirsk, in a commanding position overlooking the vale of Mowbray, included thirty knights' fees. Each of these knights' fees seems to have been of the extent of from ten to twelve carucates of land, and may be taken, with the wastes of the manors, at about 2000 acres. Roger de Mowbray was thus the military commander of thirty knights, and of a population occupying a district of about 60,000 acres. The honour of Peter de Brus, or Bruce, whose chief castle was at Skelton, in Cleveland, included eighteen knights' fees; and the authority of the Bruce family thus extended over a lordship of about 36,000 acres. The honour of Petrus de Malo Laco included twenty-one knights' fees; the command of Petrus de Malo Laco thus extending

\* Agriculture and Prices in England, by Professor Rogers, M.A., Oxford; at the Clarendon press 1866, vol. i. p. 170.

over an area of about 42,000 acres. The honour of William de Ros included nine knights' fees, and extended over about 20,000 acres. The honour of William de Percy, whose chief Yorkshire castle was at Wressel in the East Riding, on the river Derwent, included seven knights' fees. The honour of the Percys thus extended over a territory of about 14,000 acres. But they afterwards obtained Alnwick Castle, and large estates in Northumberland, and became the Percys, earls of Northumberland, which position they maintained for many ages, and still continue to hold, with the higher rank of duke. They retain large estates, and the earldom of Beverley, in Yorkshire. The Yorkshire honour of Robert de Nevill was very much less extensive at this time than the possessions of the Nevill family afterwards became, when the Nevills were the lords of Middleham Castle, the possessors of the earldoms of Westmoreland, Warwick, and Salisbury, and the makers and deponers of kings. At the time of Testa de Nevill the Yorkshire estates of the Nevills consisted of only three knights' fees, and three-fourths of another. These would give them authority over a lordship of 7000 to 8000 acres. The honour of Hugh Pagnel, or Paganel, written Pannal in modern times, extended over five knights' fees, and gave a command extending over about 10,000 acres. The honour of the Earl de Warren, whose chief castle was at Sandal, near Wakefield, included three knights' fees and a half, and would thus extend over from 6000 to 7000 acres. But the De Warrens had larger possessions in the south of England, and afterwards acquired larger estates in Yorkshire. The honour of Agatha Trussebut is the only one spoken of at this time as being held by a female. It seems to have extended over six knights' fees, which would give a command over a territory of about 12,000 acres. The honour of Thomas Fitzwilliam, in Yorkshire, included four knights' fees, and extended over about 8000 acres. The honour of Robert de Chaucy included five knights' fees, and extended over about 10,000 acres. The great honour of the De Lacys, earls of Lincoln, in Yorkshire, was of immense extent; and their chief castle in the county was the celebrated castle of Pontefract. At one time a portion of their Yorkshire estates was in the hands of William Mareschal, earl of Pembroke, who was one of the regents of the kingdom during the minority of King Henry III. But independent of the knights' fees held by the earl of Pembroke, the number of knights' fees held by the Lacys, in connection with



Pontefract Castle, was fifty-four. The De Lacy estates in Yorkshire thus extended over 110,000 acres, including much of the finest land in the county, as well as of the wilder districts on the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire.

The great honour of Tickhill, or as it was then written, Tykehull, was in the hands of the king, from whom the knights dependent on that honour held directly. The number of knights' fees dependent on the honour of Tickhill seems to have been sixty-one. This would give the king, as lord of the honour of Tickhill, the direct command over sixty-one of the Yorkshire knights, and of the population of a territory of upwards of 120,000 acres.

The earldom of Richmond in Yorkshire, which was at this time still in the hands of the dukes of Brittany, contained 140 knights' fees, and extended over more than 300,000 acres of land. The yearly value of the earldom of Richmond in money was estimated at £1800 a year, equal in value to between £50,000 and £60,000 of the money of the present time.

The honours and baronies and larger lordships in Yorkshire, mentioned by the high sheriff in *Testa de Nevill*, include those of the Countess d'Auco, H. de Albinaco, earl of Arundel, William de Albinaco, John de Baliol, Petrus de Brus, William de Cantelupe, the bishop of Durham, William de Fortibus, Thomas de Greyle (Gresley), Gilbert de Gaunt, the earl of Lincoln, Andrew Lutterell, Robert de Nevill, Roger de Quency, earl of Winchester, Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke, William de Percy, Hugh Pagnel, Petrus de Sabaudia (the king's brother-in-law), Johanna Wake, William de Vescy, John Fitz-Godfrey, and the Countess de Warren, as well as others already mentioned.\*

*The Mowbray Fee.*—The names of knights who held fees or estates in the barony of Roger de Mowbray, with the number of knights' fees held by each of them, were as follows:—Brus, Petrus de, seven knights' fees; Buscy, Oliverus de, one knight's fee; Beauver, John de, half a knight's fee; Constable, Robertus, half a knight's fee; Colville, Thomas de, one knight's fee; Dayvill, Robertus de, two and a half knights' fees; Ecton, Ivo de, one knight's fee; Fitz-Brian, Alanus, half a knight's fee; Greindeorge, William, half a knight's fee; Landa, William de, two knights' fees; Luvayn, Mathus de, half a knight's fee; Malebise, William,

\* *Testa de Nevill*, p. 265.



half a knight's fee; Nevill, Robertus de, one knight's fee; Percy, William de, half a knight's fee; Ripar, Rics de, one knight's fee; Vescy, William de, seven knights' fees; and a female tenant, Wake, Johanna, three knights' fees.

*The Fee of De Brus, or Bruce.*—The names of the knights who held knights' fees in the honour of Petrus de Brus, or Bruce, were:—Barton, William de, five carucates of land, of which, we are told, eleven and a half made a knight's fee in that barony; Camara, Ambrose de, a fourth part of a knight's fee; Cumb, Simon de, one-third of a knight's fee; Flamvill, Elyas de, eight carucates of land, of which ten carucates made a knight's fee in that part of the barony; Friby, Randolphus de, one-third; Fauconburg, Petrus de, one-fifth of a knight's fee; Grimet, Walter, one-third of a knight's fee; Ingram, Robertus de, one and one-third; Harpham, Anselinus de, one knight's fee, except one carucate of land; also, in another manor, three carucates, of which eight carucates make a knight's fee; Helkington, Robertus de, one-third of a knight's fee; Killingham, Robertus de, one knight's fee; Kaerton, Alanus de, one-third; Fossard, Galfridus de, half a knight's fee; Lasceles, Robertus de, eight carucates of land, of which ten make a knight's fee; Mauleverer, John, one knight's fee; Merlay, Roger de, three knights' fees; Maucovenaunt, Galfridus de, half a knight's fee, and also a fourth part of a knight's fee; Mauleverer, Anketinus, half a knight's fee; Malo Laco, Petrus de, one-fourth part of a knight's fee; Tweng, Robertus de, one and a half knight's fee, and three carucates of land, of which eight carucates make a knight's fee.

*Fee of Malo Laco.*—The names of the knights who held knights' fees in the honour of Petrus de Malo Laco, were:—Anlaceby, Robertus de, and his associates, one knight's fee; Aguiloun, Galfridus, one knight's fee; Barketorp, John de, one and a half knight's fee; Bulmer, John de, three knights' fees; Barneby, Richard de, half a knight's fee; Bastard, John de, one knight's fee; Chaumbard, Robert de, one knight's fee; Frivyill, Roger de, one knight's fee; Fitz-Radolph, four carucates of land, of which ten make a knight's fee; Hay, Roger, half a knight's fee, also another half fee; Hothum, Robert de, two knights' fees; Langethayte, William de, four carucates of land; Livet, Custancia, two knights' fees; Malore, Anketinus, half a knight's fee; Nevill, Robert de, five knights' fees; Percy, Petrus de, half a knight's fee; Ripar, Robert de, one-fourth a knight's fee;

Skintorp, William de, half a knight's fee; Turkelby, Roger de, half a knight's fee; Thoutorp, Walter de, one-fourth a knight's fee; and William de Vesey, one knight's fee.

*Fee of de Ros.*—The names of the knights who held knights' fees in the honour of William de Ros were:—Barton, William de, four and a half carucates of land, of which twelve and a half carucates make one knight's fee; Heyn, William, one-fourth knight's fee; Monte Acuto, William de, one and a half knight's fee; Oysiler, William de, "ten bovates of land, making four carucates, of which twelve carucates make a knight's fee;" Ros, William de, four and a half knights' fees.

*The Fee of De Percy.*—The names of the knights who held knights' fees in the honour of William de Percy were:—Fitzfulconis Fulke, one knight's fee; Normanvill, Randolphus, one knight's fee; Percy, William de, one-half a knight's fee; Vavasour, John de, one knight's fee. The names are not given of the knights who held fees under the Percys in Middleton, Stubhus, Askewyth, Lelay, Castelay, Kyrkerby, Tydovre, Kereby, Skeylinghale, Spofford, Folyfayt, Ayketon, Plumton, Merkinfeud, and Asmudeby, but the name immediately preceding these names is Randolphus de Normanvill. Immediately after these are manors held directly from the king by Henry Camerarius, Margerie de Ripariis, Ace de Flixton, Thomas Fitzwilliam, Gerard Sylveyn, Thomas Fitzwilliam, Ivo de Heriz, Sibill de Sancta Maria, and Adam de Ridware.

*The Fee of Robert de Nevill.*—The names of the knights who held knight's fees in the honour of Robert de Nevill were:—Abeton, William de, one knight's fee; Leyrton, William de, one-third of a knight's fee; and Robert de Nevill, himself, two knights' fees.

*The Pagnel Fee.*—The names of the knights who held knights' fees in the honour of Hugh Pagnel were:—Baliol, Wm. de, one-quarter of a knight's fee; Goky, William, one-sixth of a knight's fee; Steyngreve, Henry de, one-eighth of a knight's fee; Steyngreve Simon de, two fees and a quarter, and Pagnel, Hugh, himself, who retained in his own hands two and a half knights' fees.

*The de Warren Fee.*—The names of the knights who held knights' fees in the honour of the Earl de Warren were:—Frescevill, Randolph de, half a knight's fee; Novo Mercato, Adam de, two knights' fees; and one fee, of which the knight's name is not given.

*The Trussebut Fee.*—The names of the knights in the honour

of Agatha Trussebut were :—Aubeny, Odinell de, one knight's fee; Bentley, Simon de, one knight's fee; Palmis, William de, three-quarters of the fee of Odinell de Aubeny; Vescy, William de, three fees of the fee of Rodolph de Mortuo Mair (Mortimer).

*The Chaucy Fee.*—The names of the knights in the honour of Robert de Chaucy were:—Chaucy, Robert de, one knight's fee; Bugetorp, Galfridus de, one knight's fee; Bassett, Petrus, one knight's fee; Fitzwilliam, Rodulf, one knight's fee; Turkeleby, Rogerus de, one knight's fee.

*The Fee of the De Lacys', Earls of Lincoln.*—The names of the knights in the great fee of the De Lacys, earls of Lincoln, were:—Ayketon, Petrus de, one-half of a knight's fee; Allenceu, Richardus, two knight's fees; Aymonde, Richard de, one-half of a knight's fee; Basset, Thomas, one-eighth part of a knight's fee; Birkyne, Thomas de, two knight's fees; Bella Monte, William de, eight parts of a knight's fee; Birckweyt, Petrus de, one-fourth of a knight's fee; Barston, Nicholas de, one-eighth of a knight's fee; Curtenay, John de, one-half of a knight's fee; Camerarius, Robertus, one-eighth part of a knight's fee; Crikalaston, one-eighth part of a knight's fee; Dispensator, Hugo, one-fourth of a knight's fee; Everardus, Teutonicus, one-eighth part of a knight's fee; Fitzgerard, William, one-sixth of a knight's fee; Foliot, Jordanus, two knights' fees; Foliot, Richard, one-half of a knight's fee; Gramaticus, William one-knight's fee; Galfridus Teutonicus, half a knight's fee; Hecke, John de, half a knight's fee; Horton, Robertus de, one-third part of a knight's fee; Horton, Gilbertus Juvenis de, tenth of a knight's fee; Kirkstall, the Abbot of, two knights' fees; Lungvilers, Eude de, one knight's fee; ditto, one knight's fee; Luiresseg, Robert de, one-fourth of a knight's fee; Moubray, Nigellus de, one-half of a knight's fee; Novo Mercato (Newmarket), three knights' fees; Norton, Roger de, one knight's fee, less one carucate; Nevill, Galfridus de, two knights' fees; Pictavens, Thomas, three knights' fees; Preston, Adam de, one knight's fee; Plumton, Robert de, one-fourth part of a knight's fee; Quelledale, Nicholas de, two knights' fees; Quatremars, Colinus de, one-fourth part of a knight's fee; Reyneville, Adam de, four knights' fees; Raley, William de, one-fourth part of a knight's fee; Sinthal, Petrus de, one-half of a knight's fee; Sancta Maria, Jordanus de, two knights' fees; Swylington, William de, one-fourth part of a knight's fee; Stapylton, Robert de, two knights' fees, less one-fifth of one knight's fee; Somerville, William de, one knight's

fee ; Sotil, John de, one-fourth part of a knight's fee ; Seyvill, one-third of a knight's fee ; Tonge, Richard de, one-fourth part of a knight's fee ; Tornton, Roger de, one-half of a knight's fee ; Torhil, John de, one-half of a knight's fee ; Walens, Henry, three knights' fees ; Wenrevill, William de, one knight's fee ; Veilli, Robert de, three knights' fees ; Vernon, Henry de, one-half of a knight's fee.

*The Fee of the Honour of Tickhill.*—The names of the knights who held knights' fees in the honour of Tickhill (Tykehull), were :—Balli, John de, six knights' fees ; the Constable of Chester (De Lacy), eight knights' fees ; Chevre-court, Robert de, two knights' fees ; Chaurcis, Robert de, one knight's fee ; Furnival, Gerard, five knights' fees, and one-fourth ; Fitzwilliam, Robert, two knights' fees ; Hedon, Hugo de, two knights' fees ; Hullecote, one knight's fee ; Heincourt, John de, one knight's fee ; Luvetot, Nigel de, five knights' fees ; Monte Begonis, Roger de, one knight's fee ; Menilla (Manuel), Alexander de, one knight's fee ; Malevoisinus, two knights' fees ; Mauluvel, Robert, one knight's fee ; Marchmont, William de, one knight's fee ; Novo Foro (Newmarch, or Newmarket), Randulf de, one knight's fee ; Novo Foro, Adam de, one-fourth part of a knight's fee ; Neupun, Robert de, one knight's fee ; Pincerna (Butler), one knight's fee ; Steinton, Hugh de, one knight's fee ; Sandeby, Robert de, one and one-eighth knight's fee ; Selven, Richard, one knight's fee ; Saint Quintin, one knight's fee ; Scelton, Richard de, one-half of a knight's fee ; Wlvassic, Adam de, one knight's fee ; Vescy, Eustace de, seven parts of a knight's fee ; Wlangton, Thomas de, two knights' fees.

*Fee of the Honour of Thomas Fitzwilliam.*—Flixton Ace and his associates held eight carucates of land, of which nineteen and a half make one knight's fee. Sylveyn Gerardus held one fee in the same honour, and Ivo de Heris, and Sibilla de Sancta Maria and Adam de Rydewar held two fees, of the fee of Oliver de Ayncourt.

*The Tallages of Abbeyes and Friories.*—The clergy, and especially the great monastic houses, were taxed separately. In Testa de Nevill we find accounts of payments made by them towards four tallages in the reign of Henry III.\* According to these the abbot of Selby, paid 20 pounds; the prior of Pontefract, 15 marks; the prior of Brask, 5 marks; the abbot of St. Agatha, 5 marks; the abbot of Melsa paid a palfrey, or its value in money; the abbot of Jervaulx paid two palfreys; the abbot of Rivaulx paid three palfreys;

\* Testa de Nevill, p. 367.

the abbot of Byland, two palfreys; the abbot of Kirkstall, two palfreys; the abbot of St. Mary of York paid 100 marks; the abbot of Whitby, 20 pounds; the prior of Bridlington, 15 marks; the prior of Kirkham, 10 marks; the prior of Guisborough, 25 marks; the bishop of Durham, 200 pounds; the prior of Drax, 5 marks; the prior of Bolton, 5 marks; the prior of Newborough, 10 marks; the prior of Marton, 2 marks; the prior of St. Oswald, 10 pounds; the prior of Bridlington, 20 marks; the prior of Kirkham, 20 marks; the prior of Warter, 5 marks; and the prior of Bretton, 20 shillings.\*

We find the following additional information with regard to knights' fees in the De Lacy Fee, unconnected with the names of the knights holding them:—Bollinge, three parts of a knight's fee, Petrus de Ayketon being the knight immediately mentioned before; in Calverley, half a knight's fee, John de Courtenay being the knight mentioned before; in Hillum, of the fee of Buschard, half a fee, less seven carucates, immediately following the Abbot de Kirkstall; in Loeresford, Sarneston, and Hanepok, one knight's fee; in the fee of Gant one knight's fee; in Elmeshall, the fourth part of a knight's fee; in Hanelay, the fourth part of a knight's fee; in Ulflay, the fourth part of a knight's fee; in Berig, probably Brighouse, half a knight's fee; in the town of Bradford, or as it is written, Vallis de Bradeford, which seems to mean the Valley of Bradford, half a knight's fee; in Sitlington, the eighth part of a knight's fee; and in Whitelay, the eighth part of a knight's fee.

We have also some particulars as to the scutages paid in particular parts of the De Lacy fee. We are informed that Thomas de Aubrey, and Roger de Thornton pay 5*s.* 4*d.* when the scutage was fixed at two marks; that the vicme, which seems to be the vice-comes or high sheriff, pays at the same rate; that Clayton pays 11*s.* 8*d.* to a scutage of two marks; Skelmerthorpe, 2*s.* 6*d.*; the land of Borel de Lofthouse, then pays 1*s.* 8*d.*; that Henry Venator (the Hunter) pays 5*s.* 4*d.*, Henry de Carleton 10*d.*, William de Hardwick 2*s.*, William Aky 1*s.* 4*d.*, Hesel 1*s.* 8*d.*, and Alexander de Chivet 2*s.* 6*d.*

Various sergeanties, or hereditary offices, existed in the city of York, and in other places. In these cases the services were usually paid for in grants of land, though in some cases the payment was made in money fees. All these parties were bound to join the armies of the king in time of war, or to render some other public

\* Testa de Nevill, 375.

service. The presentation of several churches was also in the hands of the king.

Another still more productive source of income to the crown, was the wardship of the estates of all heirs and heiresses holding lands from the king. Thus we find, that the two daughters of Radulph Fitzbernard of Hoton, were in the gift of the king; that Isabella, the wife of Peter de Malo Laco, had been in the gift of the king, and that she had been a considerable heiress, having had estates of the value of three hundred pounds a year; that Margaret de Ryvers had been in the gift of the king, and that her estates were of the value of twenty pounds a year; that Andrew Lutterell ought to have been in the gift of the king, and that his estates were of the value of twenty pounds a year; that Michael the son and heir of Leonis de Anastan was in the gift of the king, and that his estates were of the value of one hundred shillings a year. We are also informed, that Radulph Fitzwalter had two bovates of land in Pocleton, which land was in the bondage of the king.

Various grants of aids were occasionally made to the king by Parliament, and in early times levies were raised without any legal authority. We find from Testa de Nevill, that the sum of £64 14s. 1½*d.* was paid by the tenants of the honour of Tickhill to Alexander de Vilers and William de Chaurcis, collectors of an aid made to King Henry III. for the purpose of marrying his sister to the king of the Romans, that is, to the heir to the German Empire. On the same occasion a sum of twenty pounds was paid by the tenants of the barony of Mowbray for the same purpose. About the same time, the sum of seventy-two pounds was paid by the tenants of the honours of Petrus de Brus and Peter de Malo Laco, Andrew Lutterell, Hugh Paganel, William de Ross, John Fitzrobert, and Richard de Percy for a similar purpose. Another sum of £52 11s. 4*d.* was paid to Gerardus Silveyn and Thomas de Lotton, either for this or some similar purpose, to which sum the earl of Almarle paid twelve pounds, William de Vesey, four pounds, and Thomas Fitzgerald £1 17s. 7*d.* Various other payments are also mentioned; in one case we are told that five carucates and six bovates of land were let at a yearly rent of £1 17s. 9*d.*; that two bovates of land were let for ten shillings; that the soke of one of the king's mills was let for four marks a year; that Thomas Fitzwilliam ought to be in the wardship of the king; that his lands in Beleby were of six carucates, that each bovate was worth two

shillings, besides which there were two mills of the value of four shillings. One of the chief heiresses in the county was the wife of Peter de Malo Laco, whose land was worth £300 a year, equal in value to about £4500 of modern money. The marriage of this heiress was in the hands of the king, and in this, as in all other cases of wardship, as much money as possible was no doubt paid for the privilege of marrying according to the wishes of the heir or heiress. These particulars will give some notion of the nature of the royal rights in these ages. They were often grossly abused, and rendered the crown extremely powerful when the barons were not in arms against it, which usually happened when the government became oppressive.

The whole number of Yorkshire knights liable to be called upon for military service in time of war was several hundreds, and they were followed to the field of battle by several thousands of yeomen, burghers, and peasants, armed with bills and bows, the ordinary weapons of English soldiers in those warlike times.

*The Wars in Scotland.*—We have stated that the great object of King Edward I., after having tranquillized Ireland and conquered the principality of Wales, was to unite the whole British Islands into one kingdom. Until the year 1286, he entertained hopes of being able to effect that object by the peaceful and happy means of a marriage between his eldest son Prince Edward, afterwards Edward II., and Margaret the daughter of Eric, king of Norway, and of his queen, Margaret, who was a daughter of Alexander, king of Scotland. In the year 1284 the nobles of Scotland, assembled at Scone, pledged themselves to receive Margaret as heiress to the throne of Scotland. At the beginning of the year 1290, King Edward I. having obtained a papal dispensation for the marriage of Margaret, queen of Scotland, with Prince Edward, wrote to King Eric, to beg that he would send his daughter to England without delay. A marriage contract was accordingly entered into on the 18th July, in the same year, between Prince Edward and Margaret of Scotland; and on the same day the guardians of Scotland notified the completion of the treaty. At that time the lives of ten thousands of men, and the peace of two kingdoms, depended on the life of a tender girl. Had the marriage taken place, the union of England and Scotland would probably have been effected 300 years earlier, than it was ultimately effected, by the marriage of Mary Tudor with the prince of Scotland, which led



to the union of the two kingdoms after the death of Queen Elizabeth. Moreover, had that event taken place, England and France might possibly have escaped the destructive wars which arose out of the marriage of Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward II., with the Princess Isabel of France. But this marriage was not to be; and on the 7th of October, in the year 1290, William, bishop of St. Andrews, having heard a report of the death of Margaret, queen of Scotland, which was afterwards confirmed, urged King Edward to hasten to the borders of Scotland. This he did immediately, and it was ultimately agreed that King Edward should settle the dispute as to the succession of the Bruces, the Baliols, and other claimants, to the crown of Scotland. He did so in the month of October, 1292, when he gave the decision by which he adjudged John de Baliol to be the successor to the crown of Scotland.\* All that is necessary to say in this work on the rival claims of the two great houses of Bruce and Baliol to the throne of Scotland, will be found in the following lines, from the clear and impartial pen of Sir Walter Scott. He says:—"The numerous and strange claims set up to the crown of Scotland, when vacant by the death of Alexander III., make it manifest how very little the indefeasible hereditary right of primogeniture was valued at that period. In fact, the title of the Bruces themselves to the crown, though justly the most popular, when assumed with the determination of asserting the independence of Scotland, was upon pure principle greatly inferior to that of Baliol. For Bruce the competitor claimed as son of Isabella, second daughter of David earl of Huntingdon; and John Baliol, as grandson of Margaret, the elder daughter of that same earl. So that the plea of Bruce was founded upon the very loose idea, that, as the great-grandson of David I., king of Scotland, and the nearest collateral relation of Alexander III., he was entitled to succeed, in exclusion of the great-grandson of the same David, though by an elder daughter."† At the commencement of the year 1293, the English escheator, north of the Trent, was ordered to deliver to John, king of Scotland, his lands in England, viz., Tynedale, Sowerby, and Penrith; and on the 29th June, in the same year, a military summons was sent by King Edward, to Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale, to meet the king of England at London, and to go with him into Gascony.‡

\* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. pp. 638, 731, 735, 741, 756, 784, and 785.

† See Scott's *Poetical Works*, Note 7, on the Lord of the Isles. Canto I.

‡ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. pp. 792 and 804.



It is not easy to say what might have happened, if King Edward had shown more moderation in his dealings with John de Baliol and Robert de Brus; but from the commencement of the dispute between them he regarded himself as lord and master of both; and about the same time that he summoned Robert de Brus to follow him into Gascony, he also summoned John, king of Scotland, to appear at Westminster, to answer the appeal of John Mason, merchant of Gascony, for a denial of justice in Scotland. This was nothing less than the assumption, on the part of King Edward, of supreme authority in Scotland.

Edward thus rendered the position of the new king of Scotland so intolerable, that in the year 1294 John Baliol determined to renounce his homage to the king of England, and, if necessary, to make war upon him. The time was favourable for that purpose; for discord had just then arisen between France and England, and Baliol formed a secret treaty of alliance with France, and stood upon his defence. Seeing himself thus defied, in the year 1296 Edward put himself at the head of 4000 horse and 30,000 infantry, and marched northward to the borders of Scotland. The whole of the forces of Yorkshire joined him under the Earl de Warren, the commander-in-chief, and other Yorkshire barons; and the troops of the Palatine of Durham were commanded in person by Anthony Beck, the warlike bishop of Durham. With these forces Edward laid siege to Berwick-upon-Tweed, which he took after a long and obstinate resistance. He then advanced into Scotland, and laid siege to the strong town of Dunbar. "Whilst Edward pressed the siege of this important place, the inner gate as it might be termed of Scotland, a large force appeared on the descent of the ridge of the Lammermoor hills, above the town. It was the Scottish army moving to the relief of Dunbar, and on the appearance of their banners, the defenders raised a shout of exultation and defiance. But when Warren, earl of Surrey, Edward's ablest general, advanced towards the Scottish army, the Scots with a rashness which," as Sir Walter Scott observes in his account of this battle, "often ruined their affairs before and afterwards, poured down from the advantageous post which they occupied, and incurred by their temerity a dreadful defeat, which laid the whole country open to the invader. The loss of the Scottish army, in the battle of Dunbar, was estimated by English historians at 10,000 men. After this battle the castles of Roxburgh and Edinburgh were taken, and John de Baliol sued for

peace, and made a formal submission to the king of England. King Edward then openly assumed the sovereignty of Scotland in his own name, appointing John de Warren warden of the kingdom, Hugh de Cressingham treasurer, and William de Ormesby justiciar of Scotland, and summoning all the tenants of the crown in that country to take the oath of obedience to him.\*

But this great battle, far from putting an end to the war so rashly commenced by Edward I., was only the beginning of a long succession of desperate conflicts, which continued with short intervals of peace through the greater part of the fourteenth century, and in their disastrous progress laid waste nearly the whole of the lowlands of Scotland, as well as the northern counties of England, to the gates of York. It is no part of the object of this work to follow the course of these events in detail; but we must give such a sketch of them as will render intelligible the progress of events in the county of York, which supplied a large portion of the soldiers employed and sacrificed in these wars.

After the battle of Dunbar, fought in the year 1296, the 26th year of Edward I., the English army continued an unresisted march as far north as Aberdeen and Elgin. John Baliol, brought before King Edward in the castle of Brechin, was stripped of his royal robes, confessed his delinquency, and made a formal surrender of the kingdom of Scotland to the victor. The king of England afterwards held a Parliament at Berwick, where many of the Scotch nobles and others submitted. After this he placed English governors and garrisons in the Scottish castles, and returned to England, "having achieved an easy, and apparently a permanent conquest."†

But, in the year 1297, Sir William Wallace placed himself at the head of what soon became a great national insurrection. According to Sir Walter Scott, Wallace is believed to have been proclaimed an outlaw for the slaughter of an Englishman in a casual affray. After this "he retreated to the woods, collected round him a band of men as desperate as himself, and obtained several successes in skirmishes with the English. Joined by Sir William Douglas, who had been taken at the siege of Berwick, but had been discharged upon ransom, the insurgents compelled Edward to send an army against them, under the command of Warren, earl of Surrey, the victor of Dunbar." By the exertion of much conduct and resolution, Wallace

\* Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, vol. i. p. 61. † Sir Walter Scott's *History of Scotland*, vol. 1. p. 66.

had made himself master of the country beyond the Forth, and taken several castles, when he was summoned to Stirling to oppose Surrey, the English governor of Scotland. Wallace encamped on the north side of the river, leaving Stirling Bridge apparently open to the English, but resolving, as it was long and narrow, to attack them while in the act of crossing. The earl of Surrey had 50,000 infantry and 1000 men-at-arms. The English treasurer, Cressingham, murmured at the expense attending the war; and to bring it to a crisis proposed to commence an attack the next morning, by crossing the river. "Surrey, an experienced warrior, hesitated to engage his troops in the defile of a wooden bridge, where scarce two horsemen could ride abreast; but urged by the imprudent vehemence of Cressingham, he advanced, contrary to common sense, as well as to his own judgment. The vanguard of the English was attacked before they could get into order; the bridge was broken down and thousands perished in the river or by the sword. Cressingham was slain, and Surrey fled to Berwick on the spur, to recount to Edward that Scotland was lost at Stirling, in as short a time as it had been won at Dunbar."\*

After this great victory almost all the Scottish fortresses were surrendered to Sir William Wallace, who immediately brought together a large army, led them across the English border, and sweeping it lengthwise from Newcastle to the gates of Carlisle, left nothing behind him but blood and ashes. King Edward, who was in Flanders when this great disaster occurred, returned to England immediately, and prepared to invade Scotland with a still larger army.

At the commencement of the year 1298, on the 22nd of January, King Edward I. ordered John de Warren, earl of Surrey, to march at once into Scotland, without waiting for the Welsh troops; and on the 30th March of the same year a writ of military summons was issued to 154 of the leading persons of the kingdom, commanding them to attend at York, on Whitsunday, to march against the Scotch. On the 10th April in the same year (1298), the king required John de Warren and others to confer with him at York; and on the same day he again required the sheriffs to direct the knights of the shire and the burgesses to meet him in Parliament at York. In the course of the same year a commission was issued to send miners from Yorkshire to the king at Berwick; and a few

\* Sir Walter Scott's *History of Scotland*, vol. 1. p. 72.

days later Robert de Clifford, another distinguished Yorkshire baron, was appointed the king's commander-in-chief in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Annandale.\*

Whilst making these preparations at York to lead his army into Scotland, Edward was threatened by a violent insurrection of the English barons, commanded by the earl of Hereford, and the Earl Marshal, which he was only able to appease by confirming Magna Charta, and the Charter of the Forests, and by further extending the rights of the English people; giving them a voice in all succeeding Parliaments, and abandoning the right to raise taxes without the consent of their representatives. After obtaining these great concessions from the king, the barons, knights, and yeomen consented to march into Scotland, where they soon afterwards fought a great battle with Sir William Wallace at Falkirk, in which the Scottish army was defeated.

The armies met, July 22, 1298. "The Scottish infantry," says Sir Walter Scott, "were drawn up on a moor, with a morass in front. They were divided into four phalanxes or dense masses, with lances, lowered obliquely over each other, and seeming, says an English historian, 'like a castle lined with steel.'" These spearmen were the flower of the army, in whom Wallace chiefly confided. He commanded them in person, and used the brief exhortation, "I have brought you to the ring; dance as you best can." The English cavalry began the action. The marshal of England led half of the men-at-arms straight across the Scottish front, but in doing so involved them in the morass. The bishop of Durham, who commanded the other division of the English cavalry, was wheeling round the morass on the east; and perceiving this misfortune, became disposed to wait for support. "To mass, bishop!" said Ralph Basset of Drayton, and charged with the whole body. The Scottish men-at-arms went off without couching their lances; but the infantry stood their ground firmly. In the turmoil that followed, Sir John Stewart fell from his horse, and was slain among the archers of Etterick, who died in defending or avenging him. The close bodies of Scottish spearmen, now exposed without means of defence or retaliation, were shaken by the constant showers of arrows; and the English men-at-arms, finally charging them desperately while they were in disorder, broke and dispersed these formidable masses. The Scots were then completely routed, and it was only

\* Rymer's Fœdera.

the neighbouring woods which saved the remnant from the sword. The body of Stewart was found amongst those of his faithful archers, who were distinguished by their stature and fair complexions from all others with which the field was loaded. Macduff and Sir John the Grahame, "the hardy wight, and wise," still fondly remembered as a bosom friend of Sir William Wallace, were slain in the same disastrous action.\*

In the following year (1299) writs of military summons were again issued by King Edward, calling on his subjects to assemble at York on the 12th of November, to proceed against the Scots; and on the 22nd November a mandate was issued to the see of York, to send to Berwick on Tweed the troops which it was bound to provide for the defence of the kingdom.

In the summer of the following year (1300) King Edward I., who was in Scotland, issued an edict to his military commanders to collect 5900 men from Yorkshire, to serve in the war against Scotland. This terrible edict, which must almost have exhausted the male population of the county, was issued at Kirkcudbright on the 26th July. For the next two or three years the war lingered, notwithstanding partial successes on both sides, but only to break out with greater fury than ever.

In the year 1304, the castle of Stirling was taken by the English, and the whole of Scotland appeared to be subdued. We are told by Walsingham that in this year (1304), King Edward, Scotland being subdued according to his wish, committed it to the charge of John de Segrave, the king returning into England. When King Edward came to York, he ordered the sittings of the Court of King's Bench, and of the Exchequer, which had been held for seven years at York, to be removed back to London. In the same year John de Warren, the son of the warden of Scotland, married the grand-daughter of King Edward I.†

But in the following year Sir William Wallace was again in arms, though without success; and after he had been captured, tried, and judicially murdered, Robert Bruce appeared upon the scene, as leader, slew John Comyn at Dumfries, was acknowledged as the king of Scotland, and crowned at Scone. For some time, however, he was unable to resist the great force which King Edward brought against him; but on the 7th July, in the year 1307, England lost a most able king, and Scotland was freed from a most

\* Sir Walter Scott's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 76.

† Walsingham, p. 106.

formidable enemy, by the death of King Edward I., which took place at Burgh-on-the-Sands, near Carlisle, as he was proceeding to invade Scotland.\*

*Wars of Edward II. with Scotland.*—The death of Edward I. deprived the English armies of a great commander, in the person of their king, almost at the time when the open adoption of the national cause by Robert Bruce, gave to Scotland a commander not inferior in military talent to Edward I. The reign of Edward II. is nothing but a succession of disasters, the result of which was not merely to destroy the English armies and northern population engaged in the several invasions in Scotland, but to cause repeated invasions of the whole of the north of England, as far as Preston and the Ribble on the west, and York and the river Ouse on the east of the island, by the Scottish armies. It is unnecessary to describe at any length the course of military events previous to the battle of Bannockburn, fought in the year 1314; but the following sketch founded on Rymer's "Fœdera," on Thomas of Walsingham's "Historia Anglicana," and some other authorities, will show the progress of events in the north of England and on the borders of Scotland during that period.

Edward I. died at Burgh-upon-Sands, on the borders of Scotland, on the 7th July, 1307. "On his death-bed," says a great Scottish writer, "his thoughts were entirely on the Scottish affairs: he made his son swear that he would prosecute the war without truce or breathing-time; he repeated the strange injunction, that his flesh being boiled from his bones, the latter should be transported at the head of the army with which he was about to invade Scotland, and never be restored to the tomb till that obstinate nation was entirely subdued. By way of corollary to this singular precept, the dying king bequeathed his heart, to be sent to the Holy Land, in whose defence he had once fought."†

But Edward II. was as frivolous as his father was ferocious, and determined to return to London, and to his youthful favourites and companions, with as little delay as possible. Before leaving Scotland, on the 6th August, 1307, he made a grant to Piers de Gaveston (who had been banished by his father, Edward I., from England, as a corrupter of his youth) of the county of Cornwall, and of the other possessions in England lately belonging to his uncle, Edmund Plantagenet, earl of Cornwall. Having done this, he

\* Walsingham, vol. i. p. 116.

† Sir Walter Scott's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 99.

appointed Robert de Clifford, one of the most distinguished of the northern barons, to the office of marshal of England, and also appointed John de Britton, earl of Richmond, to be guardian and lieutenant of Scotland. The latter appointment was made at York, on the 13th September, 1307, and from York Edward proceeded to London, leaving his lieutenants to carry on the war with Robert Bruce, as they best could.

The English army would probably have been much better served by the absence than by the presence of Edward II. at the scene of war, had not he and his favourite, De Gaveston, involved themselves in a war with the chief northern barons. The king having, in 1307, granted the whole of the royal rights in Cornwall to this worthless favourite, in the following year made to De Gaveston further grants of manors, castles, and honours, in different counties; and in the year 1309 made to him still further grants of lands, castles, and tenements in Yorkshire. So great was the indignation produced by these and other acts of folly and favouritism, that the barons rose against the king, and compelled him to banish De Gaveston from the kingdom. In a short time, however, the favourite returned to England, and in the year 1312 the king ordered a proclamation to be issued, declaring that Piers de Gaveston had been illegally banished; and that he had returned to England by the king's command.

From January to April, as appears from the date of the royal letters, Edward II. was a resident at York. We are told that in the year 1311-12 he kept his Christmas at York, where Piers de Gaveston, who had been banished from the kingdom, came to him, and, as Stowe the historian says, "was received as a gift from heaven." Early in that year, 1312, Thomas Plantagenet, earl of Lancaster, the nephew of Edward I. and cousin to Edward II., with most of the great northern barons, formed a league for the purpose of again banishing or removing De Gaveston from the king's favour. In that year the earl of Lancaster suddenly raised an army in Yorkshire, and marched to York, with the intention of seizing the favourite. But the king, hearing of his approach, escaped with his favourite to Newcastle-on-Tyne. The barons followed, and Edward had just time to escape thence to Tyne-mouth Castle, where he embarked and sailed with Gaveston to Scarborough. There he appointed his favourite the governor of that castle, which was then one of the strongest fortresses in



the kingdom. In Scarborough, De Gaveston was besieged by the army of the barons, commanded by John de Warren, earl of Surrey, Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, Henry de Percy, and Robert de Clifford, four of the greatest commanders of that age. De Gaveston, knowing the hatred with which he was regarded by the barons, defended the castle with the courage of desperation, and repulsed several assaults. But all communication with the king being interrupted, and the provisions exhausted, he was at last compelled to capitulate. From Scarborough Piers de Gaveston was conducted as a prisoner of state, and an enemy of the nation, to the neighbourhood of Warwick, where he was seized by the earl of Warwick, whom he had nicknamed the "Black Dog of Arden," and beheaded on Blacklow Hill, near Warwick and Kenilworth, on the 20th of June, 1312. Edward II., though fully bent on revenge, and having even ordered John de Mowbray to arrest Henry de Percy, who had permitted and, indeed, promoted the death of Piers de Gaveston, found it necessary to temporize, and even to appoint the earls and barons, who had assisted in destroying his favourite, to command the army, which he was collecting in the north of England for that great struggle, which was decided at Bannockburn, on the 25th June, 1314.

*The Battle of Bannockburn.*—In the year 1313–14, the seventh year of the reign of Edward II., Scotland was again in arms; and the Scotch armies entering Northumbria, laid waste the country, slaying the inhabitants, and burning many towns.

In this year King Edward II., after paying his devotions at the shrines of St. Albans and Ely, passed through Lincoln, and thence northward, through York and Newcastle-on-Tyne, to Scotland. Arriving at Berwick-on-Tweed, he summoned all his earls, barons, knights, and archers, to follow him to the field. Many joined, but others refused. Amongst those who refused to join him in this campaign were Thomas, earl of Lancaster, and the earls of Warren, Warwick, and Arundel, four of the greatest of the northern earls. This was a serious diminution of his strength, and had some effect in bringing about the great disasters which afterwards befel the king and his army.

On the 24th June, in the year 1314, Edward II. was defeated in the ever memorable battle of Bannockburn near Stirling, in which his splendid army was either entirely destroyed, or utterly dispersed, by Robert Bruce and the Scottish army. Amongst the Englishmen



who fell in that desperately contested battle, were Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, Robert de Clifford, William Marshal, Egidus de Argentine, with nearly all the knights and leaders of the north of England, except those who had refused to join the English king. Edward fled from the field of battle, at the rate of sixty miles a day, and escaped into England, where he ultimately met with a still more deplorable fate than he could have encountered on that field. After this great victory, the Scottish army marched into England, and laid waste the whole country, from the borders, as far as the gates of York. Robert Bruce even thought himself strong enough to invade and to conquer Ireland; but in that undertaking he failed, his brother Edward Bruce perishing in the attempt.

To the close of the reign of Edward II., and for several years after the battle of Bannockburn, the whole of the north of England was overrun repeatedly by the Scottish armies; and in the year 1319 Robert Bruce, for the purpose of compelling Edward II. to raise the siege of Berwick, sent Douglas and Randolph into England, at the head of 15,000 men. This army entered England on the west marches, and turning eastward, made a hasty march towards York, for the purpose of surprising the person of the queen of England, who then resided near that city. Isabella received notice of their purpose, and fled hastily southward. "It may be observed in passing," says Sir Walter Scott, "that her husband was little indebted to those who supplied her with the tidings which enabled her to make her escape."

*The Battle of Mytton.*—The Scots proceeded, as usual, to ravage the country. The archbishop of York, in the absence of a more professional leader, assumed arms, and assembled a large but motley army, consisting partly of country people, ecclesiastics, and others, having little skill or spirit save that which despair might inspire. The Scots encountered them with the advantage which leaders of high courage and experience possess over those who are inexperienced in war, and veteran troops over a miscellaneous and disorderly levy. The conflict took place near Mytton, on the river Swale, 20th September, 1319. By the simple stratagem of firing some stacks of hay, the Scots raised a dense smoke, under cover of which a division of the army turned, unperceived, around the flank of the archbishop's host, and got into their rear. The irregular ranks of the English were thus attacked in front and rear at once, and instantly routed with great slaughter. Three hundred of the

clerical order fell in the action, or were slain in the rout, whilst many of the fugitives were driven into the Swale. In the savage pleasantry of the times, this battle, in which so many clergymen fell, was called the "White Battle" and the "Chapter of Mytton."\*

*The Battle of Boroughbridge.*—Whilst the north of England was thus overrun, Thomas Plantagenet, earl of Lancaster, the cousin of the king, with many other nobles, rose in insurrection, with the intention of deposing Edward II., and perhaps, of placing the earl of Lancaster on the throne, in his place. In this design, however, they were unsuccessful, for the king was still strong enough to collect a powerful army, and to strike a successful blow in defence of his crown.

In the year 1321 the earl of Lancaster and his associates, having collected a formidable army at Burton-upon-Trent, attempted to hold that line of defence against the royal army, which was advancing from the south, under the command of the earl of Kent and other able commanders. After three days' severe fighting in the neighbourhood of Burton, the earls of Lancaster and Hereford were compelled to fall back into Yorkshire, and to retreat to Boroughbridge, where the confluence of the Swale and the Ure forms a strong military position, in good hands. This line they also attempted to defend, though unsuccessfully.

In this battle the earl of Hereford, of the great family of the De Bohuns, was slain on the bridge, being thrust through the body with a spear, by a man concealed under the bridge; and the earl of Lancaster was still more unfortunate, for he was taken prisoner alive, with the greater part of his followers. The earl of Lancaster, after being made prisoner, was conveyed to his own castle at Pontefract, where, after undergoing the greatest insults, he was tried and condemned by a council of war; and executed, on a hill outside the fortress of Pontefract.

King Edward II., having defeated the barons, thought himself strong enough for another attack upon Scotland. In this, however, he failed entirely; for although he led his army into Scotland, he was unable to sustain it there, from the failure of every kind of supplies. Hence he was compelled to retreat into England, closely followed by a large Scottish army, which again overran the northern counties, and advanced to the walls of York. Within those walls Edward II. himself took shelter, after a precipitate flight from

\* Sir Walter Scott's History, vol. i. p. 137.

Byland Abbey, where he was nearly taken prisoner by the Scots. In this respect he was more fortunate than his great vassal, John, earl of Richmond, who was captured by the Scots, and long held for ransom.

In the following year (1323) Sir Andrew Hartcla, the governor of Carlisle, who had assisted the king in putting down the insurrection of the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, formed an alliance with the Scots, and declared war against the king; but before he could effect anything of importance he was surprised by Anthony de Lucy, in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, was taken prisoner, and put to death as a traitor.

But this success did not free Edward II. from his numerous and formidable enemies, both at home and abroad. In the hope of making peace with King Robert Bruce of Scotland, he acknowledged him as the lawful king of Scotland, and on the 30th May, 1323, concluded a truce with him for thirteen years. This truce was concluded whilst King Edward was staying at Bishopthorpe, near York; and was confirmed by Robert, king of Scotland, in a confirmation given at Berwick upon Tweed, on the 7th June, in the same year. In a few years after, in the year 1327, King Edward II. was deposed, and was murdered in Berkeley Castle. In the month of January, 1327, his deposition was formally recognized in a Parliament held at Westminster, and at the same time his youthful son Edward III. was acknowledged as the rightful heir to the crown, to which he personally succeeded, in the year 1329, and held with wonderful success for fifty years.

*The Wars of King Edward III.*—The accession of King Edward III. to the throne of England in the year 1327, and the death of King Robert Bruce of Scotland, on the 7th of June, in the year 1329, gave to England a youthful king whose military talents in a few years fully rivalled those of his grandfather, Edward I., whilst the successor of Robert Bruce inherited nothing but his father's valour and fame. Those indeed were sufficient to secure the independence of Scotland, and to render all the efforts of both Edward III. and of Edward Baliol, to supersede the line of Bruce, unavailing. But they were not sufficient to make up for the disparity in numbers between the armies of the two countries, or to save Scotland, as well as England, from great disasters, or the descendant of Bruce from a long and cruel captivity in England, after the total defeat of his army, at Nevill's Cross, near Durham.

