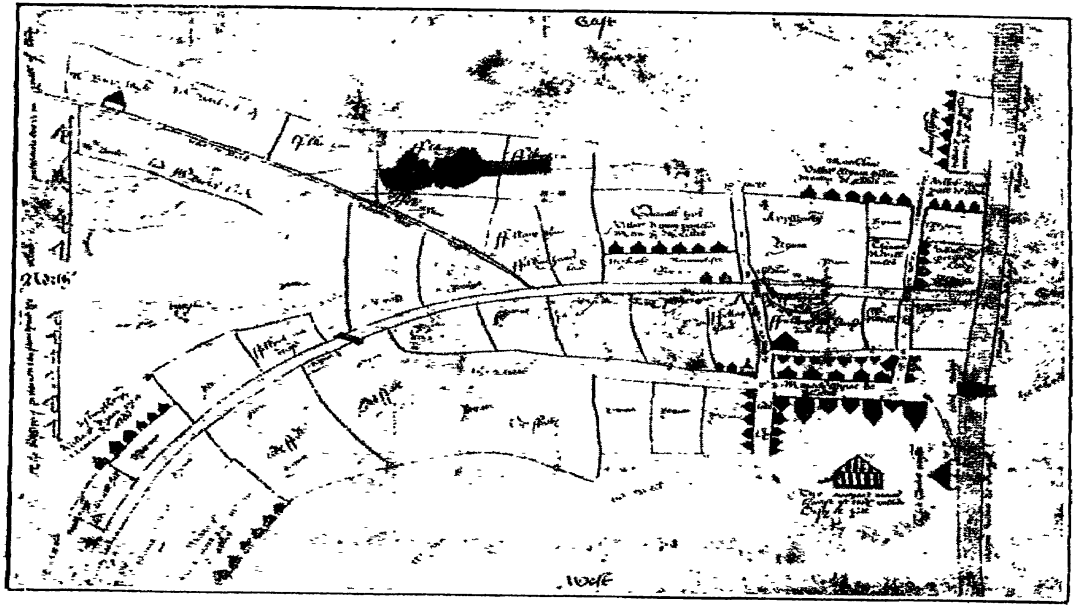

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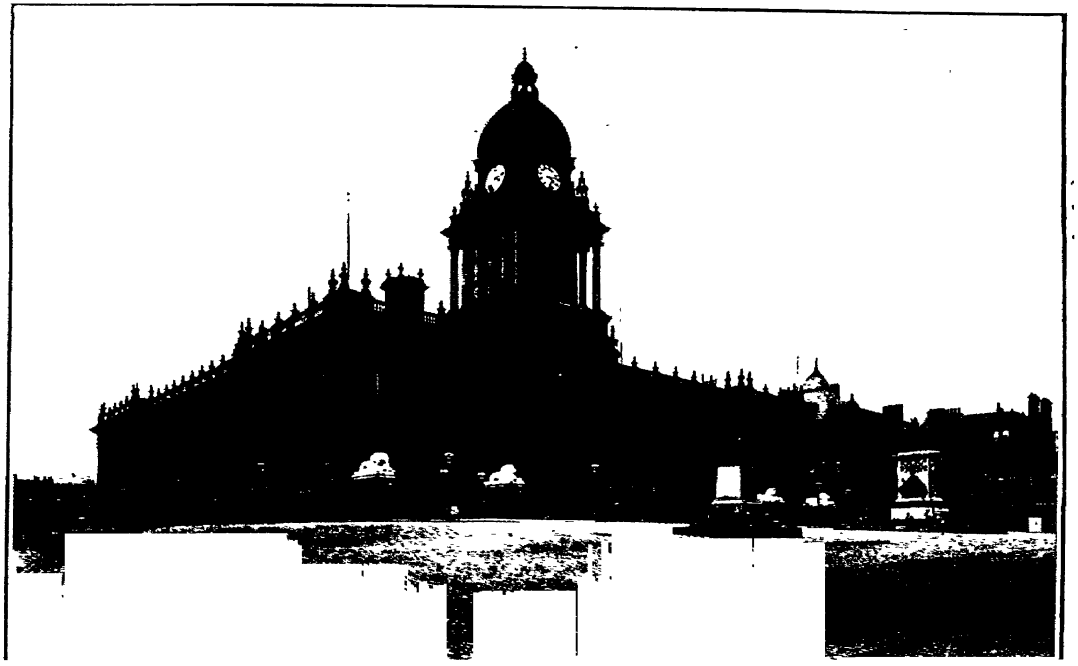
PLAN OF LEEDS IN 1560



THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH TOWN

LEEDS

BY

J. S. FLETCHER

MEMBER OF THE YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

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PREFACE

I HAVE endeavoured in the following pages to give as full an account of Leeds in its progress from a small pre-Conquest settlement to its present position as one of the greater cities of England, as can be presented within the limited space placed at my disposal. The material for such an account is to be found, mainly, in the authorities referred to on another page. Those readers who wish to know more details will find them in the massive folios of Thoresby and Whitaker, in the various publications of the Thoresby Society, and in such works as those of the late Mr. D. H. Atkinson. My particular thanks are due to Mr. A. C. Price, whose book, "Leeds and its Neighbourhood: An Illustration of English History" (in which he is kind enough to make many references to my own topographical work relating to Yorkshire), contains a mass of valuable information, and to Mr. W. T. Lancaster, F.S.A., for placing in my hands various works from the library of the Yorkshire Archæological Society.

J. S. FLETCHER.

THE CROSSWAYS,
HAMBROOK, CHICHESTER.
July, 1918.