At the time of the murder of Edward II. of England, and the accession of the Queen Isabella and Mortimer to power in the year 1327, England and Scotland were at peace, a truce for thirteen years having been concluded at Berwick on the 7th June, 1323; and it would have been happy for both countries if this period of peace had been allowed to run out uninterrupted. But "it is probable," says Sir Walter Scott, "that Robert Bruce was determined to take advantage of the confusion occasioned by this convulsion in England, to infringe the truce, and renew the war, with the purpose of compelling an advantageous peace. The truth seems to be that Robert Bruce having some plausible pretexts, and possibly some powerful reasons of state, for putting an end to the truce, was desirous to avail himself of the opportunity afforded by the internal disturbances of England, to bring matters to a final issue, and either to resume the war at a period which promised advantage, or obtain a distinct recognition of the independence of Scotland, and an acknowledgment of his own title to the crown."

We are informed by Froissart and other historians that the Scottish king desired also to avail himself of the opportunity to obtain, in permanent sovereignty, some part of the northern provinces of England. It is highly probable that such a claim was stated, and founded upon the possession of Cumberland and Westmoreland, by the Scottish kings to the time of David I., and on the claim to Northumbria, made by that monarch, before the battle of the Standard. But Sir Walter Scott is of opinion "that the serious prosecution of such a design neither accords with the Bruce's policy, nor with his actual conduct. He well knew that Northumberland and Cumberland, over the former of which Scotland had once a claim, were now become part of England, and attached to that country by all the ties of national predilection; and that although a right to them might be conceded in the hour of distress, it would only create a perpetual cause of war for their recovering its superiority."\*

Whatever may have been Robert Bruce's object in renewing the war with England, the result was to bring a long succession of disasters on his own country, as well as upon England. The negotiations for the continuance of peace were broken off in the month of May, 1327, when the youthful King Edward assembled a powerful army at York, to resist the invasion of the northern counties of Eng-

\* Sir Walter Scott's History of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 154.

land by Randolph and Lord James Douglas, who, under the direction of Bruce, were laying waste the bishopric of Durham, "marking their course with more than their usual ferocity of devastation." Robert Bruce himself, though only fifty years of age, was affected by a disease of the blood, then termed the leprosy, which prevented him leading his armies in person. The king of England, on the other hand, at the head of a princely army of 60,000 men, including 500 belted knights, animated by the presence of the queen-mother and fifty ladies of the highest rank, who witnessed their departure, set out from York with the determination of chastising the invaders and destroyers of his country. But all his efforts to bring on a general battle failed; for the Scottish army, being much less numerous than the English, refused to fight except in strong and defensible positions; and King Edward III., who was still a mere boy, and under the control of a headstrong woman and her worthless minion, did not possess the military skill to force a battle, on ground favourable to his own army. Yet the youthful king succeeded in saving a considerable portion of his territories from devastation, including the greater part of the county of York.

After marching and countermarching for several weeks, King Edward, or his advisers, made an offer of land worth £100 a year (or about £1500 of modern money), with the honour of knighthood, to any one who should bring certain notice to his head-quarters as to where the Scottish army could be found; and on the 31st July, Thomas de Rokeby, a Yorkshire gentleman, returned to claim the promised reward. Under his leadership the Scottish army was found only six or seven miles from the English, drawn up on the crest of a steep hill, at the foot of which ran the river Wear, through a rocky channel, so that an attack upon determined men and veteran soldiers in such a position must have been attended with destruction to the assailants. After the two armies had watched each other for four days, exchanging idle challenges, the Scottish army retired in the night to a still stronger position, called Stanhope Deer Park, the property of the bishop of Durham. Here the armies confronted each other as formerly; the English declining to attack, on account of the strength of the Scottish position; the Scots refusing battle against an army superior to their own. After a brilliant attempt of Douglas to capture the youthful king, in a night attack, the English troops retreated to Durham, and the Scottish army, having completely plundered the whole country,

retired northward, where it was joined by King Robert Bruce, who then besieged the castles of Norham and Alnwick. In the spring of the following year a truce was agreed to between the two countries, which was concluded at Edinburgh on the 17th of March, 1328, and ratified in a Parliament held at Northampton, on the 4th of May, in the same year. Amongst other conditions of this peace, one of the most important was, that the English Princess Johanna, the sister of King Edward III., then a child only seven years old, was placed in the custody of the Scottish king, to be united at a fitting age to her boy bridegroom, David Bruce, who was himself two years younger. This peace was nearly the last act of Robert Bruce; for, on the 7th of June, 1329, he died, at the almost premature age of fifty-four.

The devastation of the northern provinces of England, and the unfavourable, though not unreasonable, conditions of the treaty of Northampton, had left a very angry feeling in England; and soon after the death of Robert Bruce this feeling led to open war between the two countries. The pretext for renewing the war on the side of the English was, that the article of the treaty of Northampton had not been carried out, which provided that the English barons, Lords Beaumont and Wake, with Sir Henry Percy, should be restored to their estates in Scotland, declared to be forfeited by Robert Bruce. Of the three, Percy alone had been restored. This movement would have come to nothing if the malcontents had not been joined by Edward Baliol, the son of John Baliol, who had been brought back to England on the occasion of the recent war with Scotland, and who now set up a claim to the throne of that kingdom. Edward III., like Bruce a few years ago, appears to have sought a pretext for war. Under pretence of strictly observing the truce between the two kingdoms, he prohibited the disinherited barons from entering Scotland by the land frontier, but connived at their embarking for Scotland at Ravenspurn, in Yorkshire, near the mouth of the Humber. The regent of Scotland, Randolph, died suddenly in the year 1332, just at the time when this expedition sailed; and though Baliol, on his landing, was opposed by large armies, these were so completely demoralized by faction and treason, that they were defeated in a night attack made on them on Dupplin Moor, with a loss of 13,000 men, or more than four times the entire amount of the army of Baliol. The result was that Edward Baliol, for a short time, obtained

possession of the Scottish crown; but not possessing any real talent, he was soon after defeated, and compelled to escape across the borders, by his pretended subjects.

*The Battle of Halidon Hill, near Berwick.*—In the course of the same campaign, Sir Andrew Moray, a soldier of Bruce's school, calm, sagacious, and dauntlessly brave, who had been appointed regent of Scotland, was taken prisoner by the English in an engagement near Roxburgh Castle; and soon after, Sir William Douglas was also defeated by an English force and made prisoner. The regency of Scotland then fell into the hands of another of the Douglasses, who, forgetting or disregarding the earnest admonition of Robert Bruce, determined to give battle to King Edward III., who had advanced to the Scottish borders, and was then laying siege to the great border fortress of Berwick. On the morning of the 19th of June the Scottish army abandoned its position on Halidon Hill, and attacked the English with inconsiderate impetuosity. In doing so they exposed their whole army, whilst descending the hill and crossing the morass, to the formidable discharge of the English archers, to whom they had no similar force to oppose. The consequence was, that they lost their ranks and became embarrassed in the morass, where many were slain. But the nobles, who fought on foot in complete armour at the head of their followers, made a desperate effort to lead a great part of the army through the bog, and ascended the opposite hill. They came to close battle with the English, who, in calm and perfect order, were not long in repulsing an attack made by disordered ranks and breathless soldiers. The result was a final defeat, in which the regent Douglas was taken prisoner, after receiving severe wounds, of which he afterwards died. Amongst the slain on the field of battle was the venerable earl of Lennox, the faithful companion of Robert Bruce. The earls of Ross, Carrick, Sutherland, Monteith, and Athol, were all slain, together with knights and barons to a countless number, and all with trifling loss on the part of the English.

*The Invasion of England by King David II. The Battle of Nevill's Cross.*—The losses of the Scottish army in this battle were so great that it was supposed by the English that they would never rally; but after long-continued conflicts in every part of Scotland they gradually wore out the English forces, and in the year 1346, not only had the English lost the whole of Scotland, but a large army, under King David Bruce, was strong enough to



advance into England, overrun Northumberland, and fight a great battle under the walls of Durham. At that time the mass of the English army was in France, under the command of King Edward III. But the great northern barons of England, Percy and Nevill, Scrope, Hastings, and Musgrave, assembled all the forces of the north. In the final conflict at Nevill's Cross, near Durham, amidst repeated charges, and the most dispiriting slaughter by the continuous discharge of the English arrows, David Bruce showed that he had the courage, but not the talents of his father. He was twice severely wounded with arrows, but continued to encourage his peers and officers to fight to the last. At length, in a close personal encounter, Sir John Copeland, a Northumberland knight, grappled with David and made him prisoner, but not before the king had struck out two of Copeland's teeth with his gauntlet.

*The Restoration of Peace between England and Scotland.*—This desperate battle did not put an end to the wars between England and Scotland; but it had considerable effect in inducing both the nations to long for peace. They were, in fact, both of them worn out to exhaustion, and King David Bruce, being a prisoner in England, became extremely anxious for the close of the war, which seemed likely to keep him a prisoner for life. In the year 1357, eleven years after the battle of Nevill's Cross, David Bruce was restored to freedom, on an engagement to pay as ransom a sum of 100,000 marks, equal in value to £1,500,000 of modern money, and ultimately the war was ended by a truce for fourteen years, concluded in the year 1369. From that time there was no great war between England and Scotland for many years, although the Douglasses and the Percys kept the border in a very unsettled state. In the year 1388 the earl of Douglas defeated Sir Henry Percy, or rather Henry Lord Percy, the famous Hotspur, at Otterburn, in Reedsdale; and a few years later Henry Hotspur returned the blow, and defeated another of the Douglasses at Homildon, near Wooler, also in Northumberland. The latter battle was fought in the year 1402, and was the close of hostilities on an extensive scale, between England and Scotland, for nearly 100 years.

*The Trade of Yorkshire in the Reign of King Edward III.*—The most prosperous period in the rule of the Plantagenet kings was about the middle of the reign of King Edward III., when the kingdom enjoyed internal peace, was victorious abroad, and when an extensive trade had been opened with the merchants of Flanders.



They at all times, when allowed to do so, eagerly bought up the wool of England, which was then the principal export of this kingdom. It was then considered to be the best in Europe, and was produced in very large quantities. Owing to the mildness of the English winters and the moistness of the English summers, England had always had a great superiority in the power of producing the kinds of wool specially suited to commerce. Even now, the quantity of wool grown in England, Scotland, and Ireland, is very great, although it is only recently that we have been able to form any correct estimates, either of the number of sheep existing in England, or the quantity of wool yielded by them.

In the reign of King Edward III. and the other early English kings, wool was the only great article of export. In the year 1354, the value of the wool exported from England was estimated at £193,978, of the money of that time, the total value of the exports of that year being £212,338. Allowing for the difference in the value of money at that time, as compared with the present, the whole value of the exports in the year 1354 would be from two and a half to three millions sterling,\* chiefly consisting of wool.

We have, fortunately, tolerably correct means of knowing what was the quantity of wool which each county of England was considered capable of furnishing at this time, and for which it was held accountable either in wool or in money. In the year 1340 (14th Edward III.), the commons of England, through their representatives in Parliament assembled, made to that most popular and warlike king a grant of 30,000 packs of wool (valued at £4 per pack in the money of that time, but at least ten times as much in modern money), to enable him to meet the enormous expenses which he stated that he was about to incur, by putting in, and supporting with the whole military power of England, a claim to the throne of France, which he claimed to be his own, as the son and heir of the Princess Isabel of France, the wife of King Edward II. Worthless as this claim was, being in direct opposition to the fundamental law of France, it was highly popular in England, and gave rise to a series of wars, which continued at intervals for a period of nearly 100 years. These are the wars which are known in French history as the Hundred Years' War, and which raged at intervals from the early part of the reign of Edward III., A.D. 1340, to the middle of the reign of Henry VI., A.D. 1440. They commenced with a grant,

\* Charles Knight's Pictorial History of England, vol. i. p. 832.

from the English Parliament, of the ninth of the wool and other agricultural produce of the kingdom, and of the property of the burgesses of towns. These amounted to upwards of £120,000 in the money of that time, equal to at least £1,500,000 of modern money; and before they were ended these wars must have cost 100 times that sum, either in money or in personal service.

In the year 1341 a government estimate was formed of the amount of wool or money which each county of England, and the three Ridings of Yorkshire, could afford to pay towards the first tax of 20,000 sacks of wool, then valued at £4 per sack. At that time the county of Norfolk was the richest county in England, and was considered capable of paying 2206 sacks of wool, or an equal value in money; equal in the money of that time to £8828, and in modern money to about £104,000. No other county came near to this amount. The largest payments made were those of the county of Kent, which contributed 1274 sacks of wool, of the value of £5096 in the money of that time. The county of Lincoln paid 1265 sacks of wool, then valued at £5064; and that of Suffolk 959 sacks, valued at £3836. The payments of Yorkshire were, for the West Riding, 334 sacks of wool, valued at £1336 in the money of that time; for the East Riding, 499 sacks, of the value of £2000; for the North Riding, 275 sacks, valued at £1100; and for the city of York, 49 sacks, valued at £200. The total payments of Yorkshire were 1157 sacks of wool, valued in the money of the time at £4606, equal in modern money to at least £40,000. The city of London paid 503 sacks, valued at £2112. Taking the twenty-nine counties for which returns have been preserved, the number of sacks of wool supplied to the government was 20,376, valued at that time at £81,504, worth in modern money about £978,048. This would make the whole value of the 30,000 sacks of wool, voted by Parliament to King Edward III., equal to at least a million and a half of pounds sterling in modern money.

This wool, when collected at the seaports of London, Lynn, Boston, Hull, and the few other places in which the staple of wool existed, was shipped to Antwerp and Bruges, and was there sold to the merchants and manufacturers of Flanders, generally at very high prices: for it was only when the kings of England were greatly in want of money, that the export of wool was permitted. As a general rule, the export of that article was strictly prohibited. It is probable that the great wealth of the famous family of the De La

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Poles, of Hull, was augmented if not created by the trade in wool, though they were also extensively engaged in the trade in dried fish or, as it was then called, stock fish, carried on with Iceland. It was also in this reign that Flemish manufacturers were encouraged to settle in England. By a royal proclamation, dated October 12, 1336, Edward III. granted protection to all foreign cloth-workers, coming to England, and a special protection was given by him to William and Hanikin, weavers of Brabant, coming into England, to exercise their trade at York. One of the first acts of King Edward III., after he had obtained the complete command of the government, in the year, 1333, was to issue an order granting protection and safe-conduct for merchants of all nations. It appears from another royal order of this reign, that there was already a considerable trade in wine at the port of Hull. All the orders above mentioned are preserved in Rymer's "Fœdera;" and on the whole, they show a considerable amount of intelligence, in the commercial policy of Edward III., the greatest of the Plantagenet kings of England.

## CHAPTER X.

THE WARS FOR THE SUCCESSION TO THE ENGLISH CROWN IN THE  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

*The Wars of York and Lancaster.*—The incessant wars of the three Edwards with France, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, had rendered the English people a nation of soldiers, and had thus prepared them for the long and desperate conflicts for the throne, which broke out after the death of Edward III., and the feeble and troubled minority of his grandson, Richard II. These wars commenced with the landing of Henry of Bolingbroke, duke of Lancaster, at Ravenspurn, at the mouth of the Humber, in the year 1399; attained their full force in the great battles of Wakefield and Towton, both fought, in the county of York, in the years 1460–61; and were brought to a final close by the defeat of the army of the pretended duke of York, Perkin Warbeck, in the year 1493. At that time the whole of the English people, as we have already seen, were trained in and for war; and this was more especially the case in the northern counties, within reach of the Scottish borders, and in the west midland counties, along the borders of Wales. In these unsettled districts the Percys, earls of Northumberland and afterwards of Worcester; the Nevills, earls of Westmoreland, of Salisbury, and of Warwick; the De Cliffords, earls of Cumberland; the Stanleys, afterwards earls of Derby; the Mortimers, earls of Marche; and the De Bohun's, earls of Hereford—were the hereditary commanders of the whole armed population. These are the names which we find in the accounts of all the desperate civil wars of the fifteenth century, along with those of the Dacres, the Fauconbergs, the Scropes of Masham, and the De la Poles, earls, and afterwards dukes of Suffolk, the ennobled descendants of William De la Pole, the great merchant of Hull. Any two or three of these great families were powerful enough to stir up a formidable insurrection, either in the northern counties or along the Welsh borders; and the insurrections thus commenced seldom failed to extend over the greater part of England.

The grand object of contest during nearly the whole of the fifteenth century, was the right of succession to the English throne, which was vehemently disputed amongst the descendants of Edward III. On Edward's death the throne passed to Richard II., the only son of Edward's eldest son, the Black Prince. But he succeeded to it as a boy, of the age of eleven years, and was dethroned and murdered, almost before he had attained the full age of manhood, by Henry of Bolingbroke, afterwards King Henry IV., the son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward III. But the murder of Richard II., whilst it gave the throne to the house of Lancaster for nearly three generations, during the reigns of Henry IV., Henry V., and part of that of Henry VI., never secured that house any peaceful enjoyment of the position which it had grasped. According to the well established law of succession to the throne of England, the crown belonged, after the death of Richard II., and the premature demise of William of Hatfield, the second son of Edward III., to the descendants of Lionel, duke of Clarence, who was the elder brother of John of Gaunt, and the third son of Edward III. This claim, though long belonging to women and children of the house of Mortimer, who had acquired it by the marriage of Philippa, the daughter of Prince Lionel, never died out, and never ceased to be a ground of alarm to Henry IV. and his two next successors, Henry V. and Henry VI. But it was not until the reign of Henry VI., who was long childless and always imbecile, that the claim of Lionel, duke of Clarence, became really formidable, by having passed by marriage and descent into the family of the dukes of York, also the descendants of Edward III. by his fifth son, Edmund. They were the undoubted heirs of the house of Mortimer, the representatives of Lionel, duke of Clarence; and having become much more powerful than Henry VI., by the great military talents and services of Richard, duke of York, in Normandy and in Ireland, and by their intermarriages with the Nevills, Stanleys, and other great families, they then put forth their claim to the throne. This they at last successfully asserted, and placed the crown on the head of King Edward IV. But this was not effected without long and desperate contests with the adherents of the house of Lancaster; and that house afterwards succeeded in recovering the throne, in dethroning Richard III., and in placing the crown on the head of Henry VII. But even his claim was disputed by a considerable portion of his subjects, who rose in

insurrection, in support of a pretended duke of York, and who ultimately only consented to submit to Henry VII. as the husband of the Princess Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of Edward IV. Thus it was that no king reigned in England, with an undisputed title, from the death of Richard II. to the accession of Henry VIII., a period of upwards of a hundred years. During that time four kings either perished in battle or in imprisonment; and those who escaped a violent death did so by vanquishing their enemies in the field. In this long period there was seldom an interval of a dozen years without some violent disturbance; and the whole kingdom was kept in constant excitement and alarm, especially the northern and the west midland counties, in which the great families, above enumerated, ruled with almost absolute sway, and kept the country in commotion with perpetual conspiracies or rebellions.

The root and origin of these long years of civil war was the overgrown power of the Plantagenets, dukes of Lancaster, the descendants of Edmund Plantagenet, earl of Lancaster, the younger son of King Henry III. by the female line, and of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward III. by the male line. John of Gaunt had married Lady Blanche Plantagenet, the heiress of Edmund, the first earl of Lancaster, through his descendants Thomas and Henry, earls of Lancaster, and Henry, duke of Lancaster. The house of Lancaster was thus connected with the throne by a double line of descent, and both these lines were occasionally used in defending its claims. According to the extreme claims of the house of Lancaster, Edmund, the first earl of Lancaster, was the elder son and heir of King Henry III., and had been set aside on account of a bodily deformity, to make way for Edward I., who, according to this statement, was a younger son of Henry III. This claim (for which there was not a shadow of foundation), was not often asserted, though on more than one occasion it seems to have been relied upon, both by John of Gaunt, and by his son Henry IV. More generally, however, the claim of the house of Lancaster was founded on its descent from John of Gaunt, the fourth son of Edward III.; and it really rested either on that or on the wealth and power of that House, and the parliamentary grant of the crown to Bolingbroke and his descendants.

The immense power and wealth of the House of Lancaster arose partly from profuse grants of King Henry III., who united in his

son Edmund the three great earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby; partly from the marriage of Thomas, the second earl of Lancaster, with Alicia de Lacy, the only child and heiress of Henry, earl of Lincoln, lord of the honours of Pontefract and Clitheroe, and constable of Chester, which Alicia also inherited the estates of her mother, the heiress to the earls of Salisbury, the descendants of Henry II. and the fair Rosamond; and partly from marriages with the heiresses of earls of Albermarle, who were amongst the great Yorkshire barons, and with Maria de Bohun, the heiress of the earls of Hereford, who were amongst the most powerful and warlike noblemen on the Welsh borders. With all these vast estates; with numerous strong castles in many parts of the kingdom, of which those of Pontefract, Tickhill, Knaresborough, Richmond, and Pickering, in Yorkshire, were amongst the strongest; and with connection by marriage with the great house of Percy—the Plantagenets of the house of Lancaster ultimately became more powerful than the elder branch of the royal house, although kings of England. Thomas, the second earl of Lancaster, was indeed defeated and slain in his attempt to dethrone King Edward II.; but Henry Plantagenet, known from the place of his birth as Henry Bolingbroke, the son of John of Gaunt, was completely successful in his contest with Richard II., whom he dethroned and put to death in his great Yorkshire castle of Pontefract, the very place at which Henry's ancestor, Thomas, earl of Lancaster, had been tried, condemned, and executed by Edward II.

It is not necessary for the purposes of this work to trace the history of the early quarrels between the unfortunate Richard II., the son of the Black Prince, and the grandson of Edward III., and his uncles, the duke of Gloucester and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; one of whom was murdered, as is generally supposed, with the assent of Richard II., in the fortress of Calais; and the other of whom left a son, Henry of Bolingbroke, who was at least an assenting party to the murder of King Richard II., in the castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire. These conflicts between the youthful king and his uncles of Gloucester and Lancaster, lasted from the time when he fancied that he had become capable of governing the kingdom, until the time of his deposition and his death. Previous to the death of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, Richard had banished from the kingdom Henry Bolingbroke, the eldest son of the duke of Lancaster; and when John of Gaunt died,



Richard seized on the estates of the duke of Lancaster. Having done this, he proceeded to Ireland, to lead an army against a number of Irish chiefs who were then in arms, leaving the government of England in the hands of his uncle Edmund, duke of York, the fifth son of King Edward III., a gentle and amiable prince, who had in vain tried to act as a mediator in the quarrels of the royal family, and who was quite unable to offer resistance either to the follies of the youthful king, or to the daring plans of the banished Bolingbroke.

It was in the last year but one of the fourteenth century, on the 4th of July, 1399, that Henry of Bolingbroke, duke of Lancaster, landed at Ravenspurn, in Holderness, Yorkshire, where he was immediately joined by the warlike knights from his own vast estates in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Lincolnshire; by the Percys, earls of Northumberland; the Nevills, earls of Westmoreland, and by most of the other martial lords of the northern counties. He soon found himself at the head of a powerful army, and marched southward, his forces increasing at every step, until they amounted to 60,000 men when he entered London, where he was received as a national deliverer. According to the statement made by the Percys, earls of Northumberland, when they afterwards quarreled with King Henry IV., Bolingbroke made a declaration of his intentions, when he reached Doncaster, which had the effect of bringing many persons to his standards, who would not otherwise have joined them. On that occasion, according to their statement, he made an oath to the Percys upon the holy Gospels, "bodily touched and kissed, that he would never claim the crown, kingdom, or state royal, but only his own proper inheritance of the duchy of Lancaster, and the inheritance of his wife, Maria de Bohun, in England; and that Richard," whom he described "as their and his sovereign lord and king, should reign during the term of his life, governed by the good counsels of the lords spiritual and temporal."<sup>\*</sup> If any such declaration as this was ever made by Henry Bolingbroke, which is very probable, it was soon forgotten amidst the triumph of complete success, and was never called to memory, even by the Percys, until they quarreled with, and made war upon Henry IV., some years after. Almost the only friend and resolute supporter whom Richard had at this time amongst the

\* Hall's Chronicle; containing The History of England during the reign of Henry IV., and the succeeding monarchs, to the end of the reign of Henry VIII., p. 29.

northern barons, was William, Lord Scrope of Masham; and all that he was able to do was to lay down his own life, at Bristol, for the monarch whom he was unable to save from dethronement and death. Richard himself afterwards fell into the hands of Bolingbroke at the castle of Flint, in North Wales. On the arrival of Henry of Bolingbroke in London with his royal prisoner, a Parliament was called together, by which Richard was formally deposed, and Henry of Bolingbroke declared king in his place. After Richard had been taken to London and compelled to surrender the crown, he was removed to the great castle of the De Lacy's and of the dukes of Lancaster, at Pontefract, where he was murdered, though in what manner was long disputed, and is not even now absolutely certain.

*The Murder of Richard II. at Pontefract Castle.*—It is still a matter of some uncertainty whether Richard II. was despatched by assassins soon after his incarceration in the dismal dungeons under this great castle, or whether he perished by the more cruel death of starvation and famine. It is also disputed whether, supposing him to have died from starvation, that death was self-inflicted from horror of a life of captivity in a loathsome dungeon, or was inflicted upon him by his enemies, as a means of destroying his life by the most lingering and painful of deaths. We shall give an account of this and of other tragedies perpetrated within the dungeons of Pontefract Castle, when we come to describe that magnificent but gloomy building, which was a state prison only second to that of the Tower of London. Within three or four years after the crime was committed, the Percys declared as follows on this subject:—"Also we do allege, say, and intend to prove, that whereas thou sworest to us upon the Gospels in the aforesaid place and time (*i.e.*, at Doncaster, soon after the landing of Bolingbroke in Yorkshire), that our sovereign lord and thine, King Richard, should reign during the term of his life in his royal prerogative and dignity, thou hast caused the same, our sovereign lord and thine, traitorously, within the castle of Pontefract, without the consent or judgment of the lords of the realm, by the space of fifteen days and so many nights (which is horrible among Christian people to be heard) with hunger, thirst, and cold, to perish, to be murdered. Wherefore thou art perjured and false." Whether this mode of inflicting the murder is correctly stated is, as we have already said, somewhat doubtful, for, according to another account, Richard was murdered by eight assassins

armed with battle axes, and commanded by Sir Piers of Exton, after he had cut down three of the number. But that he was murdered in Pontefract Castle is quite certain, and the guilt of this murder ever clung to the house of Lancaster, and caused afterwards the kings and princes of that line to be destroyed by the Yorkists, without mercy or compunction.

The reign of King Henry IV. was a continued succession of conflicts for the crown, which fell heavily on the northern and the west midland districts of England. Although the adherents of Richard II. in Yorkshire and the northern counties were unable to make any stand against Henry Bolingbroke when he landed in that county, Richard had a few powerful adherents there, including Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, brother to William, Lord Scrope of Masham, a family whose loyalty to the elder branch of the house of Plantagenet never failed, and who shed their blood like water in support of their claims. But for the first two or three years of the reign of Henry IV. the power of the house of Lancaster was too great to be shaken; and it would probably have remained so for some years longer, if a furious quarrel had not broken out between the great house of the Percys, who were not only amongst the most powerful of the Yorkshire barons, but were also earls of Northumberland, and commanders of the whole of the military forces along the Scottish borders. The military power of the Percys was so great at this time, that they were able to give battle to a Scottish army of 20,000 men, whom Earl Douglas had led across the borders, and whom Lord Henry Percy, named Hotspur, defeated in the great battle of Homildon.

Although the Percys had supported Henry Bolingbroke, afterwards King Henry IV., in his insurrection against Richard II., it is doubtful whether they ever wished to place Bolingbroke on the throne of England. According to their own statement quoted above, they either induced or compelled Bolingbroke, soon after his landing in England, to sign the declaration at Doncaster, that he would not dethrone Richard II. But events advanced rapidly; Richard was dethroned and murdered, and the kingdom was seized by Bolingbroke. It is doubtful, however, whether the Percys were favourable to the latter step, for they were more closely connected with the Mortimers, the descendants by the female line of Lionel, duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, than with the family of John of Gaunt. Lord

Henry Percy, commonly known as Hotspur, was married to Lady Elinor Mortimer, the daughter of Roger, earl of March, who was the son to the Lady Philippa, the daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence. The son of this Mortimer, named Edmund, earl of March, had been proclaimed heir-apparent to the crown and realm by Richard II., before he left the kingdom for Ireland; and close to him in the order of succession stood the other members of the family of Mortimer, including the wife of Henry Percy, the son and heir of the earl of Northumberland.

The immediate ground of the open rupture between Henry IV. and the Percys was, that the king would not ransom Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, who had been taken prisoner by the famous Welsh chief, Owen Glendwr. This refusal may have arisen partly from a consciousness on the part of the king, that the earl of March was considered by many persons to be the rightful owner of the throne of England, which Henry had occupied after the deposition and the murder of Richard II.; or it may have arisen from well-founded suspicions that the Percys, with their northern allies, were engaged in a conspiracy with the Mortimers, and the Welsh under Owen Glendwr, for the deposing of the king, and the placing of Edmund Mortimer upon the throne. Whatever object may have been proposed to themselves by the Percys at first, this soon became their real object; for in the third year of the reign of King Henry IV., the Percys and all the enemies of the king rose in insurrection against him, denouncing him as a usurper, a tyrant, and a murderer. But the king and his son, afterwards King Henry V., were too prompt to be surprised, and defeated the Percys and their northern allies in the great battle of Shrewsbury, before they could effect a junction with Owen Glendwr, and the adherents of the house of Mortimer, on the Welsh borders.

*Insurrection of Archbishop Scrope in Yorkshire.*—Soon after the time when the Percys rose against King Henry IV., and marched to the borders of Wales, where they fought and lost the battle of Shrewsbury, Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, whose brother, Lord Scrope, Henry had beheaded at Bristol, with many adherents of the great houses of Mowbray, Falconberg, and Hastings, rose in insurrection against the king in Yorkshire. Archbishop Scrope, in his anxiety to obtain support, drew up a formal impeachment against the king, which he caused to be fixed on the church doors in

his own diocese, and sent in the form of a circular to all parts of the kingdom. In this manifesto he charged Henry with perjury, rebellion, usurpation, the murder of his sovereign, and the illegal execution of many noblemen, clergymen, and gentlemen. To strengthen his appeal the archbishop preached sermons to three warlike congregations assembled in the minster at York, before taking the field. After these services, a standard was raised, which exhibited the five wounds of Christ; and so successful was the archbishop in rousing insurrection, that an army of 20,000 men joined his standard, at Shipton-on-the-Moor, a few miles from the city of York. Before this time the battle of Shrewsbury had been fought and won by Henry IV. and his warlike son; and on hearing of the insurrection in Yorkshire, King Henry sent an army of 30,000 men into that county, under the command of Nevill, earl of Westmoreland, and of his own son, Prince John, who in after times became regent of France, and a distinguished statesman and warrior. On the arrival of King Henry's forces at York, they found Archbishop Scrope with his army strongly encamped not far from the walls of that city, in a well-selected position, covered by the forest of Galtrees, which at that time reached very nearly to the gates of York. The position was so strong that the earl of Westmoreland and Prince John hesitated to attack it. They therefore opened negotiations, and pretended to be willing to settle everything by a peaceful arrangement. A meeting accordingly took place, between the two commanders, the archbishop being attended by Mowbray, the Earl Marshal. Terms were then agreed to, and it is said that the commanders shook hands in sight of both armies, and reciprocated other tokens of reconciliation and friendship. After this the archbishop, who seems never to have suspected any treachery, dismissed his forces. Having by this stratagem deprived the archbishop of the means of defence, he and the Earl Marshal were arrested for high treason, and were carried to Pontefract Castle, where the king was. They were ultimately, however, brought back to Bishopthorpe, the palace of the archbishop near York. There Henry held a court, and commanded the chief justice, the incorruptible Gascoyne, to pronounce sentence of death on the archbishop and his associates. But it is said that this upright judge refused to do so, on the ground that the laws gave him no jurisdiction over the life of the prelate, and that both he and the earl had a right to be tried by their peers. A more obsequious agent was found in

a knight of the name of Fulthorpe, who by the king's order called them both before him, and without indictment or trial condemned both to be beheaded.\* The Earl Marshal's body was buried in the cathedral, but his head was fixed on a spike, and exposed on the walls of the city. Archbishop Scrope was beheaded, in a field between York and Bishopthorpe, on the 8th June, 1405. He died with great firmness. His body was interred in the minster. He was regarded as a martyr by the adherents of the houses of Mortimer and York, and his tomb was visited by crowds of devotees. Many other persons of knightly rank, including Sir John Lamplugh, Sir Robert Plumpton, and others, were also executed; and for some time the city of York was deprived of all its liberties and privileges.

*Defeat and Death of the Earl of Northumberland.*—The unfortunate earl of Northumberland, the father of Henry Hotspur, was bold enough to take arms against the king a third time, in the year 1408. In that year he assembled a considerable force on Bramham Moor, near York and Tadcaster, where he was suddenly attacked, defeated, and slain by Sir Thomas Rokesby, the high sheriff of Yorkshire. Henry soon after went to York, and completed his revenge by the execution of several of the insurgents, and the confiscation of their estates.†

*The Dukes of York of the Plantagenet Family.*—It may be well here to give a brief account of the dukes of York of the Plantagenet line, who about this time began to be involved in the disputes which ended in the wars of York and Lancaster. Edmund of Langley, the fifth son of Edward III., was the first duke of York. He received that honour from his nephew Richard II., in the ninth year of his reign, A.D. 1385. Previous to that time, there had been two or three earls of York, including William le Gros, earl of Albemarle, a great commander, who received the title of earl of York, or Yorkshire, for his distinguished conduct in the famous battle of the Standard, fought at Northallerton, in the year 1138. Otho, duke of Saxony, son of Henry, duke of Bavaria, by Maud the daughter of Henry II., king of England, is also said to have received the title of earl of York from Richard I., in the year 1190. At least, Hoveden speaks of the county of York as having been committed to him by that king, but his history is otherwise unconnected with that of England. The honour of dukedom was introduced into England in the reign of King Edward

\* Lingard's England, vol. iii. p. 298.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. viii. pp. 520-530.

III., when it was conferred on Henry, duke of Lancaster, and on two or three other members of the royal family. But the rank of duke was not conferred on Edmund, the fifth son of Edward III., until the reign of Richard II., in the year above named, 1385. Being one of the youngest sons of Edward III., Edmund, the first duke of York, had no share in the vehement disputes respecting the crown, carried on by the descendants of Edward the Black Prince, Lionel, duke of Clarence, and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Edmund, the first duke of York, died at his manor of Langley, and was interred in the Priory there. He left two sons, Edward and Richard, by his wife, who was one of the daughters of Pedro, king of Castile and Leon.

Edward Plantagenet, the eldest son of the above Edmund, was first made Earl of Rutland, then Duke of Albemarle, and after the death of his father succeeded to the dukedom of York, in the year 1406. He was a distinguished warrior, and fell in the great battle of Agincourt. His body was brought over to England, by order of King Henry V., and was buried in the collegiate church of Fotheringay, in Northamptonshire, with great solemnity.\*

Richard Plantagenet, earl of Cambridge, the son of the first duke of York, and the brother of the second, never succeeded to that dukedom. He became an object of suspicion to King Henry V. as being the husband of Lady Anne Mortimer, one of the descendants of Lionel duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III., and therefore nearer to the throne than Henry, who was descended from John of Gaunt, the fourth son of the same monarch. He was put to death by Henry V., along with Lord Scrope of Masham, and Sir John Gray, another adherent of the elder branch, on a charge of conspiracy and high treason; but it is very doubtful whether his greatest crime was not his connection with the elder branch of the royal house, and their greatest crime their attachment to that branch of the royal family.

Richard Plantagenet, the third duke of York, and the avowed claimant of the throne of England, was the nephew of Edward the second duke, and the son of the above Richard, earl of Cambridge, executed on a charge of treason by King Henry V. He was restored to his paternal honours by Henry VI., and was allowed to succeed not only to the dukedom of York, but to the earldom of March, and to the great estates of the house of Mortimer.

\* Walsingham, p. 393.



For some years it appeared to be likely that he would also succeed peacefully to the crown of England, for all the descendants of Henry IV., except Henry V., died childless. Henry V. left only one infant son, Henry VI.; and Henry VI. had no child for several years after his marriage with Margaret of Anjou. Henry VI. appears also to have been nearly, if not altogether, an idiot, and unfit to occupy the throne, even according to the modern rules of succession. For some years, therefore, Richard, duke of York, was heir-presumptive to the throne; and though Henry ultimately had a son, similar doubts were thrown on his legitimacy that were attempted to be thrown, in much more recent times, on the genuineness of the eldest son of James II., by his second marriage with Maria of Este. It is now universally recognized that these insinuations were entirely false as relates to the son of James II.; and it is probable that they were equally so with regard to the son of Henry VI., though there can be little doubt of the mental imbecility of the latter king.

The struggle in the field between the houses of York and Lancaster was preceded by a violent conflict, in Court and Parliament, between Richard, duke of York, and William de la Pole, earl, and afterwards duke of Suffolk, the descendant of the famous William de La Pole, the great Hull merchant, and also of his son, the unfortunate favourite of Richard II. Whilst Richard, duke of York, was highly popular both for his personal virtues, and for the bravery and success with which he had defended the English conquests in France, the duke of Somerset and the duke of Suffolk were extremely unpopular, except at court, for the part which they had taken in losing or surrendering Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, the last remains of the conquests of Henry V. in the north of France. The duke of Somerset, who was a descendant of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swinford, was accused of having lost the greater part of the French provinces by his imbecility in the field; whilst De la Pole, duke of Suffolk, was accused of having surrendered Maine and Anjou to the king of France, as one of the conditions of the marriage between Margaret of Anjou and Henry VI. of England. By bringing about that marriage Suffolk had gained the favour of the court; but he had become so unpopular with the mass of the people and the old nobility, that he was accused in the year 1447 of high treason, and in the year 1450 was compelled to take flight for the Continent. Whilst crossing the Channel he was captured by a vessel called the

*Nicholas*, of the Tower, which was sent out to intercept him. The commander of that vessel sent a party on board the duke's bark to bring him to the *Nicholas*, where he was beheaded without even the form of a trial by the commander of that vessel. This murder neither put an end to the power and influence of the De la Poles, who rose again after innumerable misfortunes, nor did it do anything to restore peace in England.

*The Battle of St. Albans.*—In the year 1455, the first open conflict took place at St. Albans, in the presence of Queen Margaret and of her poor imbecile husband, between the armed supporters of the house of Lancaster, under the command of Beaufort, duke of Somerset, Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Lord Clifford, of Skipton; and the armed supporters of the house of York, under the command of Richard Nevill, earl of Warwick, and Richard, duke of York, himself. The whole force engaged on both sides was very small, the Lancastrians not having more than 2000 men in arms that day, and the duke not more than 3000. But the result was very important, for the earl of Warwick, the chief commander of the Yorkists, rushing into the town at the head of his forces, threw the royalists into confusion and finally dispersed them. Several of the Lancastrian chiefs, including the earl of Northumberland and Lord Clifford, were slain, with a few hundred of their followers. In this, as in most other battles in this sanguinary civil war, the slaughter among the commanders was much greater in proportion than that of their followers. "In my remembrance," says Philip de Comines, "eighty princes of the blood royal of England perished in these convulsions; seven or eight battles were fought in the course of thirty years; their own country was desolated by the English as cruelly as the former generations had wasted France. Those who were spared by the sword renewed their sufferings in foreign lands. I myself saw the duke of Exeter, the king of England's brother-in-law, walking barefoot after the duke of Burgundy's train, and earning his bread by begging from door to door." Every individual for two generations of the families of Somerset (Beaufort) and Warwick (Nevill), fell on the field or on the scaffold, a victim of these bloody contests.

For three years after the battle of St. Albans, conspiracies and intrigues prevailed on all sides, and for a short time the party of the king and the queen again became formidable. Under these circumstances the duke of York retired to his castle at Wigmore,

on the borders of Wales, the ancient seat of the Mortimers; Salisbury went to Middleham, in Yorkshire; and Warwick to his government of Calais; "then," says Comines, "considered as the most advantageous appointment at the disposal of any Christian prince, and that which placed the most considerable force at the disposal of the governor." "But," says the chronicler of the wars of York and Lancaster, "although the bodies of these noble persons were thus separated asunder by artifice, yet their hearts were coupled in one."\*

*The Battle of Blore Heath.*—Another movement in support of the claims of Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, took place in the county of York in the year 1459, when Richard Nevill, earl of Salisbury, father of the famous Richard Nevill, earl of Warwick, the king-maker, as he was called, roused his warlike adherents in the North Riding to insurrection. The earl of Salisbury was father-in-law to Richard, duke of York, and the Lord Stanley of that day was also closely connected with the Nevills.

In the summer of the year 1459 the Yorkists decided again to claim the throne for the duke of York, and collected a large army of his adherents at Middleham Castle in Wensleydale, then the chief Yorkshire castle of the Nevills, earls of Salisbury. At the end of August in that year, the earl of Salisbury marched southward with his army through Lancashire and Cheshire, intending to join the duke of York and the adherents of the Mortimers on the borders of Wales, and with their united forces to march upon London, where Richard, duke of York, was as much the darling of the people as Bolingbroke had been when he rose against Richard II. The Yorkist army, in its advance southward through Lancashire and Cheshire, received considerable reinforcements, but was not joined by Lord Stanley, who, either from prudence or unwillingness to create a civil war, stood aloof from both parties with a large body of his personal adherents. But the earl of Salisbury, though inferior in numbers to Lord Audley, who commanded the Lancastrian army, was much superior to him in military skill, and gained a great victory over the troops of the king and the queen on Blore Heath, near Drayton, on the borders of Staffordshire and Shropshire.

The armies of Salisbury and Audley arrived opposite to each other on the evening of the 22nd September, 1459, too late to

\* Sir James Mackintosh's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 24.

engage that night; but Salisbury employed the hours of darkness in arranging his plans for the next day's battle. In the course of the night he placed the mass of his army in a strong position on the brow of a thickly wooded hill, and near daylight on the following morning he sent forward his archers before sunrise, with orders to skirmish with the Lancastrians for a short time, and then to fall back on his main body. Before full daylight on the 23rd September, the archers of Salisbury's army began to shoot their arrows into Audley's camp, on which the Lancastrians rushed out to meet them, and drove them in apparent confusion across the little river Tern and up the hill towards Blore Heath, discharging the contents of their quivers on the retiring Yorkists, as they themselves advanced. But before they reached the top of the heights, the Yorkists turned round and opened a murderous fire on the Lancastrian ranks, which threw them into confusion, when they were attacked by the whole of Salisbury's army. The Lancastrians, though surprised and out-generaled, fought desperately for five hours, but were finally defeated, with the loss of their commander, Lord Audley, and 2400 of their best officers and men. Lord Dudley, the second in command, was taken prisoner, with many other knights and gentlemen, including members of most of the leading families in Lancashire and Cheshire.

After the battle of Blore Heath, Salisbury marched on to join the duke of York at Wigmore Castle, near Ludlow, on the borders of Wales. This junction took place on the 12th October, 1459, and after one or two changes of fortune Warwick succeeded in landing in England, and advanced to meet the queen's army, which he encountered in the second battle of Northampton. There the queen's army was defeated with great slaughter. The king remained inactive during the contest, and was taken prisoner by the Yorkists, who used his name as an instrument of their ambition. He was treated by the victors with kindness and attention in all other respects. But a Parliament which assembled at Westminster on the 2nd October, 1460, annulled at a stroke all the proceedings of what was described as the pretended Parliament held by Queen Margaret at Coventry. This, however, was only the commencement of a still more desperate conflict, which was finally brought to a close under the walls of Sandal Castle, near Wakefield, and on the bloody field of Towton, near Tadcaster, by two of the most sanguinary battles ever fought in the county of York, or in any part of England.

*The Battle of Wakefield, and the death of Richard, duke of York.*—"The duke of York," says the author of "Hall's Chronicle," one of the earliest and best historians of the wars of York and Lancaster, "well knowing that the queen would spurn and impugn the conclusions agreed and taken in this Parliament, caused her and her son to be sent for by the king; but she being a manly woman, using to rule and not to be ruled, and thereto counselled by the dukes of Exeter and Somerset, not only denied to come, but also assembled together a great army, intending to take the king by force out of the lords' hands, and to set them to a new school. The protector living in London, having perfect knowledge of all these doings, assigned the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick, his trusty friends, to be about the king; and he, with the earls of Salisbury and Rutland, with a convenient company, departed out of London, the 2nd day of December, northward, and sent to the earl of Marche his eldest son, to follow him with all his power. The duke, by small journies, came to his castle of Sandall, beside Wakefield, on Christmas-eve, and there began to assemble his tenants and friends. The queen, being thereof ascertained, determined to couple with him while his power was small, and his aid not come; and so, having in her company the prince her son, the dukes of Exeter and Somerset, the earl of Devonshire, the Lord Clifford, the Lord Rosse, and, in effect, all the lords of the north party, with 18,000 men, or as some write, 22,000, marched from York to Wakefield, and bad base to the duke [openly defied], even before his castle. He, having with him not fully 5000 persons, determined incontinent to issue out, and to fight with his enemies; and although Sir Davy Halle, his old servant and chief counsellor, advised him to keep his castle, and to defend the same with his small number, till his son, the earl of Marche, were come with his power of Marchemen and Welsh soldiers, yet he would not be counselled, but in a great fury said, 'Ah, Davy, Davy, hast thou loved me so long, and now wouldst have me dishonoured? Thou never sawest me keep fortress when I was regent in Normandy, when the Dauphin himself, with his puyssance came to besiege me; but like a man, not like a bird included in a cage, I issued out and fought with mine enemies, to their loss ever (I thank God), and to my honour. If I have not kept myself within walls for fear of a great and strong prince, nor hid my face from any man living, wouldst thou that I for dread of a scolding woman, whose weapon is only her tongue and her nails, should incarcerate myself, and shut my gates? then all men might of me wonder, and all creatures may of me report dishonour, that a woman hath made me a dastard, whom no man ever to this day could prove a coward; and surely, my mind is rather to die with honour than to live with shame, for of honour cometh fame, and of dishonour riseth infamy. Their great numbers shall not appal my spirits, but encourage them; for surely I think that I have there as many friend as enemies, which at joining will either fly or take my part; therefore, advance my banner, in the name of God and St. George, for surely I will fight with them, though I should fight alone.'

"The earl of Salisbury, and other his friends, seeing the courage of the duke, resolved themselves to his opinion, and ordered their men and set them forth in

warlike fashion, for their most advantage. The duke of Somerset, and other of the queen's part, knowing perfectly that if the duke got the victory, their days were minished, and their livings left bare, like men quickened and exasperated for the safeguard of their lives and defence of their goods, determined to abide the chance, and to espy their most advantage, and so appointed the Lord Clifford to lie in the one side, and the earl of Wiltshire in the other, and they themselves kept the main battle. The duke of York, with his people, descended down the hill in good order and array, and were suffered to pass forward toward the main battle; but when he was in the plain ground, between his castle and the town of Wakefield, he was environed on every side, like a fish in a net, or a deer in a buckstall; so that he, manfully fighting, was within half an hour slain and dead, and his whole army discomfited; and with him died, of his trusty friends, his two bastard uncles, Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir Davy Halle, his chief counsellor, Sir Hugh Hastings, Sir Thomas Nevill, William and Thomas Sparre, both brethren, and two thousand and eight hundred other, whereof many were young gentlemen, and heirs of great parentage in the south part, whose lineages revenged their deaths within four months next and immediately ensuing. In this conflict was wounded and taken prisoner, Richard, earl of Salisbury, Sir Richard Lymbrike, Raufe Stanley, John Harow, Captain Hawson, and divers others.

"While this battle was in fighting, a priest called Sir Robert Aspell, chaplain and schoolmaster to the young earl of Rutland, second son to the above-named duke of York, scarce of the age of twelve years, a fair gentleman, and a maidenlike person, perceiving that flight was more safeguard than tarrying, both for him and his master, secretly conveyed the earl out of the field by [past] the Lord Clifford's band, toward the town; but or [ere] he could enter into a house, he was by the said Lord Clifford espied, followed and taken, and by reason of his apparel, demanded what he was. The young gentleman, dismayed, had not a word to speak, but kneeled on his knees, imploring mercy and desiring grace, both with holding up his hands and making dolorous countenance, for his speech was gone for fear. 'Save him,' said his chaplain, 'for he is a prince's son, and peradventure may do you good hereafter.' With that word, the Lord Clifford marked him and said, 'By God's blood, thy father slew mine, and so will I do thee and all thy kin;' and with that word struck the earl to the heart with his dagger, and bade his chaplain bear the earl's mother and brother word what he had done and said. In this act the Lord Clifford was accounted a tyrant and no gentleman, for the property of the lion, which is a furious and an unreasonable beast, is to be cruel to them that withstand him, and gentle to such as prostrate or humiliate themselves before him. Yet this cruel Clifford and deadly bloodsupper, not content with this homicide, or child-killing, came to the place where the dead corpse of the duke of York lay, and caused his head to be stricken off, and set on it a crown of paper, and so fixed it on a pole and presented it to the queen, not lying far from the field, in great despite and much derision, saying, 'Madame, your war is done, here is your king's ransom;' at which present was much joy and great

rejoicing, but many laughed then that sore lamented after, as the queen herself and her son; and many were glad then of other men's deaths, not knowing that their own were near at hand, as the Lord Clifford and others.

*The Battle of Towton Field, near Tadcaster.*—"King Henry," says the same spirited chronicler, Hall, "being in the north country, thinking because he had slain the duke of York, the chief captain of the contrary lineage, that he had brought all things to purpose and conclusion as he would, assembled a great army, trusting, with little pain and small loss, to destroy the residue of his enemies, whom he esteemed to be of no force, or of a small validity. But he was sore deceived; for out of the dead stock sprang a strong and mighty branch, which by no means could either be broken or made sere; which was this King Edward the Fourth, which was so beloved and favoured of the people, that no man was spoke of, no person was remembered, but only he; for he was so much esteemed, both of the nobility and commonalty, for his liberality, clemency, integrity, and courage, that above all other he was extolled and praised to the very heaven. By reason whereof men of all ages and of all degrees to him daily repaired, some offering themselves and their men to jeopard their lives with him, and others plenteously gave him money, to support his charges and maintain his war. By reason whereof, he assembled together a puyssant army, to the intent to give to his enemies a fierce and sharp battle, and so in one day to obtain his purpose and make an end of all his trouble.

"When his army was ready and all things prepared, he departed out of London, the 12th day of March, and by easy journeys came to the castle of Pomfret [Pontefract], where he rested, appointing the Lord Fitzwalter to keep the passage at Ferrybridge, with a great number of tall personages [strong men]. Let no man think, or yet imagine, that either the council of King Henry, or his vigilant queen, either neglected or forgot to know or search what their enemies did, but that they prepared to their power all the men that they either could persuade or allure to their purpose to take their part. And thus thinking themselves furnished, committed the governance of their army to the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford, as men desiring to revenge the death of their parents slain at the first battle of St. Albans. These noble captains, leaving King Henry, his wife, and son, for their most safeguard in the city of York, passed the river of Wharfe, with all their power, intending to prohibit King Edward to pass over the river of Aire, and for the more expedition and exploit of their purpose (after many comparisons made between the earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford, both being in lusty youth, and of frank courage), the Lord Clifford determined with his light horsemen, to make an assaye to such as kept the passage at Ferrybridge, and so departed from the great army on the Saturday before Palm Sunday, and early or his enemies were ware, gat the bridge, and slew the keepers of the same, and all such as would withstand him. The Lord Fitzwalter, hearing the noise, suddenly rose out of his bed, and unarmed, with a pollax in his hand, thinking it had been a fray amongst his men, came down to appease the same; but or he



either began his tale, or knew what the matter meant, he was slain, and with him the bastard of Salisbury, brother to the earl of Warwick, a valiant young gentleman, and of great audacity. When the earl of Warwick was informed of this feat, he, like a man desperate, mounted on his hackney, and came blowing to King Edward, saying, 'Sir, I pray God have mercy on their souls, which in the beginning of your enterprise hath lost their lives; and because I see no succour of the world, I remit the vengeance and punishment to God our Creator and Redeemer.' And with that lighted down, and slew his horse with his sword, saying, 'Let him fly that will, for surely I will tarry with him that will tarry with me,' and kissed the cross of his sword.

"The lusty [brave] King Edward, perceiving the courage of his trusty friend the earl of Warwick, made proclamation that all men which were afraid to fight, should incontinent depart; and to all men that tarried the battle he promised great rewards, with this addition, that if any soldier which voluntarily would abide, and in or before the conflict fly, or turn his back, that then he that could kill him should have a great remuneration and double wages. After this proclamation ended, the Lord Fawconbridge, Sir Walter Blont, Robert Home, with the forward [vanguard], passed the river at Castleford, three miles from Ferrybridge, intending to have environed and enclosed the Lord Clifford and his company. But they being thereof advertised, departed in great haste towards King Henry's army; but they met with some that they looked not for, and were attrapped or they were ware. For the Lord Clifford, either for heat or pain, putting of his gorget, suddenly with an arrow (as some say) without an head, was stricken into the throat, and incontinent rendered his spirit, and the earl of Westmoreland's brother and all his company almost were slain, at a place called Dintingdale, not far from Towton. This end had he which slew the young earl of Rutland, kneeling on his knees; whose young son, Thomas Clifford, was brought up with a shepherd in poor habits and dissimuled behaviour, ever in fear to publish his lineage or degree, till King Henry the Seventh obtained the crown, and got the diadem, by whom he was restored to his name and possessions.

"When this conflict was ended at Ferrybridge, the Lord Fawconbridge having the forward [vanguard], because the duke of Northfolk was fallen sick, valiantly upon Palm Sunday in the twilight set forth his army, and came to Saxton, where he might perceive the host of his adversaries, which were accounted 60,000 men, and thereof advertised King Edward, whose whole army, they that knew it and payed the wages, affirm to [have been] 48,660 persons, which incontinent with the earl of Warwick set forward, leaving the rearward under the governance of Sir John Wenlocke and Sir John Dynham, and others. And first of all he made proclamation, that no prisoner should be taken, nor one enemy saved. So the same day, about nine of the clock, which was the 29th day of March, being Palm Sunday, both the hostes approached in a plain field, between Towton and Saxton. When each party perceived the other, they made a great shout, and at the same instant time there fell a small snyt or snow, which by violence of the wind was driven into the faces of them

which were of King Henry's part, so that their sight was somewhat blemished and minished. The Lord Fauconbridge, which led the forward of King Edward's battail (as before is rehearsed), being a man of great policy, and of much experience in martial feats, caused every archer under his standard to shoot one flight (which before he caused them to provide), and then made them to stand still. The northern men (Lancastrians), feeling the shott, but by reason of the snow, not well viewing the distance between them and their enemies, like hardy men shot their schiefe arrows as fast as they might; but all their shot was lost and their labour vain, for they came not near the southemen (Yorkists) by forty taylor's yardes. When their shot was almost spent, the Lord Fauconbridge marched forward with his archers, which not only shot their own whole sheves, but also gathered the arrows of their enemies, and let a great part of them fly against their own masters, and another part they let stand on the ground, which sore annoyed the legs of the owners when the battle joined.

"The earl of Northumberland and Andrew Trolope, which were chieftains of King Henry's vanguard, seeing their shot not to prevail, hasted forward to join with their enemies; you may be sure the other part nothing retarded, but valiantly fought with their enemies. This battle was sore fought, for hope of life was set on side on every part, and taking of prisoners was proclaimed as a great offence, by reason whereof every man determined either to conquer or to die in the field. This deadly battle and bloody conflict continued ten hours in doubtful victory, the one part sometime flowing and sometime ebbing; but in conclusion, King Edward so courageously comforted his men, refreshing the weary, and helping the wounded, that the other part was discomfited and overcome, and like men amazed, fled toward Tadcaster Bridge to save themselves; but in the mean way there is a little broke, called Cocks, not very broad, but of a great depth, in the which, what for haste of escaping, and what for fear of followers, a great number were drent and drowned, in so much that the common people there affirm that men alive passed the river upon dead carcasses, and that the great river of Wharfe, which is the great sewer of the broke, and of all the water coming from Towton, was coloured with blood. The chase continued all night and the most part of the next day, and ever the northern men, when they saw or perceived any advantage, returned again and fought with their enemies, to the great loss of both parts. For in this three days were slain (as they knew it wrote), on both parts 36,776 persons, all Englishmen and of one nation, whereof the chief were the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and the Lord Dakers (Dacre), the Lord Welles, Sir John Neuell, Andrew Trolope, Robert Home, and many other knights and squires, and the earl of Devonshire taken prisoners; but the dukes of Somerset and Exeter fled from the field and saved themselves.

"This conflict was in a manner unnatural, for in it the son fought against the father, the brother against the brother, the nephew against the uncle, and the tenant against his lord, which slaughter did not only sore debilitate and much weaken the pyssance of this realme, considering that these dead

men, when they were living, had force enough to resist the greatest prince's power of all Europe; but also gave a courage to outward enemies and foreign potentates to invade and make war in this realm: which thing was not unlikely to have ensued, if either Lewis, the French king, had been at this time quiet in his realm, or James, king of Scottes, had been of age and master of himself. Yet thanked be God, for although the gate of a conquest was opened, yet it was shut again, or [ere] it was espied."

*The Ruin of the Yorkist Branch of the Plantagenets.*—On the 1st May, 1464, King Edward IV. was secretly married at Grafton, in Northamptonshire, to Elizabeth Woodville, or Gray, the youthful widow of Sir Thomas Gray, who fell in the Lancastrian army at the second battle of Barnet. This marriage, notwithstanding the many excellent qualities of Elizabeth Woodville, and of her brothers the earls of Rivers and Dorset, was looked upon as a degrading alliance, both by the Nevills who had become the makers and deposers of kings, and who proposed for themselves an alliance with the royal family, and also by Richard, duke of Gloucester, and George, duke of Clarence, who were amongst the proudest members of the house of Plantagenet, and who regarded with scorn and contempt a marriage with a widow of a simple knight, and a man of no note even amongst the Lancastrian party. Either from fear or hesitation on the part of Edward, the only parties present at the marriage were the bride and bridegroom, a priest, a chanter, two gentlemen, and the duchess of Bedford, who was herself supposed to have made a somewhat degrading match, by taking as her second husband Sir Richard Woodville, a private gentleman who, soon after his marriage, was created Earl Rivers. For some time the marriage was concealed; but at the end of the year 1465 it was publicly acknowledged, and the youthful queen was crowned with all due splendour on Ascension Day of the following year.

The result of this marriage was a violent rupture with the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, who, in the year 1469, succeeded in effecting a marriage between the daughter of Warwick and the son of George, duke of Clarence, Edward's brother, without the permission, and probably without the knowledge, of that monarch. About the same time the men of Yorkshire and the north, under the command of Robin of Redesdale, a hero among the moss-troopers of the Border, took the field in great numbers; but in the end Edward, who was never wanting as a soldier, defeated the insurgents, and compelled both Clarence and Warwick to escape

from the country. This, however, only led to fresh intrigues, and to an alliance between Queen Margaret and her husband on one side, and the earl of Warwick on the other, by which it was stipulated that Prince Edward, the son of Henry VI. and Queen Margaret, should espouse Ann Nevill, Warwick's daughter; that they should join their forces to restore King Henry; and that, in case of failure of issue by the prince, the crown should devolve on Clarence. The result of these intrigues was, that Edward was defeated and taken prisoner; and was for a while confined at Middleham Castle, the chief Yorkshire seat of the Nevills. Thence, however, he escaped, while riding out on a hunting party, and reached Lancaster, where he embarked, and succeeded in reaching Holland. Edward, by the connivance of his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy, collected a body of continental troops and of his own adherents, with whom he landed at Ravenspurn, at the mouth of the Humber, on the 14th March, 1471. Although he was not permitted to enter either of the great Yorkshire fortresses of Hull or York, he soon got together a powerful army, and marched southward to give battle to Warwick the king-maker, to his own brother Clarence, and to Queen Margaret, who had landed with a considerable army at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, which force advanced to the neighbourhood of Tewkesbury, on the Welsh border. On the 14th of April, 1471, Warwick fought his last battle in the neighbourhood of Barnet, where he was defeated and slain by Edward IV.; and on the 14th of May, in the same year, the army of Queen Margaret was defeated at Tewkesbury, and the youthful Prince Edward, the only child of Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou, was murdered after the battle. Soon after this great overthrow the unfortunate Henry VI. died in the Tower, whether murdered or from disease and anxiety it is difficult to tell; and thus all obstacles to the rule of the house of York were removed, except such as arose from the quarrels of Richard, duke of Gloucester, with the youthful children of Edward IV.

The last duke of York, of the Plantagenet line, was the unfortunate boy Richard, the second son of King Edward IV., who was murdered in the Tower, along with his youthful brother, Edward V., by order of their uncle, Richard III. In the month of August, 1483, while engaged in a progress through the northern counties, Richard commanded Brackenbury, the lieutenant of the Tower, to put these unfortunate children to death with speed and secrecy. It is said that this officer rejected the proposal that he should be the

actual murderer, but that he acceded to another equally infamous ; to place the keys and the custody of the Tower in the hands of Sir James Tyrrell, a less hypocritical assassin, who on the night of his arrival caused the subordinate murderers, Dighton and Forest, to smother the princes in their dungeon at midnight. Brackenbury was rewarded for his connivance by grants of manors and pensions. Forest, whom Sir Thomas More calls "a noted ruffian," was made keeper of the wardrobe at Baynard Castle. Dighton lived at Calais, long after, "no less disdained and hated than pointed at." Tyrrell himself was made steward of the Duchy of Cornwall, and governor of Glamorganshire, with the gift of many manors in South Wales ; but justice found him out at last, and he is said by Sir Thomas More to have confessed his guilt as the murderer of the royal children, when he was himself executed twenty years after, for concealing the treason of the earl of Suffolk. While the arrangements for these inhuman murders were being made, Richard himself was in the north of England, and was crowned as king at York, on the 8th of August, 1483, near the time when the murders were actually committed. But his reign was short ; and after committing numerous other murders, he was defeated and slain at Bosworth Field, in Leicestershire, on the 22nd of August, 1485, by Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond (the representative of the house of Lancaster, and afterwards king, as Henry VII.), assisted at the decisive moment by Lord Stanley, the first earl of Derby of the Stanley family.\*

\* Sir James Mackintosh's History of England, vol. ii. p. 66.

## CHAPTER XI.

## YORKSHIRE UNDER THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.

THE rule of the house of Tudor in England was, on the whole, prosperous and peaceful. The attempts to overturn the power of Henry VII. were not very serious. The accession of his son Henry VIII., the first king of England who reigned with a perfectly undisputed title during a period of one hundred years, was hailed with a delight natural to a people who had been involved in a succession of civil wars for more than a century. Henry VIII. himself did much to throw doubt and uncertainty on the legitimacy of his own children, and therefore on their claim to the throne; but he only so far succeeded as to produce brief commotions, instead of sanguinary civil wars, such as those that had laid waste the country during the preceding century. From the extreme anxiety of the English people to avoid a recurrence of the evils of a disputed succession, they clung to Henry VIII. and his children, even when some of them had committed offences which, in later times, would probably have cost them their thrones.

Yet the policy of the house of Tudor had great merits, along with numerous defects. They brought the power both of the nobility and of the church within reasonable limits; and gave much encouragement to industry and knowledge. As relates to the great northern houses which had been the promoters of anarchy and confusion during the preceding century, including the Percys, the Nevills, the Mowbrays, and even the Stanleys and the Howards, who had been less obnoxious to that charge, they kept them in strict order, and punished any attempts at violence, either committed or threatened by them, with the most determined firmness. From the time of Henry VIII., three of the sovereigns of the house of Tudor also showed undaunted firmness in resisting the claims of the Church of Rome to exclusive and unlimited authority, and in maintaining the right of the Crown and of Parliaments, the representatives of the English nation, to deal with questions of religion according to their judgment. Most of the arrangements made in

their time have continued to the present age in their leading principles, with only such changes as the continual progress of the nation in knowledge and the love of freedom have dictated. From this time we may date the commencement of civilization in every part of England ; though for some time the progress of intelligence was much greater in the southern and in the eastern districts of England, than in the wilder regions of the north.

It was a great and lasting advantage, especially to the northern counties, that the Tudors entirely abandoned the mad schemes for the conquest of Scotland and France, which the Plantagenet kings had carried on in defiance of innumerable warnings and destructive failures. With France they lived in almost uninterrupted peace, never claiming anything more than the old landing-place at Calais, and forgetting even that as soon as it was lost. In general, their relations with Scotland were peaceful, and to some extent amicable ; and after the great English victory of Flodden Field, they made peace on reasonable terms. They thus freed the northern counties from the drain of blood and treasure, which the wars with Scotland had cost in former times.

It was also in the latter part of the Tudor period that the changes in religion, and religious policy, brought on a general co-operation between England and Scotland in questions of foreign policy, and put an end to the ancient alliance between Scotland and France. At the accession of Queen Elizabeth, if not of Edward VI., the Reformation became the turning point of the foreign policy, both of England and Scotland ; and though each nation followed its own views on religious questions, the English taking the episcopalian, and the Scotch the presbyterian view, they soon found themselves in the presence of the same friends and the same enemies, and came to act together on most of the principal questions of national policy. This was rendered the easier by the intermarriage of the royal families of England and Scotland, which very soon rendered it highly probable that England and Scotland would come to be governed by the same sovereign.

Another circumstance which greatly tended to develop the prosperity of all parts of England, and especially of those districts of the north of England, such as Yorkshire and Lancashire, possessing advantages for commerce and manufactures, was the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, and of the new road to the East Indies, by Vasco da Gama. These discoveries were made



within a year or two of the accession of the house of Tudor to the throne of England. The first consequence of these discoveries was a prodigious influx of gold and silver into Europe; and a proportionate increase in every kind of merchandise that could be sold to advantage in the markets of Spain, and Flanders and Holland (which then belonged to Spain), of Portugal, of tropical America, of Africa, and of India. At that time Flanders, with the port of Antwerp and the great market of Bruges, were the central points for the commerce of the world, as Holland became in the next generation. The ports on the eastern side of England, especially London, Lynn, and Hull, were the English ports best suited for traffic with Antwerp and Bruges; and the manufactures of Leeds, Halifax, Bradford, Huddersfield, and Sheffield, were already in great demand in the markets of Flanders.

With these general observations on the chief causes which gave so great an impulse to the prosperity of England generally, and of this district in particular, in this age, we proceed to trace the history of Yorkshire under the house of Tudor; that is, from the accession of King Henry VII., on the 22nd of August, 1485, to the death of Queen Elizabeth, on the 24th of March, 1603.

*The last Struggle in the Wars of York and Lancaster.*—After the claims of the houses of York and Lancaster had been united by the marriage of King Henry VII., whom the Lancastrians had accepted as their leader, with the Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV., the nearest heir to the throne of the house of York, the northern and western districts of England were again thrown into confusion by two notorious pretenders, Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, the former of whom pretended to be Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, the son and heir of George, duke of Clarence, the younger brother of Edward IV.; the latter to be Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, the second son of Edward IV. The claims of both these pretenders are supposed to have been got up by the duchess of Burgundy, the sister of Edward IV., and the implacable enemy of the house of Lancaster.

Lambert Simnel, the first of these impostors, after having been recognized by the duchess of Burgundy as her nephew Edward, earl of Warwick, and having been furnished by her with money, and with a body of about 2000 Flemish or German soldiers, under the command of Martin Schwartz, landed in Ireland, where he was received as a real Plantagenet by the numerous adherents

of the house of York, including the lord deputy, the earl of Kildare. Having been joined by a considerable body of Irish troops, he landed on the north coast of Lancashire, in the fine natural harbour of the Pile of Fouldry, and there once more set up, what was believed to be the standard of the house of York. He was joined by Sir Thomas Broughton of Furness, with his warlike tenants, and by the Harringtons of Hornby Castle, Lancashire, who, like the Broughtons, had stood by the house of York from the commencement of the wars of York and Lancaster. From this remote district the army of Lambert Simnel marched through the Yorkist districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, the latter of which chiefly belonged to the Nevills and the Scopes, to the city of York, where the adherents of the White Rose were still both numerous and powerful.

On this part of his march the army of the pretender, Lambert Simnel, was joined by a much more formidable claimant to the crown, namely, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, a true Plantagenet by the mother's side, and so closely connected with the crown that Richard III. was said to have intended to adopt him as his heir. A few others of the most determined adherents of the house of York joined the two pretenders, Simnel and Lincoln, for so they both were, though in different degrees. Amongst these were Lord Lovel, the minister and favourite of Richard III., and other fanatical adherents of the house of York. At the beginning of the month of June, 1487, the army of the pretenders marched southward from York, and on the 6th June they encountered the army of King Henry VII. at Stoke-upon-Trent, near Newark. There was no want of courage on either side ; and the followers of the real earl of Lincoln and the pretended earl of Warwick fought with the most desperate courage for about four hours, when they were finally overpowered and utterly routed by the king's army. Amongst the slain were the earls of Lincoln and Kildare, Lord Lovel, Martin Schwartz, and Sir Thomas Broughton. Simnel was taken prisoner ; and the king had the prudence or magnanimity to spare his life, and in ridicule of his claims to make him a cook in the royal kitchen. A few years later another impostor, Perkin Warbeck, claiming to be Richard, duke of York, the younger son of Edward IV., was patronized by the duchess of Burgundy, and for a time gave considerable trouble by landing in Scotland, Ireland, and the south of England. But though calling himself the duke of

York, he never reached the seat of his pretended dukedom. After undergoing many extraordinary adventures, he was taken prisoner in the south of England; and after being confined for several years in the Tower, was beheaded, within a few days of the barbarous execution of the real Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, who had for many years been kept a captive in that gloomy prison.

*The Battle of Flodden Field.*—The policy of Henry VIII., like that of the Tudors generally, was pacific, both as relates to Scotland and to France; and the northern counties of England were seldom called upon to make the enormous sacrifices of blood and treasure which they had been compelled to make in the incessant wars of the Plantagenets. But in the year 1513 Henry VIII. allowed himself to be drawn into a war with France, which had its usual effect of bringing on a war with Scotland. In his operations on the north-western frontier of France, he defeated the French army in an engagement on the 4th of August, 1513, afterwards called the Battle of the Spurs, in mockery of the vanquished, who were said on that day to have trusted more to their speed than to their valour. But there was no want of valour in the battle of Flodden, which took place about a month later, on the 7th of September, 1513. James IV., king of Scotland, finding that Henry had gone over to France, and was engaged in a dangerous war, was, like his forefathers, easily tempted by French counsels to an irruption into England. According to the custom of those times, the armies of the southern counties passed over into France, whilst those of Yorkshire and the other northern counties were marched to the borders of Scotland. The earl of Surrey, commander of the English army on the borders, brought the Scots to action at Flodden Field on the 7th of September, 1513, where they were defeated with extraordinary slaughter. Among those who fell on that disastrous day were King James IV., a prince of more than usual value to his army and people; his natural son, Alexander Stewart, the primate of Scotland, a favourite pupil of Erasmus; with twelve earls, thirteen lords, and 400 knights and gentlemen; in which number we find, in that age without surprise, the bishop of the Isles and the abbots of Kilwinning and Inchaffray. So great a loss among the more conspicuous class, seems to denote a carnage from which a narrow and disordered country could not soon recover. Margaret Tudor, the widow of James IV. of Scotland, and the sister of Henry VIII. of

England, was ill qualified at the age of twenty-four to supply her husband's place. Her subsequent life was dissolute and agitated. She early displeased her brother (Henry) by her marriage with the earl of Angus, the head of the potent house of Douglas ; and her grandchildren by two husbands, Mary Stewart and Henry, Lord Darnley, were afterwards doomed to a fatal union. Darnley was born at Temple Newsam, near Leeds.\*

*The Reformation of Religion, and the events arising from it, in the North of England.*—The first fifteen years of the reign of Henry VIII. were, on the whole, peaceful and prosperous. There was no dispute as to his right to the crown, and the wars with France and Scotland were brilliantly successful, and were brought to a close quickly, without involving the nation in any expense beyond what was easily met by the increase of trade, the improvement of agriculture, and the great influx of gold and silver from the mines of Mexico and Peru, in exchange for the products of English industry. But about that time Germany, Holland, and Flanders were profoundly shaken by a great struggle between the temporal and spiritual powers of the world—the sovereigns and the pope—which soon extended to England and Scotland, and brought on a struggle between the sovereigns of these countries, supported by their Parliaments and a considerable portion of the people, on the one side, and the heads of the Romish church, also supported by a considerable portion of the people of England and Scotland, on the other. This conflict kept the two countries in a state of excitement during the greater part of the rule of the Tudor dynasty, and twice involved the northern counties of England, and especially the county of York, in confusion and bloodshed.

More than a hundred years before the accession of Henry VIII. to the throne of England, John Wycliffe, a native of the county of York and an eminent theologian, had struck the first blow in a battle against what he, and the Protestant part of the world since then, have regarded as the overgrown and usurped authority of the bishops of Rome, in the Christian church. It is not our object, in a work like this, to discuss the merits of this dispute ; but it is necessary so far to refer to the subject as to explain the course of events arising out of them in this part of England. John Wycliffe, the earliest of English Protestants, or, as they were then called, Lollards, was condemned in the year 1382, the sixth Richard II., by a

\* Mackintosh's History of England, vol. ii. p. 118.

national synod, under the presidency of Archbishop Courtenay, on the following grounds:—1st, for his deviation from orthodox language respecting the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; 2nd, for his doctrine that a pope, bishop, or priest, who is under mortal sin, has no authority over the faithful, and that his acts are null; 3rd, for his assertion that Scripture prohibits ecclesiastics from having temporal possessions; and 4th, for maintaining that where contrition is sincere, confession to a priest is useless. In speaking of these opinions, Sir James Macintosh, a writer of judicial impartiality, observes that “the opinion of Wycliffe respecting the Lord’s Supper is supposed to have nearly resembled that peculiar to Luther and his immediate followers. This celebrated reformer, who was born at or near the village of Wycliffe in the North Riding of Yorkshire, “died in the year 1384, at his parsonage of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, but his doctrines, or rather his spirit, survived him; and however his successors might vary from him in their exposition of mysterious dogmas, they owed to him the example of an open attack, by a learned clergyman, upon the authority of the Church (of Rome) and the jurisdiction of the supreme pontiff. Payne, one of his disciples, carried his system into Bohemia, where it flourished, in spite of persecution, till it was lost in the broad stream of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. The reception of the doctrines of the Lollards (for so they were called), shows plainly that the soil had been prepared for the seed. With the dawn of history we discover some simple Christians in the valleys of the Alps, where they still exist under the ancient name of Vaudois, who, by the light of the New Testament, saw the extraordinary contrast between the purity of primitive times and the vices of the gorgeous and imperial hierarchy which surrounded them. They were not so much distinguished from others by opinions, as by the pursuit of a more innocent and severe life.”\*

The progress of the opinions of Wycliffe in England was greatly promoted by the translation of the Latin Bible into the English language by Wycliffe, and the more learned of his followers; and by the invention of the art of printing about forty years later, which gave an additional impulse to the movement, by facilitating the producing and the circulating of the English version of the Bible in every part of the kingdom. But for many years after the death of Wycliffe, his opinions had to contend against most formidable oppo-

\* Sir James Mackintosh’s History of England, vol. i. p. 322.

sition ; and within less than twenty years after his death, the Act for burning heretics was passed under the influence of King Henry IV. and the clergy. This continued to be the law of the land during the hundred years preceding the Reformation, and for some time after. Under this merciless law any maintainer of heretical opinions was liable to be burnt to death, and long before Henry VIII. ascended the throne, as well as after, multitudes perished at the stake under that murderous law. But no amount of cruelty could put down the opinions taught by Wycliffe; and these gradually prepared the way for the doctrines which were proclaimed through the greater part of Western Europe, about the time when Henry VIII. ascended the English throne.

It is impossible to conceive anything lower or more odious than the motives which involved Henry VIII. in his quarrel with the pope, and in carrying it forward, he succeeded in rivalling all the atrocities even of the Act for Burning Heretics; but there was already in England a numerous party, of various ranks in life, who agreed generally with the opinions of Wycliffe and Luther, and who were delighted to have the support of a king, who was quite able to resist the pope and the Romish church, with the same determined and unyielding spirit which "they had shown in resisting the reformed opinions, and in punishing all who presumed to hold them. The war carried on between the two parties, as well in this country as on the Continent, was a war of extermination; and it would be vain to look either for humanity or for justice amongst the principal leaders in this furious conflict.

The manner in which Henry's war with the pope was brought home most sensibly to the bosoms and business of the people of England, was by the dissolution or abolition of the monastic houses, of which many hundreds existed throughout England, and more than a hundred in the county of York alone. The overthrow of these wealthy and powerful establishments was witnessed with very different feelings by different classes of the people, according to their religious judgment. The more zealous advocates of the new opinions looked upon the overthrow of the monastic houses with undisguised exultation, regarding them as powerful bulwarks of the power of the pope; whilst the adherents of the old opinions looked upon it with horror as an act of audacious sacrilege. There may, perhaps, have been persons (but their ranks were not numerous in that age) who would have allowed the monastic foundations to remain, but would

have applied their funds to the relief of the poor, the spread of education, the lightening of taxes, and other purposes of undoubted utility. But the promptings of moderation were not listened to in those days ; the religious houses were swept away by the king and his ministers with the besom of destruction. On this the supporters of the monks, and the followers of the pope, rose in open insurrection against the king, whom they regarded as a heretic, a tyrant, and an excommunicated person. For the next hundred years both England and Scotland were shaken by an internal conflict arising out of this quarrel, which more than once broke out in the flames of civil war, and was only extinguished in blood.

There was no part of England in which the monastic houses were more numerous or wealthy than in the county of York, and there was no part of the kingdom in which their sudden and violent overthrow produced a more vehement resistance. In this country the religious houses had been growing up from a period long previous to the Norman conquest, and at the time when they were assailed by King Henry VIII. they possessed a large portion of the property of the county.

*The Origin and the Dissolution of the Monasteries.*—It was chiefly in the Norman period, or in that of the early Plantagenet kings, that the numerous abbeys, priories, nunneries, and other monastic houses, which were for many ages the richest foundations and the noblest specimens of architectural skill existing in Yorkshire, and which, even in ruins, are still amongst its greatest ornaments, were erected. A few monasteries existed in Yorkshire previous to the Norman conquest, chiefly in York, Beverley, and Whitby ; some of great antiquity, but none remarkable either for their extent or the splendour of their construction. But before the Normans were firmly established in this part of England, the Conqueror himself founded the great abbey of Selby, at the reputed birth-place of his youngest son, afterwards King Henry I. ; and during the next three hundred years, there was scarcely a reign in which some great addition was not made to the religious houses of this county. These ultimately amounted to upwards of one hundred in number, and included many of the most beautiful buildings, and the noblest monastic institutions, that were to be found in any part of England.

Nor was it only architectural taste and magnificence that adorned these buildings. Whatever of knowledge and of literature existed



in those ages, was found within the walls of the religious houses ; and the reputation which Bede, Cædmon, and other writers of the Anglian period, had gained in this part of England, was maintained by the historians who flourished, during the ages following the Norman conquest, in the religious houses of Yorkshire and Durham. We may mention among the number of eminent men who employed the learned leisure which these institutions afforded, to preserve the records both of past and contemporary times—Ælred of Rievaulx ; Alured of Beverley ; Benedict of Selby ; John of Brompton ; Roger of Hoveden, or Howden ; William of Newbury ; Peter of Langtoft ; Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole ; and others, whose works we shall describe in a subsequent part of this work, along with the several monastic institutions with which they were connected.

*The Growth of Monastic Houses in Yorkshire.*—Many monastic houses were founded before the Norman conquest. Amongst the oldest are supposed to have been those of Lastingham, A.D. 648 ; Tadcaster, Newton-Kyme, or Aberford, A.D. 655 ; Whitby, A.D. 657 ; Gilling, A.D. 659 ; Ripon, A.D. 661 ; Hackness, A.D. 680 ; Crayke, A.D. 685 ; Watton, A.D. 686 ; Beverley, about A.D. 700 ; and Berwick-in-Elmet, about A.D. 730.\*

In William the Conqueror's reign, from A.D. 1066 to A.D. 1087, the following religious houses were either restored or founded in the county of York :—Lastingham, originally founded by Bishop Chad in the Anglian times, whose monks afterwards, according to Burton's "Ecclesiastical History of Yorkshire," removed to near the walls of York, and erected the abbey of St. Mary there, with Whitby and Selby abbeys, and St. Peter's, and St. Leonard's hospital, and St. Trinity, an alien priory in York.

In the thirteen years of the reign of William II., from A.D. 1087 to A.D. 1100, there were founded the cell of Hackness, the priory of St. John of Pontefract, and St. Clement's collegiate chapel at the same town.

During the thirty-five years of the reign of Henry I., from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1135, the following religious houses were founded in Yorkshire, namely, the priories of St. Martin at Richmond ; Hendale or Grendale, St. Clement's nunnery at York ; Birstall in Holderness, an alien priory ; Snaith, a cell belonging to Selby ; Hedley, a cell

\* *Monasticon Eboracense: and the Ecclesiastical History of Yorkshire.* By John Burton, M.D., Fellow of the Antiquarian Society, York, 1758, p. 54.

to St. Trinity at York; Middlesborough, a cell to Whitby; the priories of Nostel, Embsay, afterwards removed to Bolton in Craven, Bridlington, Giseburne with Scarth, its cell, Kirkham, Warter, Drax, Tockwith or Seokirk, Wodekirke or Kirkwode, both cells of Nostel; the abbies of Rievaulx and Fountains, with the priory of Keldholm or Duna; the commandery of Mount St. John, for knights hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem; the hospitals of St. Nicholas at Pontefract, and St. Mary Magdalene, for lepers, at Ripon.

In the reign of King Stephen, from A.D. 1135 to A.D. 1154, priories were founded at Nun-Monkton, Arden, Nun-Keeling, Wilberfoss, and Arthington; abbeys at Byland, Sauley, Roche, Meaux or Melsa; Bernoldswick was removed to Kirkstall; priories were founded at Nun-Appleton, Wychem, Swine, and Fors-in-Wensleydale, the latter a cell to Byland, Newburgh; the abbey of Saint Agatha, at Richmond, and the priories of Watton and Malton. In the reign of King Henry II., from A.D. 1154 to A.D. 1189, priories were founded at Marrick, Yeddingham, Allerton, Mauleverer, Marton in Galtress, and Molesby, Swainby, Corham or Coverham, and Eggleston; at Monk Bretton; a preceptory for knights templars, at Temple Newsam; the abbey of Jervaulx, the priories of Sinningthwaite, Basedale, Hutton or Munthorpe, Hampole, Esholt, Kirklees, and Ellerton upon Swale; and as is supposed another at Codenham; also a nunnery at Richmond, St. Sepulchre's collegiate chapel at York, another at Tickhill, the hospitals at Whitby, St. Nicholas near Norton, Killing-Waldgraves, Richmond, Rerecross or Spital upon Stainmore, Newton in Holderness, St. Nicholas at Yarn, St. Nicholas at Scarborough, and one at Northallerton.

In the reign of Richard I., from A.D. 1189 to A.D. 1199, only three religious houses were founded in Yorkshire, namely, the priories of Thicket and Rosedale, and a preceptory for knights templars at Ribston.

In the seventeen years of the reign of King John, from A.D. 1199 to A.D. 1216, there were founded in Yorkshire the priories of Grosmond or Eskdale, Ecclesfield, an alien priory at Scarborough, priories at Healaugh, St. Andrew's at York, Ellerton in Spalding Moor, Oveton with Wythernsea in Holderness; a preceptory at North Ferriby for knights templars, afterwards converted into a priory of Augustines; another commandery at Newland for templars, and St. Trinity at Beverley for knights hospitallers; the house

of St. Roberts at Knaresborough for the redemption of captives, and the hospitals at Bagby, St. John's at Ripon, and Newton, near Hedon. In the reign of King Henry III., which reign extended for fifty-six years, commencing A.D. 1216 and ending A.D. 1272, there were founded in the county of York priories at Nun-Burnham, Begare in Richmondshire, a cell to the abbey of that name in Britanny, the collegiate church at Howden, the Bedern at York, and the hospitals at Tickhill, St. Nicholas and St. James at Doncaster, St. Michael's at Fulsnap, and St. Giles', near Catterick or Brompton. In the ninth year of the reign of King Henry III., an Act of Parliament was passed to prevent the people from giving lands to religious houses; but it produced scarcely any effect, as will be seen from the number of houses formed subsequent to that date. Dr. Burton says that the several statutes in this and in other reigns, to enforce the laws made to prevent the religious houses from growing richer, were chiefly advantageous to the secular clergy, from the multitude of chantries soon after founded.

In the reign of King Edward I., from A.D. 1272 to A.D. 1307, the religious houses founded in Yorkshire were, the collegiate church at Osmotherley, a house for the Dominicans at Scarborough, one for the Franciscans at Beverley, one for the Carmelites, or Whitefriars, at Sutton in Holderness, one for Austin friars at Tickhill, and another at York; the hospitals of St. Giles at York, of St. Nicholas at Beverley, of St. Mary at Lasingby, of St. Helens at Bredeford, of Braceford, St. Mary Magdalene's, and a lazar-house for lepers.

In the reign of King Edward II., from A.D. 1307 to A.D. 1327, the chief changes in the religious houses in Yorkshire, were the removal of the priory of St. Austin from Cottingham to Halten-prise; the establishment of houses of Dominicans at Beverley and Doncaster, of the Carmelites at Scarborough and Bootham, near York, of the Franciscans at Doncaster, of the Austin friars at Hull, of the Crouched friars, or friars of the Holy Cross, at York and at Kildale. In the reign of Edward II. the knights templars were suppressed in England, their lands and goods confiscated, and their order dissolved. They were charged with enormous vices and crimes, and may in some cases have been charged justly; but their principal offence probably was their overgrown wealth and power.

The number of religious houses founded in Yorkshire during the long reign of Edward III., commencing A.D. 1327 and ending A.D. 1377, was comparatively small. During that reign, the Austin

friars were placed at Northallerton, the Dominicans at Hull, the Carmelites at Bolton and Northallerton, and the Carthusians at Hull. It was in this reign that John Wycliffe, a native of Yorkshire, and his follower, the Lollards, or Protestants, as we should now call them, commenced their attacks on the Romish system in pretty nearly all its branches, and that Geoffrey Chaucer began to assail the monks with his brilliant wit. In this reign also, Edward III. seized on the houses of the alien priories, of which there were seven in the county of York.

In the reign of Richard II., from A.D. 1377 to 1399, there were no new religious houses established in Yorkshire, except the house of the Carthusians at Mount Grace, near Osmotherley. In the reign of King Henry IV., from A.D. 1399 to A.D. 1413, there were no grants made to religious houses except to chantries or similar endowments; and this is equally true of the reign of Henry V., from A.D. 1413 to A.D. 1422. But King Henry IV., in the first year of his reign, restored all the conventual alien priories, reserving in times of war to the crown what they had paid in time of peace to the foreign abbeys. Unfortunately, he and his ministers went much further, and succeeded in inducing the Parliament to pass the law for the burning of heretics, in order more effectually to put down the Lollards. Few religious houses were founded in the reign of Henry VI., from A.D. 1422 to A.D. 1461. The only ones founded in Yorkshire were the collegiate church of Hemingbrough, St. William's College, and St. Anthony's Hospital at York, and the Carman Spital at Flixton, or Felix Town.

During the reign of Edward IV., from A.D. 1461 to A.D. 1483, the number of religious houses founded was considerably larger. Amongst these were the collegiate churches at Middleham and Rotherham, the college of Acaster, and several hospitals; namely, Maison Dieu at Northallerton, St. Mary's in Bootham, near York, Maison Dieu in Whitefriars' Lane, Lairthorpe, out of Micklegate bar, all at York; St. Ann's at Ripon, St. Trinity at Beverley, and Grig's and the Mariners' hospitals at Hull. But these latter foundations did not necessarily imply a life of celibacy, on the part of those who were intrusted with their management; and several of them are still in existence.

According to Burton's "Ecclesiastical History of Yorkshire" (p. 57), the number of religious houses formed after the Conquest, A.D. 1066, and before the first year of the reign of King Henry III.,

1216, in the whole of England, were 476 abbeys and priories and eighty alien priories, of which the numbers in the county of York were fourteen abbeys, forty-four priories, seven alien priories, thirteen cells, three preceptories, three commanderies; and after that time, twenty-eight houses of friars, with many chantries, hospitals, and colleges, but no houses of monks, nuns, or canons. \*

*The Monastic Houses of Yorkshire.*—The number of monastic houses in Yorkshire previous to the dissolution of the monasteries by King Henry VIII., which commenced in the year 1536, and ended in the year 1539, was 106, and included many of the richest foundations in England, as well as of great numbers of moderate wealth. The number of abbeys in the county of York was fourteen, consisting of the abbeys of St. Mary at York, and those of Selby and Whitby, belonging to the Benedictine order (three); of the abbeys of Rievaulx, Fountains, Byland, Sawley, Roche Meaux or Melsa, Kirkstall, and Jervaulx, belonging to the Cistercian order (eight); and those of St. Agatha, at Richmond, Coverham, and Eggleston (three), belonging to the order of Præmonstratensians (three). The number of priories in Yorkshire was much greater, amounting to forty-four, consisting of the priories of St. Martin at Richmond, Hendale, or Grendale, St. Clement's near York, Nun-Monkton, Arden, Nun Keeling, Wilberfoss, Arthington, Marrick, Yeddingham, Thicket, Resedale, and Nun-Burnham, belonging to the Benedictine order (thirteen); Pontefract and Monk Bretton, of the Cluniac order (two); Grosmont, of the order of Grandimont (one); Hull, and Mount Grace, Carthusian houses (two); Kelholm or Duna, Nun Appleton, Wicham, Swyne, Sinningthwaite, Basedale, Hampole, Esholt, Kirklees, Ellerton-upon-Swale, and Codenham, of the Cistercian order (twelve); Nostel, Bolton, Bridlington, Giseburn, Kirkham, Warter, Drax, Newburgh, Marton, Molesby and Haltenprise, of the order of St. Austin (eleven); and Watton, Malton, St. Andrew's at York, and Ellerton in Spalding Moor, belonging to the Gilbertine houses of the order of Sempringham (four). The number of alien priories was seven, but most of these had been partially suppressed by King Edward III., who would not allow English funds to go to foreign monasteries in time of war, though it was generally permitted in time of peace. The alien priories of Yorkshire were those of the Holy Trinity at York; Allerton, Mauleverer, Ecclesfield, Healaugh, Birstall in Holderness, and Wytherness, belonging to the Benedictine order

\* Burton's Ecclesiastical History of Yorkshire, p. 57.

(six); and that of St. Mary at Scarborough, belonging to the Cistercian order. The number of cells or smaller houses in Yorkshire was thirteen, consisting of the cells of Hackness, Middlesborough, All Saints, Fishergate at York, Goteland, Hedley, Snaith, and Birstall of the Benedictine order (seven); Begare, of the Carthusian order (one); Fors, in Wensleydale, belonging to the Cistercian house of Byland (one); Tockwith and Wodekirk, belonging to Nostel; Scarth, Gisborne, and Hode, to Newburgh—all of the order of St. Austin. In addition to the above fourteen abbeys, forty-four priories, seven alien priories, and thirteen cells, there were a considerable number of houses of friars in the county of York. The Dominicans, Black or Preaching Friars, had houses at York, Pontefract, Yarm, Scarborough, Beverley, Doncaster, and Hull, making seven in all. The Franciscans, or Grey Friars, or Friars Minors, had houses at York, Scarborough, Richmond, Beverley, and Doncaster. The Maturines, or Trinitarians, for the redemption of captives, had a chapel at St. Robert's at Knaresborough. The Carmelites, or White Friars, had houses at York, Hull, Scarborough, Pontefract, Sutton in Holderness, Bootham, near York, Bolton, and Northallerton (eight); the Crouched or Crossed Friars, at York and Kildale (two); and the Austin Friars, eremites, had houses at York, Hull, Tickhill, Pontefract, and Northallerton (five). Thus the number of houses of friars in Yorkshire was twenty-eight, and the total number of abbeys, priories, and alien priories, and cells was seventy-eight; making the total of all the houses of the religious orders in Yorkshire, 106.

In addition to these, there were numerous chantries with endowments, made for the purpose of obtaining prayers for the souls of the dead or the living, which ultimately shared the same fate as the houses of the religious orders, except that in a good many cases they were applied to the founding of schools. In earlier times, the knights templars and knights of St. John of Jerusalem, had extensive foundations at Temple Newsam near Leeds, at Beverley, and at Ribston near Knaresborough; but the knights templars were abolished in the reign of King Edward II., when many odious charges were made against them.

*The Pilgrimage of Grace.*—The great northern insurrection, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, broke out in Yorkshire and the other counties north of the Humber, in the year 1536; chiefly in consequence of the popular indignation produced by the abolition and

\* Burton's *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 54.

dissolution of the smaller monasteries, which were houses not possessing an income of more than £200 a year, in the money of that age, equal in value to about £1000 of modern money. In the discussion on the bill for abolishing these houses, Stokesley, bishop of London, had remarked, that "these lesser houses were as thorns, soon plucked up; but that the great abbeys were like putrified old oaks; they must soon follow, and so would others do in Christendom." Another, and perhaps more immediate cause of the revolt, was supplied by the proclamation of the king to the clergy, in the year 1536, which directed them to "proclaim for a time on every Sunday, and afterwards twice in each quarter, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power had no foundation in the law of God; to abstain from extolling images, relics, or pilgrimages; and to exhort the people to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English."\*

In the month of October, 1536, an extensive rising took place in Yorkshire, and in most of the northern counties, which received the name of the "Pilgrimage of Grace." The insurgents, who knew nothing of war, were led into the field by Robert Aske, a Yorkshire landowner, whose station entitled him to be called "a gentleman," but who was neither a soldier nor a man of influence. The priests marched before them, bearing crucifixes and banners, on which the sufferings of Christ were painted. They obliged all their prisoners to swear, "that they would enter into this Pilgrimage of Grace for the love of God, the preservation of the king's person, the purifying of the nobility, and expelling all villain blood and evil counsellors; taking before them the cross of Christ, his faith, and the restitution of the church, the suppression of heretics and their opinions." But the garrison of Scarborough was faithful; Clifford, earl of Cumberland held out in his castle of Skipton; and Edward, earl of Derby, on whose support they had relied, declared for the king. The strongholds of the north, such as York and Hull, not being garrisoned, fell into the hands of the insurgents, but were useless in their feeble hands. At Pomfret Castle, their leader, Aske, persuaded or compelled the archbishop of York, and the Lord Darcy, to take the oath and join his army. Lord Dacre refused to make any concession to them; and the earls of Cumberland and Derby threatened them on the flank, whilst the king's army advanced from the south. In the course of negotiations which ensued, Aske, seated on a chair of state

\* Burnet's History of the Reformation. Book iii.



in the castle of Pomfret, having the archbishop of York on his right hand and the Lord Darcy on his left, received a herald from the earl of Shrewsbury, the commander of the king's troops. Aske refused to allow the herald to read out the proclamation of which he was the bearer, but sent him back to Lord Shrewsbury with a safe-conduct. On the 6th of December, 1536, after the king had arrived at Doncaster with a superior force, the Lords Scrope, Latimer, Lumley, and Darcy, Sir T. Percy, Robert Aske, and about 300 others, on the part of the insurgents, met the duke of Norfolk and Sir William Fitzwilliam, on behalf of the king, in order to consider terms of compromise. The revolvers began by asking a hostage for the safety of Aske. Henry, who by long delay had got them into his snare, haughtily answered, "that he knew no gentleman or other whom he esteemed so little, as to put him in pledge for such a man."

The demands of the insurgents, which included the restoration of the Princess Mary to her legitimacy, of the pope to his wonted jurisdiction, and of the monks to their houses, were rejected with scorn, and the insurgents were compelled to accept a full satisfaction and general pardon,\* on condition that they should submit to Norfolk and Shrewsbury (the king's lieutenants), and that the northern commons should rebel no more.† One permanent result of this insurrection was the establishment of the great Council of the North, at York, which continued in existence to the time of the great civil war, and may perhaps have been of some use in turbulent times, though of little advantage in times of tranquillity.

In the following year, the popular fury against the proceedings of the king gave rise to another insurrection in Yorkshire, which was equally abortive, but was punished with much greater severity. The duke of Norfolk, though himself a Roman Catholic, headed the king's forces, and after all resistance had ceased, martial law was proclaimed in the northern parts of Yorkshire, and in the neighbouring counties. In order to strike terror amongst the insurgents, the abbots of Fountains, Jervaulx, and Rievaulx, and the prior of Bridlington, were executed. Sir Robert Constable was hanged in chains at Hull; Lord Darcy was beheaded on Tower Hill; and Aske, the leader of the first insurrection, but not actually mixed up with the second, was hung from one of the towers of York. Two or three years later there was again a disturbance in Yorkshire, in

\* December, 9, 1536. Herbert, p. 213.

† Sir James Mackintosh's History of England, vol. ii. pp. 214 to 216.

which Sir John Nevill, knight, and ten other persons, were taken in arms, and executed at York. Even after the death of Henry VIII., in the year 1548, the first of Edward VI., another abortive insurrection broke out at Seamer, near Scarborough, which was not finally put down until the leaders had been apprehended and executed at York.

*The Rising in the North against Queen Elizabeth.*—The first ten years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth were comparatively peaceful and prosperous. During that period, says Sir James Mackintosh, “no English blood had been shed on the scaffold or in the field, in a public quarrel, whether political or religious. In this important respect, that period forms a happy contrast with the ten years which preceded. It is probable that no great country could for centuries have boasted the like felicity. The close of the year 1569 was unfortunately distinguished by a revolt which partook both of a civil and of a theological nature.” This was the famous insurrection of Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Nevill, earl of Westmoreland, the two great leaders of the northern counties, both of them determined enemies of the religious policy of Queen Elizabeth’s government and, no doubt, both of them firm believers in the superior claims of Mary Queen of Scots to the throne of England, and in the illegitimacy of Queen Elizabeth, whom they regarded as a usurper of the throne.\*

In the year 1568 Mary Queen of Scots, having quarreled with the Scottish people beyond all hope of reconciliation, took refuge in England, and threw herself on the protection of her enemy and her rival. Soon after her flight into England, she was removed to Bolton Castle, in Wensleydale, Yorkshire; afterwards to Sheffield Castle, in the same county; and as she became more and more an object of suspicion to Elizabeth, still further south to Tutbury Castle, and ultimately to Fotheringay Castle, in Northamptonshire, where she was put to death in the year 1587.

It was in the year 1569 that the insurrection, known as the Rising in the North, broke out under the leadership of Percy, earl of Northumberland, of Nevill, earl of Westmoreland, and of several leading gentlemen of the northern counties. But the leaders of the insurrection had greatly miscalculated their strength, for they never succeeded in bringing together more than 9000 to 10,000 men; and they failed to take the great fortresses of York, Hull, and Pontefract,

\* Sir James Mackintosh’s *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 134.

which had been taken by the insurgents engaged in the Pilgrimage of Grace, in the reign of Henry VIII. Moreover, they met with a strong resistance from the Cliffords, earls of Cumberland, in the West Riding, and from the Stanleys, earls of Derby and barons of Mounteagle, who brought up a great part of the strength of Lancashire and Cheshire in support of the queen. In addition to this, the manufacturing population in the great parish of Halifax, and through the West Riding generally, who had eagerly adopted the doctrines of the Reformation, rose to resist the insurrection of the Percys and the Nevills.

On the 24th of November, the earl of Derby had written to the queen, stating that he had received information from the earl of Sussex, the commander of the queen's army, that the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were in open rebellion, and declaring that he would use all diligence to keep the county of Lancaster in obedience. In reply, Elizabeth wrote to the earl of Derby, directing him to raise the whole force of Lancashire and Cheshire, and with the counties of Nottingham and Derby, under the earl of Shrewsbury, to join with the forces under the earl of Sussex and the Lord Admiral Clinton. On hearing of the approach of these armies, which threatened to envelop them on every side, the rebel forces broke up and dispersed, without striking a blow. At one time they had mustered 9000 men, on the moors near Wetherby, with which they had intended to march against York. But that city opened its gates to the royal forces, and on the 6th of November, 1569, the earl of Sussex began his march from York in pursuit of the insurgents. On the 20th he arrived at Hexham, the insurgents retiring before him to Naworth Castle, in Cumberland; and the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland fled into Scotland, leaving their followers at the mercy of an angry queen, and an exasperated party. Some of the insurgents showed a more determined spirit, for in the month of January, 1570, Leonard Dacres, the uncle of the Lord Dacres of the north, renewed the insurrection, by bringing together 3000 men almost as desperate and as resolute as himself, at Naworth Castle. On the 22nd February, 1570, Leonard Dacres made a determined onset upon the queen's army, under the queen's kinsman, Lord Hunsdon. The fight was desperate, and the event for a while very doubtful. The frenzy of the Catholic party may be judged from the fact that many women were in the ranks of the revolters,

who not only fought stoutly, but inflamed and shamed their companions to a mortal resistance. Dacres escaped by the speed of his horse into Scotland; but that was no longer a safe place of refuge for Romish insurgents in arms against Queen Elizabeth. Northumberland was made prisoner in the castle of Lochleven by the Regent Moray, and was, long after, surrendered by the earl of Morton to the English government, which caused him to be executed at York. The earl of Westmoreland also escaped into Scotland, but finding himself unsafe there, he retired into Flanders, where he died in 1584, after having for some time served as a commandant of a Spanish regiment. The inferior prisoners were punished with merciless severity; no less than sixty-six constables, who were at that time heads of villages, being hung, upwards of 800 persons executed, and fifty-seven noblemen and gentlemen of the counties of York, Durham, and the Border counties, attainted by Parliament in the following year. These terrible examples helped to complete the dismay produced by the total failure of the insurrection. All thought of insurrection died out amongst the Roman Catholics of the North; and a few years later, at the time of the attack of the Spanish armada, the whole of her Majesty's subjects in Yorkshire showed an honourable readiness to risk their lives and fortunes in defence of their queen and country.

We have given in previous chapters the origin of most of the Yorkshire names of places derived from the Celtic or Old British, the Anglian, and the Norse languages; and we now add a brief list of the Yorkshire names of places, derived, subsequently to the Norman conquest, from the Norman-French and the more recent Latin languages. The names prevailing at the Norman conquest were so carefully recorded in Domesday Book, and it was so important that the names of manors and other considerable properties should agree with that ancient record, which was evidence in courts of law, that comparatively few changes were made in the names of places by the Norman landowners. But it will be seen from the list of names of owners of land, given in this work from Testa de Nevill, that a very large portion of the names of persons were of French or Norman origin. It will also be seen from the accounts of the battles of Wakefield and of Towton Field, copied from Hall's Chronicle, which was written in the reign of King Henry VIII., that the English language had then become, both in its grammar and its vocabulary, very much what it was in the time of Shakspeare, and what it is

now; that is, a language drawing its character from a union of the Anglian, the Norse, the Norman-French, the Latin, and even the Celtic languages, though in considerably different proportions. We shall have to speak elsewhere of the language employed in the time of Wycliffe, and of that of the poet Gower (both natives of Yorkshire), which may be regarded as specimens of the English language in the reigns of King Edward III. and Richard II., from A.D. 1327 to A.D. 1399. In the following list we have admitted such words even as *cum*, *le*, *en*, and *St.*, as showing a Norman or Latin influence.

NAMES OF PLACES IN YORKSHIRE, IN WHOLE OR IN PART, DERIVED FROM THE  
NORMAN-FRENCH AND RECENT LATIN LANGUAGES:—

Abbotside, High and Low.	Coverham-cum-Aglethorpe.
Acaster-Malbis.	Craike.
Aiuderby-Myers.	Cray.
Allerton-Mauleverer.	Dacre.
Appleton-le-Moors.	Dacre-Banks.
Appleton-le-Street.	Drax.
Attercliffe-cum-Darnall.	Eccles Hill,
Bardsey-cum-Rigton.	Egglesstone-Abbey.
Barton-le-Street.	Ellerton-Abbey.
Barton-le-Willows.	Ellerton-Priory.
Bellasize.	Farley-Tyas.
Benningholme and Grange.	Fountains Earth.
Bolton Abbey.	Fulford-Ambo.
Bolton Percy.	Grange.
Bramham-cum-Aglethorpe.	Halifax.
Brampton-en-le-Morthen.	Hartshead-cum-Clifton.
Burrell-cum-Cowling.	Heslington, St. Lawrence.
Burstwick-cum-Sketling.	Hooton-Levett.
Burton-Agnes.	Hooton-Pagnell.
Burton-Constable.	Hooton-Roberts.
Burton-cum-Walden.	Howden-Tec.
Burton-Fleming.	Hutton-Bonville.
Burton-Grange.	Hutton-Bushell.
Burton-Leonard.	Hutton-Conyers.
Carlton-Miniott.	Hutton-Sessay.
Carperby-cum-Thoresby.	Huttons-Ambo.
Castle-Bolton.	Jervaulx.
Castleton.	Kilwick-Percy.
Cave.	Kingston-upon-Hull.
Cave, South.	Kippax.
Chapel-Allerton.	Laughton-en-le-Morthen.
Chapel-Haddlesey.	Lillings-Ambo.
Chapelton.	Lotherton-cum-Abberford.
Cherry-Burton.	Meaux.
Clapham-cum-Newby.	Melsa.
Claro.	Middleton-Tyas.
Cliffe-cum-Lund.	Minster Yard, with Bedden.
Clifford-cum-Boston.	Mint Yard, York City.

- Moorsholm-cum-Ginick.  
 Nappa.  
 New-Forest, Richmond.  
 Newholm-cum-Duusley.  
 Newland-cum-Woodhouse Moor.  
 Newton-le-Willows.  
 Newton-Monel.  
 New-Village, Howden.  
 North-Cave, Howden.  
 Norton-Conyers.  
 Norton-le-Clay.  
 Occaney, Knaresborough.  
 Old Byland.  
 Pannal, Knaresborough.  
 Pontefract.  
 Provosts-Lee, Beverley.  
 Pudsey.  
 Rams Grange.  
 Richmond, Yorkshire.  
 Rise.  
 Rievaulx.  
 Ross, Patrington.  
 Roundhay.  
 Ruston Parva.  
 St. Andrew, York.  
 St. Crux, York.  
 St. Cuthbert, York.  
 St. Denis-in-Walmgate, York.  
 St. George, York.  
 St. Giles-in-the-Suburbs, York.  
 St. Gregory, York.  
 St. Helen-on-the-Walls, York.  
 St. Helen Stonegate, York.  
 St. John Beverley, Beverley.  
 St. John Delpike, York.  
 St. John Middlegate, York.  
 St. Lawrence, York.  
 St. Leonard, New-Malton.  
 St. Margaret Walmgate, York.  
 St. Martin, York.  
 St. Martin Beverley, Beverley.  
 St. Martin-le-Grand, York.  
 St. Martin Middlegate, York.  
 St. Mary, Hull.  
 St. Mary Beverley, Beverley.  
 St. Mary, Bishop Hill, junior, York.  
 St. Mary, Bishop Hill, senior, York.  
 St. Mary, Castlegate, York.  
 St. Mary, Hull, Hull.  
 St. Maurice-in-the-Suburbs, York.  
 St. Michael-le-Belfry, York.  
 St. Michael, New Malton, Malton.  
 St. Michael, Spurrier-Gate, York.  
 St. Nicholas, Beverley, Beverley.  
 St. Nicholas-in-the-Suburbs, York.  
 St. Olave, Mary Gate, York.  
 St. Peter-le-Willows, York.  
 St. Peter-the-Little, York.  
 St. Sampson, York.  
 St. Saviour, York.  
 St. Wilfred, York.  
 Silkstone.  
 South-Cave, Beverley.  
 Stanwick-St.-John, Richmond.  
 Stockton-on-the-Forest, York.  
 Studley-Roger.  
 Sturton-Grange.  
 Suffield-cum-Everley.  
 Sutton-Grange.  
 Temple Hurst, Selby.  
 Temple Newsam, Leeds.  
 Thorn-Gumbold.  
 Thornton-le-Beans.  
 Thornton-le-Clay.  
 Thornton-le-Moor.  
 Thornton-le-Street.  
 Thornton-Steward.  
 Thorpe-Arch.  
 Thorpe-Audlin.  
 Thorpe-Bassett.  
 Thorpe-le-Street.  
 Thorpe-le-Willows.  
 Thorpe-Salvin.  
 Wharram-le-Street.  
 Wharram-Percy, Malton.  
 York Castle.

## CHAPTER XII.

## YORKSHIRE UNDER THE HOUSE OF STUART.

*The Great Civil War in Yorkshire.*—Before the Stuarts ascended the throne of England, some apprehension existed that they might attempt to mould the institutions of England in church and state according to the Scottish model, and might thus give offence to their English subjects. Strangely enough, events took an exactly contrary turn, and their troubles commenced in an attempt, on the part of Charles I., to force institutions, of the English model, on the people of his hereditary kingdom of Scotland. At the time of the Reformation the Scotch had adopted the presbyterian system of church government, at least as decidedly as the English had adopted the episcopalian system; and there was no reason, except the folly of the government, why the people of the two kingdoms might not have respectively lived as peacefully under those and other systems then, as they have done for the last 180 years. But James I., in ascending the English throne, laid aside the religion of Scotland, and not only insisted that episcopacy should be universally adopted in England, where it was established by law, but also that it should be adopted in Scotland. Having, however, somewhat wiser ministers, when he first came to England, than his unfortunate son ever possessed, he did not push matters to extremity in Scotland; but allowed the Scottish people to retain their own religion, at the same time that he very openly proclaimed his own preference for Anglican doctrines and discipline. He thus avoided an open rupture with his Scottish subjects, on the subject of religion, as well as with that large and increasing number of his English subjects, who agreed with the Scottish people in giving the preference to the presbyterian, and to other systems even more democratic.

But Charles I. was even less fortunate than his father in the choice of his advisers; and having convinced himself that the episcopalian system was the better form of religion, he was not contented with enforcing that system on all his English subjects, but he also



was so rash and so ill advised as to endeavour to force it on the people of Scotland. His chief advisers in this and in the other fatal steps which brought on the great civil war, were Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, and Archbishop Laud. The former of these ministers, the representative of an ancient Yorkshire family, was a man of undoubted talents and great courage, but most unfortunate, whilst seemingly most prosperous, in his political career, and ultimately involved his king in the same destruction that he brought upon himself. Archbishop Laud was as unfortunate and ill advised as the earl of Strafford and his royal master, and, like them, ended his career by a violent death.

*The Taking of Tonnage and Poundage without Parliamentary Authority.*—The quarrels of King Charles I. with the English Parliament commenced very soon after his accession to the throne, and in the year 1629 Charles' ministers intimated to Parliament, that if the duties of tonnage and poundage were not granted by the House of Commons, they would be collected under the authority of the crown. This threat was afterwards fully carried out for many years, in defiance of the following formal declaration of the House of Commons :—

“Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth. And if any merchant, or other person whosoever, shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies, not being granted by Parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy of the same.”\*

Nobly did the merchants of England respond to this appeal for their support to the constitution.† Richard Chambers, “the city of London merchant,” an emphatic designation earned by his wealth, fearlessness, and integrity, may serve as an example of the determined opposition made by the commercial community to these unparliamentary imposts. He was summoned, with some others, to the Council-board, then sitting at Hampton Court, and stood forth there to justify his refusal. He complained that his merchandise had been seized, and all opportunity denied him of disputing the legality of the levy; and that this and the insolencies of the

\* Rushworth, vol. i. p. 670.

† More than 500 merchants refused to pay this unparliamentary impost. Parl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 467.

inferior officers was such, that "merchants in no part of the world were so screwed and wrung as in England; even in Turkey they had more encouragement." For this daring remonstrance (construed into an attempt "to set discord between his Majesty and his good people"), though uttered in argument before the Council, the bold merchant was committed to the Marshalsea; and being brought before the court of Star Chamber, he was fined £2000, for "intending to make the people believe that the king's happy government may be termed Turkish tyranny."\* The lesson taught by this fact is not without point, that though many of the judges of the court were for imposing a fine of only one-fourth the amount inflicted, Laud and Neal, the bishops of London and Winchester, were among those who were least inclined to leniency and mercy; they voted for a fine of £3000.† But this punishment, so totally in excess of the act committed, for it was no offence, did not satisfy that unjust tribunal; and they called upon him also to sign an abject apology, and a confession of sorrow that what he had said was insolent, contemptuous, seditious, false, and malicious." Chambers took the pen, and wrote beneath the proffered confession these words:—"All the above contents and submissions, I, Richard Chambers, do utterly abhor and detest, as most unjust and false, and never, to death, will acknowledge any part thereof;" adding, among other quotations from Scripture, this denunciation by the prophet, "Woe to them that devise iniquity, because it is in the power of their hand. And they covet fields, and take them by violence; and houses, and take them away: so they oppress a man and his home, even a man and his heritage." A quotation fully justified by the suffering and ruin visited upon himself; for throughout six years he was imprisoned in the Fleet; for nine months he was similarly incarcerated in Newgate for resisting the payment of ship-money; and more than £7000 worth of his merchandise was seized.‡

*Commencement of the Great Civil War.*—At the commencement of the great civil war the chief strength of the parliamentary

\* Rushworth, vol. i. p. 681.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 682. Laud, with the appropriate narrow wit of a punster, when aggravating the case to the king, observed, "If your Majesty had many such Chambers, you would soon have no chamber to rest in." History of the Times and Troubles of Laud.

‡ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 687. This unyielding citizen at length died infirm, and "of low estate," in 1658, aged seventy. The Parliament seems to have neglected his claims to recompense, until it was too late. He had served the city as alderman and sheriff in 1644, and had put himself at the head of a troop of horse in the service of the Parliament. Fairfax Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 172, 174.

party was in London and in the southern and eastern counties, where at that time the population was more numerous and independent than in the northern and the western counties. London from the first took the lead in supporting the Parliament, and it may be stated that that was the favourite cause in the country lying south of the river Humber, and east of the Warwickshire Avon. Cornwall and Oxford were almost the only counties or towns which embraced the royal cause, in the southern or in the midland districts.

But the cause of the king, as opposed to the later claims of Parliament, was very strong in all the northern counties; almost the only exceptions being in the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire. Those were then, however, thinly peopled, and contained a very small portion of the whole population. The port of Hull, also, adopted the parliamentary cause at the commencement of the civil war, and adhered to that cause with unwavering firmness to the close of the contest. At that time York, the northern capital, was the head-quarters of the king and of the royal party, in the north of England; and that party also held the strong castles of Scarborough, Pontefract, Tickhill, Knaresborough, Richmond, and many other places of more or less strength in the county of York, as well as in Lancashire and the four northern counties. Had Charles I. known how to conciliate the Scottish people, there would have been very little north of the Humber able to resist his power; for the northern counties of England and the highland counties of Scotland were chiefly on his side. But the lowland counties of Scotland were nearly all against him, and such a portion of the people of the northern counties of England, as ultimately insured, when joined to the Scots and the people of the southern and the eastern counties, the triumph of the parliamentary cause.

*Disturbances in Scotland.*—It was in the spring of the year 1639 that the breaking out of commotions in Scotland induced the government of Charles I. to collect large quantities of military stores at York, and to assemble an army there for the purpose of making war on, or resisting the attacks of his Scottish subjects, who had already taken arms, with the avowed intention of resisting the attempts of the king and his advisers. Charles was in the city of York, inspecting his army, at Easter in the year 1639, and on Good Friday indulged his own

and the public superstition by touching two hundred persons for the King's Evil, which was then supposed to be curable by the touch of a genuine king. On the 29th March, in the same year, he visited the port of Hull, and after viewing the town, and carefully inspecting the fortifications, returned to Beverley, and on the following day to York. Unfortunately for himself, he neglected to place a strong garrison of his own adherents in the fortress of Hull, an oversight for which he afterwards paid very dearly.

After some ineffectual negotiations, the quarrel with Scotland broke out again in the year 1640, the position of affairs in England having become much more dangerous in the preceding year. In the course of the year 1640 the Scottish army, under the earl of Leven and the celebrated earl, afterwards marquis, of Montrose, who was then in the service of the Parliament of Scotland, entered England, defeated the English forces at Newburn, on the banks of the Tyne, and overran the north of England, as far as the borders of Yorkshire. On the 31st August, King Charles I., who had arrived at York to animate his army assembled there, rode round the city walls, and was present at the marking-out of a new and strong line of fortifications, in advance of the ancient walls of York. The royal army assembled there consisted of about 12,000 foot and 3000 horse, under the command of Sir Jacob Astley, who was supposed to be the best officer in the royal service, but who never attained a very high position in the succeeding civil wars. On the 10th September, 1640, King Charles assembled the gentlemen of Yorkshire, and proposed to them that they should call out the train bands of the county for two months, in support of the royal cause. This they consented to do, but at the same time urged the king to use his influence in preserving peace with Scotland, and strongly recommended him immediately to summon the English Parliament, as the only means of restoring and insuring a continuance of tranquillity.

In the month of November, in the following year, Charles again returned to York from London, accompanied by the prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. At this time the aspect of affairs, both in England and Scotland, had become very threatening; and the king, believing that his person was in danger, demanded a guard for his protection, composed of freeholders of Yorkshire, which demand was readily granted.

It was not, however, until the month of March in the following year, 1642, that the final rupture took place between King Charles and the Long Parliament. On the 18th March the king left London, never to return to it except as a prisoner, and arrived at York, where the royal army and many of the chief adherents of the king were assembled. There he remained to the 23rd April, engaged in vain negotiations, which ended in a hopeless rupture between the king and the Parliament.

*Refusal of Sir John Hotham to admit Charles I. into Hull.*—On the 23rd April, 1642, King Charles took the step which brought on an open conflict between himself and his Parliament. On that day the king proceeded to Hull, which was then strongly fortified and garrisoned, and held by Sir John Hotham, under the authority of Parliament. He was only accompanied by a moderate suite of two or three hundred persons, and professed to come with the most peaceful and even friendly intentions. But Sir John Hotham and the garrison of Hull had fully determined to hold the fortress for Parliament, and not to surrender it to the king. Hence the governor, with many professions of loyalty and attachment to the king himself, refused to admit the king into the fortress. After changing promises into threats, the king and his escort returned to York, where the royal army was assembled; and immediately afterwards orders were given by the king and his advisers to lay siege to the fortress of Hull. The parliamentary party had anticipated an attack, and reinforcements were immediately sent by sea from London, by order of Parliament, which soon rendered Hull impregnable against any force that the royal party could bring against it.

*Appearance of the Fairfaxes in the Field.*—At the time when the civil war broke out, Hull was the only garrison held by the parliamentary party in Yorkshire; but there were many strong adherents of Parliament, especially in the West Riding, who were fully determined to do and to risk everything in support of the parliamentary cause. Amongst the most resolute and able of these were, Ferdinando Lord Fairfax of Denton Hall, in Wharfedale; his son and heir, Sir Thomas Fairfax, afterwards Lord Fairfax, who ultimately became the commander-in-chief of the parliamentary armies; and General Lambert, a native of Airton, on the banks of the river Aire, who was considered only inferior in ability to Cromwell and Fairfax, in the parliamentary armies.

Under the influence of these three able commanders, a considerable portion of the population in the West Riding took arms in support of Parliament, and in a short time the Fairfaxes and their adherents obtained possession of Leeds, Bradford, and Halifax, which were the chief populous towns favourable to the parliamentary cause. With the exception of these places, and of the fortress of Hull, the royal party was predominant in the county of York.

But when the civil war broke out throughout the whole kingdom, the royal army left York, in the charge of a strong garrison and corps of observation, and marched southward, first to Nottingham, where the royal standard was first raised, and soon after blown down by a gale of wind. After that inauspicious commencement, the army marched westward to Shrewsbury, and from that place to Edge Hill in Warwickshire, near the centre of the midland counties, where the first great battle was fought between the royal army, under the command of the king in person, and the main army of the Parliament, under the command of Robert Devereux, earl of Essex. Both parties claimed the victory in the battle of Edge Hill; but the chief advantage was with the royal army, which marched forward to the neighbourhood of London, compelled the earl of Essex to retreat to the capital, and also compelled the Parliament and the citizens of London to surround the capital with strong fortifications, and to arm and organize the whole population for military defence. It has been supposed that London would have been taken, if it had been assaulted by the royal army, immediately after the arrival of that army before the city; but the favourable opportunity (if there was one) was lost, and the royal army gradually fell back on Oxford. This it made its military capital, and during the first two years of the war the operations of the main armies of the king and the Parliament were carried on, with very varying success, chiefly in the southern and the midland counties of England.

But in addition to the two main armies which were thus employed, there were local or district forces in almost every county of England, in addition to a powerful Scottish army, which watched the English borders until the commencement of the year 1644, when it entered England; and a considerable Anglo-Irish army, raised by the earl of Strafford in Ireland, which after the death of that nobleman, and in the winter of 1643, was brought over to England, and landed at Chester, under the command of Colonel Monk, afterwards the celebrated General Monk, and some other officers of

higher rank but smaller military reputation. In the northern counties of England there were local armies in the counties of York, Lancaster, and Chester, both in the royal and parliamentary cause ; and these armies frequently assisted each other in case of need, and gradually, as the war proceeded, became mixed up and completely blended with the main armies of the king or of the Parliament.

*Royalist Command in the Northern Counties given to William Cavendish, Earl, and afterwards Marquis, of Newcastle.*—When the main army of the king marched southward from York at the beginning of the war, the royal forces in the county of York, and in the adjoining counties of Durham, Northumberland, and Cumberland, were left under the command of William Cavendish, earl of Newcastle, who, though not a trained soldier, was considered a very good officer for an amateur. His opponents, who were also little more than amateurs at the beginning of the war, were even abler men : for they included among their numbers Sir Thomas Fairfax, General Lambert, and, at a later period, Oliver Cromwell himself. From the beginning both parties fought with the most determined courage, and did so to the close ; and it is rather a remarkable fact that one district should have produced three such officers as Sir Thomas Fairfax, General Lambert, and the earl of Newcastle.

At the beginning of the war the royal army of the north, under the command of the earl of Newcastle, was much more numerous than the parliamentary army under Sir Thomas Fairfax ; and if the latter officer had not had the impregnable fortress of Hull to fall back upon, he would, no doubt, have been driven out of the country, if he and his army had not been totally destroyed.

Attempts were made by the parliamentary party to fortify the towns of Leeds, Bradford, and Halifax, and a well-contested battle was fought by Sir Thomas Fairfax at Adwalton Moor, in the parish of Birstall, with the army of the earl of Newcastle. But in that battle Sir Thomas was totally defeated, and was compelled to escape, first to Selby, and afterwards to Hull. The towns which he had taken and fortified in the West Riding, including Leeds and Bradford, fell into the hands of the royalists, and were held by them until the advance of the Scottish army into England, and the advance of Oliver Cromwell and the earl of Manchester from the south, gave a complete ascendancy to the parliamentary party.

The first important success gained by the parliamentary army in



Yorkshire, was the successful defence of the fortress of Hull against the army of the earl of Newcastle. In the first two years of the war Hull was besieged twice by the royalists, and was at one time in the greatest danger of being captured by them, owing to the fickleness of Sir John Hotham and his son ; who, having begun the civil war, by closing the gates of Hull against Charles I., soon afterwards became disgusted either with the cause which they had adopted, or with the treatment that they had received from Parliament, and entered into a conspiracy for surrendering the fortress to the royalist army, under the earl of Newcastle. But this conspiracy was discovered before it could be carried into effect ; Lord Fairfax was appointed commander of the fortress of Hull ; and the two Hothams were sent to London, were tried on the charge of " traitorously betraying the trust imposed on them by Parliament," and were beheaded on Tower Hill.

Although Sir Thomas Fairfax had not at that time sufficient force to keep the field alone in Yorkshire against the earl of Newcastle, he was actively engaged, along with the parliamentary leaders of Lancashire and Cheshire, in waging a successful war with the Anglo-Irish army, under Colonel Monk and other able officers. This army had landed at Chester, as already mentioned, near the close of the year 1643, had raised the siege of the city of Chester, and had compelled Sir William Brereton and the parliamentary army of Cheshire to retire into the neighbourhood of Nantwich. There fortifications had been hastily thrown up by the parliamentary party of Cheshire, under the command of Sir George Booth, who was afterwards the first Lord Delamere. These fortifications were closely besieged by the Anglo-Irish army, under the command of the first Lord Byron, a good officer, who had been appointed to that command on the arrival of the Anglo-Irish army at Chester.

But, in the meanwhile, the parliamentary forces of Lancashire (which had totally defeated the Lancashire royalists under James, earl of Derby), with the Cheshire forces under Sir William Brereton, and some Yorkshire forces, under Sir Thomas Fairfax, had assembled at Manchester ; and after appointing Sir Thomas Fairfax as their commander, had marched southward to the relief of Nantwich. There they arrived on the last day of the month of December, 1643, and at once gave battle to Lord Byron's army and totally defeated it, taking many prisoners, and driving the survivors back within the walls of Chester. After gaining this important victory, Sir

Thomas Fairfax returned into Yorkshire, and collecting whatever forces he could bring together in the West Riding, succeeded in joining his father, Lord Fairfax, within the walls of Hull.

At this period the fortune of war began to turn strongly against the Yorkshire royalists, who from that time had to contend against a succession of misfortunes. The first great blow that they received, was the defeat of a division of the earl of Newcastle's army, which had been pushed forward into Lincolnshire, under Colonel Cavendish, and came into collision with the cavalry of Oliver Cromwell, at Horncastle, in that county. In this battle, as in all his succeeding battles, Cromwell was completely successful, having trained his army more perfectly than any other of the parliamentary generals, and having inspired his soldiers with a greater confidence in their commander than any other officer, either in the parliamentary or the royal army, was able to create. Sir Thomas Fairfax's victory over the Anglo-Irish army at Nantwich was also, in its results, a great injury to the Yorkshire royalists; for although Lord Byron's army ultimately reached Yorkshire, under the command of Prince Rupert, and took part in the battle of Marston Moor, it did so with very diminished forces, and after having lost its best officer in the person of Colonel, afterwards General, George Monk, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Nantwich, and afterward entered the parliamentary army.

*Entrance of the Scottish Army into England.*—But the greatest disaster that occurred at this time to the royal cause, was the invasion of the northern counties of England by the Scottish army, upwards of 20,000 strong, commanded by the earl of Leven. This was in accordance with an arrangement by which the Scottish and the English Parliaments agreed to assist each other; and it may be regarded as the real turning point of the war. Early in the year 1644 the Scottish army crossed the Tweed and the Tyne, without laying siege either to Berwick or to Newcastle, which were in the hands of the royal party, and entered Sunderland on the 4th of March. Thence they pressed forward, with little loss of time, through the county of Durham and the North Riding of Yorkshire, and arrived before the city of York early in the month of April. The earl of Newcastle and the northern royalists, about 14,000 strong, did everything in their power to arrest the advance of the Scottish army. But about the same time Sir Thomas Fairfax, issuing from Hull, at the head of

an army of 3000 or 4000 men, totally defeated Colonel Bellasis, the royalist commander, whom Newcastle had left with 3000 or 4000 men for the defence of York. This defeat of the royalists occurred at Selby, and was immediately followed by successful attacks by the parliamentary forces of the West Riding on Bradford and Leeds, and by the advance of the whole of the parliamentary forces of the West Riding on York, and the other royalist castles and fortresses. At the same time Charles Montague, earl of Manchester, the commander of the army of the eastern and midland counties, and his formidable lieutenant, Oliver Cromwell, also entered Yorkshire, and marched to York. On the 19th April, 1644, the earl of Newcastle, with the Yorkshire and the northern royalists, were driven within the walls, and were closely blockaded by the Yorkshire parliamentary forces under Sir Thomas Fairfax, by the army of the eastern and the central counties under the earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell, and by the Scottish army under the earl of Leven and David Lesley. From this time the parliamentary forces had a great superiority in numbers, and probably in military talent; having among their commanders Sir Thomas Fairfax, General Lambert, Oliver Cromwell, and David Lesley, a Scottish officer of great merit.

The siege and blockade of the city of York commenced on the 19th of April, 1644, and it is highly honourable both to the talents and to the courage of the marquis of Newcastle, and his officers and soldiers, that they successfully defended the city to the 1st of July, when Prince Rupert suddenly appeared amongst them at the head of a powerful army, which he had led from the main army of King Charles to the gates of York, through a tedious but most successful march.

The relieving army of Prince Rupert, leaving the head-quarters of the king in the midland counties, arrived before the strong castle of Newark early in the month of May, 1644, and raised the siege by its approach. Thence it marched across the counties of Lincoln, Stafford, Nottingham, Derby, and Chester, and raised the siege of the city of Chester about the middle of the month of May. In its advance northward it received considerable reinforcements, and on the 25th of May entered Lancashire, having forced the pass at Stockport. Leaving Manchester, which was strongly garrisoned by the parliamentary party, Prince Rupert pressed on to Bolton-on-the-Moors, which was also very strongly garrisoned

by the parliamentary forces of Lancashire. Before reaching Bolton Prince Rupert was joined by James, earl of Derby, commonly known as the "great earl." With their united forces they determined to carry the town of Bolton, which was well defended by Colonel Rigby, with a garrison of 3000 to 4000 men. The first and second attacks were repulsed, with heavy loss to the royalists ; but the third assault, which is said to have been led by James, earl of Derby, in person, was successful, and the town was carried by storm, with very heavy loss to the parliamentary party. The effect of the approach of Prince Rupert had been to raise the siege of Latham House, resolutely defended by the countess of Derby in the absence of the earl.

After obtaining possession of Bolton, Prince Rupert advanced rapidly to Liverpool, and laid siege to that place. The town was very resolutely defended, and detained the prince and his army seventeen days, besides "costing one hundred barrels of munition," which at that time was considered to be a very large quantity.

Liverpool was finally taken by a night attack, and Prince Rupert remained there for nine days, to rest his army. Whilst at Liverpool he received a letter from the king, urging and commanding him to hasten to the relief of York. In this letter the king declared that he should consider the loss of York to be the certain precursor of the loss of his crown ; and commanded the prince to lay aside all other undertakings, and hasten to the relief of York. Prince Rupert, to the close of his life, produced this letter as an answer to all persons who charged him with having fought the battle of Marston Moor without necessity ; and so it may have been, if York could not have been saved without fighting a great battle.

In order to reach the city of York, it was necessary for Prince Rupert to make a march from Liverpool of more than a hundred and fifty miles, and this he effected with remarkable success. Avoiding all the thickly peopled districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, which were in the hands of the parliamentary forces, Prince Rupert marched through what were then the thinly peopled districts of the two counties, by way of Ormskirk, Clitheroe, Skipton, Otley, and Knaresborough, and then entirely eluded the parliamentary army, which was waiting to attack him, by crossing the river Ouse, considerably above the city, and entering York without losing any part of his forces. Whatever may have been the military defects of Prince Rupert after his arrival at York, it

cannot be denied that all his movements up to this time had been wonderfully successful.

*The Battle of Marston Moor.*—The battle of Marston Moor, the greatest, and in its results the most important, of the numerous battles of the great civil war, was fought on the afternoon and evening of the 2nd of July, 1644, in a hastily, if not a chance selected position on the edge of Marston Moor, in the county of York, near to the road running from the city of York to the town and castle of Knaresborough on the river Nidd, and at a distance of about eight miles from the city of York. The events of this battle, which decided so much in so short a time, have been very variously related; but they have recently been carefully investigated by several able writers, and there is no dispute as to the main points on which the fortunes of the battle turned.

The royal army was commanded by Prince Rupert, the nephew of King Charles, and was composed, first, of that large division of the main army of the king which Prince Rupert had brought with him on his march through Staffordshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, over the hills of Craven and down the valley of the Wharfe, and with which he had raised the siege of York; and second, of the army which had been commanded by the earl (afterwards marquis and duke) of Newcastle, consisting of the northern forces, composed of the royalists of Yorkshire and the other northern counties, which had been commanded by the marquis of Newcastle, with very considerable ability and success, from the commencement of the civil war. The division of troops which Prince Rupert brought with him to the field of Marston Moor, had been strengthened on its march through Cheshire and Lancashire by the Anglo-Irish army, consisting chiefly of Irish Protestants, which had landed at Chester some time before, but had been driven within the walls of Chester by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had defeated it and captured General Monk, and many other of its best officers and men, at Nantwich in Cheshire. The remains of the Anglo-Irish army had joined Prince Rupert, on his march to York through Cheshire and Lancashire, with a considerable number of the royalists of the two counties, swelling the whole number of Prince Rupert's division of the royal army present at Marston Moor to about 10,000 men, all troops of very good quality. The marquis of Newcastle's division was somewhat more numerous, amounting to about 12,000 or

13,000 men, composed of the royalists of Yorkshire and the northern counties. Together, these two divisions of the royal army amounted to about 23,000 men, of whom about 7000 were cavalry. The total strength of the parliamentary army was somewhat larger, amounting to between 19,000 and 20,000 foot, and about 7000 horse, making a total of 26,000 to 27,000 men. Unfortunately there was no real union between Prince Rupert, who held the king's commission as commander-in-chief of all the royal forces in Yorkshire, and the marquis of Newcastle, who had held the actual command of the northern army from the time when it was raised, to the day before the battle of Marston Moor, when he was superseded by the prince. There is no doubt that the marquis of Newcastle strongly resented his removal from the command, and that he served with very little zeal, or even willingness, under the new commander.

Whilst the royal forces were thus divided into two armies, and sustained all the disadvantages of a divided command, the parliamentary army was still more unfortunate in that respect, for it was divided into three. The first of these armies was that of the eastern and associated counties, commanded by Charles Montague, earl of Manchester, with the already famous Oliver Cromwell as the commander of his cavalry, and with a small reinforcement of Scottish cavalry under the command of David Lesley, an officer of great merit. This division of the parliamentary army was thoroughly well trained, had the strongest confidence in its officers, and was not in any danger of being carried away even by success. The second parliamentary army was that of Fernando Lord Fairfax, chiefly directed by his son, the celebrated Sir Thomas Fairfax, and by General Lambert, another Yorkshire officer of great merit. This was an army of unequal quality, containing some veteran, well-trained troops, and others more recently raised, and less steady under a heavy fire. The third parliamentary army was the Scottish army under the earl of Leven, an inferior officer, who greatly mismanaged his forces on this occasion.

The position of the two armies must have been very hastily chosen; but fortune favoured the parliamentary forces, who at the time when the battle began occupied a low range of hills, with a wide fosse or trench in front, and with two or three good roads leading down to the plain of Marston Moor, across which the royal army advanced to the attack.

The battle of Marston Moor commenced by a violent collision between a large body of Prince Rupert's own troops, forming his right wing, and the cavalry of Oliver Cromwell and David Lesley, forming the left wing to the parliamentary army. The parliamentary cavalry were marching down from the higher ground; and the royal cavalry, under the first Lord Byron, in their eagerness to meet them, rushed across the fosse which ran across the foot of the hill, and were thrown into confusion in doing so. At that moment Oliver Cromwell, at the head of his "Ironsides," and David Lesley, at the head of a small body of the Scottish cavalry, rushed down upon the royalists; and before they recovered their ranks, drove them back into the fosse, forced them back on to the moor, and there utterly routed them. After sending a small body of the parliamentary cavalry to pursue them, Cromwell drew up the main body of his cavalry opposite to the centre of the royal army, and ready to fall upon it at the decisive moment.

The main body of the parliamentary army, under Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and General Lambert, was not equally successful. It rushed boldly down the hill; but before gaining the open moor it was received with such an overwhelming fire from the Yorkshire and northern royalists, under the personal command of the marquis of Newcastle, that it never succeeded in reaching the plain. The royalists had lined all the hedgerows with musketeers, and had drawn up the mass of their infantry on their own side of the fosse, and from these positions they maintained so heavy a fire on Fairfax's infantry, that the mass of it was driven back in great confusion. But Sir Thomas Fairfax, General Lambert, Colonel Thoresby, the father of the antiquarian, and a few other resolute officers, kept part of the troops together, and succeeded in joining Cromwell's cavalry, and with them afterwards renewed the battle.

On the left wing of the royal army, which was commanded by General Goring and Sir John Urey, and was opposed to the Scottish army under the earl of Leven, the royalists were completely successful, and drove their antagonists from the field. It was at this point, however, that the inferior discipline of the royal troops was seen; for Goring and Urey, after defeating the forces opposed to them, followed them, with headstrong violence, without any attempt to assist their main body, which was threatened with another attack by Cromwell, Lesley, Lambert, and Fairfax. These



were amongst the ablest generals whom this war produced ; and seeing the favourable moment, they rushed upon the infantry of the marquis of Newcastle, composed of the northern and Yorkshire royalists, and after having been repulsed once, if not twice, they rode over, trampled down, and all but exterminated these brave men, and finally remained masters of the field.

The battle of Marston Moor, though a very great disaster to the royal cause, would not have been necessarily fatal if Prince Rupert and the marquis of Newcastle had not become so much exasperated with each other, that they determined to divide their forces, and thus destroyed all chance of keeping the field against their numerous and victorious enemies. Two or three days after the battle of Marston Moor, Prince Rupert marched out of York with the whole of his own division ; and taking the course by which he had advanced, marched up Wharfedale, crossed the Craven Hills into Lancashire, and keeping well towards the west, crossed the lowest ferry of the Mersey between Runcorn and Hale, and thence marched on to Chester. From Chester he continued his retreat, through Staffordshire, into the midland counties, where he joined the royal head-quarters, and was never more again seen in the north of England. The marquis of Newcastle, thus left at York with about 10,000 to resist the parliamentary armies, which soon swelled to upwards of 30,000, determined to abandon his command, and retired to Scarborough, where he embarked for the Continent, to spend some sixteen years in exile. The Yorkshire and northern armies thus deserted by both their commanders, defended the city of York for a short time, and then surrendered on honourable terms. With the surrender of York the civil war in that county shrunk to a mere affair of defending the castles of Scarborough, Pontefract, and a few other strong places. These were defended with great determination ; but as no royalist army ever reached Yorkshire after that time, the defence of these castles was altogether unavailing, in spite of the courage shown by Sir Marmaduke Langdale and other gallant officers connected with the county.

The effect of the battle of Marston Moor was to place Sir Thomas Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, General Lambert, and David Leslie in the first rank of the commanders at that time. When the parliamentary army was remodelled, Sir Thomas Fairfax was made lieutenant-general or commander-in-chief, and Oliver Cromwell major-general, or second in command, whilst David Leslie secured

a high position in the Scottish army. The result was that Fairfax and Cromwell, after gaining the battle of Naseby, swept the royalists from the field and subdued every fortress in England; whilst David Leslie, by defeating and capturing the marquis of Montrose at Philiphaugh in Etterick Forest, secured the triumph of the Scottish Parliament.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## YORKSHIRE UNDER THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

*Yorkshire under the House of Hanover.*—We have a very full and spirited account of Yorkshire, written in the reign of George I., which is generally attributed to that most graphic writer, Daniel Defoe, the author of “Robinson Crusoe,” and of numerous other delightful works. We shall follow the footsteps of this most intelligent observer and lively writer, in describing the condition of Yorkshire at the commencement of the rule of the House of Hanover. He informs us that he had nothing to do with the longitude of places, the antiquities of towns, corporations, buildings, charters, &c., nor much with the history of men, families, cities, or towns; his object being to give a view of the then existing state of the county, and of its commerce, curiosities, and customs.\*

The first place described by this observant writer was Bawtry, on the southern border. He says that at that time, as now, Bawtry was only a market town, but that it then possessed two great conveniences, which made it a very well frequented place. The first of these was, that it stood on the great post highway road from London to Scotland, which caused it to be full of very good inns and houses of entertainment. The second was, that the small but pleasant river Idle ran through it (contrary to the import of its name), in a full and quick though not rapid stream, with a deep channel, which carried hoys, lighters, and flat-bottomed vessels out of its channel into the Trent, that comes within seven miles of it, to a place called Stockwith; from thence to Barton; and thence in fair weather quite to Hull. By this navigation Bawtry became the centre of all the exportation from this part of the country, especially for heavy goods; such as lead, from the lead-mines and smelting houses of Derbyshire; wrought iron and edge-tools of all sorts from the forges of Sheffield, and from the country called Hallamshire,

\* The title of Defoe's work is “A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain,” divided into circuits or journeys. Giving a particular and diverting account of whatever is curious and worthy of observation. &c. By a Gentleman, London, 1727.

“where an innumerable people are employed;” also millstones and grindstones from the neighbouring hills, in very great quantities. This caused Bawtry wharf to be famous at that time, all over the south part of the West Riding of Yorkshire; for it was the place where all the heavy goods were carried, to be embarked and shipped to Hull.

From Bawtry to Doncaster there was, at that time, a pleasant road with good ground, seldom wanting any repair. Doncaster is described as a noble, large, spacious town, exceeding populous, and a manufacturing town, principally for knitting. Standing on the great northern post road, it was very full of good inns. Here, says Defoe, “we found our landlord at the post-house was mayor of the town, as well as postmaster; that he kept a pack of hounds, was company for the best gentleman in the town and in the neighbourhood, and lived as great as any gentleman ordinarily did.” Here Defoe first saw the remains or ruins of the great Roman highway, which, though he could not perceive it before, was very conspicuous at the entrance of the town of Doncaster, and soon after appeared again in many places. Here also were two great, lofty, and very strong stone bridges over the river Don, and a long causeway also beyond the bridges, which was not a little dangerous to passengers when the waters of the Don were restrained and swelled over its banks, as was sometimes the case.

Leaving Doncaster, the tourist turned out of the road a little way to the left, where he had “a fair view of that ancient whittle-making cutlery town called Sheffield.” The antiquity, not of the town only, but also of the trade, he says, is established by those lines of Geoffrey Chaucer on the miller of Trumpington, which he quotes as follows:—

“At Trumpington, not far from Cambridge,  
There dwelt a miller upon a bridge;  
With a grizzled beard, and a hooked nose,  
And a Sheffield whittle in his hose.”

Already in the time of Defoe’s visit, in the reign of George I. Sheffield was very populous and large; but the streets were narrow and the houses dark and black, occasioned by the continued smoke of the forges, which, he says, “are always at work.” Here, Defoe informs us, “they make all sorts of cutlery, but especially edge tools, knives, razors, axes, and nails;” and here the only mill of the sort which was in use in England for some time, was set up

for turning grindstones, though now, adds Defoe, "it has grown more common." The manufacture of hardware, which had been so ancient in this town, was not only continued, but much increased; insomuch that they told him that the hands employed in it were "a prodigious many," as well in the town as in the bounds of what they call Hallamshire. They talked of 30,000 men employed in the whole; but he adds, that "I believe on the credit of the report."

At the time when he wrote, as well as more recently, the neighbourhood was subject to great floods from the swelling of the rivers. In the year of Defoe's visit the river Don, with a rapid, terrible current, swelled its banks, and did immense damage, having carried away two or three stone bridges, and ploughed up some wharves, and driven away several mills. "For this river," he says, "is akin to the Derwent (of Derbyshire) for the fierceness of its streams, taking its beginning in the same western mountains which I mentioned before, and which begin to rise first in the high Peak of Derbyshire, and run northward to Blackstone Edge. Those mountains pouring down their waters with such fury into these great rivers, their streams are so rapid that nothing is able to stand in their way." A little before Defoe's visit to Sheffield, about the year 1727, a fine engine or mill had been constructed for raising water to supply the town. This was built by Serocal, the engineer who built the silk-throwing mill at Derby; here, also, was a very large and strong bridge over the Don, with another at Rotherham, "a market town six miles lower."

In Sheffield Park was then growing the great oak tree described by Evelyn in his book on Forest Trees; and Defoe mentions, though he did not see it, a great chestnut tree, near Attercliffe, which could hardly be "fathomed" or grasped by the arms of three men. The remains of the Roman fortification or embankment, between Sheffield and Rotherham, were then still plainer than they are now, as well as "a famous bank, which some called the Devil's Bank, and others, the Danes' Bank." This bank, Defoe adds, runs five miles on the side of the river, and in some places is called Kemp Bank, in others, Temple's Bank.

Rotherham was the next town of any size visited by Defoe, in which he says, "I saw nothing of note, except a fine stone bridge over the Don, which is here increased by the river Rother." From Rotherham he turned north-west to Wentworth, on purpose

to visit the old seat of Tankersley, and the park, where he saw what he believed to be the largest red deer to be found in this part of Europe. One of the hinds, he thought, was taller than his horse, which was fourteen and a half hands high.

After leaving Wentworth he travelled over vast moors, advancing northward into the West Riding, only, as he says, passing a town called Black Barnsley, "eminent still for the working of iron and steel." And, indeed, he adds, "the very town looks as black and smoky as if they were all smiths that lived in it;" though, he supposes it was not called Black Barnsley on that account, but from the black colour of the surrounding moors.

Passing over the moors he proceeded to Wakefield, which he describes as "a large, handsome, rich clothing town, full of trade." The Calder, he says, passes through this town, under a stately stone bridge of twelve arches. Wakefield he further describes as a clean, large, well-built town, with a very large church, and a steeple which is by far the highest in all this part of the country, except that at Sheffield. He was told that there were at that time more people residing at Wakefield than were to be found in the city of York, "though Wakefield was not a corporate town, and its highest magistrate was the constable."

Proceeding up the valley of the Calder he passed by Elland, where there was a very fine stone bridge, and the original seat of the Saviles, earls and marquises of Halifax. Huddersfield, or as Defoe writes it, Huthersfield, he describes as one of the five towns which carry on that vast clothing trade, by which the wealth and opulence of this part of the country has been raised to what it now is (1727), and where those woollen manufactures are made in such prodigious quantities, which are known by the name of Yorkshire kersies.

In a subsequent part of the same work, Defoe gives a very graphic account of a journey that he made from Lancashire into Yorkshire over the heights of Blackstone Edge, which were then considered all but impassable in the winter months. Here, says he, "though they were in the middle of August, the harvest was hardly got in; and they saw the mountains covered with snow, and felt the cold very acute and piercing." But even here, Defoe informs us, he found, as in all those northern counties, "the people have an extraordinary custom of mixing the warm and the cold very happily together; for the store of good ale, which flows plentifully in the most

mountainous part of this country, seems abundantly to make up for all the inclemencies of the season or difficulties of travelling, adding also the plenty of coals for firing, which all those hills are full of." Thus fortified, they mounted the hills early in the morning, and though the snow which had fallen in the night lay a little on the ground, they thought it was not much; and as the morning was calm and clear, they had no apprehension of an uneasy passage. Neither did the people of Rochdale, who kindly directed them on their way, and even offered to guide them over the first mountains, apprehend any difficulty. "So," adds Defoe, "we complimented ourselves out of their assistance; which we afterwards very much wanted."

It was "calm and clear, and the sun shone" when they came out of the town of Rochdale; but when they began to mount the hills, which they did within a mile or little more of the town, they found the wind began to rise, and the higher they went the more wind; by which they soon perceived that it had blown before, and perhaps all night upon the hills, though it was calm below. As they ascended higher it began to snow again; that is to say, says Defoe, "we ascended into that part where it was snowing, and had no doubt been snowing all night, as we could easily see by the thickening of the snow."

"It is not easy," says Defoe, "to express the consternation we were in when we came up near the top of the mountain; the wind blew exceedingly hard, and blew the snow so directly in our faces, and that so thick, that it was impossible to keep our eyes open to see our way. The ground also was so covered with snow that we could see no track; or when we were in the way, or when out; except when we were shown it by a frightful precipice on one hand, and even ground on the other. Even our horses discovered their uneasiness at it; and a spaniel dog that was my fellow-traveller, and usually diverted us by giving us a mark for our gun, turned tail to it and cried."

In the middle of this difficulty, and as they began to call upon one another to turn back, not knowing what dangers might still be before them, there came a surprising clap of thunder, the first Defoe ever heard in a storm of snow; nor did they perceive any lightning to precede the thunder, but supposed that the thick falling of the snow might prevent their sight. Upon this, they made a full stop; and coming altogether—for they were then three in company, with two servants—they began to talk seriously of going back again to



Rochdale ; but just then one of the men called out, and said he was on the top of the hill, and could see over into Yorkshire, and that there was a plain way down on the other side.

“ We rode all up to him,” says Defoe, “ and found it, as he had said, all but that of a plain way. There was indeed the mark or face of a road, on the side of the hill, a little turning to the left or north ; but it was so narrow and so deep a hollow place on the right, whence the water descending from the hills made a channel at the bottom, and looked as the beginning of a river, that the depth of the precipice and the narrowness of the way looked horrible to us.” After going a little way in it, the road being blinded by the snow, the hollow on the right appeared deeper and deeper, so they resolved to alight and lead their horses, which they did for about a mile, though, the violence of the wind and snow continuing, it became very troublesome and dangerous.

At length, to their great joy, they found the wind abated as well as the snow ; “ that is to say, the hills being so high behind us, they kept back the wind, as is the case under a high wall, though you are on the windward side of it ; yet the wind having no passage through, is not felt as it would be on the top where the space is open for it to pass.” All this way the hollow on their right continued very deep, and just on the other side of it a parallel hill continued going on east, as that did which we rode on the side of. The main hill, which they came down from, which is properly called Blackstone Edge (the Edge, without any surname or addition, as the people called it), ran along due north, crossing and shutting up those hollow gullies and valleys between, which were certainly originally formed by the rain and snow water running into them, and forcing its way down, washing the earth gradually along with it, till by length of time it wore down the surface to such a depth. They continued descending still ; and as the weather was quieter, so the way seemed to mend and be broader, and to their great satisfaction inclining more to the hill on the left. The precipice and hollow part where the water ran, then went a little farther from them, and by and by, to their no small comfort, they saw an inclosed piece of ground within a stone wall, and soon after a house, where they asked their way and found they were right.

“ From Blackstone Edge to Halifax,” says Defoe, “ is eight miles, and all the way, except from Sowerby to Halifax, is thus up hill and down ; so that, I suppose, we mounted to the clouds and

descended to the water level about eight times, in that little part of our journey."\*

On emerging from the mountains, Defoe was astonished to find himself in a country which everywhere presented the strongest signs of population, industry, and wealth. Approaching Halifax, he found the houses thicker, and the villages greater, at every turn in the valleys; and not only so, but the sides of the hills, which were very steep, were everywhere spread with houses, and that very thick, for the land, being divided into small inclosures of from two to seven acres each, seldom more, every three or four pieces of land had a house belonging to it. "Then it was, I began to perceive, the reason and nature of the thing, and found that this division of the land into small pieces, and scattering them with dwellings, was occasioned by and done for the convenience of the business which the people were generally employed in; and that, as I said before, though we saw no people stirring without doors, yet they were all full within; for, in short, this whole country, however mountainous—and that no sooner we were down one hill but we mounted another—is yet infinitely full of people. Those people are full of business, not a beggar nor an idle person to be seen, except here and there an almshouse, where people ancient, decrepid, and past labour might perhaps be found; for it is observable that the people here, however laborious, generally live to a great age, a certain testimony to the goodness and wholesomeness of the country, which is without doubt as healthy as any part of England. Nor is the health of the people lessened, but helped and established, by their being constantly employed, and, as we call it, 'their working hard;' so that they find a double advantage by their being always in business. Their business is the clothing trade; for the convenience of which the houses are thus scattered and spread upon the sides of the hills, as above, even from the bottom to the top. The reason of their being thus placed is this: such has been the bounty of nature that two things essential to the business, as to the ease of the people, are found here, and that in a situation that I never saw the like of in any part of England; and I believe the like is not to be seen so contrived in any part of the world; I mean coals and running water on the tops of the highest hills. This seems to have been directed by the wise hand of Providence for the very purpose which is now served by it; namely, the manufactures, which otherwise could not be carried on, neither indeed could one-fifth part

\* Defoe's Tour, vol. iii. p. 97.

of the inhabitants be supported without them, for the land could not maintain them." Defoe then proceeds to say that, after they had mounted the third hill, they found the country one continued village, though mountainous every way as before; hardly a house standing out of a speaking distance from another, and (which soon told them their business) the day clearing up, and the sun shining, they could see that at almost every house there was a tenter, and almost on every tenter a piece of cloth, or kersie, or shalloon. These were the three articles of that country's labour; from which the sun glancing, and, as they may say, shining (the white reflecting its rays to them), they thought it was the most agreeable sight that they ever saw; for the hills, as he says, rising and falling so thick, and the valleys opening, now one way, then another, so that sometimes he could see two or three miles this way, sometimes as far another, thus they could see through the glades almost every way around them, yet look which way they would, high to the tops and low to the bottoms, it was all the same—innumerable houses and tenters, and a white piece upon every tenter.

"But now to speak on the bounty of nature again, which," he says, "we have just mentioned, it is to be observed that these hills are so furnished by nature with springs and mines, that not only on the sides, but even to the very tops, there is scarcely a hill but you find on the highest part of it a spring of water and a coal-pit. Having thus fire and water at every dwelling, there is no need to inquire why they dwell thus dispersed on the highest hills, the convenience of the manufacturers requiring. Among the manufacturers' houses are scattered an infinite number of cottages or smaller houses, in which dwell the workmen that are employed, the women and children of whom are always busy carding, spinning, &c., so that no hands being unemployed, all can gain their bread, from the youngest to the ancient. Hardly anything above four years old is insufficient to itself. This is the reason also why we saw so few people without doors. But if we knocked at the door of any of the master manufacturers, we presently saw a household of busy fellows, some at the dye vat, some dressing the cloth, some on the loom, some one thing, some another; all hard at work and fully employed upon the manufacture, and all seeming to have sufficient business."<sup>\*</sup>

Defoe concludes this fine description of an active and industrious population as follows:—"I would not have dwelt so on this part

<sup>\*</sup> Defoe, vol. iii. p. 101.

if there was not abundance of things subsequent to it, which will be explained by this one description, and which are needful to be understood by every one who desires a full understanding of the manner how the people of England are employed, and do subsist in those remote parts where they are so numerous ; for this is one of the most populous parts of Britain, London and the adjacent parts excepted.”\*

With regard to the parish of Halifax, Defoe states that he has been informed that it is nearly circular, and about twelve miles in diameter. There were within it at that time (1727) twelve or thirteen chapels of ease, besides about sixteen dissenting chapels. The population of the whole parish was then estimated to be 100,000, besides children. But there was no census at that time, and these numbers are too high. Defoe states that, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the parish of Halifax turned out 12,000 men to fight the Romish army of the north, in the rising of Northumberland and Westmoreland. This may be possible, though it is not probable. But the population was no doubt large, both in the days of Queen Elizabeth and George I., and it has continued to increase rapidly down to and during the reign of Queen Victoria.

As to the town of Halifax, Defoe observes there was nothing remarkable about it in those times, except on the market day, “and then, indeed it is a prodigious thing, by reason of the multitude of people who throng thither, as well to sell their manufactures as to buy provisions; and so great is the confluence of people thither, that except Leeds and Wakefield, nothing in all the north part of England can come near it.”†

After speaking of the great trade of Halifax, he observes that it is not what he may call “the oldest son of the clothing trade. The town of Leeds challenges a pre-eminence, and I believe merits the dignity it claims; besides the towns of Huddersfield, Bradford, and Wakefield.”‡

Defoe and his companions quitted Halifax, “not without some astonishment at its situation;” the town being so surrounded with hills, and those so high, as (except the entrance by the west) makes the coming in and going out of it exceedingly troublesome, and indeed for carriages hardly practicable, and particularly the hill which they go up to go out of the town eastwards, towards Leeds, and which the country people call Halifax Bank. This is so steep,

\* Defoe, vol. iii. p. 104.

† *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 108.‡ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 107.

so rugged, and so slippery, that to a town of so much business as this is, it is exceedingly troublesome and dangerous.”\*

The account of Bradford given by Defoe is not so complete as his accounts of Halifax and Leeds. He states that at Bradford, or, as he calls it, Bradforth, they begin to make broad cloth. He calls it broad in distinction from kersies, druggetts, and such things, though the Yorkshire cloths were then called narrow when they were spoken of in London, and compared with the broad cloths made in Wilts, Gloucester, Somerset, and Devonshire. Bradford was famous, even in Defoe's time, for the superior dyeing of cloths. He adds, “they make a sort of cloths here in imitation of the Gloucester white cloths, bought at that time for the Dutch and Turkey trades; and though their cloths may not be as fine, they told us their colours were as good.” He adds, “But that is not my business to dispute; the West country clothiers deny it, so I leave it as I find it?” He adds, from Bradford to Leeds, and every way to the right hand and to the left, the country appears busy, diligent, and even in a hurry of work. But they are not scattered and dispersed as in the parish of Halifax, where the houses stand one by one, but in villages; those villages large, full of houses, and those houses thronged with people, “for the whole country is infinitely populous.” He speaks of Birstall as already a little town.

Defoe describes the neighbourhood of Leeds as a noble scene of industry and application, “which, joined to the market of Leeds where it chiefly centres, is such a surprising thing that they who have pretended to give an account of Yorkshire, and have left this out, betray an ignorance not to be accounted for or excused. 'Tis what is well worth the curiosity of a stranger to go on purpose to see, and many travellers and gentlemen have come over from Hamburg, nay, even Leipsic, in Saxony, on purpose to see it; and this,” he adds, “brought me from the villages, where this manufacture is wrought to the market where it is sold, which is at Leeds.”

Leeds he describes as a large, wealthy, and populous town, standing on the north bank of the river Aire, or rather on both sides of the river; for there is a large suburb or part of the town on the south side of the river, and the whole is joined by a stately and strong stone bridge, so large and so wide that formerly the cloth market was kept on the bridge itself. But the increase in the number of the manufacturers and of the trade, had made

\* Defoe, vol. iii. p. 114.

the cloth market too great to be confined to the Brig or Bridge; and when Defoe visited Leeds in the reign of George I., it was kept in Briggate, or, as he describes it, in the High Street, beginning from the bridge and running up north almost to the market house, where the ordinary market for provisions begins. This, he says, is also the greatest of its kind in all the north of England, "except Halifax, of which I have spoken already; nay, the people at Leeds will not allow me to except Halifax, but say that theirs is the greatest market, and that not only the greatest plenty, but the best, of all kinds of provisions are brought thither."

The cloth market at Leeds he describes "as a prodigy of its kind, and not to be equalled in the world." The market for serges at Exeter is indeed a wonderful thing, and the value sold there is very great; but then the market at Exeter is but once a week, whilst here it is twice a week, and the quantity of goods vastly great too.

The market, he says, is worth describing, though no description can come up to the thing itself. However, take a sketch of it with its customs and usages as follows:—The street (Briggate) is a large, broad, fair, and well-built street, beginning at the bridge, and ascending gently to the north. Early in the morning there are tressels placed in two rows in the street, sometimes two rows on a side, but always one row at least; then there are boards laid across those tressels, so that the boards lie like long counters on either side, from one end of the street to the other. The clothiers come early in the morning with their cloth; and as few clothiers bring more than one piece, the market being so frequent, they go into the inns and public-houses with it, and there set it down. At seven o'clock in the morning, the clothiers being supposed to be all come by that time, the market bell rings, and it would surprise a stranger to see in how few minutes, without hurry or noise, or the least disorder, the whole market is filled; all the boards upon the tressels are covered with cloth, close to one another as the pieces can be long ways, and behind every piece of cloth the clothiers stand in to sell it.

"As soon as the bell has done ringing, the merchants and factors and buyers of all sorts come down; and coming along the spaces between the rows of boards, they walk up the rows and down as their occasion directs. Some of them have their foreign letters of orders, with patterns sealed on them, in rows in their hands; and with those they match colours, holding them to the cloths which they

think they agree to. When they see any cloths to their colours or that suit their occasions, they reach over to the clothier and whisper, and in the fewest words imaginable the price is stated; one asks, the other bids; and it is agreed or not agreed in a moment.

“The merchants and buyers generally walk down and up twice on each side of the rows, and in little more than an hour all the business is done; in less than half-an-hour you will perceive the cloths begin to move off, the clothier taking it upon his shoulder to carry it to the Merchants’ House; and by half an hour after eight o’clock the market bell rings again. Immediately the buyers disappear, the cloth is all sold; or if here and there a piece happens not to be bought, it is carried back into the inn, and in a quarter of an hour there is not a piece of cloth to be seen in the market. Thus you see ten or twenty thousand pounds’ value in cloth, and sometimes much more, bought and sold in little more than an hour, and the laws of the market the most strictly observed as ever I saw done in any market in England: for first, before the market bell rings no man shows a piece of cloth, nor can the clothiers sell any but in open market; second, after the market bell rings a second time, nobody stays a moment in the market, but carries his cloth back if it be not sold; third, and that which is most admirable is, ’tis all managed with the most profound silence, and you cannot hear a word spoken in the whole market, I mean by the persons buying and selling: ’tis all done in a whisper.

“The reason of this silence is chiefly because the clothiers stand so near to one another in the market, and it is always reasonable that one should not know what another does; for that would be discovering their business, and exposing it to one another. If a merchant has bidden a clothier a price, and he will not take it, he may go after him to his house, and tell him he has considered of it and is willing to let him have it; but they are not to make any new agreement for it, so as to remove the market from the street to the Merchants’ House. By nine o’clock the boards are taken down, the tressels are removed, and the street cleared, so that you see no market or goods, any more than if there had been nothing to do; and this is done twice a week. By this quick return the clothiers are constantly supplied with money, their workmen are duly paid, and a prodigious sum circulates through the country every week.

“If,” says this clear and sagacious writer, “you should ask upon



all this where all the goods sold in the Leeds cloth markets, as well as at those of Wakefield and Halifax, are vented and disposed of, it would require a long treatise of commerce to enter into that part. But that I may not bring you into the labyrinth and not show you the way out, I shall in three short heads describe the consumption: for there are three channels by which it goes:—

“1. For the home consumption: their goods being, as I may say, everywhere made use of for clothing the ordinary people, who cannot go to the price of the fine medley cloths made in the western counties of England, there are for this purpose a set of travelling merchants in Leeds, who go all over England with droves of pack-horses, and to all the fairs and market towns over the whole island, I think I may say none excepted. Here they supply, not the common people by retail, which would denominate them pedlers indeed, but they supply the shops by wholesale and whole pieces; and not only so, but give large credit too, so that they are really travelling merchants, and as such they sell a very great quantity of goods. It is ordinary for one of these men to carry £1000 value of cloth with him at a time, and having sold it at the fairs or towns where they go, they send their horses back for as much more, and this very often in a summer: for they choose to travel in the summer and perhaps towards the winter time, though as little in winter as they can, because of the badness of the roads.

“2. Another set of buyers are those who buy to send to London, either by commissions from London, or they give commissions to factors and warehouse-keepers in London to sell for them; and these drive also a very great trade. These factors and warehouse-keepers not only supply all the shopkeepers and wholesale men in London, but sell also very great quantities to the merchants, as well for exportation to the English colonies in America, which take off great quantities of those coarse goods, especially New England, New York, Virginia, as also to the Russian merchants, who send an exceeding large quantity to Petersburg, Riga, Dantzic, Narva, and to Sweden and Pomerania.

“3. The third sort of buyers, and who are not less considerable than the others, are truly merchants, that is to say, such as receive commissions from abroad to buy cloth from the merchants; chiefly from Hamburg and Holland, and from several other parts. These are not only many in number, but some of them are very considerable in their dealings, and correspond in Frankfort, Leipsic, and

even to Vienna and Augsburg, in the furthest provinces of Germany.”\*

“On account of this trade it was that, some years ago, an Act of Parliament was obtained for making the rivers Aire and Calder navigable, by which a communication by water was opened from Leeds and Wakefield to Hull, and by which means all the woollen manufactures which those merchants now export by commissions as above, are carried by water to Hull, and there shipped for Holland, Bremen, Hamburg, and the Baltic. And thus you have a brief account by what methods this vast manufacture is carried off, and which way they find a vent for it.

“There is another trade in this part of the country, which is now become very considerable since the opening of the navigation of these rivers; and that is, that from hence they carry coals down from Wakefield especially, and also from Leeds, at both which places they have a very great quantity as they told me could never be exhausted. These they carry quite down to the Humber, and then up the Ouse to York, and then to the Trent and other rivers where there are abundance of large towns, which they supply with coals; with this advantage, too, that whereas the Newcastle coals pay four shillings per chaldron duty to the public, these, being only called river-borne coal, are exempted and pay nothing; though strictly speaking they are carried on the sea, too, for the Humber is properly the sea. But they have hitherto been exempted from the tax, and so they carry on the trade to their very great profit and advantage.

“I need not add,” says Defoe, “that by the same navigation they receive all other heavy goods, as well as such as are imported, and such as come from London, and such as other countries supply; as butter, cheese, lead, iron, salt; all sorts of groceries, sugar, tobacco, fruit, hops, &c., oil, wine, brandy, spirits, and every sort of heavy goods.

“The town of Leeds,” says Defoe in 1727, “is very large, and has a number of wealthy merchants in it. There are two churches and two large meeting-houses of dissenters, and six or seven chapels of ease, besides dissenting chapels in the adjacent villages; so that Leeds may not be inferior to Halifax in people. It is really a surprising thing to see what number of people are thrown together in all the villages about these towns, and how busy they all are, being fully employed in this great manufacture.” †

\* Defoe, vol. iii. p. 121.

† *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 122.

*The Commerce of the Port of Hull.*—Defoe's account of Hull, in the year 1727, is full of life and intelligence. "From Beverley I came to Hull (he says); distance six miles. If you would expect me to give an account of the city of Hamburg, or Dantzic, or Rotterdam, or any of the second rate cities abroad which are famed for their commerce, the town of Hull may be a specimen; the place indeed may not be as large as those, but in proportion to the dimensions of it, I believe there is more business done in Hull than in any town of its size in Europe. Liverpool indeed, of late, comes after it apace; but then Liverpool has not the London trade to add to it. In the late war, the fleets from Hull to London were frequently a hundred sail, sometimes, including the other creeks in the Humber, 150 to 160 sail at a time. And to Holland their trade is so considerable that the Dutch always employ two men-of-war to fetch and carry; that is, to convoy the trade, as they call it, to and from Hull, which was as many as they did to London.

"In a word, all the trade at Leeds, Wakefield, and Halifax, of which I have spoken so justly and so largely, is transacted here, and the goods are shipped here by the merchants of Hull; all the lead trade of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire from Bawtry wharf; the butter from the North and East Riding, brought down the Ouse; the cheese brought down the Trent, from Stafford, Warwick, and Cheshire, and the corn from all the counties adjacent—are brought down and shipped off here. Again, they supply all those countries in return with foreign goods of all kinds, for which they trade to all parts of the known world; nor have the merchants of any port in Britain a fairer credit or fairer character than the merchants of Hull, as well for the justice of their dealing as the greatness of their substance of funds for trade. They drive a great trade here to Norway and to the Baltic, and an important trade to Dantzic, Riga, Narva, and Petersburg; from whence they make large returns in iron, copper, hemp, flax, canvas, potashes, Muscovy linen and yarn, and other things; all which they get vent for in the country, to an exceeding quantity. They have also a great importation of wine, linen, oil, fruit, &c., trading to Holland, France, and Spain; the trade of tobacco and sugars from the West Indies they chiefly manage by way of London; but besides all this, their export of corn, as well to London as to Holland and France, exceeds all the kind that is or can be done at any port in England, London excepted.

"Their shipping is a great article, in which they outdo all the

towns and ports on the coast except Yarmouth; only that their shipping consists chiefly in smaller vessels than the coal trade is supplied with, though they have a great many large vessels too, which are employed in their foreign trade.

“The town is situated at the mouth of the river Hull, where it falls into the Humber, and where the Humber opens into the German Ocean; so that one side of their town lies upon the sea, the other upon the land. This makes the situation naturally very strong; and were there any occasion, it is capable of being made impregnable by reason of the low situation of the grounds around it.

“King Charles II., on an occasion of frequent Dutch wars in that reign, once resolved to appoint a station for a squadron of men-of-war here, with a yard and dock for building men-of-war ships in the Humber; and on this occasion resolved to make the place strong in proportion to the necessity of those affairs; upon which a large citadel was marked out on the other side of the river, but it was never finished.

“The greatest imperfection as to the strength of Hull, in case of a war, is its lying open to the sea. It is liable to a bombardment, which can only be prevented by being masters at sea, and whilst we are so there is no need of fortifications at all; and so there is no need for any argument on that subject.

“The town of Hull is exceeding close built; and should a fire ever be its fate, it might suffer deeply on that account. It is extremely populous, even to inconvenience, having really no room to extend itself by buildings. There are but two churches, but one of them is very large; and there are two or three very large meeting-houses, and a market stored with an infinite plenty of all sorts of provisions.

“They show us still (1727) in the town hall of Hull the figure of a northern fisherman, supposed to be of Greenland, that is to say, the real Greenland, being the continent of America, to the north of those we call the north-west passages; not of Spitzberg, where our ships go away fishing, and which is by mistake called Greenland. He was taken up at sea in a leather boat which he sat in, and was covered with skins which he drew together about his waist, so that the boat could not fill, and he could not sink; but the creature would never feed or speak, and so died.\*

“They have a very handsome exchange here, where the merchants meet, as at London; and I assure you it is wonderfully filled, and

\* Defoe, vol. iii p. 182.

that with a confluence of real merchants and many foreigners and several from the country. For the navigation of all the great rivers which fall into the Humber centres here, such as the Trent, the Idle, the Don, the Aire and Calder, and the Ouse, and consequently the commerce of all the great towns on those rivers is managed here, from Gainsborough to Nottingham on the Trent, York and Selby on the Ouse, and so of all the rest.

“They have a noble stone bridge here over the river Hull, consisting of fourteen arches. They had once set up a Greenland fishery, and it went on with success for some time; but it became extinct in the time when the Dutch wars were so frequent, and the house built by the Greenland merchants is now (1727) turned into granaries for corn, and warehouses for other goods.\*”

Proceeding along the coast, Defoe informs us that Bridlington, or Burlington, is the only place for many miles, and that it is of no note, only for a bay or road for shipping of colliers on this coast, to defend them in case of extremity of weather.

In travelling along the foot of the Wolds, he heard wonderful stories of the intermittent springs known by the name of the Gipsies, or, as some call them, Vipsies. “These,” he says, “are streams of water which gush out of the earth with great violence, spouting up a huge height, being really natural jettes d’eau or fountains; that they make a great noise, and joining together form little rivers, and so hasten to the sea.” He says that the country people have a notion that, when these gipsies or vipsies break out, there will certainly ensue famine or plague.†

Of Scarborough Defoe says—“Scarborough next presents itself, a place formerly famous for a strong castle, situate on a rock, as it were hanging over the sea, but now demolished, being ruined in the last wars. The town is well built, populous, and pleasant; and we found a great deal of good company here drinking the waters, who came not only from all the north of England, but even from Scotland.” He says, “It is hard to describe the taste of the waters; they are apparently tinged with a collection of mineral salts—as of vitriol, alum, iron, and perhaps sulphur, and taste evidently of the alum. Here is such a plenty of all sorts of fish that I have hardly seen the like; and in particular, here we saw turbot of three quarters of a hundred weight, and yet they eat exceeding fine when taken new.‡

\* Defoe, vol. iii. p. 183.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 185.

‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 186.

Of Whitby Defoe observes, that it stands at the entrance of a little nameless river (the Esk), which, however, is an excellent harbour, and where they build very good ships for the coal trade, and many of them, too, which makes the town rich.\*

Proceeding from Whitby, the North Riding holds on to the bank of the Tees, the northern bounds of Yorkshire; there, he says, are two good towns, Stockton and Yarm, towns of no great note, but greatly increased of late years, especially the first, by being the chiefest place in the North Riding of York, or in the county of Cumberland, for the shipping of lead and butter for London.†

Of Northallerton he says, "that it is a town on the post road, and is remarkable for the vast quantity of black cattle sold there; there being a fair once every fortnight for some months, where a prodigious quantity are sold."‡

*On the Agriculture and Pastoral Districts of Yorkshire.*—The following observations scattered through Defoe's Tour through Great Britain, throw light on the state of agriculture in Yorkshire, at the time of his visit (1727):—

About Barnsley he found the country covered with heath, or heather, giving a black hue or colour to the moors, like Bagshot Heath, near Windsor. After passing those moors he came into a most rich, pleasant, and populous country, being the vale of Calder, near Wakefield.§

Speaking of the soil about Halifax, he says, "That in the neighbouring country, as to corn, they sow little, and barely enough to feed their poultry if they were to be corn-fed; and as for beef and mutton, they feed little or none. He says nothing of milk cows producing both butter and milk, which always form the most valuable stock in thickly peopled countries, and consume all the produce of the soil, in the form of grass in summer, and hay in winter. But he draws particular attention to the large and profitable markets for provisions supplied by the crowded population of the West Riding. The consequence, he says, is plain. Their corn comes up in great quantities out of Lincoln, Nottingham, the East Riding; their black cattle and horses from the North Riding; their sheep and mutton from the adjacent counties every way; their butter from the East and North Riding; their cheese out of Cheshire and Warwickshire; more black cattle from Lancashire. Hence the

\* Defoe, vol. iii. p. 186.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 187.

‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 187.

§ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 85.

farmers and country people find money flowing in plenty from the manufactures and commerce ; so that at Halifax, Leeds, and other great manufacturing towns so often mentioned, and adjacent to these, for the two months of September and October a prodigious quantity of black cattle is sold.

“ This demand for beef is occasioned thus : the usage of the people is to buy in at that season (the autumn) beef sufficient for the whole year, which they kill and salt and hang up to dry. This way of curing the beef keeps it all the winter, and they eat the smoked beef as a very great rarity. Upon this footing, it is ordinary for a clothier that has a large family to come to Halifax on a market day, and buy two or three large bullocks, from eight to ten pounds a piece. These he carries home and kills for his store ; and this is the reason that the markets, at all those times of the year, are thronged with black cattle, as Smithfield is on a Friday ; whereas all the rest of the year there is little extraordinary there.” Thus, adds Defoe, this one trading, manufacturing part of the country, supports all the countries round it ; and the numbers of people settle here as bees about a hive.

Travelling northward from Leeds, after passing the pleasant valley and river of the Wharfe, by a fine stone bridge of eleven arches, “ at a little pretty town called Harewood,” he again got on the wild moors, which then extended from the north bank of the Wharfe to the southern bank of the Nidd. “ Now,” he says, “ the black moorish lands show dismal again and frightful, the towns being thin, and thin of people too. We saw but little enclosed ground ; no tents with the cloth shining upon them, nor people busied within doors, as before ; but as in the parish of Halifax we saw inhabited mountains, here we saw waste and almost uninhabited dales ; in a word, the country looked as if all the people were transplanted to Leeds and Halifax, and here only a few just left at home to cultivate the land, manage the plough, and raise corn for the rest.”\*

“ From the Wharfe,” he says, “ we went directly north over a continued waste of black, ill-looking, desolate moors, over which travellers are guided, like race-horses, by posts set up for fear of bogs and holes, to a town called Ripley, that stands upon another river called the Nidd, smaller than the Wharfe, but furiously rapid, and very dangerous to pass in many places, especially upon sudden rains.”

*The Bridges, Roads, and other Public Works of Yorkshire, in the*

\* Defoe, vol. iii. p. 126.



*Year 1727.*—Defoe does full justice to the number and strength of the Yorkshire bridges. He says, "Such lofty, high-built bridges are not to be seen over such small rivers in any other place; and on this occasion it may be observed here, once for all, that no part of England—I may say so, because I can say I have seen the whole island, very little excepted—I say no part can show such noble, large, lofty, and long stone bridges, nor so many of them; nor do I remember to have seen any such thing as a timber bridge in all the northern part of England; no, not from the Trent to the Tweed. Whereas in the south parts of England there are abundance, as particularly over the great river of Thames at Kingston, Chertsey, Staines, Windsor, Maidenhead, Reading, Henley, Marlow, and other places; and over the river Lea, though a navigable river with thirteen bridges, we see but one built of stone, viz., that at Bow."\*

After passing over the Moors to Ripley, Defoe followed the course of the stream down to Knaresborough, and visited Harrogate, which was then known by the name of the Yorkshire Spa. He describes what he calls the sweet spa, which, he says, was discovered by one Mr. Slingsby (A.D. 1630), and all physicians acknowledge it to be a very sovereign medicine in several particulars; and the sulphur spring, which he describes as very disagreeable, but a valuable medicine in scorbutic hypochondria, and especially in hydropic distempers. As to its curing the gout, he says, "I take that, as in other cases, *ad referendum*." He seems to have been rather surprised to find the patients so merry, and enjoying their cure so much; for, he says, "we were surprised to find the great deal of good company here, and indeed more than we found afterwards at Scarborough; though this seems to be the most desolate, out of the way place, and that men would only retire to it for religious mortification and to hate the world; but we found quite otherwise."

After again praising the bridges which had carried him so safely over the Wharfe, at Harewood, and the Nidd, both at Ripley and at Knaresborough, as very firm, fine, and very chargeable bridges, he proceeds to say that at Ripon there are two stone bridges, whereof one of them has thirteen arches or more, over the Ure, and is indeed a very stately and chargeable work. It is true, he adds, a bridge over the same river at Boroughbridge, a few miles lower down than Ripon, has but four or five arches; but then these arches are near forty feet diameter, and one of the middlemost

\* Defoe, vol. iii. p. 157.

much more, and high in proportion, and the ends of the bridge are continued by high causeways built of stone, to keep the water in its course ; and yet sometimes it is all too little.

Ripon, he says, was a very neat, pleasant, well-built town, and had not only an agreeable situation, on a rising ground between two rivers, but the market place was the finest and most beautiful square that was to be seen of its kind in England.\*

A mile from Ripon, as Defoe informs us, was a stately, beautiful seat, built a few years before by Sir Edward Blacket ; the park extended to the bank of the river Ure, and was sometimes in part laid under water by the river, the water of which, they say, coming down the western mountains through a marly, loamy soil, fructifies the earth as the river Nile does the Egyptian field, about Cairo, "though, by their leave, not quite so much." With regard to Sir Edward Blacket's mansion, Defoe observes, "As Sir Edward spared no cost in the building, and Sir Christopher Wren laid out the design, as well as chose the ground for him, you may believe me the better when I add, that nothing can either add to the contrivance or the situation. This building is of brick ; the avenues, now the trees are grown, are very fine, and the gardens not only well laid out, but well planned and well kept ; the statues are neat ; the parterres are beautiful. The house has a prospect over the country almost to York, with the river in view most of the way. It makes itself a very noble appearance on the great north road, which lies within two miles of it at Boroughbridge."†

*Yorkshire Cattle and Horses.*—"As you now begin to come into the North Riding," says Defoe, "for the Ure parts the West Riding from it, so you are come into the place noted in the north of England for the best and largest oxen, and the finest galloping horses ; I mean swift horses—horses bred, as they call it, for the light saddle ; that is to say, for the race and the chace, for running or hunting. Sir Edward Blacket was a grazier, and took such delight in the breeding and feeding large-sized black cattle, that he had two or three times an ox out of his park led about the country for a sight, and showed as far as Newcastle, and even Scotland, for the biggest bullock in England ; nor was he very often if ever overmatched."‡

Defoe then proceeds more fully to describe the Yorkshire horses. He says—"From the Ure, entering the North Riding and keeping

\* Defoe, vol. iii. p. 130.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 139.

‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 130.

the Roman causeway as mentioned before, one part of which went by the present Aldborough, or Isurium Brigantium, from York to Bedale, all the way from Hutton or thereabout this Roman way is plain to be seen, and is called now Leeming Lane, from Leeming Chapel, a village which it goes through.

“I met with nothing at or about Bedale that comes within the compass of my inquiry but this, that not this town only, but even all this country, is full of jockeys, that is to say, dealers in horses and breeders of horses; and the breeds of their horses in this and the next county are so well known, that though they do not preserve the pedigree of their horses for a succession of ages, as they say they do in Arabia and Barbary, they christen their horses here, their stallions, and know them, and will advance the price of a horse according to the reputation of the horse he came from.

“They do indeed breed very fine horses here, and perhaps some of the best in the world; for let foreigners boast what they will of Barbs and Turkish horses—and as we know £500 has been given for a horse brought out of Turkey, and of the Spanish jennets from Cordova, for which also an extravagant price has been given—I do believe that some of the gallopers of this county, and the bishopric of Durham which joins to it, will outdo for speed and strength the swiftest horse that was ever bred in Turkey or Barbary, take them altogether.

“My reason for this opinion is founded upon those words altogether; that is to say, take their strength and their spirit together; for example, match the two horses, and bring them to the race-course, the Barb may beat Yorkshire for a mile course, but Yorkshire shall distance him at the end of four miles. The Barb shall beat Yorkshire on a dry, soft, carpet ground, but Yorkshire for a deep country; the reason is plain, the English horses have both the speed and the strength. The Barb perhaps that shall beat Yorkshire, shall carry seven stone and a half, but Yorkshire for a twelve stone weight. In a word, Yorkshire shall carry the man, and the Barb a feather.

“The reason is to be seen in the very make of the horses. The Barb or jennet is a fine delicate creature, of a beautiful shape, clean limbs, and a soft coat, but then he is long-jointed, weak-pasterned, and under-limbed; whereas Yorkshire has as light a body and stronger limbs, short joints, and well-boned. This gives him not speed only, but strength to hold it; and I believe I do not boast it on their

behalf without good vouchers, when I say that English horses, take them one with the other, will beat all the world.

With regard to chargers Defoe thus expresses himself:—

“The length of the late war, it seems, caused the breeders here to run into a race or kind of horses, differing much from what they were used to raise, that is to say, from fine fleet horses for galloping and hunting, to a larger breed of charging horses, for the use of the general officers, and colonels of horse, aides-de-camp, and the like, whose service required strong charging horses, and yet if they were fleet horses too, they had a vast advantage of the enemy; for that if the rider was conquered and forced to fly, there was no overtaking him; and if his enemies fled, they could never get away from him. I saw some of this breed, and very noble creatures they were, fit for any business whatever; strong enough for charging, fleet enough for hunting, tempered enough for travelling; and indeed, there is one thing to be said for the horse-breeders in this country, their horses are all well broke, perfectly brought to hand, and to be under command, which is a thing absolutely necessary in the army, and in the hunting field also.”

*The City of York.*—York, Defoe says, describing it in the year 1727, “is a pleasant and beautiful city, and not the less beautiful for the (modern) works and lines about it being demolished, and the city, as may be said, being laid open, for the beauty of peace is seen in the rubbish; the lines and bastions and demolished fortifications have reserved secret pleasantness in them, from the contemplation of the public tranquillity that outshines all the beauty of advanced bastions, batteries, cavaliers, and all the hard-named works for the engineers about the city.\*

“York is risen again, and all we now see is modern; the bridge is vastly strong and has one arch, which they told me was nearly seventy feet in diameter. It is without exception the greatest in England; some say it is as large as the Rialto in Venice, though I think not. †

But to return to the city itself; there is abundance of good company here, and an abundance of good families live here for the sake of the good company and cheap living. No city in England is better furnished with provisions of every kind, nor any so cheap in proportion to the goodness of things. The river being so navigable and so near the sea, the merchants here trade directly to what part of

\* Defoe, vol. iii. p. 154.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 155.

the world they will ; for ships of any burthen come up within thirty miles of the city, and smaller craft, from sixty to eighty tons and under, come up to the very city. With these they carry on a considerable trade. They import their own wines from France and Portugal, and likewise their own deals and timber from Norway ; and indeed, what they please almost from where they please ; they did also bring their own coals from Newcastle and Sunderland, but now have them down the Aire and Calder from Wakefield, and from Leeds, as already said.

“There is no trade, indeed, except such as depends on the confluence of the gentry ; the city, as to lodgings, good houses, and plenty of provisions, is able to receive the King, Lords, and Commons, with the whole court on such occasions ; and once they did entertain King Charles I. with his whole court, and with the assembly of peers, besides a vast confluence of the gentry from all parts to the king, and at the same time a great part of his army.

“We went out in a double excursion,” says Defoe, “from this city, first to see the duke of Leed’s house, and then the earl of Carlisle’s, and the earl of Burlington’s, in the East Riding ; Carlisle House is by far the finest design, but it is not finished, and may not perhaps in our time. They say his lordship sometimes observes, noblemen should only design and begin great palaces, and leave posterity to finish them gradually, as their estates will allow them ; it is called Castle Howard. The earl of Burlington’s is an old-built house, but stands deliciously, and has a noble prospect towards the Hunber, as also towards the Wolds.”\*

“At Hambledon Down, near this city, are once a year very great races, appointed for the entertainment of the gentry ; and they are the more frequented because the king’s plate of 100 guineas is always run for there once a year, a gift designed to encourage gentlemen to breed good horses.

“The river Derwent, contrary to the course of all the rivers in Yorkshire, runs north and south, rising in that part of the country called Cleveland, and running through or hard by several market towns, as Pickering, Pocklington, New Malton, and others, and is by the course a good guide to those who would take a view of the whole country. I observed the middle of this riding or division of Yorkshire is very thin of towns, and consequently of people, being outspread with wolds, that is to say, plains and downs like

\* Defoe, vol. iii. p. 165.

those of Salisbury, on which they feed great numbers of sheep, and breed also a great many black cattle and horses; especially in the northern part, which was more mountainous, and makes part of the North Riding of York. But the east and west part is populous and rich, and full of towns, the one lying on the sea-coast, and the other on the river Derwent as above; the sea-coast or east side is called Holderness."

*Defoe's Account of the Roman Roads in Yorkshire.*—Defoe, writing in 1727, says, "I must go back to Pontefract, to take notice that here again the great Roman highway, which I mentioned at Doncaster, and which is visible from thence in several places on the way to Pontefract, though not in the open road, is apparent again; and from Castleford bridge, which is another bridge over the united rivers of Aire and Calder, it goes on to Aberforth, a small market town famous for pin-making, and so to Tadcaster and York. But I mention it here on this present occasion, for otherwise these remains of antiquity are not in my province in this undertaking; I say it is on this occasion.

"1. That in some places this causeway being cut in two and broken up, the eminent care of the Romans for making firm causeways for the convenience of carriages and for the passing of travellers is to be seen there. The layings of different sorts of earth, as clay at the bottom, chalk upon that, and gravel upon chalk, then stones upon gravel, and then gravel again, and so of other kinds of earth, where the first was not to be had.

"2. In some places between this bridge and the town of Aberford, the causeway having not been used for the ordinary road, it lies as fair and untouched, as covered with turf, and smooth as its first making, not so much as a mark of a hoof or of a wheel upon it; so that it is to be seen in its full dimensions and height, as if it had been made but the same week; whereas it is very probable it has stood so fifteen or sixteen hundred years; and I take notice of it here, because I have not seen anything like it in any other place in England, and because our people who are now mending the roads almost everywhere, might take a pattern from it. \*

"From Tadcaster to York the country is rich, fruitful, and populous; it bears good corn, and the city of York being so near, and having the navigation of so many rivers also to carry it to Hull, they never want a good market for it." †

\* Defoe, vol. iii. p. 125.

† *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 151.

Such was the county of York at the close of the reign of George I., and the commencement of the reign of George II. It had already attained an eminence in manufactures, in mining, in agriculture, and in commerce, equal to, if not greater than that of any other district of England. London and the vicinity could alone be compared to the West Riding of Yorkshire in the density of its population and the abundance of its trade; for the cotton districts of Lancashire were still very thinly peopled, chiefly from want of a sufficient supply of cotton; whilst the iron districts of the midland counties were unable to make any considerable progress, the forests which originally supplied them with charcoal having been consumed, and coal not having been as yet successfully applied in the manufacture of iron. At that time the manufactures of Yorkshire were decidedly the first in England; and from that time they continued to advance with an uninterrupted progress.

Amongst the causes which led to the steady progress of the county of York during the eighteenth century, was the perfect internal tranquillity which it enjoyed during the whole of that period. The constitutional sovereigns of the house of Hanover were cheerfully received when they ascended the throne, and have been steadily supported during the various changes that have since taken place in public affairs. The insurrections in favour of the Stuart family, which extended more or less to Lancashire and some other of the northern counties, were never felt in the county of York, in which that tyrannical and obstinate house had no supporters of any importance, after it had been driven from the kingdom by a justly indignant people. Nor did any other of the political events of the eighteenth century seriously disturb the internal tranquillity of this great county.

The chief public events which left their mark on this district during the eighteenth century, were the construction and extension of the public works of every kind required by the wants of modern industry. From an early period of the century nearly to its close the great engineer Smeaton, one of the earliest founders of the English school of engineers, and himself a native of this county, took an active part in improving the rivers and other public works of the county. From the middle to the end of the century the county of York began to be covered with good roads, some of which might even compare with the great Roman works so well described



by Defoe, in his account of the remains of the Roman works in ancient Yorkshire. At about the same period the impulse given by the genius of Brindley in constructing the Bridgewater canals, excited the emulation of the landowners and the merchants of Yorkshire, and induced them to construct the Leeds and Liverpool Canal—a work far surpassing any work of the kind that had been formed in England up to that time. Even during the eighteenth century, the power of the steam-engine had been applied to several public and private works. The first railway worked by horse-power formed in any town in England was made in the neighbourhood of Leeds in the first ten years of the nineteenth century, and was soon after provided with locomotive engines for drawing coals from the Middleton collieries to Leeds. At the close of the eighteenth century the population of the county of York, which had been increasing rapidly during the whole of the eighteenth century, had risen to 858,892 inhabitants.

Before tracing the wonderful progress of Yorkshire, from the commencement of the nineteenth century to the present time, we shall lay before our readers essays on the rise and progress of the woollen and worsted manufactures of Yorkshire, from the pen of Mr. Edward Baines, M.P., Mr. William Hirst of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. J. Arthur Binns of Manningham, Bradford, which very clearly trace the progress of the greatest manufactures of this county from the earliest years of their history to the present time. In the subsequent volume of this work we trust to be able to give accounts equally complete, of the manufactures of Sheffield, of the commerce of Hull, and of the mines of Yorkshire, from the pens of other friends intimately connected with those great branches of our county and our national industry.

THE  
WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE OF ENGLAND;  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE  
LEEDS CLOTHING DISTRICT.

BY EDWARD BAINES, Esq., M.P.

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FROM A PAPER READ BEFORE THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
OF SCIENCE, AT LEEDS, IN 1858.

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CHAPTER I.

I.—*Woollen and Worsted Fabrics.*

It will conduce to the understanding of important points in the economy of the manufacture, to explain in the first place the difference between the woollen and the worsted fabrics. The raw material of both is sheep's wool. It would formerly have been sufficient to say that woollens were made of short wool, and worsted goods of long wool; but owing to the improvement in the worsted spinning machinery, much short wool, both English and colonial, is now used in that manufacture. Wool intended for woollens is prepared for spinning by the carding machine; whilst wool intended for worsted goods, being generally of a longer staple, is prepared for spinning by the metallic comb. But the essential distinction of woollens from worsted, cotton, linen, and every other textile fabric is, that they depend upon that peculiar property of sheep's wool, its disposition to *felt*; that is, under pressure and warm moisture, to *interlock its fibres* as by strong mutual attraction, and thus to *run up* into a compact substance not easily separable. Wools differ in the degree of this felting property; but, generally speaking, the long wools possess it in a lower degree than the short wools, and the wools which felt best are the best adapted for making woollen cloth.

For worsted stuffs the felting property is not required; and not only have the wools used for this purpose less of the felting property, but they are so treated in the spinning and manufacture as almost entirely to destroy it.

In every other textile fabric, when the material is spun into yarn and woven into a web, the fabric is complete. But in woollen cloth, after the process of spinning and weaving comes the essential process of felting, by means of heavy pressure with soap and warm water; and so efficacious is this process, that a piece of cloth under it often shrinks up to two-thirds its original length and little more than half its width. The process is called milling or fulling, and some of the oldest traces of the woollen manufacture found in ancient records are in the mention of fulling mills on certain streams or estates. Before the milling, the web of the woollen cloth, when held up to the day, admits the light through its crossed threads; but after the milling, every fibre in the piece having laid hold of the neighbouring fibres, and all having firmly interlaced themselves together, the cloth becomes thick and opaque; of course it is made stouter, warmer, and more enduring in the wear; and if torn, it will be found that its tenacity has consisted not so much in the strength of the warp and weft as in the firm adhesion of all the fibres, so that it does not unravel like cotton or linen cloth.

After the cloth has been milled it undergoes the various processes of dressing or finishing, which consist mainly in these two—first, raising up all the fibres of the wool which can be detached by violent and long-continued brushing of the cloth with teazles, so as to make a nap on the surface; and then, secondly, shearing off that nap in a cutting machine, so clean and smooth as to give a soft and almost velvety appearance and feel to the cloth. This nap, more or less closely cut, distinguishes woollen cloth from nearly all other fabrics; it is one of its two essential characters; and, combined with the felting, it makes superfine broad cloth one of the finest, warmest, richest, most useful, and most enduring of all tissues.

But in order to produce these two principal characteristics of woollen cloth, the *felting* and the *nap*, it will easily be seen that woollen yarn must not be spun so tight and hard as worsted, cotton, or linen yarn. The fibres must be left as loose as possible, first, that they may felt, and afterwards that they may constitute a nap. Hence woollen yarn, both for the warp and weft, is spun into a much feebler, looser, and less twisted thread, than other kinds of

yarn. But this febleness of the yarn constitutes a principal difficulty in applying the power-loom to the woollen manufacture. The threads are more liable to break by the passing of the shuttle through them, and the weaving is consequently more difficult. This difficulty is increased by the great width of the web, which in broad cloth, before it is milled, is nine feet. Owing to these combined causes, the power-loom in the woollen manufacture works much more slowly than in the worsted manufacture; in the latter, on the average, the shuttle flies at the rate of 160 picks per minute, whilst the power-loom in weaving broad cloth only makes 40 to 48 picks per minute—that is, just the same as the hand-loom. The weaving of woollen cloth by hand is a man's work, whereas the weaving of cotton, linen, or silk cloth by hand was a woman's or a child's work. Hence the hand-loom weaver in the woollen manufacture has never been reduced to the miserable wages paid to the same class of operatives in other manufactures, and hence he maintains a more equal competition with the steam-loom. It is to this cause that we must principally ascribe *the continued existence of the system of domestic manufacture in the woollen trade*; and to the same cause we must ascribe the slower advances made in the woollen than in those manufactures *where all the processes can be more advantageously carried on in factories, by one vast system of machinery, under a single eye, and by the power of great capital*. Whether for good or for evil, or for a combination of both, such are the economical results which may be traced in a great measure to the peculiarities in woollen yarn and cloth.

## II.—*Woollen Manufacture—Processes.*

But another circumstance must be noticed, as bearing upon the same results, namely, that the processes of the woollen manufacture are more numerous and complex than those of any other of our textile manufactures. In one of those complete and beautiful establishments where fine cloth is both manufactured and finished, as that of Messrs. Benjamin Gott and Sons, of Leeds, which has long ranked with the first woollen factories of any country, the spectator who may be admitted to it will see all the following processes, namely:—

1. Sorting the wool—no less than ten different qualities being found in a single fleece.

2. Scouring it with a ley and hot water, to remove the grease and dirt.
3. Washing it with clean cold water.
4. Drying it, first in an extractor—a rapidly revolving machine full of holes, and next, by spreading it and exposing it to the heat of steam.
5. Dyeing, when the cloth is to be wool-dyed.
6. Willying, by revolving cylinders armed with teeth, to open the matted locks and free them from dust.
7. Teasing, with a teaser or devil, still further to open and clean.
8. Sprinkling plentifully with olive oil, to facilitate the working of the wool.
9. Moting, with the moting-machine, to take off the motes or burs, *i.e.*, seeds of plants or grasses which adhere to the fleece.
10. Scribbling, in a scribbling machine, consisting of a series of cylinders clothed with cards or wire brushes working upon each other, the effect of which is still further to disentangle the wool and draw out the fibres.
11. Plucking, in a plucking machine, more effectually to mix up the different qualities which may remain in the wool.
12. Carding, in a carding machine, resembling the scribbler, but more perfectly opening the wool, spreading it of a regular thickness and weight, reducing it to a light, filmy substance, and then bringing it out in cardings or slivers about three feet in length.
13. Slubbing, at a frame called the billey, generally containing sixty spindles, where the cardings are joined to make a continuous yarn, drawn out, slightly twisted, and wound on bobbins.

By a new machine, called the Condenser, attached to the carding machine, the wool is brought off in a continuous sliver, wound on cylinders, and ready to be conveyed to the mule, so as to dispense with the billey.
14. Spinning on the mule, which contains from 300 to 1000 spindles per pair.
15. Reeling the yarn intended for the warp.
16. Warping it, and putting it on the beam for the loom.
17. Sizing the warp with animal gelatine, to facilitate the weaving.

18. Weaving at the power-loom or hand-loom.
19. Scouring the cloth with fuller's earth, to remove the oil and size.
20. Dyeing, when piece-dyed.
21. Burling, to pick out irregular threads, hairs, or dirt.
22. Milling or fulling, with soap and warm water, either in the fulling-stocks or in the improved milling machine, where it is squeezed between rollers.
23. Scouring, to remove the soap.
24. Drying and stretching on tenters.
25. Raising the nap of the cloth, by brushing it strongly on the gig with teazles fixed upon cylinders.
26. Cutting or shearing off the nap in two cutting-machines, one cutting lengthwise of the piece and the other across.
27. Boiling the cloth, to give it a permanent face.
28. Brushing, in a brushing machine.
29. Pressing in hydraulic presses, sometimes with heat.
30. Cutting the nap a second time.
31. Burling and drawing, to remove defects, and marking with the manufacturer's name.
32. Pressing a second time.
33. Steaming, to take away the liability to spot.
34. Folding or cutting for the warehouse.

These processes, as has been said, are greatly more numerous than those required by any other textile manufacture, and they are performed by a much greater variety of machines and of workpeople. It is pretty obvious that there must be proportionate difficulty in effecting improvements which will tell materially on the quantity or the price of the goods produced.

### III.—*Dearness of the Raw Material.*

There is still another fact which retards the advance of the woollen, as compared with other manufactures, namely, the higher price of the raw material. The average value of the sheep's wool imported during the three years 1854, 1855, and 1856, was 1s. 4d. per lb., and the average price of English wool in the same year was about 1s. 2d. per lb.; but during those three years the average price of cotton wool imported was only 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per lb., and that of flax only

5*d.* per lb.\* So that wool is about three times the market price of the two vegetable substances which form the raw materials of the cotton and linen manufactures. Nor can sheep's wool be augmented in quantity so rapidly as raw materials which merely require the cultivation of the soil. The fleece, at least in this country, forms only a small proportion of the value of the sheep on which it grows; and the sheep farmer is more dependent on the demand for his mutton than on the demand for his wool. Now the consumption of animal food only increases, as a general rule, with the increase of population; and hence there is a natural restriction on the supply of sheep's wool, owing to which restriction the price is kept high.

#### IV.—*Factories, Woollen and Worsted.*

But the economist may inquire—how is it that the worsted manufacture has of late years increased so much more rapidly than the woollen, seeing that it uses the same raw material, sheep's wool? I may briefly say, that it is to be ascribed in part to very remarkable improvements made within these few years in the process of Combing, which is now performed by machinery, instead of by hand, reducing the cost of the process almost to nothing; in part to the greater simplicity of the other processes, admitting of their being carried on almost entirely in large factories; but more than all to the introduction of cotton warps into the manufacture, which has not only cheapened the raw material, but has introduced a vast variety of new descriptions of goods, light, beautiful, cheap, and adapted both for dress and furniture.

I am informed by a Bradford merchant of great knowledge, that “out of 100 pieces of worsted goods manufactured, at least 95 are made with cotton warps; and a rough estimate of the cotton contained would be, that if a piece weighed 3 lbs., one pound weight would be cotton and the rest wool.” There is still, therefore, a greater weight of wool than of cotton in those goods; but as cotton warps are stronger than woollen, owing to their being harder spun, even when their weight is less, the cloth may be made altogether much lighter than worsted goods were formerly made, and thus the material is economized.

\* It will be seen from the Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom for 1856, that for the three years 1854, 1855, and 1856, the average annual import of sheep's wool was 107,211,277 lbs., of the computed real value of 7,230,249*l.* (showing 1*s.* 4*d.* per lb.); of cotton, 934,323,824 lbs., of the value of 22,490,711*l.* (showing 5½*d.* per lb.); and of flax, 164,405,248 lbs., of the value of 3,461,899*l.* (showing 5*d.* per lb.), pp. 11 to 16. I am assured by practical men that the scales of prices by which the values are computed are very correct.



If we look to the factory return made by the factory inspectors in 1856, and printed by the House of Commons in 1857, we shall find that in Yorkshire there were 445 worsted factories and 806 woollen factories; but the number of operatives was 78,994 in the former, and only 42,982 in the latter. The average number of operatives in the worsted factories therefore was 177, whilst in the woollen factories it was only 53. The whole number of operatives returned in the census of 1851, as employed in these two manufactures in the county of York, was 97,147 in the worsted manufacture, and 81,128 in the woollen. Four-fifths of all the hands employed in the worsted trade are in factories, whilst only about half of those in the woollen trade are in factories.

Everything tends to show that the worsted manufacture, like those of cotton and linen, has become an employment carried on by the machinery of large factories; and as mechanical improvements are constantly speeding the power-loom and the spindle,—so that in worsted factories the power-loom has increased 67 per cent.\* in speed within the last ten years, and the spindle 114 per cent.—manufactures thus situated must advance more rapidly than those which, like the woollen, are more dependent on manual labour.

#### V.—*Persons, &c., Employed, 1838 and 1856.*

The woollen manufacture, though large, prosperous, and advancing with considerable rapidity, has within the last twenty years advanced less rapidly than any of the other great textile manufactures. It was surpassed by the cotton manufacture at the beginning of the century. It still holds the second place in regard to the number of operatives employed, though not to the number employed in factories, in which it is surpassed both by the worsted and the flax or linen trades.

The following table shows the advances made by all the textile manufactures, in respect to number of operatives, horse-power, and power-looms, from 1838 to 1856. It will be seen that in the woollen mills, between 1838 and 1856, the number of operatives increased 44 per cent., the horse-power employed increased 25 per cent., and the number of power-looms increased 572 per cent.;

\* Ten years ago the average speed of worsted looms was 96 picks per minute; it is now 160. In the old spinning frame, called the fly frame, generally used ten years since, the spindles made 2800 revolutions per minute: in the new frame, called the bell frame, they make 6000.

but still the other manufactures advanced with greater strides in almost all these respects.

(A.)—FACTORIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1838 AND 1856.

Description of Factories.	Persons Employed.			Horse-power.			Power-looms.		
	1838.	1856.	Incr.	1838.	1856.	Incr.	1836.*	1856.	Incr.
	No.	No.	Pr.cent.	No.	No.	Pr.cent.	No.	No.	Pr.cent.
Cotton,	259,104	379,213	46	59,803	97,132	62	108,751	298,847	175
Woollen,	54,808	79,091	44	20,617	25,901	25	2,150	14,453	572
Worsted,	31,628	87,794	177	7,176	14,904	108	2,969	38,956	1,212
Flax, .	43,557	80,262	84	11,089	18,322	65	1,714	9,260	440
Silk, .	34,303	56,137	64	3,384	5,176	53	209	7,689	3,579
Totals,	423,400	682,497	61	102,069	161,435	58	115,793	369,205	219

VI.—*Raw Material—Sources of Supply.*

I must now refer to the sources from which the raw material, sheep's wool, is drawn, and to the remarkable changes which the present century has witnessed in regard to it. The wool is English, foreign, and colonial, and comes from all the quarters of the globe. Our largest supply is from the United Kingdom, but nearly half of the domestic wool is consumed in the worsted manufacture, and the other half is used for the lower kinds of woollen goods. Within living memory Yorkshire cloth was made exclusively of English wool, though Spanish wool has long been used for the finer cloths of the West of England.† Now, however, English wool, from its comparative coarseness, is entirely disused in the making of broad cloth. When the late Mr. Gott (who with the late Mr. James Bischoff and others fought a hard battle for many years, first to get rid of the monstrous duty of 6*d.* per pound on foreign wool imposed in 1819, and afterwards to prevent its re-imposition), told a committee of the House of Lords that broad cloth made of English wool would not be merchantable, and that their lordships' servants would not wear it, the statement was received with a burst of incredulity and derision. But so it was. The cloth of the present day is immensely superior both in fabric and in finish to the cloth of half a century back. Working men now wear finer cloth than gentlemen wore when Mr. Gott began his spirited improvements; and it is so in consequence of the

\* The first return of power looms was in 1836. There was also a general factory return in that year; but it bears evident marks of inaccuracy, as pointed out by the factory inspectors in their report of October, 1856.

† It is certain, from the facts stated in Smith's *Memoirs of Wool* (vol. i. p. 196), that Spanish wool was used in England before the year 1656.

general use of the fine and delicate wool of the Merino sheep. In the last half of the eighteenth century the import of foreign wool fluctuated from a little under to a little over two million pounds weight a year. In 1799 it was 2,263,666 lbs.; but in the year 1857 the quantity of foreign and colonial wool imported was 127,390,885 lbs., of which 90,903,666 lbs. was retained for home consumption. As the exports of woollen goods did not increase in any proportion whatever to these figures, it is evident that the character of the cloth, both that worn at home and that exported, must have changed by the substitution of foreign and colonial for English wool.

The following table shows the imports and exports of foreign and colonial wool, at intervals of about ten years, for the last century:—

(B.)—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL WOOL IMPORTED INTO AND EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM, FROM 1766 TO 1857—SELECTED YEARS.

Years.	Foreign Wool Imported.	Colonial Wool Imported.	Total Imported.	Foreign and Colonial Wool Exported.	Left for Home Consumption.
	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.
1766	1,926,000	—	1,926,000	—	1,926,000
1771	1,829,000	—	1,829,000	—	1,829,000
1780	323,000	—	323,000	—	323,000
1790	2,582,000	—	2,582,000	—	2,582,000
1799	2,263,000	—	2,263,000	—	2,263,000
1800	8,609,000	—	8,609,000	—	8,609,000
1810	10,879,000	34,000	10,914,000	—	10,914,000
1820	9,653,000	122,000	9,775,000	64,000	9,711,000
1830	30,303,000	2,002,000	32,305,000	659,000	31,646,000
1840	36,585,000	12,850,000	49,436,000	1,014,000	48,421,000
1850	26,102,000	48,224,000	74,326,000	14,388,000	59,938,000
1855	24,681,000	74,619,000	99,300,000	29,453,000	69,846,000
1857	44,522,000	82,868,000	127,390,000	36,487,000*	90,903,000

The foreign wool first used when the improvement in the quality of the cloth began, was that of Spain, the native country of the Merino sheep. The import of wool sprung up suddenly from 2,263,666 lbs. in 1779, to 8,609,368 lbs. in 1800; and of the latter quantity 6,062,824 lbs., or more than two-thirds, was Spanish. After the French invasion of Spain and the long Peninsular wars, the quality of Spanish wool degenerated, and the quantity fell off; and its place in our manufacture was gradually filled by the wool of Saxony and Silesia, into which countries the Merino breed of sheep had been introduced in the year 1765. The German

\* Of this quantity 31,456,900 lbs. was of colonial wool.

wool is still by much the finest used in any country; but as the Merino flocks were introduced by Mr. Macarthur into our great Australian colonies, and were found to increase there immensely without any very great degeneracy in the quality of the fleece, German wool has, in its turn, to a very considerable extent been superseded by Australian.

The changes which have taken place in the sources of supply are shown in the following table:—

(C.)—IMPORTS OF WOOL INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM THE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES, FOREIGN AND COLONIAL, FROM 1800 TO 1857—SELECTED YEARS.\*

Years.	Spain.	Germany.	Australia.	South Africa.	East Indies.
	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.
1800	6,062,000	412,000	—	—	—
1810	5,952,000	778,000	167	—	—
1816	2,958,000	2,816,000	13,611	9,623	—
1820	3,536,000	5,113,000	99,415	29,717	—
1830	1,643,000	26,073,000	1,967,000	33,000	—
1834	2,343,000	22,634,000	3,558,000	141,000	67,000
1840	1,266,000	21,812,000	9,721,000	751,000	2,441,000
1850	440,000	9,166,000	39,018,000	5,709,000	3,473,000
1857	383,000	5,993,000	49,209,000	14,287,000	19,370,000

Here we see:—The decline in the quantity of Spanish wool imported from 6,062,824 lbs. in 1800, to 383,129 lbs. in 1857; the increase of German wool from 412,394 lbs. in 1800, to 26,073,882 lbs. in 1830, and its subsequent decline to 5,993,380 lbs. in 1857; the increase of Australian wool from 167 lbs. in 1810, to 49,209,655 lbs. in 1857; the increase in South African or Cape wool from 9623 lbs. in 1816, to 14,287,828 lbs. in 1857; and the increase in East Indian wool from 67,763 lbs. in 1834, to 19,370,741 lbs. in 1857.

These are remarkable commercial changes, and they warrant the hope that we may ere long find in the East Indies, Australia, and Africa, sources of supply for the still more important raw material of cotton, produced by the labour of free men, instead of being so dangerously and perniciously dependent on the slave-raised cotton of the United States.†

Of the imports of German wool I must remark that they have fallen off even to a greater extent than appears from the above table, inasmuch as there is now a large quantity of rag wool, called

\* Periods of ten years are taken, except in the years 1816 and 1834, which are introduced as being the years in which wool was first imported from South Africa and the East Indies.

† The above was written in 1858, before the happy abolition of slavery in the United States.

shoddy and mungo, imported from Germany; and I am assured by Mr. Fonblanque, of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, that no distinction is made at the custom house between the entries of the finest Saxon wool, which is of the value of 3s. per lb., and those of shoddy, which is only worth a few pence per lb. This is a distinction which ought to be forthwith introduced in the accounts, especially as shoddy, though inferior in value, has become a very important raw material in the woollen manufacture.\*

#### VII.—*British Wool—Annual Produce.*

Of the annual produce of wool in the United Kingdom there are, as has been said, no reliable statistics whatever; and the judgment of those engaged in the trade varies very widely. The late Mr. John Luccock, a wool merchant of Leeds, and a careful inquirer, in a work published by him in 1800 "On the Nature and Properties of Wool," estimated the number of sheep in England and Wales at 26,147,763, and the quantity of wool produced annually at 94,376,640 lbs. weight. The late Mr. James Hubbard revised this estimate in 1828 for a committee of the House of Lords, with the aid of Sir George Goodman—both of those gentlemen being wool merchants in Leeds—and raised the quantity of wool to 111,160,560 lbs. Professor Low, in his able work "On the Domesticated Animals of the British Islands," published in 1845, estimates the number of sheep in the British Islands at 35,000,000, and the produce of wool at 157,500,000 lbs. Mr. Southey, an eminent wool-broker in London, who has published several works on colonial wool, issued a little work in 1851,† in which, judging from the information he received from wool merchants in Leeds, Bradford, and other places, he raised the estimate to 228,950,000 lbs.; and then, by an unreliable mode of calculating, even carried it to the enormous figure of 275,000,000 lbs. weight.

The balance of authority would dispose us to conclude that the annual produce of domestic wool must be between 150,000,000 lbs. and 200,000,000 lbs. If we take the medium, viz., 175,000,000 lbs., at 1s. 3d. per pound., which is about the average price of the last thirty years, the value of this great raw material produced at home will be £10,937,500. The judgment thus formed from comparison of authorities has been exactly and unexpectedly confirmed

\* Shoddy is now entered separately from wool.

† Rise, Progress, and Present State of Colonial Sheep and Wools, by Thomas Southey.

by the result of careful inquiries and calculations, founded on the number of hands employed, the power of the machinery, and the estimated value of the goods manufactured. That result is, that 160,000,000 lbs. is used by the woollen and worsted manufactures, whilst the quantity exported in 1857 was 15,142,881 lbs., making an aggregate of 175,142,881 lbs. of English wool.

The exports of English wool, both in the raw state and in the first state of manufacture, namely, yarn, are great and rapidly increasing, as will be seen by the following table:—

(D.)—BRITISH WOOL AND WOOLLEN AND WORSTED YARN EXPORTED.

Years.	Wool.	Woollen and Worsted Yarn.
	Lbs.	Lbs.
1824	53,000	12,640
1830	2,951,000	1,108,000
1840	4,810,000	3,796,000
1850	12,001,000	13,794,000
1857	15,142,000	24,654,000

Thus the farmer is deriving benefit from the freedom of trade, and English wool is resuming its flow through channels which legislation had closed for five centuries. It is for our manufacturers to take care that no other country makes a better use of their raw material than themselves.

#### VIII.—*Progress of the Woollen Trade.*

Of the history of this ancient manufacture, up to our own times, I must dispose in a few sentences.

It is probable that the fleece of the sheep afforded the first material of human clothing, and that in this pastoral country it has been manufactured from the earliest dawn of civilization. It is on record that the Romans had weaving establishments of woollen cloth at Winchester; that the mother of Alfred the Great was skilled in the spinning of wool; that Flemish woollen weavers settled in England in the time of William the Conqueror; that fresh immigrations of weavers from Flanders took place in the reigns of Henry I., Henry III., Edward I., and Edward III.; that the last-named king especially encouraged the settlement of these artizans in various parts of the country, and that in this policy he was followed by Henry VII.; and that at the Reformation many thousands of woollen weavers, flying from the persecution of the duke of Alva in the Low Countries, found refuge in England. It

is certain that the manufacture of woollen and worsted goods in Flanders, and of woollens in Italy, was carried to a high degree of perfection long before the art had made any considerable advancement in England. There are also many accounts of the exportation of English wool to those countries from very early times; and it would appear to have been of better quality than that of any other country, except Spain. But the monarchs who endeavoured to establish the woollen manufacture in England, instead of relying on our natural advantages for that branch of industry, sought to attain the end by prohibiting the exportation of the raw material. In the years 1337 and 1341, under Edward III., the export was forbidden by statute, under penalty of life and limb: and from that time forward, for nearly five centuries, the statute book was loaded with Acts, equally absurd and many of them equally severe, to prevent the "running" or illegal exportation of wool. Hundreds, if not thousands, of volumes and pamphlets were issued to show that this was one of the first points of national policy; and that the country would be ruined if we allowed other countries to obtain our wool, instead of manufacturing it ourselves. There are few things in the history of nations showing so entire an ignorance of political economy, and such outrageous blindness in statistics, as the history of the English woollen manufacture. It was not till the year 1824 that English wool was allowed to be exported; and it is amusing to recall the long struggle by which freedom was obtained for the export of our own wool, the import of foreign wool, and the import of foreign cloth—Lord Liverpool, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Huskisson having alternately to play off the prejudices of the manufacturers and the agriculturists against each other. The import of foreign wool was only taxed from 1819 to 1824, but the amount of the duty, namely, 6*d.* per lb., was most prejudicial. The government succeeded in persuading the manufacturers, or at least some of them, to consent to the free export of English wool on condition of the free import of foreign wool; and afterwards, with the aid of the manufacturers, they prevented the agricultural interest from re-imposing the duty on foreign wool. But the struggle was a desperate one; and it is humbling to remember that Leeds, Bradford, and Huddersfield were for years on the wrong side. They were happily defeated, and, still more happily, their defeat in this matter made them victors in the next great battle against protection; for there can be no doubt that the



liberation of the trade in wool was a step to the liberation of the trade in corn; and thus the great, ugly, and unsafe edifice, miscalled protection, fell story after story, and human industry in all its branches stood upon the same fair level and solid foundation of freedom.

In the working out of this important change, great honour is due to the high intelligence, manly spirit, and wonderful disinterestedness of Lord Milton, afterwards Earl Fitzwilliam, who, whilst representing the great seat of the woollen manufacture, Yorkshire, advocated the removal of protection from manufactures, and, although one of the largest landowners, contended for the removal of protection from agriculture. It is a matter of just pride for this Association and for Yorkshire to remember, that that enlightened and high-minded nobleman was the first president of the British Association.

#### IX.—*Distribution of the Woollen Manufacture.*

The woollen manufacture in its various branches is very extensively diffused. According to the last factory return, it prevailed in twenty-two counties of England, ten of Wales, twenty-four of Scotland, and six of Ireland. More than one half of the operatives employed in woollen factories are in the county of York; namely, 42,982 out of 79,081. The worsted manufacture, on the other hand, though for some centuries it had its chief seat in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, has now obtained a remarkable concentration in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Of the total factory operatives in the worsted trade of the United Kingdom, there are in Yorkshire 78,994 out of 87,744.

The chief seat of the manufacture of superfine broad cloth has for centuries been, and still is, the West of England, and especially the counties of Gloucester and Wilts. Superfine cloth is made to a considerable extent in Yorkshire, but not equal to the West of England. The manufacturers of this county have always devoted their attention to the middle and lower qualities of woollens; and as these by their cheapness command the most extensive market at home and abroad, whilst by improvements both in the fabric and the finish they come much nearer the finest cloth than formerly, Yorkshire has gained very considerably on Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. This trade illustrates the remarkable tenacity with which particular kinds and modes of manufacture cling to particular

localities, almost as if they were fixed by a Hindoo or Egyptian system of caste; and yet also the possibility of overcoming even that tenacity by the revolutionary effect of machinery, and its consequence, cheapness. We see the highest excellence of various manufactures in point of quality in their oldest seats, as of woollens in the west, of worsted goods at Norwich, and of silk in Spitalfields; but these trades have respectively attained a far greater extent and prosperity—the first at Leeds and Huddersfield, the second at Bradford and Halifax, and the third at Manchester and Macclesfield. Superior delicacy and beauty must be accorded to the men of the south; but superior energy and success belong to the rough-spun and rough-spinning men of the north.

The following table shows that the population, and doubtless also the trade, of the West Riding of Yorkshire has increased much more rapidly both in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than that of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and Norfolk:—

(E.)—POPULATION (PERSONS) OF THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, WILTSHIRE, AND NORFOLK, IN THE YEARS 1700, 1801, AND 1851.

Counties.	Population in 1700.	Population in 1801.	Population in 1851.	Increase of Population.	
				From 1700 to 1801.	From 1801 to 1851.
	Persons.	Persons.	Persons.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
West Riding of Yorkshire, . . . }	242,139	572,168	1,325,495	136	132
Gloucestershire, . .	157,348	250,723	458,805	59	83
Wiltshire, . . . .	152,372	183,820	254,221	20	38
Norfolk, . . . . .	245,842	273,479	442,714	11	62

(F.)—BETWEEN THE YEARS 1801 AND 1851 THE POPULATION OF THE FOLLOWING TOWNS INCREASED THUS:—

Towns.	Population in 1801.	Population in 1851.	Increase.
	Persons.	Persons.	Per Cent.
Leeds, . . . . .	53,161	172,270	224
Bradford, . . . . .	13,264	103,778	682
Huddersfield, . . . . .	7,268	30,880	325
Halifax, . . . . .	12,010	33,582	179
Norwich, . . . . .	36,238	68,195	88

I apprehend that the principal advantages of the West Riding over Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and Norfolk consist, first, in the greater cheapness of coal and iron; secondly, in the larger body of men skilled in the making and working of machinery; and thirdly, in the facility of access to the great ports of Liverpool and Hull. But I incline to think that the mere fact of Yorkshire

having devoted itself to the manufacture of cheap goods, has been as influential as any other cause.

### X.—Exports of Woollen Goods.

I must now speak of the general statistics of the woollen manufacture, and first of our exports to foreign countries. The earlier tables make no distinction between the woollen and worsted goods exported, and the later tables make the distinction imperfectly. Up to the year 1815 we have only the official value of the exports, which, however, probably did not vary much from the real value; from 1815 downwards we have the real or declared value. Before the year 1820, also, the tables include the exports to Ireland, though this fact is overlooked by most writers on the subject.

The experienced eye will see at a glance how, for the last ninety years, the natural progress of the woollen manufacture has been checked by the introduction of the cheaper material, cotton, and the unparalleled extension of its manufactures, of which, in 1857, we exported to the value of £29,597,316 manufactured goods and £8,691,853 yarn, making a total of £38,289,162.

(G.)—WOOLLEN AND WORSTED GOODS AND YARN EXPORTED, FROM 1718 TO 1785.  
SELECTED YEARS.

Years.	Manufactured Goods.	Woollen and Worsted Yarn.	Total Woollen and Worsted Exports
1718 to 1724 } yearly average, }	£ (Official Value). 2,962,000	£ —	£ (Official Value). 2,962,000
1740	3,056,000	—	3,056,000
1750	4,320,000	—	4,320,000
1760	5,453,000	—	5,453,000
1770	4,113,000	—	4,113,000
1780	2,589,000	—	2,589,000
1790	5,190,000	—	5,190,000
1800	6,917,000	—	6,917,000
1810	5,773,000	—	5,773,000
	(Declared Value).		(Declared Value).
1820	5,586,000	—	5,586,000
1830	4,728,000	122,430	4,851,000
1840	5,327,000	452,000	5,780,000
1850	8,588,000	1,451,000	10,040,000
1857	10,703,000	2,941,000	13,645,000

I next present a table (H), distinguishing, as well as I can, the woollen from the worsted manufactures, and showing the qualities of each description of goods exported, at intervals of ten years, from 1820 to 1857, with the declared value of each description for the year 1857.



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XI.—*Persons engaged in the Woollen and Worsted Manufactures.*

In attempting to estimate the entire annual value of the woollen manufacture, I have found difficulties on every side. All the elements for calculating the number of persons employed, and the value of the goods produced, are uncertain and defective. As to the number of persons employed, the census of 1851 makes an approach to the truth, and is the best evidence we have, but it is not altogether trustworthy. The returns of the factory inspectors show the number of operatives in the factories, but not out of them; and, as has been remarked, the number of persons employed out of the factories is proportionably much larger in the woollen than in any other of the textile manufactures. Again, the woollen factories differ so much from each other, that the most careful returns from some of them do not afford safe grounds of calculation for the rest. In some of them there are power-looms or hand-looms, but in two-thirds of the whole there is no weaving carried on. In some the cloth is finished, but in a much greater number it is not finished; whilst about one-seventh of the woollen factories in the return are finishing establishments exclusively. Again, we know the quantity and value of the wool imported, but not of that produced at home, which is doubtless more than the import. We know the amount of manufactured goods exported, but we have no guide to the amount consumed by our own large and flourishing population in these islands. The descriptions of woollen goods are so numerous and diversified, that we cannot average their measurement, their quality, their weight, or their value. It might be supposed that in this, as in other textile manufactures, we might estimate the quantity of wool used and of yarn spun from the number of spindles returned in the woollen factories, and ascertaining the average work per spindle; but unfortunately, according to Mr. Baker, one of the most laborious of the factory inspectors in the collection of statistics, the returns of the woollen spindles are not in the least trustworthy, as some of the inspectors have returned only the billey spindles, which are used in the first stage of spinning, whilst others have returned the mule spindles, used in the second stage. Once more, the woollen manufacture is much more widely diffused over the United Kingdom than any other manufacture, being found in sixty-two counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland; owing to which it is nearly impossible for any private person to gather the statistics.

Looking at all these difficulties in the way of forming a correct estimate even now, when we have a census, factory returns, and many statistical advantages, we cannot be surprised at the loose and extravagant conjectures formed on the subject before any of these helps existed, and when the manufacture of wool was the largest and widest spread department of manufacturing industry. But the extravagance of those old estimates, copied by writer after writer, is itself a difficulty in the way of establishing the sober truth. Towards the close of the last century, it was a prevailing belief that the woollen and worsted manufactures, directly and indirectly, engaged 3,000,000 hands. This strange opinion was expressed by Mr. Law (afterwards Lord Ellenborough), as counsel for the woollen interest at the bar of Parliament in the year 1800, when opposing the repeal of the prohibition on the export of English wool to Ireland. So late as the year 1841, in an able article on wool and its manufactures in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," the number of families supported by the manufacture was estimated at 226,298, comprising 1,218,424 persons. It is extremely difficult to estimate the number of families, because often the father and several of his children, and sometimes even the mother, are engaged in different processes in the same mill; and at other times part of the subsistence of the family may be obtained by an adult or child in one trade, and the remainder by other members of the family in other trades. But it is certain that, where so many children are employed, we cannot consider every worker as the head of a family, and as supporting four or five others besides himself. Mr. M'Culloch's knowledge and severe caution induced him to bring down the estimated number of persons employed in the woollen and worsted manufactures to 322,000.

The census of 1851 states the number of persons engaged in the manufactures of wool (that is, both woollen and worsted), in Great Britain, at 295,276, of whom 125,814 are men, 67,757 women, 50,879 youths, and 50,826 girls.\* This includes persons engaged in the mercantile trades in wool and woollens, as well as those strictly engaged in the manufacture.

Descending to the particulars comprised within this summary, we find the following items, which I select and arrange, not without doubt in some instances, under the two heads of the Woollen and Worsted Manufactures:—

\* Census for 1851.—Ages, Civil Condition, Occupations, &c., vol. i. p. xciv.

## (1.)—PERSONS ENGAGED IN THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE OF GREAT BRITAIN—

CENSUS 1851.

	Persons.		Persons.
Woolen cloth manufacturers, . . .	137,814	Wool brokers, agents, 52—divide with	
Wool dyers, . . . . .	1,468	the worsted, . . . . .	26
Wool printers, . . . . .	68	Woolen agents and factors, . . .	315
Flannel manufacturers, . . . . .	4,964	“ merchants, dealers, . . .	40
Flannel agents, merchants, . . . .	56	“ drapers, . . . . .	3,799
Fullers, . . . . .	1,469	“ flock merchants, dealers, . .	8
Baize, listing, serge manufacturers, .	51	“ waste dealers, . . . . .	17
Fancy goods manufacturers (?), . . .	2,016	Clothiers, . . . . .	7,308
Shawl manufacturers (?), . . . . .	5,833	Cloth merchants, salesmen—women,	761
Wool staplers, merchants, dealers,		Felt manufacturers, . . . . .	331
2066—divide with the worsted, . .	1,033	Rag gatherers, dealers (?), . . . .	3,245
		Total, . . . . .	170,622

## IN THE WORSTED MANUFACTURE.

	Persons.		Persons.
Worsted manufacturers, . . . . .	104,061	Woolen yarn manufacturers, . . . .	776
Stuff manufacturers, . . . . .	7,500	Worsted dealers, merchants, . . . .	73
Stuff merchants, . . . . .	20	Wool staplers, merchants, dealers (half),	1,033
Carpet, rug, manufacturers, . . . .	11,457	Wool brokers, agents (half), . . . .	26
		Total, . . . . .	124,946

These two aggregate numbers, of 170,000 in the woollen manufacture and 125,000 in the worsted, make up the whole number assigned by the census to the manufactures of wool, viz., 295,000. Yet, seeing that some of the classes mentioned under the woollen branch are engaged in the mercantile or retail trades, and that others are doubtful, I am disposed to think it would not be safe to take more than 150,000 as actually engaged in the woollen manufacture, whilst probably 125,000 are engaged in the worsted manufacture; making a total in both branches of 275,000.

This may also include Ireland, as less than a thousand factory workers are found in the manufactures of wool in that country. The estimate of 150,000 hands for the woollen manufacture is exactly confirmed by an independent computation, founded on the census for the county of York and the factory return of 1856. The census gives 81,221 persons as engaged in the woollen manufacture in this county: the factory return gives 42,982 workers in factories in Yorkshire, and 79,091 in factories in the



whole kingdom. If we take the same proportion to exist among the whole of the woollen workers as exists among those in factories, the 81,221 woollen workers in Yorkshire would show the number in the kingdom to be 149,454. Mr. Baker, the factory inspector, considers the number of workers out of the factories to be about the same as those within; which would give a total of 158,182.

The number of families and individuals supported by the 275,000 persons in the woollen and worsted manufactures, must be to a great degree conjectural. The number, however, must be proportionably larger in the woollen than in the worsted or any other textile manufacture, owing to the larger proportion of men employed. The following are the numbers of the workers employed in the factories of the United Kingdom, with the proportions of adult males :—

(K.)—PERSONS EMPLOYED IN FACTORIES, WITH THE NUMBER AND PROPORTIONS OF MEN.

Class of Factories.	Men Employed.	Total Workers Employed.	Per Centage of Men to all the Workmen.
	No.	No.	Per Cent.
In the cotton factories,	103,882	379,213	27
“ woollen factories,	30,672	79,091	39
“ worsted factories,	18,079	87,794	21
“ flax factories,	13,643	80,262	17
“ silk factories,	10,121	56,137	18

But if we take the workers out of the factories, as well as those in them, we shall find a still larger proportion of adult males. According to the census of 1851, the number of persons employed in the woollen manufacture in the West Riding of Yorkshire was 81,221, of whom 37,519, or 46 per cent. of the whole, were males above twenty years of age.\*

I am disposed to think, then, that we may estimate the earnings of each person employed in the woollen manufacture to support three and a half persons, including himself, and in the worsted manufacture two and a half; and at this rate the numbers supported in the respective branches would be as follows :—

\* Of the 81,221 persons 53,456 were males, and 27,765 females; of the males 37,519 were above twenty years of age, and 15,937 under; of the females 14,420 were above twenty years of age, and 13,345 under.

(L.)—INDIVIDUAL WORKERS IN THE WOOLLEN AND WORSTED MANUFACTURES, AND ESTIMATED NUMBER OF PERSONS SUPPORTED BY THEM.

Manufacture.	Individual Workers.	Persons Supported.
In the Woollen Manufacture, .	150,000 $\times$ $3\frac{1}{2}$	525,000
In the Worsted Manufacture, .	125,000 $\times$ $2\frac{1}{2}$	312,500
Totals, . . . . .	275,000	837,500

It must also be remarked that a larger proportion of persons in auxiliary occupations is connected with the manufactures of wool than with any other textile manufacture, owing to more than one-half of the raw material being raised at home, whilst the cotton and silk are wholly dependent on importation, and the linen almost wholly. According to the calculation of Professor Low, that one shepherd is required for every 600 sheep on the Cheviots, the 35,000,000 sheep supposed to be in these islands would require 58,000 shepherds. There are also, as in connection with the other manufactures, the machine-makers, card-makers, manufacturers of and dealers in dyewares, soap, and oil, persons employed in the conveyance of goods by land and water, those employed in building, and some others.

## XII.—*Wages of Operatives in the Woollen Manufacture.*

The wages earned by the operatives in the woollen manufacture are good, and such as must afford the means of comfort to their families, besides indicating a prosperous condition of the trade. I have been favoured with several tables of wages from houses of eminence in the neighbourhood of Leeds, and I have the pleasure to know that they will be received by the statist as of great value. The general return given in Table (M), p. xxiv, may be received with entire confidence.

The following table is equally deserving of confidence, being from the wage-books of an old and eminent firm. It shows the rate of wages for forty, and in some departments, for more than sixty years.

It will be seen that during the great French war, when the currency was depreciated, food dear, and all prices high, nominal wages were higher than they are now; but that since 1825, notwithstanding a very great abridgment of the hours of labour, wages have remained almost unchanged, whilst both food and clothing have been materially cheapened. It follows that the condition of the operatives must have been considerably improved.



(M.)—AVERAGE WAGES IN THE LEEDS WOOLLEN DISTRICT IN 1858.

Description of Operatives.	Sex, &c.	Wages per Week.	
		s.	d.
Wool Sorters, . . . . .	Men,	24	
Wool Scourers, Driers, &c., . . .	"	16	to 20
Slubbers, . . . . .	"	27	
" Overlooker, . . . . .	"	35	to 40
Servers, or Fillers, . . . . .	{ Girls or boys for one machine,	5	
" " . . . . .		For two machines,	9
Billey Piecers, . . . . .	Children,	4s.	half-timers 2s.
Cleaners and Willyers, . . . . .	Young men,	12	to 14
Mule Spinners, . . . . .	Men,	28	
" Piecers, . . . . .	Girls or Boys,	6	
Warpers, . . . . .	Women,	12	
Weavers, Hand-loom, . . . . .	Men,	15	
" Power-loom, . . . . .	Women,	10	to 12
Overlookers and Tuners, . . . . .	Men,	21	" 23
Knotters, . . . . .	Women,	7	6d.
Burlers, . . . . .	"	5	to 6
Millers, . . . . .	Men,	18	" 20
" Overlooker, . . . . .	"	30	" 40
Dyers, . . . . .	"	16	" 18
" Foreman, . . . . .	"	30	" 60
Dressers, . . . . .	"	20	" 22
" . . . . .	Young men,	12	" 16
" . . . . .	Boys,	4	" 9
Dressed Cloth Burlers, . . . . .	Women,	6	" 7
Drawers, . . . . .	Men,	30	" 40
Tenterers, . . . . .	"	26	" 30
Press Setters, . . . . .	"	35	" 40
Engineman, . . . . .	"	24	

## XIII.—Classes and Proportions of Operatives.

I add returns of the number of operatives employed in the different departments of two large establishments—one a manufactory of seven billeys, and the other a finishing mill of twenty-four gigs:—

(O.)—LIST OF OPERATIVES EMPLOYED IN A WOOLLEN FACTORY OF 7 BILLEYS (60 SPINDLES TO THE BILLEY).

7 Wool Sorters—Men.	Weaving Room— 57 hands.	{ 50 Power-Loom Weavers— Women. 4 Overlookers, Beamers, &c. —Men. 3 Tiers in, &c.—Women.
1 Weigher of Wool—Woman.		
6 Wool Scourers, Dyers, and Driers—Men.		33 Knotters and Burlers— Women.
Scrib- bling Room— 47 hands.	{	21 Billy Piecers—Children.
		14 Fillers—Girls or Boys.
		6 Mule Spinners—Men.
		12 " Piecers—Girls or Boys.
4 Warpars—Women.		3 Cartmen, Mechanics, &c.— Men.
	Total.....180	} or 25 to 26 persons per Billey.

"The above calculation supposes that children are used as 'piecers' for the Billey, and one filler for each machine; if, as is generally now the case, piecing machines are used, and

1 female fills 2 machines, the number of hands will be reduced to 21 to 22 per Billey: if 'condensers' are used, the proportion of hands will be nearly the same (viz, 21 to 22), but fewer men and more females or boys will be employed—4 'condensers' being required to do the work of 3 Billeys."

(P.)—LIST OF OPERATIVES EMPLOYED IN A FINISHING MILL WORKING 24 GIGS.

Giggers and Hand-raisers, . . . . .	{ 30 Men. 24 Boys.	Overlooker for Drawers, &c., . . . . .	1 Man.
Cutters, . . . . .	{ 32 Men. 32 Boys.	Handle-setters, . . . . .	{ 3 Men. 4 Boys.
Boilers, . . . . .	{ 2 Men. 1 Boy.	List-sewers, . . . . .	4 Women.
Tenterers, . . . . .	6 Men.	Brushers, . . . . .	{ 4 Men. 3 Boys.
Press-setters, . . . . .	8 Men.	Engineman and Mechanic, . . . . .	2 Men.
Burlers, . . . . .	20 Women.	Total, . . . . .	193 { or 8 per gig.
Drawers, . . . . .	17 Women.		

"From statements received from four finishing establishments in Leeds, it appears that their respective averages range from 7 to somewhat over 8 per gig."

The following is a statement of the number of work-people employed, and the weekly wages paid, at one of the largest joint-stock mills in the district, namely, Waterloo Mills, Pudsey, where there is no weaving on the premises, and where the cloth is not finished, but is sold to the Leeds merchants in balk, and finished under their directions in Leeds:—

(Q.)—LIST OF PERSONS EMPLOYED AT WATERLOO MILLS, PUDSEY.

(I.)—ON THE PREMISES.

	Average Weekly Wages each.		Average Weekly Wages each.
	s. d.		s. d.
3 Managers, . . . . .	21 0	14 Piecers for do., above 13 years, . . . . .	4 0
1 Engine tender, . . . . .	24 0	28 Children, piecers, under 13 years, . . . . .	2 0
2 Dyers and scourers of wool, . . . . .	25 0	12 Carder fillers, above 13 years, . . . . .	5 6
1 Wool dyer, . . . . .	21 0	15 Spinners (with 4920 mule spin- dles), . . . . .	25 0
3 Carriers, . . . . .	15 0	15 Piecers for do., above 13 years, . . . . .	6 0
2 Willyers—one at 14s., one at . . . . .	17 0	1 Drier of scoured cloth, . . . . .	14 0
2 Cleaners or fettlers—one at 13s., one at . . . . .	14 0	2 Brushers of do.—women, . . . . .	7 0
3 Young persons teasing, plucking, and moiting wool, above 13 years, } 11 Scribbler fillers—do., . . . . .	7 0	6 Fullers, . . . . .	22 0
12 Slubbers (with 720 billey spindles),	24 0	2 Tenterers, . . . . .	21 0
		1 Watchman, . . . . .	14 0
			136

(II.)—NOT ON THE PREMISES.

120 Weavers, hand loom—Men, . . . . .	s. d.	14 0
7 Warpers, " Men, . . . . .		14 0
40 Burlers, " Women, . . . . .		6 0
167		
Employed on the premises, . . . . .		136
not on the premises, . . . . .		167
Total, . . . . .		303

"The wool sorting done by the proprietors themselves.

"The above hands produce about 80 pieces, or 160 ends of cloth, averaging 23 yards per end, or 3680 yards of cloth, weekly. The steam-power employed is about 62 horse."

In this mill, where the cloth is neither woven nor finished, the average earnings of men, women, and children are 11s. 7½*d.* per week.

In a large manufactory in Leeds, where both manufacturing and finishing are carried on, the following are the wages paid :—

(R.)—WAGES IN A LEEDS WOOLLEN FACTORY, 1858.

	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
200 Men,	averaging	22	3	weekly	= 222 10 0
40 Boys,	"	6	8	"	= 13 6 8
330 Women and girls,	"	8	0	"	= 132 0 0
<hr/>					
570 Persons.			367	16	8

Average of the whole, 12s. 11*d.* weekly.

Here the overlookers are excluded on the one side, and the half-time children on the other, but the latter are only twenty-one in number.

In the flourishing shoddy district, of which Batley is the centre, and where there is finishing as well as manufacturing, the average weekly wage of 5408 operatives is 14s. 1*d.*

In the dressing establishments of Leeds, according to a return with which I have been favoured by Mr. Baker, inspector of factories, 6175 operatives receive wages averaging 15s. 10*d.* per week, and those engaged in the manufacture of cloth receive, as at Pudsey, 11s. 7*d.*

On the ground of these several facts I feel justified in estimating the wages of operatives in the woollen manufacture at not less than 12s. 6*d.* per week on the average for men, women, and children; and this for 150,000 workers will give an aggregate of £4,875,000 per annum.

#### XIV.—*The Leeds Clothing District.*

Before proceeding to offer an estimate of the total value of the woollen manufacture, I must briefly explain some circumstances relative to the Leeds clothing district, a knowledge of which is necessary to receive that estimate.

Leeds is the ancient seat of the woollen manufacture. Its venerable antiquary and historian, Ralph Thoresby, whose "Duca-tus Leodiensis" was published in 1714, declares the town to be "deservedly celebrated both at home and in the most distant trading parts of Europe for the woollen manufacture." He speaks of "the famous cloth market as the life, not of the town alone,

but of these parts of England;" and he quotes a record which mentions fulling mills on the river Aire in the forty-sixth of Edward III., the year 1373.

The borough, which of itself had at the last census (1851) a population of 172,270, is the market for a considerable number of clothing villages, the population of which is 104,854—making the aggregate population 277,124, which in the course of the present century has increased 192 per cent.\* The district extends on both the banks of the river Aire for about ten miles, touches the towns of Bradford and Otley, and comprises most of the towns and villages between the Aire and the Calder, touching Wakefield, eight miles to the south, and including Dewsbury, Heckmondwike, and Mirfield, nine or ten miles to the south-west, where it borders on the other great woollen district of the West Riding, of which Huddersfield is the centre and market.

The two great woollen districts of the West Riding, Leeds and Huddersfield, are of nearly equal extent: the former is distinguished by the manufacture of broad cloths, and the latter of narrow cloths.

The Leeds clothing district was under the inspectorship of Mr. Redgrave, and was divided between two sub-inspectors—Mr. Baker and Mr. Bates. I am indebted to Mr. Baker and Mr. Redgrave for detailed returns of these two divisions, showing (for the year 1856) the number of firms, the horse-power employed, the number of spindles, the power-looms, the gigs, and the operatives of different ages and sexes. The two returns combined give 340 firms, 7810 horse-power, 423,482 spindles, 2344 power-looms, 1005 gigs, and 23,328 factory operatives. This district comprehends something more than one-half of the whole woollen manufacture of Yorkshire; as that of Yorkshire comprehends something more than one-half of the whole woollen manufacture of the United Kingdom. Therefore the Leeds clothing district comprises more than a quarter of the population of the kingdom engaged in this branch of industry, and in this district about 40,000 persons are thus employed.

#### XV.—*Leeds Cloth Halls and Clothing Villages.*

The manufacturers of the outlying district bring the cloth made in their looms, twice in the week, to be sold to the merchants in the two great cloth halls of this town. It is nearly all in the

\* In 1801 the population of the Leeds clothing district was 94,880.



unfinished state, and is dressed by the Leeds cloth-dressers under the direction of the merchants. The market is held in the forenoon of Tuesday and Saturday, for a single hour on each day—the clothiers standing behind their stands, and the merchants walking between them, examining the goods and making their purchases quickly and silently. After the market the goods are taken to the warehouses of the buyers, measured, and examined more carefully; and the sellers receive payment, purchase their wool, oil, and drysalteries, and return home.

Some years ago it was supposed that the great factories, by the power of capital, the power of machinery, and the saving of time, must entirely destroy the old system of domestic and village manufacture. But they have not materially affected that system. The chief reason has already been explained, in that peculiarity of the woollen fabric which deprives the power-loom of any considerable advantage over the hand-loom. Yet the domestic manufacture must have succumbed, had not the clothiers called machinery to their aid for those processes in which it has an indisputable superiority over hand-labour, that is, in the preparing and spinning. They combined to establish joint-stock mills, where each shareholder takes his own wool, and has it cleaned, dyed, carded, and spun; then, taking the warp or weft to his own house or workshop, he has it woven by the hand-loom, often by members of his own family. The cloth is afterwards fulled at the mill, washed, and tented; and then, in what is called the balk state, it is conveyed to Leeds and sold, and it is finished by the dressers under the orders of the merchant. Many of these joint-stock mills are well managed, and pay fair dividends to the shareholders. They work by commission for others, as well as for the shareholders. The clothiers, by their industry and frugality, find themselves able to compete with the factory owners, whose great works and complicated machinery entail heavy expenses.

#### XVI.—*The Shoddy Trade.*

I must now explain a new branch of the trade, which has risen up with great rapidity and attained extraordinary dimensions—to which, indeed, we are compelled to ascribe much of the present prosperity and extension of the Yorkshire trade. Its origin dates as far back as 1813, but it was long regarded with disapprobation as a dishonest adulteration. It consists in mixing with wool, in

the course of manufacture, a very inferior species of wool, made from the tearing up of old woollen and worsted rags, and to which the names have been given of *shoddy* and *mungo*. Shoddy is the produce of soft materials, such as stockings, flannels, &c.; and mungo, of shreds or rags of woollen cloth: the latter is of very superior quality to the former, being generally fine wool, which, after being once manufactured and worn, is torn up into its original fibres (by cylindrical machines armed with teeth), only shorter and feebler, and not susceptible of being dyed a bright colour. Both shoddy and mungo give substance and warmth, and the latter will receive a fine finish; but from the extreme shortness of their fibre the cloth made from them is weak and tender. If cloth made of these kinds of rag-wool is expected to have the tenacity of goods made from new wool, it will utterly disappoint: but there are immense quantities of goods where substance and warmth are the chief requisites, and where strength is of no importance. Among them are paddings, linings, the cloth used for rough and loose great coats, office coats, and even ladies' capes and mantles. Broad cloth may be made with a large admixture of these cheap and inferior materials, to look almost as well as that made of pure wool; but the goods for which they are more properly adapted are what are called pilots, witneys, flushings, friezes, petershams, duffels, honleys, druggets, as well as blankets and carpets.

The price of shoddy varies from  $\frac{3}{4}d.$  per lb. to  $5d.$ , and the white shoddy from  $2d.$  to  $10d.$  per lb. The average price of mungo is about  $5d.$  per lb. The proportions of these materials used in the Leeds district are about one-third mungo and two-thirds shoddy. Some goods, such as low-coloured blankets and pea-jackets, are made with only one part of pure wool to six parts of shoddy; but, in the whole district, perhaps one-third of wool may be used with two-thirds of shoddy or mungo.

It is one of the objects of improvements in the useful arts to give value to that which possessed no value, to utilize refuse, to economize materials, and, as it were, to prolong their existence under different forms to the latest date. The waste swept up from the floor of the cotton mill is made into beautiful paper. The oil washed out of woollen cloth is now extracted from the muddy liquid which formerly ran to waste, and is saved for fresh oleaginous uses. Scraps, shavings, dust, the contents of sewers, are all made valuable. Why, then, should not the wool of the

sheep undergo a second manufacture? If the cloth made of shoddy and mungo is sold for what it really is, no one is deceived. It may, indeed, be fraudulently sold for what it is not, and the man who does so ought to be branded as a cheat. But if the use of shoddy and mungo will answer nearly as well as wool for a vast variety of purposes, and will enable the consumer to obtain two or three yards of cloth where he formerly obtained only one, it should be received as a lawful and valuable improvement in manufacture.

The place where shoddy was first used in this manner was Batley, by Mr. Benjamin Law, and the first machines for tearing up the rags were set up by Messrs. Joseph Jubb and J. & P. Fox. The manufacture has forced its way, and made Batley, Dewsbury, and the neighbourhood, the most prosperous parts of the woollen districts. There are now in Batley alone fifty rag-machines in thirty-five mills, producing no less than 12,000,000 lbs. of rag-wool per annum (after deducting for loss of weight in the manufacture); and I am assured, on good authority, that three times this quantity is made in the district. The rags are gathered from all parts of the kingdom, as well as imported regularly from the Continent, America, and Australia. There is also now a considerable manufacture of the shoddy, or rag-wool, in Germany, and it is believed that no less than nine or ten million pounds weight was imported last year.

How profitable this trade is to the workmen may be inferred from evidence which has been obtained, to the effect that 5408 operatives in Batley received £3812 of weekly wages, or an average of 14s. 1d. each.

Another method of cheapening cloth has also been extensively introduced in the woollen manufacture, though by no means to the same extent, or with the same success as in the worsted, namely, the use of cotton warps. This also was regarded as a great deterioration of the fabric, and to some extent it is so. The cloth is not so warm as when made all of wool, and it has a certain harshness of feel, but it is not, like shoddy cloth, tender; on the contrary, it is stronger than if made entirely of woollen yarn. Many kinds of goods, of great beauty, are thus made, among which may be mentioned the tweeds used for trowsing, and gray cloths used for ladies' mantles and other purposes. Cloths with cotton warps are generally called Union cloths.

XVII.—*Felted Cloth.*

There is another branch of the woollen manufacture in Leeds, namely, that of felted cloth, which has arisen within the last few years, and promises considerable extension. It depends wholly on the felting property of wool, and the cloth is made by means of pressure and warm moisture, with milling, and dispenses with the spinning and weaving processes. It is adapted for paddings, carpets, druggets, horse-cloths, table-covers, and the coverings of boilers, ships' bottoms, &c. Some of the fabrics thus made are handsomely printed in patterns by block-printing. But my limits do not allow me to enlarge on this branch.

XVIII.—*Estimated Annual Value of the Woollen Manufacture.*

In drawing to a conclusion, I must endeavour to estimate the annual value of the woollen manufactures of the kingdom. Uncertain as are several of the important elements in the calculations, I feel considerable confidence, arising out of the abundance of the materials before me, the care with which I have tested them, and the coincidence of several methods of calculation in bringing about nearly the same result. The constituent parts of the value of the woollen goods manufactured in the United Kingdom are—1st, the value of the raw material; 2nd, the value of other articles essential to the manufacture; 3rd, the wages paid to the work-people; and 4th, the sum left to the capitalist for rent, repair, wear and tear of machinery, interest of capital, and profit. My estimate is as follows:—

(S.)—ESTIMATED ANNUAL VALUE OF THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1858.

(1.) RAW MATERIAL—	Value.
Lbs.	£
75,903,666 Foreign and Colonial Wool, . . . . .	4,717,492
80,000,000 British Wool, at 1s. 3d. per lb., . . . . .	5,080,000
Shoddy and Mungo—	
45,000,000 { 30,000,000 lbs. Shoddy, at 2½d. per lb., . . . . .	609,370
{ 15,000,000 lbs. Mungo, at 4¼d. per lb., . . . . .	
Cotton and Cotton Warps, 1-50th of the Wool, . . . . .	
200,903,666	10,533,399
(2.) DYE WARES, OIL, AND SOAP, . . . . .	1,500,000
(3.) WAGES—150,000 Work-people, at 12s. 6d. per week, . . . . .	4,875,000
(4.) RENT, Wear and Tear of Machinery, Repairs, Coal, Interest on } Capital, and Profit—20 per cent. on the above, . . . . . }	3,381,680
TOTAL, . . . . .	£20,290,079

The following explanations may be desirable. The quantity of foreign and colonial wool is that which has been shown to have been left for home consumption, after 15,000,000 lbs. have been deducted for the worsted manufacture—the quantity which Mr. Forbes, in his lecture on the worsted manufacture before the Society of Arts, and Mr. James, in his laborious and valuable “History of the Worsted Manufacture,” assume to be taken. The British wool is one-half of the whole quantity left for consumption, after deducting that exported. The shoddy is below an estimate furnished to me by one of the most experienced and largest dealers in the article, and supported by the judgment of two of the principal manufacturers of Batley. The whole quantity of the raw material, 200,000,000 lbs., is far beyond what I was prepared to expect, or could easily believe; and it is much more than those who are only acquainted with the finer manufacture of the valley of the Aire may at first sight credit. But I was gradually, and by a variety of means, compelled to adopt these figures—first, by finding the enormous amount of low and cheap woollens turned out by the mills of Batley, Dewsbury, and the neighbourhood; secondly, by a computation of the weight and quantity of the goods exported, and taking the proportion which some of our most experienced merchants allege to exist between the exports and the home consumption, and which is three-fourths for home consumption, and one-fourth for export; thirdly, by the separate estimate I have formed of the respective amounts of British wool, foreign and colonial wool, and shoddy; fourthly, by an estimate which the president of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce has formed, and carefully revised, of the value of woollen goods sold in the West Riding; fifthly, by the well-known and often-tested proportion which exists between the cost of the wool and the price of the cloth—the first being nearly fifty per cent. of the second; sixthly, by the proportion which many returns show to exist between the workmen’s wages and the value of the goods produced, being about one-fourth on the average.

Now we know the value of wool imported and of woollens exported, on official authority. We know the number of work-people employed, on the authority of the census, supported by the returns of the factory inspectors. We know, from numerous trustworthy returns, the average wages of the work-people. We know something, though imperfectly, of the quantity of machinery and

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horse-power employed, and of the work which that machinery will turn out. And our large and experienced merchants can judge pretty accurately of the value of goods sold yearly in this district I have had the best assistance which official persons, and our principal manufacturers and merchants, could afford me, and have had the means of checking each by the other. In almost every case I have made an abatement from the information and opinions given me, in order that I might not exaggerate. I should not be justified in now going further into detail; but I offer the facts collected and the conclusions drawn to the multitude of shrewd practical men by whom I am surrounded, as well as to the experienced statisticians of England.

## CHAPTER II.

## SUPPLEMENTARY ACCOUNT OF THE WOOLLEN TRADE TO 1870.

ALTHOUGH upwards of twelve years have passed since the foregoing account of the woollen trade was written, there is no very important change in the mode in which the woollen manufacture is conducted. There are no machines used now which differ in principle from those used at that period, nor is there any material change in the class of goods produced. It is true that the trade has in many respects undergone great changes, but the change is really a development rather than a fundamental change. These changes, whether referring to the material used, the machinery employed upon it, the class of goods produced from it, and the markets where it is sold, will be noticed under their proper heads.

Although, during the past four years, the woollen trade of the country has not been so prosperous as in the previous eight years, yet on a survey of the period as a whole, it has made very great progress, and may be said to have been as prosperous as any of the great staples of the country; whilst great improvements have been made in nearly all the processes of manufacture, and also in the taste shown in that branch of the trade which consists of figured, or, as they are termed, fancy goods; and new markets have, through treaties with other countries, been opened to a trade which has proved beneficial to both parties.

We will first treat of the material used in pure woollens:—

English wool is but little used for clothing purposes in comparison with the foreign wools. In fact, the principal object of the farmer is to produce a wool longer in the staple than would be desirable to use for woollen cloth. The production of long wool of the best and longest staple is almost confined to this country; and although many attempts have been made by the introduction of English sheep in foreign countries, and also into our own colonies, to produce a wool suitable for common combing purposes, they have not met with much success, and it is found the quality of the wool, as applicable for worsted fabrics, rapidly degenerates. But the worsted trade creates an ample demand for this kind of wool; in



fact, notwithstanding the use of cotton warps for stuff goods, the supply has more than once been found inadequate to meet the requirements of the trade, and some five years ago the prices of combing wools reached a point higher than had been the case for near fifty years. Until lately the woollen manufacture only made use of the shorter flocks of the fleece, technically called shorts, and also of the downy part taken out of long wool in the process of combing. Part of such wool was used for cloths, but the great bulk was for blankets, flannels, baizes, &c. But since the introduction of fancy cloths a large trade has sprung up in cloths of a coarse texture, generally of mixed colours, which go by the name of tweeds, as having been principally produced in the south of Scotland, and in the valley of the river Tweed and its tributaries. The production is not, however, confined to that district, but is now found in various parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. This trade has greatly increased; and although imported wools are largely used, yet they have competed with the worsted trade for wools which would otherwise have been combed.

No statistics are forthcoming as to the weight of wool produced in this country; but for the past three years returns of the number of sheep in the country have been furnished, and therefore more reliable estimates can be now made than formerly. The quantity will not materially differ from that which was contained in the former account, viz., 150,000,000 lbs.

The woollen trade of this country is principally dependent on foreign wool. Formerly this came from Spain, Germany, and Russia. At the date of the preceding account, the imports of Spanish wool had become very limited, and continue to be so; nor is there any probability that this country will ever again draw any great proportion of the raw material from Spain. The use of German wool continued for some time after that of Spanish was nearly disused; but it, in its turn, has had to give way to the wool produced by our colonial dependencies. There is, however, still a considerable quantity of German wool used, especially for the very finest descriptions of cloth. But the quantity of fine wool imported varies much according to circumstances. When things are in their normal state on the Continent, it is small; but if anything occurs to disturb the markets and render German wool relatively cheap, our manufacturers and capitalists avail themselves of the opportunity of purchasing them to a greater extent. But with these exceptions the

use of German wool remains limited, nor is there any probability that it will increase. A considerable quantity is also imported from Russia, and some of it of very good quality; the bulk, however, and much of it very inferior, is used for special purposes, and is not generally bought by manufacturers. As in the case of Germany, the quantity varies from year to year; but in taking an average of several years, it is nearly stationary, and is likely to continue so.

South America, especially the valley of the Plate, has always sent a considerable quantity of wool, and during the past few years it has considerably increased, and is also improving in quality. Large quantities are used for felting purposes; but it is also valuable for some clothing purposes. From the East Indies, also, a considerable quantity is imported. It is of coarse quality, and is used for druggets, felted carpets, &c.

But the great reliance of the English woollen manufacture for a supply of material, is upon the colonies, especially the Cape of Good Hope, Australia, and New Zealand.

It is of vital importance to a trade, and absolutely necessary to its increase, that it should have a full supply of raw material; and fortunately the woollen manufacture possesses in our colonies a power of production which seems to have no limit. The statistical tables will show the annual amount imported from them, and will prove that it increases every year. The exact amounts of the Custom House for 1870 are not yet available, but the imports of that year from our Australian colonies reached the enormous amount of 550,000 bales, and from the Cape of Good Hope an additional quantity of 124,473 bales was received. It will be seen that a large quantity of this was exported to the Continent, but the remainder furnished an ample and cheap supply for our own use. The year 1870, owing to the war on the Continent, was an exceptional year; but in the year 1869 the imports of wool were 255,000,000 lbs., of which nearly 200,000,000 came from Australia and the Cape. The computed value of the whole was upwards of £14,000,000 sterling. About 116,000,000 lbs. was exported, leaving about 140,000,000 lbs. for home consumption, an increase of about sixty per cent. over 1857.

The use of shoddy has greatly extended. This material cannot be produced at will, like wool, cotton, or flax. It is the refuse of wool collected from mill waste, or made from rags, and therefore its quantity depends on the quantity of wool used, and cannot be

increased independently of the wool. There has been, however, a great increase in the quantity used, and the increase has been mainly obtained by a more thorough ransacking of every country where woollen rags are to be found. Besides being a utilization of materials which were before almost worthless, and so far a good, its use in moderation is not objectionable; for many descriptions of cloth a small portion of it is useful, adding greatly to the beauty and handle of the goods, without injuring its durability in any great degree.

Since 1857 the use of cotton warps has been greatly extended. The high price of cotton consequent on the civil war in the United States was, of course, prejudicial to the trade, but did not interfere with its use so much as might at first be expected. This arises from the fact that the value of the cotton used was much less than that of the wool; and as there was no corresponding rise in price of the latter, or in wages, a great advance in the price of cotton will only imply a smaller proportionate percentage on the whole.

Of the use of cotton, and also of silk, some account will be given when treating on the classes of goods made during the past few years.

*Machinery.*—We are not aware of any important invention in woollen machinery during the past thirteen years; but there have been very great improvements on the machinery then in use. It is better made; iron has been substituted for wood in the frames and rollers, giving more steadiness; it works at greater speed, and consequently turns out more work. Many additions which save labour have been made, and the machinery of a well-appointed mill is very different from what it was fourteen years ago. The old billey, which necessitated a breakage of the sliver to be again pieced, is done away with, and the thread comes in one continuous piece from the carder to the other machines, and the slubbing is produced in an unbroken thread ready for the spinner. The thread is therefore much more even, and a comparison of the thread with that of former days shows an immense improvement. It is not unusual to see woollen thread almost as even as doubled cotton.

Self-acting mules have become common; and as existing mules require replacing, self-acting mules will soon become universal.

The hand-loom has long been giving way to the power-loom, and the process is now well nigh complete. Even very small manufacturers now rent a room, or part of a room, in a mill, and sometimes

rent the machinery also ; and it is not difficult to see that the old domestic manufacture which characterized the woollen more than most other trades, is not far from its end. There is nothing really new in looms, but they are constantly being made better, and to go faster.

Formerly the country was crowded with out-door tenters, on which to dry cloth. These are seen no longer, and machines which stretch and dry the pieces in a very short time are now common, and have proved very effective.

For the first thirty years of this century, the woollen manufacturer was confined almost altogether to plain cloths and cassimeres generally in self colours, with a few grey mixtures. About 1830 what are called fancy trowserings came into fashion. At first they were of very sober colouring, and merely a bold twill for pattern. In a very few years, however, the variety of design and colouring became much greater and more *prononcée*; but these fancy goods were confined to trowserings, and in Yorkshire the trade was confined to the Huddersfield district. Soon figured woollens began to be used for morning coats as well as for trowsers, and then they were applied to ladies' mantles. The use of these fancy goods for coats gave a heavy blow to the plain cloth trade, in which the west of England and Leeds manufacturers were principally engaged. The plain cloth trade now forms a much less important proportion of the trade than was the case fifteen years ago, and fancy goods are coming more and more into use. During the past few years there has been some revival of the plain cloth trade ; but it has only been slight, and is principally owing to the exceptionally low price of wool during the past two years. In fancy woollens there has been very great improvement during the last fourteen years, especially in the kinds used for ladies' mantles. Formerly this trade was merely a variety of figures, but designs are now commonly made which would then have been deemed impossible, at all events without a very heavy cost. Numerous descriptions of pile have been made, and many kinds of furs are imitated in wool with wonderful success. The use of cotton warp has greatly extended, especially for mantles. The peculiar designs now made, especially when the wool is well thrown up to the surface, enables manufacturers to use a much lower quality of wool, and yet give a softer handle than can be got in plain finished cloth. This and the greater cheapness of cotton warps cause the prices for really handsome goods to be

surprisingly low, and has thus brought their use within the means of the poorest. For light summer goods worsted warps are now used, and a considerable quantity of goods of this class are now made. Silk is also used in conjunction with woollen warps, and by putting one or two ounces in the piece, very neat effects are produced.

Plain cloths are now made with cotton warps. They are not likely to supersede the entire woollen cloth for gentlemen's garments; but for some purposes they are equally eligible, and can be afforded at a much lower price.

The use of shoddy has greatly extended. Originally it was used for heavy goods and trowserings, but it is now used for nearly all kinds of woollen fabrics; and though quite unobjectionable, if used judiciously, yet it is to be feared that the character and reputation of our manufacturers is not much increased by it.

There has been a great change in the centres, so to speak, where the merchenting of woollen goods is conducted, especially in Yorkshire. Forty years ago, besides selling the products of their own district, the Leeds merchants bought and sold almost the entire products of the Dewsbury and Batley manufacturers, and above half that of the Huddersfield and Saddleworth districts. There are now many merchants in Huddersfield, and it is probable that they buy from Leeds manufacturers as much as the Leeds merchants buy from those of Huddersfield. A considerable portion of the products of Dewsbury and Batley still go through the hands of Leeds merchants, but a much larger proportion is merchanted by the manufacturers themselves.

There have also been great changes in the foreign markets to which woollens are now exported, part of them, it is to be hoped, from temporary causes, and part, it is equally to be hoped, from causes which will be permanent. Under the first class come the United States. The tariff of the United States has for forty years past been a great bar to the extension of trade between the two countries; but since the civil war it has been still more stringent, and has not only prevented the extension of the trade, but has materially lessened it. Our own colonies also have placed heavy duties on our productions; partly, it is alleged, for revenue, but also, it is to be feared, with a view to protecting and stimulating their own manufactures. In the United States it has been carried to such an extreme by protecting the trades all round,

that they are finding that what they gain in higher prices they lose by having to pay higher prices, not only for their own consumption, but also the materials used in their trades. Some little relaxation has been made; and there are signs that still further changes will soon be made, both there and in our own colonies.

About ten years ago the Anglo-French treaty was negotiated, and afterwards treaties were made with the German states constituting the Zollverein, with Belgium, Italy, and Austria. This has led to a considerable trade with these countries, and has been a great boon to the Yorkshire and Scotch woollen manufacturers. Large quantities of foreign woollens are also consumed in this country. This is not on account of lower prices than are demanded by the home manufacturers, at least in most cases; but is on account of the pattern. And under any circumstance this must continue, as there will always be designs invented in one place different to those of another, and for which people who can afford it will pay. At the same time, it cannot be denied that, on the whole, the products of foreign looms are neater and in better taste than the bulk of our own. The distance between the two is, however, by no means so great as it was, and is lessening every year. In speaking of the taste displayed, one point is often forgot: a manufacturer must make goods to suit the taste of the purchaser, and if that is not good, his design must not be good either, or he will lose his trade. In Yorkshire a large portion of the trade is for the million, who must be supplied; and it cannot be expected that their taste will be so refined as that of the classes better educated. This ought always to be considered before blame is cast upon the manufacturers, who would very soon produce goods in better taste, if the demand for them were more general. In low goods, however, colours cannot be produced equal to those in finer goods, and this of itself will always prevent their looking so well.

There has been a considerable advance on wages, so far as the Leeds district is concerned. The work-people have been well employed during almost the whole of the last fourteen years. Certainly the trade has not been so lively since the financial crisis of 1866; but the woollen trade in Leeds has never been really bad, and with very few exceptions, no good workman has been unable to find work for himself and family. The wages are not so high as in some other trades where more skill is required, but

they have been as good as ever they were; and in the whole history of the trade there never has been so long a time of equal comfort, if not of absolute prosperity.

There is no exact division of particular branches of the trade in the several woollen districts, but the following is perhaps as nearly correct as can be :—

In the West of England, the largest quantity of superfine plain broad cloths are made; also fine fancy trowserings and fine coatings. In the Leeds district, a considerable quantity of first class plain broad cloths are made; also plain cloths with cotton warps, now a large business, and nearly confined to the Leeds district; also some fine fancy coatings; immense quantities of lower fancy coatings, both all wool and with cotton warps; fancy cloths for ladies wear, a species of light cloth called Spanish stripes, because they have striped lists. These are dyed scarlet, yellow, light blue and other showy colours, and are largely exported to China and Japan. Army cloths and carriage cloths are also largely manufactured. In the Dewsbury and Batley districts very heavy goods for great coats and mantles are principally made; as pilots, beavers, presidents, &c., also army cloths. In the Huddersfield district are made some fine cloths, and some fancy coatings; but the principal branch is in fancy trowserings of all classes and qualities. Old-fashioned strong and heavy goods, as cassimeres, are still made, and also heavy cloths for coachmen's great-coats and liveries. In Heckmondwike and Earlsheaton large quantities of blankets are made. Saddleworth once had a very large number of small manufacturers, who made fine cloths; there are some left, but practically Saddleworth is now out of the woollen district. All-wool tweeds, which are unfinished, coarse-looking, and resembling in many respects the fabrics which would be made by farmers, when every well-to-do family spun its own clothing, are made principally in the south of Scotland, Dumfriesshire, Bannockburn, near Stirling, and in Aberdeen. Similar goods are also made in several parts of England, also in Ireland, and some in Wales. Flannels are principally made in the neighbourhood of Rochdale, and in many parts of North Wales, especially in Montgomeryshire.

Wages are very variable. In districts where the men are well employed in other trades, the children and women work for lower wages, and mills are often built in such places on that account, though disadvantageous in other respects; as price of coal, distance



from market, &c., &c. These, on the whole, may be said as a rule to be a fair set-off against the low wages; but, on the other hand, if the mills were all in the most suitable places in all other respects than wages, a sufficient number of hands could not be had. On the whole, wages have advanced in the Leeds district about ten to fifteen per cent. since 1856.

## WOOLLEN FACTORIES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1870.

No. of Factories.	No. of Spindles.	No. of Looms.	Moving Power; Horses.	Persons Employed.
1939.	2,690,000.	48,140.	52,302.	125,130.

AVERAGE EARNINGS OF OPERATIVES ENGAGED IN THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE—  
SPINNING, WEAVING, &C.

CLASS OF OPERATIVE.	Rochdale.		Dewsbury.	Leeds.	Manchester.	Neighbourhood of Dewsbury.		Neighbourhood of Huddersfield.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Layers on for scribblers, women, . . . . .	—	12 0	12 0	9 0	—	10 0 to 12 0	—	—	7 6
Card setters or cleaners, men, . . . . .	18 0 to 20 0	20 0	17 0	—	17 0	—	19 0	—	—
Sliver madders, girls, . . . . .	—	—	9 0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Condenser minders, girls, . . . . .	—	10 0	7 0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Card feeders, women, . . . . .	10 0 to 12 0	—	—	—	13 0	—	—	—	—
Woollyers, men, . . . . .	—	15 0	16 0	20 0	17 0	10 0 to 16 0	—	—	18 0
Woollyers foremen, men, . . . . .	—	20 0	21 0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Self-acting mule minders, men, . . . . .	18 0 to 23 0	—	15 0	—	12 0	—	—	—	—
Self-acting mule piecers, boys, . . . . .	—	7 0	7 0	6 0	5 0	—	—	—	—
Self-acting mule-piecers, boys and girls, half-timers, . . . . .	2 6 to 3 6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rag grinders, men, . . . . .	—	—	20 0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Enginemmen and firers up, or stokers, . . . . .	19 0 to 21 0	—	20 0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Warpers, . . . . .	15 0 to 18 0	—	15 0	—	14 0	12 0 to 18 0	—	—	—
Power loom tuners, men, . . . . .	—	24 0	35 0	—	—	24 0 to 50 0	—	—	24 0
Power loom weavers, women, . . . . .	—	14 0	14 0	12 0	14 0	10 0 to 16 0	—	—	11 0 to 16 0
Wool sorters, men, . . . . .	—	26 0	25 0	25 0	—	18 0 to 23 0	—	—	22 0 to 26 0
Fulling millers, men, . . . . .	—	23 6	21 0	—	22 0	25 0 to 35 0	—	—	20 0 to 21 0
Wool and piece dyers, men, . . . . .	—	—	22 0	—	—	—	—	—	18 0
Cloth dressers, viz., raisers, cutters, pressers, tenterers, drawers, Burlers, women, . . . . .	—	9 0	10 0	22 0	21 0	—	—	—	20 0
Riggers and stumppers, men, . . . . .	—	—	21 0	—	—	9 0 to 12 0	—	—	8 0 to 9 0
Menders and stumppers, women, . . . . .	—	—	13 0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Oil extractors, men, . . . . .	—	—	24 0	—	—	—	—	—	18 0
Mecbaolics and joiners, men, . . . . .	—	27 0	30 0	—	—	18 0 to 30 0	—	—	27 0
Rag pickers, women, . . . . .	—	—	8 0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hand spinners, men, . . . . .	—	22 0	28 0	—	—	25 0 to 30 0	—	—	24 0 to 30 0
Haad spinners, young persons, . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6 0
Slubbers, . . . . .	22 0 to 23 0	—	26 0	—	—	—	—	—	27 0

## CLOTH DRESSING.

CLASS OF OPERATIVE.	Leeds.						
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	
Giggers, . . . . .	—	—	—	—	23	0	Paid by the piece.
Giggers, . . . . .	—	—	—	—	18	0	
Machinists, . . . . .	—	—	—	—	23	0	
Machinists, Perpetual, . . . . .	10	0	14	0	23	0	
Cloth pressers, . . . . .	—	—	—	—	35	0	
Cloth drawers, . . . . .	—	—	—	—	35	0	
Cloth tenterers, . . . . .	—	—	—	—	28	0	
Handle setters, . . . . .	—	—	—	—	30	0	
Handraisers, . . . . .	—	16	0	22	0	0	
Foremen, . . . . .	—	33	0	35	0	0	

## CARPET MAKING.

CLASS OF OPERATIVE.	Glasgow.	Kilmarnock.	Durham.	Neighbourhood of Leeds.		
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
Assistant dyers, men, . . . . .	18	6	—	16	0 to 30	0
Assistant dyers, boys, . . . . .	6	4	—	6	0 to 14	0
Hand-loom weavers and beamers, men, . . . . .	20	6	20	0	22s.	18
Hand-loom weavers and beamers, boys, . . . . .	8	0	—	—	14s.	18
Mechanics, . . . . .	26	0	—	26	0 to 32	0
Pattern drawers, men, . . . . .	25	0	—	—	—	—
Pattern drawers, boys, . . . . .	10	0	—	—	—	—
Warehouse workers, tenters, and sewers, men, . . . . .	22	0	—	—	—	—
Warehouse workers, tenters, and sewers, boys, . . . . .	6	0	—	—	—	—
Warehouse workers, tenters, and sewers, women, . . . . .	9	9	—	—	—	—
Warehouse workers, tenters, and sewers, girls, . . . . .	7	0	—	—	—	—
Croppers, cutters, and cleaners, men, . . . . .	19	0	—	—	—	—
Croppers, cutters, and cleaners, boys, . . . . .	7	0	—	—	—	—
Croppers, cutters, and cleaners, women, . . . . .	9	0	—	—	—	—
Croppers, cutters, and cleaners, girls, . . . . .	4	6	—	—	—	—
Winders and reelers, women, . . . . .	9	0	—	6	4 to 7	10
Winders and reelers, girls, . . . . .	5	0	5	0	—	—
Power-loom weavers, Brussels carpets, men, . . . . .	—	23	0	26s.	—	—
Power-loom weavers, Brussels carpets, apprentices, . . . . .	—	—	—	18s.	—	—
Carding and spinning, men, . . . . .	—	—	—	17	6 to 32	0
Carding and spinning, lads, . . . . .	—	—	—	4	0 to 10	0
Carding and spinning, females and children, . . . . .	—	—	—	3	6 to 10	0
Carders, females, . . . . .	—	6	6	—	—	—
Spinners, females, . . . . .	—	5	0	—	—	—

## FOREIGN AND COLONIAL WOOL IMPORTED AND EXPORTED IN LBS.

Years.	Imports. Lbs.	Exports. Lbs.
1858	126,738,723	26,701,542
1859	133,284,634	29,106,750
1860	148,396,577	30,761,867
1861	147,172,841	54,377,104
1862	171,943,472	48,076,499
1863	177,377,664	63,932,929
1864	206,473,045	55,933,739
1865	212,206,747	82,444,930
1866	239,358,689	66,573,488
1867	283,703,184	90,832,584
1868	252,744,155	105,070,311
1869	258,461,589	116,608,305
1870	263,250,499	92,542,384

## EXPORTS OF WOOLLEN YARNS, WORSTED, AND WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES IN VALUE.

	1860.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Wool, Sheep and } Lambs' . . . . }	877,082	901,660	895,356	775,834	736,035	922,656	575,583
Woollen and Worsted } Yarn, . . . . }	3,843,450	5,429,504	4,742,162	5,822,996	6,364,011	5,857,905	5,175,757
Woollen and Worsted } Manufactures:—							
Cloths, Coatings, &c., } Unmixed and Mixed }	2,996,091	4,023,954	5,303,602	5,327,375	3,760,961	4,272,949	4,740,369
Flannels, Blankets, } Blanketing, and }	848,186	1,203,127	1,161,615	859,519	963,866	1,107,360	1,098,828
Baizes, . . . . }							
Worsted Stuffs, Un- } mixed and Mixed, }	7,012,793	13,360,527	13,294,059	12,144,998	13,075,773	15,119,029	13,797,738
Carpets and Druggets, }	667,370	861,453	1,217,682	1,101,986	1,099,882	1,467,355	1,393,576
Of all other Sorts, . }	632,558	655,669	819,259	687,054	635,591	658,497	619,949
Total of Woollen and } Worsted Manufac., }	12,156,998	20,104,730	21,796,217	20,120,932	19,536,073	22,625,190	21,650,460

## CHAPTER III.

## THE WORSTED TRADE.

A LARGE county like Yorkshire, with its 3,923,697 statute acres of mountain, plain, and valley, and its population of upwards of 2,000,000, must be the home of many and diverse industries. In the North and East Ridings agriculture yet occupies the foremost place, though other forms of labour are rapidly rising into prominence, as is iron in Cleveland and Middlesborough, and ancient methods still retain their life, as does lead mining in Arkendale. The West Riding, larger and much more densely populated, while not neglecting the cultivation of the soil, has turned its energies in the direction of manufacturing and mercantile activities. Notable amongst them, and indeed amongst those of the first importance in England, is the worsted manufacture, the growth of which it is proposed to trace in this paper. In the brief space which alone can be afforded in these volumes for such a task, little more than a rapid outline can be given. Those who desire to understand its details must refer to some comprehensive work, like that of Mr. John James, whose "History of the Worsted Trade" is, for the time it covers, a complete text-book of the subject.

Worsted is defined, dictionary-wise, as "yarn spun from combed wool," but this scarcely conveys to the general reader a clear notion of what it means. We shall go a little more into particulars. In every fleece of wool there are two kinds of hair, distinguished as "long" and "short." The long wool is separated from the rest, and drawn out by "combing" into straight and even lengths. This long wool, so combed, was the original "worsted," and it is yet the main basis of the worsted fabric. The short wool, instead of being combed out into lengths, is valued for its capacity of coiling and "felting together," and goes to the production of woollen cloth. But the word "worsted" has lately been much extended in its meaning. So many substances besides combed wool have come to be used in the goods manufactured in the worsted district, while the word itself has remained unchanged, that its original signification

has altogether ceased to apply. Cotton and silk warps, alpaca, mohair, china grass, &c. (the two former especially), have become so uniformly constituent parts of what are called worsted pieces, that the word must now be held to cover any kind of piece in which combed wool is employed.

Though it is not true, as some writers have supposed, that Edward III. was the originator in England of the woollen and worsted manufactures, it is true that before his time they were comparatively unimportant, and that he gave a great impetus to their progress. He invited a great number of Flemish weavers to settle in this country. They chose Norfolk, Sussex, and Essex as their resting-places, and Norwich became the chief centre of their industry, a distinction which it retained for nearly five centuries. They probably improved the trade; they certainly largely extended it. The king and his queen, Philippa, who was bound to the immigrants by the tie of nationality, often visited Norwich, and bestowed upon it many marks of honour, one of which (the establishment of the king's staple there) gave, it is said, great offence to its neighbour Yarmouth. But it was not at once that they proceeded to manufacture the finer cloths. A curious tract, "The Circle of Commerce," published in 1623, reveals the fact that, while the value of the cloths exported by the manufacturers in England was only, on the average, 40s. the piece, the average value of imported pieces was £6.

The English people do not appear to have taken kindly to the foreigners. They broke the looms, and in some cases the limbs, of the poachers upon their manor; committing such and so many outrages, indeed, that the king was compelled to issue special letters of protection in behalf of the strangers. It was not until the end of the reign of Henry IV. that a better feeling began to prevail. Perhaps they had learnt to see the evils which the quarrel had brought upon their trade, and in the beginning of the fifteenth century the English portion of the Norwich weavers petitioned that the alien workmen might be incorporated into the English guild.

A further immigration of Flemish manufacturers was invited by Henry VII., in whose reign the woollen and worsted trades, which in the troublous times that preceded his accession and marriage had greatly decayed, were much extended and strengthened. It is clear that much difficulty was experienced in dealing with the frauds of the manufacturers, who made "untrue wares of all manner of

worsted," not only in size but in material, and that serious damage to the trade had grown out of their malpractices. It was the expressed opinion of the Norwich people, that another cause was equally efficacious for evil. A law had been passed in the seventh year of the reign of Henry IV., at the instance and for the protection of Norwich, which provided that "no man or woman should put their son or daughter to be an apprentice" in a city or town, unless they had "lands or rents to the value of twenty shillings at least by the year." This fortunate class was only a small fraction of the whole, and utterly unable to furnish a sufficient number of apprentices to keep the trade going; while those who were excluded fell into ruinous "idleness, vice, and other misgovernances," which threatened the destruction of the city. Now, under Henry VII., these protectors of existing industry saw the error they had committed, and prayed for the removal of the restrictions they had previously demanded. Their request was complied with, first in the city of Norwich, and one year afterwards throughout the whole county of Norfolk, and the weaving trade recovered its vigour and elasticity. Under Henry VIII. a reaction occurred again, arising mainly, as it would appear, from the fraudulent practices of those who were in the trade. Parliament stepped in to the rescue, and passed an Act to extirpate "deceit in worsteds." It is to be feared that this object was never thoroughly accomplished, if we may judge from trading phenomena which are yet unfortunately too common. A remedy was sought in the prohibition of the export of English wool to foreign countries, but as the foreign manufacturer would have it, the prohibition only acted as an incentive to smuggling. Towards the close of the reign this distress greatly increased. Wool became scarce and dear, and the consequent conversion of farms into sheepwalks seriously interfered with the accustomed course of husbandry. The small spinners were forbidden to purchase wool for their own use, the monopoly of the trade being reserved for merchants of the staple and manufacturers. Add to these causes of discontent and disaster, a new immigration of Protestant weavers from the Netherlands, and the disarrangement of society caused by the suppression of the religious houses—Norwich alone had sixty parish and seven conventual churches within its walls—and we can scarcely wonder that dissatisfaction became nearly universal, or that it broke out, in 1549, into open revolt.

Under Elizabeth began a new period of prosperity. The cruelty of the duke of Alva drove large numbers of Flemish and Dutch weavers into exile. Many came to England. The inhabitants of Norwich, which had greatly decayed, petitioned the queen that a certain number might settle in their city, and she granted permission to thirty master workmen, each of whom was to be allowed ten assistants. Their energy gave renewed life to the trade, and from 300 the foreigners increased to 4000. The queen herself visited Norwich, and had a magnificent reception, the foreign artizans in particular exhibiting a pageant illustrative of all the principal processes in their art. The impetus which they gave to the worsted manufacture was not so much by the introduction of new stuffs, as by the greater rapidity and increased variety of their productions. But from this time it must be counted amongst the most extensive and important industries of the realm. Colchester and Canterbury began to make fine worsteds, and the latter place deservedly acquired high reputation.

Between 1743 and 1763 Norwich, it has been said, was "the chief seat of the chief manufacture of the realm." Its merchants carried on a large and flourishing export trade "with Holland, Flanders, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and through them with the great markets of South America." But its progress was arrested by the outbreak of the American war of Independence, the system of privateering practically banishing its commerce from the seas. Meanwhile, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the bulk of the trade was being rapidly concentrated in the north. Amongst other places, Kilmarnock, Stirling, and Aberdeen drove a thriving trade, but it was not in Scotland that the manufacture was destined to achieve its greatest successes. The natural advantages of Yorkshire for manufacturing purposes are far greater than those of the eastern counties. Water, coal, and iron abound, and the people of the great shire have a special reputation, based on solid reasons, for industry and untiring perseverance. Notices of the existence of the trade in Yorkshire appear in the time of Henry VIII., York itself being notable for the manufacture of stout worsted coverlets, which includes all the processes of spinning, dyeing, carding, and weaving. About the beginning of the eighteenth century it began to vary, here and there, the general industry of cloth weaving, Bradford and Halifax being among the earliest seats of the new business. By 1750



these two towns were actually engaged in it, and Leeds, the woollen cloth metropolis, contrived to manufacture a considerable quantity of worsteds. In 1772 the value of the trade in the West Riding was estimated, for Parliament, at £1,404,000, as against £1,200,000 in Norfolk and adjacent districts.

As the manufacture grew, employers began to suffer from frauds on the part of their workpeople: woolcombers embezzled the wool intrusted to them, spinners reeled false or short yarn, and a system of terrorism and combination prevented individual employers from enforcing the law. Ultimately the manufacturers of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire convinced Parliament of the necessity of special legislation in the matter, and the "Worsted Acts" were passed in 1777. These Acts authorized the establishment of a committee, which was to watch over and protect the interests of the trade, and bring delinquents to justice. Their provisions were very stringent; in some respects indeed they violated, and still violate, the recognized principles of English law, but they have been administered in the main with fairness, and they have certainly almost extinguished the evils they were designed to repress. The worsted committee was not always content, in earlier times at least, to restrict its efforts to the prevention of fraud. It fought ardently, for instance, against the use of machinery, and afterwards, with equal ardour, against the exportation of machinery; and it has generally defended the fallacious doctrine of protection to native industry which a wiser political economy has exploded. Yet, on the whole, its administration has been beneficial to the trade whose conduct and regulations it was appointed to control.

In 1780 the Lincoln wool-growers, pressed by falling prices and stagnant trade, sought for power to export their long wools. Vigorous resistance was instituted by York and Norfolk, in which Exeter speedily joined. In vain the Lincoln men maintained "that, after a certain period subsequent to the clipping, the long and coarse wools which could not be sold at home ought in justice to be allowed sale in the foreign markets." Neither the nation nor the senate would listen to the proposition. On the contrary, the growers had to submit, a few years later, to more rigorous legislation than ever against the exportation of wool, the penalties imposed by the Act 28 Geo. III. cap. 38, including fines, solitary imprisonment, and forfeiture of ship and cargo.

In 1782 the American war was ended and trade renewed its

life. Yarn became scanty, and the Yorkshire dales grew unable to supply the needs of the manufacturers. Recourse was had to Norfolk, Sussex, and Essex, which now began to supply yarn for the northern traders to work up. The entire force of hand-spinners became totally inadequate at last, and machine-spinning, which had for years been applied to cotton, was in 1784 adopted for wool at Dolphin-Holme, on the Wyre. The first spinning works were rude enough, and, pioneer-like, were unsuccessful. Addingham, Hewnden, and Mytholmroyd followed, and at last, in 1794, Bradford.

It is not very easy, nor perhaps very important, to determine in what order the different worsted fabrics began to be manufactured in the West Riding. A general estimate of the Yorkshire woollen manufacture, prepared in 1772 by Mr. Wolrich of Leeds, includes the names of "shalloons, calimancoes, Russells, tammies, single camblets or camblettees, prunells, and moreens, all made of single yarns; everlastings, figured and flowered Amiens, serges de Nismes, and serges de Rome, whose warps are of double yarn." Later on we find the names of wildbores, Waterloos, dobbies. Later still, we have damasks, French merinos, merinos, full twills, French figures, alpaca figures, figured Orleans, and the hundred other varieties known to the present day.

The progress of the trade necessitated corresponding improvements in the buildings where its manufacturers and merchants were to meet. In 1766 the Tammy Hall at Wakefield was erected. Bradford Piece Hall was founded in 1773. The Piece Hall at Colne was built in 1775. Halifax reared its Manufacturers' Hall in 1779, and Huddersfield, Keighley, and Bingley were all actively engaged in the spinning and weaving of worsted, although the inhabitants of those towns did not follow their enterprising neighbours so far as to build market houses.

Up to about 1800 the trade in the north was scattered over a considerable district in Airedale and Calderdale, and just across the border into Lancashire, Halifax taking the first position for the activity, importance, and enterprise of its traders. From that period dates the rapid rise of Bradford into pre-eminence, first in the north of England, and now throughout the world, so far as respects this branch of industry. The original superiority of Halifax died with the French war. Its manufacturers and merchants shrank from encountering the risks and losses attendant upon foreign

trade with continental markets closed. As they withdrew from business altogether, or embarked in the cotton trade, and as the Norwich people, from want of energy or want of foresight, omitted to avail themselves of the machinery which the northern town was utilizing as far as possible, Bradford soon took the undisputed lead. In 1810 the drawback on soap used by manufacturers of combing wool in Bradford was more than double the amount allowed in any other part of the worsted district. Shortly afterwards, about 1812, Halifax introduced into Yorkshire the manufacture of moreens, which up to that time had been peculiar to Norwich, and Messrs. Akroyd of Halifax, in 1813 and 1814, began to produce "plainbacks" and "wildbores," the forerunners of single-twilled merinos. In 1819 the same firm manufactured Norwich crape. After a period of depression, which had extended over nearly four years, an enormous increase of the trade took place in 1818. Nearly 25,000,000 lbs. of wool, almost double the importation of the preceding year, were brought from abroad, and the number of pieces exported increased from 683,000 to 938,000. In the same year great improvements were made in the methods of preparing and spinning worsted yarns, which made it possible to obtain better qualities of warp and weft from the same quality of wool.

In the year 1825 the law prohibiting the exportation of British wool was repealed, and English manufacturers, driven to compete with those of France, still further improved their processes, with the result of producing "merinos and other stuffs in every respect equal" to French goods. The year 1825 is memorable also for a prolonged strike among the wool-combers, whose weekly wages were then, on the average, 23s., for an advance of wages in the Bradford district. Twenty thousand combers and weavers were out of employment for twenty-two weeks, and were compelled to resume work without gaining their object. Their own sufferings and privations were terribly severe, and the money loss of the employers was immense. There is only one relief to the sadness of the picture. Not a single outrage or breach of the peace appears to have been committed from beginning to end of the contest. Worse consequences followed the introduction of the power-loom. In 1826 a number of hand-loom weavers attacked the mill of Messrs. Horsfall, of Bradford, who first employed the new loom; and a sharp conflict between special constables and the mob ended in the death of two persons, the wounding of many, and the ultimate punishment of numbers who

took part in the outbreak. There have been many strikes since, local and limited, but physical conflict has always been avoided.

The changes in the processes of the worsted industry necessarily led for a time to much suffering amongst the classes displaced. Great distress was endured by the hand-loom weavers when their shuttles were silenced by the surer and swifter energy of steam; and the condition of the wool-combers, after the extinction of their trade by the introduction of machine-combing, would supply material for one of the most melancholy chapters of Yorkshire history. In course of time the workers who were put aside found other means of gaining a livelihood, in some cases at home, in others abroad, but much and sad privation had to be undergone before relief was felt. Occasional periods of exceptional depression of trade, happening probably about once in ten years, have caused considerable loss to employers, and suffering to employed, by the enforced cessation of labour; but these have never come near, either in intensity or extent, to the great crisis brought about by the substitution of steam for hand-labour in the processes of weaving and combing.

Our space is too limited to permit us to trace, in anything beyond the merest outline, the history of the inventions which have rendered possible the enormous development of the worsted manufacture. Yet, between the distaff and spindle of the ancients, and the wonderful process by which wool is now converted into yarn, separated as they are by vast differences both in method and result, there is a connection of growth and affiliation not only interesting in itself, but essential to be understood by all who intend to possess a definite idea of the subject. That process of development we propose to relate as succinctly as may be, consistently with clearness. We must necessarily pass over many details, but we shall endeavour to preserve every feature of importance.

Hand-spinning may be taken as the starting point of the narrative. The Norfolk spinners, in the early times, dispensed even with the wheel, making their primitive yarn by a dexterous and patient twisting of the threads with the hand upon the thigh, unquestionably the most primitive of all spindles. Then came the one-thread wheel, an immense advance, which set the hands free to draw out the thread, and largely increased the quantity of yarn produced. The Saxon wheel, in use a century and a half or two centuries ago, marks a still further point attained in the

communication of the necessary twist to the yarn, by a flier "revolving with greater rapidity than the bobbin" on which the thread was wound. These contrivances represent the measure of progress attained in the art of spinning, up to about the year 1738, when the germ principle of the modern spinning frame appears to have been hit upon by John Wyatt, who first, at Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire, appears to have spun thread by means of rollers. His system was put in action in 1741 at Birmingham, not with the modern aids of water and steam power, but worked by a gin, which was turned by two asses, and attended by ten girls. Poor Wyatt, like many of his race, fell into the hands of speculators; became unfortunate, was confined for debt, and ultimately died in poverty. His little manufactory was closed, as also was, about 1764, another which had been worked at Northampton on Wyatt's principle by water-power, and for a while the invention slept. About 1769 James Hargreaves, an uncultured but ingenious weaver who lived near Church, in Lancashire, invented the spinning jenny, which at last he so improved as to work eighty spindles, having begun originally with eight. All prior inventions, however, were destined to yield to those of Richard Arkwright, whose primary purpose of searching after "perpetual motion" ended, in 1769, in his patenting a machine "for the making of weft or yarn from cotton flax or wool," which revolutionized the history of manufactures in England. It greatly improved the quality of the yarn produced, and immensely increased its quantity, while it laid the foundation of the factory system by rendering associated labour a necessity. The prior habit of solitary spinning at home, varied only by the gossiping friendliness of half a dozen chattering spinsters, working together towards sunset in the village street, was marked for extinction sooner or later, from the hour when Arkwright's invention gave a celerity and precision to the art which the human hand could never hope to rival. Next, about 1780 or shortly after, Samuel Crompton's ingenious device to combine the jenny spinning of Hargreaves with the roller spinning of Arkwright produced the hand mule, which still retains its superiority for fine yarns, and which, in the production of fineness and equality in the yarn, surpassed the machines of all preceding inventors. The limit of fineness reached by that of Arkwright (the best till then) was eighty hanks of cotton to the pound; by the hand mule no less than 120 hanks could be spun, and of a more equal texture.

Further improvements have carried this fineness so far, that 300 to 500 hanks of 840 yards each are now manufactured to the pound for trade use; and once at least, as an exhibition *tour de force*, a pound of cotton has been spun to 2150 hanks, or upwards of 1000 miles in length. The self-acting mule, invented by Mr. Roberts, of Manchester, seems to have carried the principle of automatic labour to its utmost development, the machine itself doing the whole of the spinning work, and the duty of the attendant being reduced to the simple task of joining threads which have become accidentally broken. Worsted yarns are invariably spun on frames which combine the roller drawing with the spindle and fly, or a modification of it in the cap frame, while the spinning of woollen or uncombed yarn is generally accomplished by the mule. As a rule, worsted yarns seldom exceed in fineness 100 hanks of 560 yards each to the pound.

The greatest impetus to the textile manufactures was, however, given, about eighty years ago, by the application of steam-power to the processes employed. The inventions of Sir Richard Arkwright would have remained of comparatively small importance, had not the genius of James Watt devised the means of multiplying human power to an inconceivable extent by setting steam to do its manual work. Steam-power was not applied to the worsted manufacture until the early years of the present century. Vaucanson, in 1765, had invented a weaving loom, which was tried in Manchester, but ultimately came to nothing. Dr. Cartwright was more successful for a time, but there were essential imperfections in his loom which prevented its coming into general use. Others tried their skill at improvement with more or less success, but it was reserved for Mr. Horrox, of Stockport, to carry Cartwright's idea into really practicable shape. To him it is that we owe the "crank power-loom" now in common use, and later inventors have been content to aim at improvement in details, rather than alteration in principles. The Jacquard loom was first used in the worsted manufacture, about 1827, by Mr. James Akroyd, junr., of Halifax. In a few years it was generally adopted, and its employment gave an immense development to the trade in figured goods.

Steam and machinery, indeed, have now superseded hand labour in every department of the worsted manufacture. For a long time, the combing of wool by machinery defied the utmost efforts of

inventors, and it is only within the present generation that they have succeeded. It was attempted in 1790 by Dr. Cartwright, with his usual ability; but like most first attempts, the machinery was rude, and under the combined weight of its own imperfections, and the storm of opposition it aroused from those who thought their interests threatened by its introduction, the project fell to the ground. Peatt and Colliers, in 1827, patented another method, which was superseded in 1846 by the greatly improved machinery of Heilmann. This was again improved upon by Mr. Donisthorpe, Mr. Samuel Cunliffe Lister, and Mr. Isaac Holden, of Bradford, who, above all others, are entitled to the credit of having mastered the problem. To the invention and enterprise of Mr. Holden, more particularly, may be ascribed the present perfection of wool-combing machinery.\* Other machines have contributed towards the great ends of simplicity and use, and the net result is a vast advance over the old arrangements. Under the old process of hand-combing, which was at once rude and wasteful, a considerable length of staple was required, and much was lost in consequence of the "coiling" of the fibres; but the exquisite machines now in use are able to comb any kind of English wool from three-inch staple upwards, and as nearly as possible without waste.

For a long time the northern manufacturers confined themselves to rapidity and extent of production, neglecting the essential art of design. They were consequently greatly distanced by other districts and other countries, where the inhabitants were wiser in their generation. Their materials and their combinations were good, but the taste which was needful to make them compete in attractiveness with the productions of rival looms was absent. The remedy soon followed the perception of the defect. Schools of design were established about twenty years ago. They were attended with considerable success, and their effects were speedily seen in the new grace and beauty of the fabrics produced. The critical jury of the International Exhibition of 1862, specially noted the great improvement in dye, finish, and taste, shown in worsted goods; and the progress which has been made since that year may fairly bear comparison with the decade that preceded it. The manufacturers of the West Riding must still yield the palm to

\* His immense establishments in England and France are unquestionably the largest, the busiest, and the most efficient for their purpose in existence.



their French competitors in cloths composed entirely of wool, and manufactured for the richer classes of consumers; but Yorkshire stands unquestionably first in the production of the far larger group of fabrics intended for the middle and poorer ranks. These are the compound goods, in which the weft is worsted, alpaca, mohair, rheea, or some similar fibre, and the warp, cotton or silk. Of late years the West Riding has had to contend against growing and intelligent competition in foreign towns. Prussia and Belgium both endeavour to attract its peculiar class of customers. In France, up to the outbreak of the war of 1870, the race was maintained with equal vigour and skill. Such was the progress made in that country, that competent observers believed in its ultimate equality with England, as a home for manufactures and commerce. The machinery at Roubaix in 1867 was five-fold what it had been in 1862. In 1870 the exports from France, of worsted goods alone, exceeded in value £11,000,000, against £6,500,000 of woollen and worsted goods combined in 1865. Striking as are these figures, Yorkshire, looking upon its own, has no reason to dread the competition they imply. They are spurs to renewed effort, not grounds for discouragement.

As the manufacture developed, and invention became busy, great changes came over the trade. The original makers of Norwich "says, russells, and worsted," are doubtless the real progenitors of our modern manufacturing chiefs, but the difference between the work of the earlier and the later times is immense. The foreign weavers who came over under Henry VII. and Elizabeth, brought with them new fabrics and industrial ability. Bombazines (1575), shalloons, serges, tammies, and a host of other names, figure among the records of two and three hundred years ago. Mr. James gives a list, from a Northamptonshire manufacturer, published in 1739, of thirty-nine separate classes of articles made from combing wool, eleven of combing and carding wool mixed, and twelve of long wool and silk, mohair, and cotton mixed. The writer adds that, there are "diverse other sorts of different stuffs, both figured, clouded, spotted, plain, and striped, too tedious to name." The introduction of cotton warps about 1834, which made it possible to have a lighter and cheaper material than worsted alone could give, extended and varied the trade in a startling manner. Of course the innovation caused great terror to many, and predictions of coming ruin abounded. But a little time dissipated these illusions. It was found that the new

combination not only gave increased fineness of texture, but that it reduced the cost of production. The union of silk warps with worsted wefts, which followed, still further aided the resources of the manufacturer, by enabling him to produce goods possessing a delicacy, softness, and elasticity before unknown. The rise of the alpaca and mohair industry continued and augmented the impetus. The extent and importance to which these latter have attained render a separate notice of them necessary.

Among the staple products of the worsted district, those of alpaca and mohair have of late years risen into considerable prominence, mainly through the action of a gentleman whose charities, no less than his manufacturing and commercial enterprise, have won for him the deserved honour of a baronetcy, Sir Titus Salt, baronet, of Saltaire. The wool of the alpaca (the native Peruvian sheep) is superior to English wool in length, in softness, and in pliability. The difference in length, however, is less of late than in former years, owing to the more frequent shearings of the fleece. For a long time it was very difficult to get the wool at all, the Peruvians being unwilling to sell it, and the inconvenience of getting it from the mountain regions to the sea-coast being very great; besides, people here were almost ignorant of its existence, and there was no demand to stimulate enterprise. It appears to have been first brought to England in 1807, when a further attempt was made to bring it into use; but it was not till after an interval of twenty-three years that Mr. Outram, of Greetland, near Halifax, about 1830, succeeded in producing "an article which sold at high prices for ladies' carriage shawls and cloakings;" more, it is said, because they were rare and curious, than because they were intrinsically worth the money. Messrs. Wood & Walker, and Messrs. Horsfall, of Bradford, about the same time experimented in its manufacture; but the pieces displayed none of the lustre with which modern alpacas have made everybody familiar, and the enterprise came to an end for want of encouragement. Sir Titus Salt was the first to spin the alpaca wool into an even thread, and by combining it with cotton and silk warps, to create a new staple industry. Little progress was made so long as the alpaca weft was woven with worsted warps. It had no lustre and no lightness, but was heavy and unattractive. With cotton warps improvement became visible at once, and when woven with silk warps it was found that almost any perfection of finish and beauty

could be attained. The trade has now come to be amongst the most valuable in the district.

The vast establishment at Saltaire is probably unequalled in the world for extent and completeness, and it is still rapidly growing. The mills, warehouses, stables, dining-hall for workpeople, dyehouse, sudworks, and gashouse, cover  $9\frac{1}{2}$  acres; 775 dwelling-houses, and 45 alms-houses, are spread over  $25\frac{1}{2}$  acres, and contain a population of 4356 ( $5\frac{1}{3}$  per house); and a public park of 14 acres, given by the munificent founder, brings up the total extent to 49 acres. The sick and funeral societies number 2590 members, and out of the whole population only nine persons were in the receipt of parish relief in March, 1870. Sir Titus Salt has also built and handed over to trustees a Congregational church, which cost £16,000; has given a site for a Wesleyan chapel, and assistance towards the building; and has just erected the Saltaire Literary Institute and Club, for the use of the inhabitants, at a cost of £20,000. This institution, in respect of the amplitude and excellence of the resources it offers for the study and recreation of receivers of weekly wages, is unrivalled in the kingdom.

The second great modern branch of the Yorkshire trade is that in mohair, or goats' wool. This is exclusively foreign, the wool being brought by preference from the flocks fed on the dry chalk hills around Angora, in Asia Minor, although the lowland goats contribute also to the somewhat limited supply. One particular quality of wool is said to be altogether refused to foreigners. This consists of the female goat's fleece when two years old, and the selected hair of other white goats; the latter kind not amounting to one per cent. of the whole produce. It is kept at home for the manufacture of delicate gloves, hosiery, and dress stuffs, and exported only when in a finished state. English stuffs have, however, so far improved of late that they compete with the Turks in their own market, and have practically extinguished the native trade. The Yorkshire manufacturers of mohair, who are principally in the Bradford district, make it up into many fabrics, using with it cotton and silk warps, and the stuffs so produced possess a singular beauty and brilliance. Besides the great firms of Sir Titus Salt, Sons, & Co.; John Foster & Sons, of Queensbury; and Messrs. Mitchell Brothers, of Bradford, whose splendid works count in the first rank of the palaces of industry which abound in the West Riding—there are many manufacturers of this wool scattered about and near

Bradford, while both Norwich and Scotland are competitors, but scarcely rivals, in the trade.

The development of the manufacture would never have reached its present position, had not other influences come into play beyond the mechanical improvements to which we have referred. Plain greys are useful, but colour enters largely into the influences which cause textile fabrics to be admired and bought. For a long time dyers experienced great difficulty in imparting variety of colour to worsted stuffs. So long as they had to deal with one class of material only—with wool, for example, an exclusively animal product, or with cotton, a purely vegetable growth—their task was comparatively simple. It assumed another aspect when they had to deal with a mixture of the two. Surface colours might be produced, but they were fleeting; and the desideratum was to unite the colour and the cloth as permanently as possible. There is no “fast” colour until the dye-stuffs “have passed into a state of insoluble compound with the fibres themselves.” In this matter of worsted the perplexity was increased by the necessity of dealing with two substances in one fabric, the chemical affinities acting upon one of which had no influence upon the other. So insuperable was this obstacle believed to be, that for a time the cotton warp was dyed before it was woven, and it was only possible to match the worsted weft with it in a very limited number of colours. The mordant or base of preparation for dyeing most in use, till about thirty years ago, was copperas; but about 1839 or 1840 bi-chromate of potash was introduced. This is perhaps the finest mordant in existence for receiving vegetable colouring matter, and its adoption completely revolutionized the trade, not only because it largely increased the number of colours obtainable, but because of the greater rapidity of its action. Before the use of bi-chrome a black dyed piece took one day to prepare and another to dye; the whole process can now be accomplished in two hours. Such had been the progress attained by 1855, that a committee appointed by the Bradford Chamber of Commerce to report on the productions of English as compared with those of foreign manufacturers and dyers shown at the Paris Exhibition, stated their conviction that “in mixed fabrics, when the difficulties presented by the combination of animal and vegetable substances have to be overcome, there was nothing in the Exhibition equal to the colours and effects produced by the Bradford dyers.” The introduction of aniline colours in 1859 and 1860, gave an

enormous impetus to the art, both in variety and extent; as also did the later practice of stoving or bleaching with sulphur, and tinting, which latter is in reality painting the material rather than dyeing it. By this last-named process the most beautiful tints are obtained, but they are unfortunately very evanescent.

The improvement of the machinery for dyeing remains to be briefly noticed. Until about 1839, dyeing vessels were made of tin, lead, or iron, and were all heated by fire. These were superseded by stone vessels heated by steam. Next came steam or roll boiling instead of water boiling, which avoided the "listing" or unequal dyeing of the pieces, and so saved the constant necessity of redyeing which attended the earlier system, as well as its cost, which in a large establishment was very great. New drying machines followed. The old practice had been to dry pieces in long drying houses, with hot air—a slow process, and one requiring continual attention. The new process passes them over hollow tin cylinders heated by steam, and accomplishes in three minutes the task which hot air performed less perfectly in more than as many hours. With similar results as to increased speed, effectiveness, and economy, the ancient practice of dyeing in open vessels by manual labour gave place to machine-dyeing. On the former plan the dyeing of forty pieces required the constant attendance of five or six men; on the new one, a hundred pieces are dyed by a single machine, and two men and two boys will attend to three of them.

Until cotton warps began to be used with worsted weft, all dyeing establishments were small. Large works, like those of the present time, were altogether unknown. The founders of now leading houses dealt with single pieces where now they deal with hundreds, and in more than one notable instance the acting "market-man" was the dyer's wife, who went to Bradford or Halifax market with half a dozen warps or pieces, while her husband was attending to business at home. Not a generation ago, dyers still washed their fabrics in Ovenden brook or Bradford beck, but he would be a sanguine man who should hope to do anything but dye them, were he to immerse them now in those opaque rivulets of liquid soaps and chemicals.

There has long been one clearly marked distinction between the productions of the Yorkshire worsted district, and those of foreign countries. The Yorkshire manufacturers aim rather at extent of trade than expensiveness in the material they produce. Except in

the alpaca and mohair industries, to which this statement is not equally applicable, the object sought is universality through cheapness. This distinction is not now so clear as formerly. Foreign rivals, in Prussia and Belgium principally, have of late years turned their attention in the same direction, and not without success; but still the broad difference remains that the special superiority of Yorkshire goods is in the cheaper varieties, and that of foreign goods in those which are more expensive.

The district in Yorkshire within which the worsted manufacture may be considered the staple industry, extends from Bradford, its metropolis, by Halifax westward to the border of Lancashire, and from Leeds by Shipley, Saltaire, Bingley, and Keighley, up the valley of the Aire to Cononley, near Skipton. Colne, just within the Lancashire border, also makes stuff pieces, and its manufacturers attend the Bradford Exchange. Wakefield, once an important worsted town, has now altogether ceased to be so. So completely is the trade now concentrated in Yorkshire, that (according to a Parliamentary return, dated 22nd July, 1868) out of 2,149,024 worsted spinning spindles in England, Yorkshire alone was then running 2,007,257, or more than nineteen-twentieths of the whole; out of 71,556 power-looms employed in England, there were 69,211 in Yorkshire; and out of 128,418 persons working in factories throughout the country, Yorkshire alone gave employment to 121,117. Almost the whole of the trade, it must be understood, is now carried on in factories. Here and there, in secluded dales branching out of the main valleys of the Aire and Calder, or on the lofty hill ranges which divide them, may be heard the weary click indicative of the hand-loom weaver's monotonous and ill-paid toil. But the application of steam to the manufacture made the extinction of domestic labour only a question of time. The yarn-spinners of the villages had no chance against the precise and rapid machinery of the towns, and the manufacturer was only too glad to save the time which he could much more profitably use in superintending his "works," than in traversing the Yorkshire hills and dales to distribute his material, and collect it when wrought up. The increased speed with which everything connected with the trade is transacted, is startling to men who remember the old times and ways. Time was, as men yet active in business well remember, when the Manchester merchant coming to Bradford market took three days for the outward and return journey. Starting from the

cotton metropolis on Wednesday morning with a postchaise and pair of horses, one ridden by a postilion, he got as far as Halifax, where he stayed the night. Next day, by way of the lofty tableland of Catherine Slack and Queensbury (then Queenshead, and now the seat of one of the largest mohair manufactories in the kingdom) he reached Bradford, completed his business, dined, and returned to Halifax. On Friday, after his early breakfast, he saw his Halifax dyers or other business connections for an hour, and then away by Todmorden and Blackstone Edge to Manchester again. The travellers by the Bradford and Manchester market express-train would think chaos come again were they to return, if only for a month, to the habits of their immediate predecessors.

Mr. John Milner, of Clayton, informs the writer that within his memory, dating from the beginning of the present century, the hand-shuttle was still used. There was no mechanical appliance to aid the weaver in propelling his shuttle across the warp. This had to be done with the fingers, and it was so done until the hand of a weaver was recognizable in the "hoofs" or callosities produced by the practice. At this time only hand-spun yarn was used, so coarse, in most cases, that it was exceedingly difficult to work it. The more prominent hairs, as they were called, were burnt off by the weaver, with an apparatus of candles fixed in a wooden framework, to the great danger of the warp and the probable loss of the workman. The pieces then woven were calimancoes about nineteen inches wide, and nine candles were used in the operation. This plan became unnecessary after the invention of the "false reed," an arrangement of vertical wires, which cleared and smoothed the yarn in readiness for the shuttle. Then came the introduction into the district of the "picking-stick" or "fly-shuttle," about 1801. This rendered the work easier, but at its best it was monotonous, wearisome, and ill-paid. How miserable the scale of payment was is clear from the fact that, about 1800, a weaver at Clayton Heights offered, in a public house full of company, to make a bet that he alone, of all present, had woven a five shilling piece every week for twelve months. Now and then a man would have two to deliver in one week, but to do this would require him to work far into each night, and at least one night through. Then too, a shirt (four yards of Knaresborough cloth, says my informant) cost sixteen shillings, and few working people possessed more than one, going without or



waiting in bed while it received its occasional cleansing. Nor were people more fortunate in the matter of provisions: flour, as an article of ordinary use, was unknown; oat-meal porridge and old milk formed the staple of food for the multitude. The first distinct change for the better in wages appears to have been made about 1805 or 1806, when manufacturers from Lancashire began to employ the weavers of Halifax, Bradford, and the adjacent villages in the fabrication of dimity and jeannettes at nine shillings per piece. This price, it must be remembered, included the dressing of the warp, which was then done by the weaver himself with brush and paste, and finished, tailor-fashion, by being ironed with a heated "goose."

Prior to the passing of the Factory Act in 1833, the children employed in the mills appear to have suffered exceedingly from habitual ill-usage and overwork. That Act provided that, during nine fixed hours of the night, there should be no work at all in factories; that no person under eighteen should labour more than sixty-nine hours a week; that no child under thirteen should work more than forty-eight hours; and that all children so employed should attend school for two hours on each working day in the week. Successive Acts have still further restricted the hours within which children and women are permitted to work in factories, and there can be no doubt as to the beneficial operation of the law. It is pleasant to note that a still further amelioration is in progress by mutual agreement between employers and their workpeople. The Saturday half holiday, beginning about two o'clock in the afternoon, conceded many years ago in most mills and warehouses throughout the district, is now in many instances begun at one o'clock, and in some as early as twelve. The fact of friendly agreement on such a subject is a striking proof of the growth of happier relations between the two classes than those which formerly prevailed, and may be set against the tendency to strikes which many people, not without reasonable grounds, look upon as one of the most threatening obstacles in the way of our future prosperity.

The social condition of the mass of the inhabitants in any of our crowded towns must always be more or less unsatisfactory. The essentials of healthy existence, light and air, are obscured and polluted by smoke, and the poisonous gases which the refuse of every great centre of population so easily generates. It is obvious

that Bradford and Halifax cannot expect to have the freedom from disease, and certain other forms of evil, which falls to the lot of the dwellers in a country village. They must accept and make the best they can of the conditions of trade, overruling them wherever it is possible, and so contriving that only necessary dangers and disadvantages may remain. It cannot be doubted that the current of events sets steadily in this direction now. The local authorities—municipal at Bradford and Halifax, boards of health and so forth elsewhere—are actively prosecuting a praiseworthy crusade against dirt, foul air, tortuous streets, and gloomy courts and passages, at a cost against which many of their constituents vehemently protest. But there is no help for it. The rapid growth of these seething centres of industry has made it absolutely imperative that the blunders and ignorance of past generations should be remedied. As matters stand, the death rate is far higher than the average throughout England, and there is no reason to believe that this is so because of any exceptional character attaching to the worsted manufacture. There was a time, not half a century ago, when diseases brought on by the factory system, and peculiar to it, were sadly frequent; but Mr. Robert Baker (an excellent authority), writing in 1859, says, speaking of factories throughout the United Kingdom, "There is a gross increase of workers of 92 per cent., the increase of females being 131 per cent., and nearly as many children as there were formerly; and yet all the diseases which were specific to factory labour in 1832 have as nearly as possible disappeared." Eleven years have passed since Mr. Baker wrote, and the improvement which he noted then is not the less visible now.

As in all large towns, both in and out of Yorkshire, there is in the worsted district considerable waste and suffering caused by the intemperate use of beer and spirits. Drinking is made easy by the multiplication of facilities for its debasing enjoyments, and great numbers are too weak to resist the temptations which obtrude themselves at the corner of every street. Yet the case, though sad and disheartening, is not hopeless. The taint, if general, is far from universal, and dark as the prospect seems at present, we may surely hope that, as education becomes more general, as knowledge grows, and when the increased power of self-restraint which mental culture must create has had time to shape more wisely the lives of the people, that healthy and innocent recreations

will take the place of excitements, which, beginning in physical indulgence, too often deaden every noble purpose, and give a fatal facility to crime.

One very satisfactory evidence of the prosperous condition of the inhabitants of the worsted district is found in the statistics of its financial institutions, such as building societies, savings banks, friendly and benefit societies, &c. Take, for example, the receipts of a few building and investment societies, the real object of which, it should be borne in mind, is not to purchase or build property as an organization, but to collect into a general fund the savings of persons who are willing to lend them, and to advance the sum so got together, on security of real property only, to another set of persons who desire to borrow. The Bingley Society shows in its last report (for 1869) a total receipt of £30,058; the Keighley and Craven Society (1870), £29,300; the West Riding Society (Halifax, 1870), £18,000; the Halifax Permanent (1869), £135,000; the Bradford Second Equitable (1870), £180,000; and the Bradford Third Equitable (1871), £430,000: making a grand total of £793,000.

There is considerable difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory estimate of the present value and extent of the worsted trade. Mr. Forbes, writing in 1851, gives the following table as the result of his careful and elaborate calculations:—

WORSTED TRADE.—MR. FORBES' ESTIMATE, 1851.

60,000,000 lbs. English sorted wool at 1s. 2d. per pound, . . . . .	£3,500,000
15,000,000 lbs. colonial and foreign, at 1s. 9d., " . . . . .	1,312,500
Add other raw materials used in the manufacture, as cotton, silks, dyewares, &c., . . . . .	1,500,000
Direct wages paid, . . . . .	3,000,000
Indirect wages, as rent, wear and tear of machinery, coals, soap, oil, interest of capital, &c., . . . . .	3,187,500
Total, . . . . .	12,500,000

DISTRIBUTED THUS:—

West Riding of Yorkshire, goods and yarns, . . . . .	£8,000,000
Lancashire, delaines and other light fabrics, . . . . .	1,500,000
Leicestershire, worsted hosiery, . . . . .	1,200,000
Norwich goods, Irish stuffs, Devonshire long ells, &c., . . . . .	1,300,000
Scotland, worsted stuffs (not including shawls), . . . . .	500,000
Total, . . . . .	12,500,000

Six years later Mr. John James, for his "History of the Worsted Trade," brought down the figures to 1857.

## WORSTED TRADE.—MR. JAMES' ESTIMATE, 1857.

85,000,000 lbs. of English combing wool, sorted and washed, at 1s. 9d. per lb.	£7,438,500
15,000,000 lbs. of colonial and foreign combing wool, sorted and washed, at 2s. 8d. per lb., . . . . .	2,000,000
Cotton warps used in the manufacture, silk warps and weft, dyewares, soap, oil, &c., . . . . .	1,700,000
Wages paid to 86,690 persons employed in factories, . . . . .	1,861,500
Wages of sorters, combers, hand-loom weavers, dyers, &c., . . . . .	1,200,000
Rent of mills, wear and tear of machinery, warehouse rent, &c., interest of capital, and profits, . . . . .	3,800,000
<b>Total, . . . . .</b>	<b>18,000,000</b>

## DISTRIBUTED THUS:—

West Riding of Yorkshire, goods, . . . . .	£10,600,000
“ “ yarn for export, and sent to Glasgow, Norwich, Manchester, &c., . . . . .	3,100,000
Lancashire, coburgs, mousselines de laine, &c., . . . . .	2,000,000
Norwich goods, Devonshire long ells, carpets, &c., . . . . .	1,500,000
Leicestershire, worsted hosiery, . . . . .	800,000
<b>Total, . . . . .</b>	<b>18,000,000</b>

When the River Commissioners sat at Bradford in 1866, Mr. Jacob Behrens, afterwards president of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce, presented for their consideration a valuable series of estimates. He computed the value, in 1864, of the home and export trade in worsteds at £33,600,000, and the weight of wool used at 149,700,000 lbs.—an enormous advance upon previous calculations; but the subject is one upon which Mr. Behrens is well qualified to speak with authority. The number of persons employed, given by Mr. James in 1857 as 86,690, had risen in 1867 to 128,410, an augmentation of one-half in ten years, and one which amply justifies the estimate of Mr. Behrens, when we consider the improved processes of late years, and the greatly-increased result of each individual person's labour.

## WORSTED TRADE.—MR. BEHRENS' ESTIMATE.

£	EXPORTS.	Lbs.
5,417,377	yarns (31,824,296 lbs.), equal in wool to . . . . .	35,000,000
7,945,633	goods, $\frac{1}{4}$ th mixed with other material, £6,000,000 wool (4s.), . . . . .	30,000,000
2,852,815	do. all wool (4s.), . . . . .	14,000,000
	HOME.	
13,200,000	goods, mostly mixed with other material (4s.), . . . . .	66,000,000
1,200,000	do. of mohair (5s.), . . . . .	4,700,000
2,984,175	cotton and other material, worked up with the above, exclusive of exports, . . . . .	
<b>33,600,000</b>		<b>149,700,000</b>

The following tables, which summarize the more important particulars affecting the trade, such as extent, wages, and population, may fitly conclude this sketch. The price of labour, as will be seen in the columns showing the rates of wages, is comparatively high; indeed, taken all round, it has at no period been higher. The materials used are costly, and yet the trade grows and the exports annually increase. It is not so much by high profits on individual articles, as by the gains, singly small but vast in total, which are incident to enormous production, that the worsted district makes its gigantic returns.

The following table of the rate of wages in Bradford, Halifax, and the vicinity, is taken from the parliamentary return of Miscellaneous Statistics of the United Kingdom, part vii. 1869, and may be regarded as authoritative:—

## WORSTED MANUFACTURE—RATE OF WAGES.

## HALIFAX AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Description of Occupation.	Rate of Wages per Week.	Hours of Labour.
Wool sorters, . . . { Men, . . . . .	18s. 6d. to 28s.	54 to 57½
	12s.	60
Wool washers, . . . Men, . . . . .	12s. to 22s.	"
Wool carders, . . . Women, . . . . .	9s. to 9s. 6d.	"
Machine wool combers { Men, . . . . .	12s. to 15s.	"
	9s. to 9s. 6d.	"
Makers up, . . . { Boys, . . . . .	10s.	"
	9s. to 10s.	"
Dyers, . . . . . Men, . . . . .	14s.	"
Drawers, . . . . . Women and girls, . . . . .	8s. to 10s.	"
Spinners, . . . . . { Women,* . . . . .	6s. 6d. to 8s.	"
	1s. 3d. to 4s.	30
	1s. 3d. to 4s.	"
Twisters, . . . . . Girls, . . . . .	8s. to 10s.	60
Reelers, . . . . . Women and girls, . . . . .	9s. to 14s.	"
Oilers, . . . . . Boys, . . . . .	9s.	"
Jobbers, . . . . . Boys, . . . . .	8s. to 10s.	"
Bobbin setters, . . . Boys, . . . . .	5s.	"
Doffers, . . . . . Boys, . . . . .	6s. 3d.	"
Weavers (piece work), { Men, . . . . .	14s. to 20s.	"
	13s. to 18s.	"
	14s.	"
Overlookers, . . . . .	18s. to 25s.	"
Assistant do. . . . .	13s. 6d. to 16s.	"
Engine tenters, . . . } Men, . . . . .	22s. to 30s.	60 to 72
Engine feeders, . . . }	15s. to 18s.	60
Engine stokers, . . . }	14s. to 18s.	60 to 72
Mechanics, smiths, and joiners, . . . } Men, . . . . .	20s. to 30s.	60
	8s.	"
Packers, . . . . . } Boys, . . . . .	15s. to 25s.	"
Warehousemen, . . . } Men, . . . . .	15s. to 30s.	"

Hours of labour generally—Mill, 60 hours per week. Warehouse, 57 hours per week.

\* Full timers.

† Short timers.

## BRADFORD AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Description of Occupation.	Rate of Wages per Week.	Hours of Labour.
Wool sorters, . . . . .	{ Men, . . . . . 28s. Boys, . . . . . 12s.	60 "
Wool washers, . . . . .	Men, . . . . . 17s. 6d.	"
Dyers, . . . . .	{ Men, . . . . . 20s. Boys, . . . . . 8s. to 12s.	" "
Machine wool combers	{ Men, . . . . . 15s. Boys, . . . . . 8s. 6d. Women, . . . . . 9s. 6d.	" " "
Drawers, . . . . .	{ Women, . . . . . 10s. to 12s. Reelers, . . . . . 10s. Weavers, . . . . . 12s. Overlookers, . . . . . 30s.	" " " "
Assistant do. . . . .	10s. to 28s.	"
Engine tenters, . . . . .	28s. to 35s.	"
Engine feeders, . . . . .	20s.	"
Engine stokers, . . . . .	20s.	"
Mechanics, smiths, and joiners, . . . . .	{ Men, . . . . . 28s. Boys, . . . . . 6s. to 11s.	" "
Heads of Department—		
In dyehouses, . . . . .	30s. to 50s.	—
Finishers and warehousemen, . . . . .	Vary very much according to circumstances.	—

TABLE SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF THE WORSTED MANUFACTURE IN ENGLAND AND THE WEST RIDING SINCE 1838. EXTRACTED FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY RETURNS.

## ENGLAND.

	1838.	1850.	1856.	1861.	1868.
Factories, . . . . .	415	493	511	512	687
Horse-power, . . . . .	7,166	11,270	14,483	27,093	45,140
Spindles, . . . . .		864,874	1,298,326	1,245,526	2,149,024*
Power-loom, . . . . .		32,617	38,809	42,968	71,556
Persons employed, . . . . .	31,606	78,915	86,690	82,972	128,410

\* And 335,039 doubling spindles.

## WEST RIDING.

	1838.	1850.	1861.	1861.	1868.	Yorkshire, Horse-power 1868.
Factories, . . . . .	348	418	445	443	626	17,614
Horse-power, . . . . .	5,791	9,389	12,723		42,494	563
Spindles, . . . . .		746,281	1,212,587	1,149,072	2,007,257	3,889
Power-loom, . . . . .		30,856	35,298	40,577	69,211	148
Persons employed, . . . . .	29,336	70,905	78,994	76,483	121,117	19,255
						880
						141
						4
						42,494

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