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LEEDS

I. THE BEGINNINGS

WHEN, in the summer of the year 625, St. Paulinus brought Æthelburh, sister of Eadbald, King of Kent, northward to York, to be married to Eadwine, King of Northumbria, the bride must needs have been struck, if not affrighted, at the wildness of the land through which she and her guardian passed in the last stages of their journey. For they would come into what is now Yorkshire by the old Roman way which led from Doncaster to Castleford, and thence by Tadcaster to York, and they would see small evidence of human life beyond the cots of some obscure settlement, or the hovels of the swineherd and the woodmen, set deep in the forest glades. On their right would lie the marsh and waste which then spread over much of the county between the lower stretches of the Aire and the levels around York; on their left, the edges of the deep woods which covered most of the great tract of land which we now know as the West Riding. Upon the dark recesses in those woods Æthelburh doubtless looked with awe as she and St. Paulinus made their way to York: from York the King who awaited her coming looked out on them, too, but with the feelings of a conqueror.

For that vast tract had until his time been an independent kingdom, and he had recently gone out from York to subdue it, and had successfully wrought his work, and about the time that St. Paulinus brought Æthelburh to him, he was able to boast that by this conquest his Northumbrian sovereignty had been extended from the eastern to the western sea. And it may have been that the great missionary, as he conducted Æthelburh forward in the last stages of their journey, pointed to the dark woods which lay westward, and told her of the old kingdom of Elmet, of which they formed the boundary, and of its wild fastnesses and pagan folk—and he may have told her also that in the midst of his newly acquired territory Eadwine had set up a royal lodge, or fort, or camp at a place then called Loidis. In that name, evidently of Keltic origin, we have the source of the modern name Leeds.

Ralph Thoresby, the topographer, perhaps the most notable of the many eminent men whom Leeds has produced, considered that his native town was one of the twenty-eight cities of ancient Britain which are specified by Nennius, the more or less fabulous chronicler, who is supposed to have been Abbot of Bangor early in the seventh century, and that its original name was Caer Loid Coit or Caer Loyd yn y Leod—the camp or fortress in the wood. But we may put that down as fanciful conjecture, unsupported by any historical evidence; we have no dependable mention of any place that we may associate with Leeds before Bede (c. 673–735) who, in the fourteenth chapter of his "Ecclesiastical History," writes that the altar of a certain church, erected under Eadwine,

at a place which Bede calls Campodunum, and subsequently destroyed by the Pagans after Eadwine's fall, was re-erected, and was in existence in his day at the cell of Thrydulf, Abbot, "in regione quae vocatur Loidis." As to the exact location of Campodunum, much speculation has existed: the antiquary, Gale, noting that in Ælfred's paraphrase of Bede, Campodunum is rendered Donafelda, considered it to have signified Tanfield, near Ripon; other writers have fixed it as being on or near the site of the present Doncaster; again, there may have been confusion between the names Campodunum and Cambodunum, a station on the Second Roman Iter, now definitely identified with Slack, near Huddersfield. When Bede wrote of the region or wood of Loidis, he probably referred generally to the forest that overspread the whole of the ancient kingdom of Elmet, which extended from the borders of the present Derbyshire on the south to the valley of the Nidd on the north, and from the Pennine Range on the west to a line drawn from Aldborough to Doncaster on the east. Green, in his "Making of England," inclines to the opinion that Elmet was also known by the name of Loidis. In Elmet, or Loidis, Eadwine, after his expulsion of Cerdic, last king of Elmet, set up some sort of a royal dwelling—whether it was somewhere on the site of modern Leeds, or at the village of Barwick-in-Elmet, a few miles away, we do not know. But at Barwick-in-Elmet there are certain ancient remains—locally known as Hall Tower and Wendel Hill—which are without doubt those of the earthworks of an old British camp.

At Aldborough, close to the banks of the Aire, the *Iscur* of the old Brigantine folk, the *Isurium* of the Roman occupation, those Kelts who inhabited this part of Yorkshire in the pre-Roman days, had their principal stronghold, from whence they sallied forth hunting and ravaging over the neighbouring valleys. But of their existence in or about Leeds there are few evidences. They gave names to the river Aire and to the long hill in lower Wharfedale so well known as Otley Chevin (*arw*=violent; *cefn*=ridge); there are traces of them—and possibly of some still earlier peoples—on the moors between Wharfedale and Airedale: the earthworks at Barwick-in-Elmet probably originated with them, to be enlarged and improved at later periods. But there are no remains of the rude tracks which they trod between settlement and settlement, nor has much been found in this district of arms or pottery of their manufacture. There are scarcely more evidences or remains of the Roman occupation. One great Roman road, from south to north, lay on the eastern boundaries of Elmet; another, from Tadcaster, by Slack, led to Manchester, and passed nearer Leeds. But there are traces of Roman vicinal ways in the immediate neighbourhood of Leeds—at Alwoodley, and at Adel, and between Bramhope and the approaches to upper Wharfedale. On the site of towns in the vicinity, such as Tadcaster (*Calcaria*), Castleford (*Legiolium*), and Ilkley (*Olicana*) the Romans established some of their most important stations in the North. At Adel, close to Leeds, famous for its almost unique church, many Roman remains have been found; between Adel and Eccup are the distinct

traces of a camp probably made by the Romans on the foundations of an ancient British earthwork. Perhaps the most ancient thing ever laid bare in Leeds was the paved ford in the river Aire, near the old bridge at the foot of Briggate —of distinct Roman remains the local archæologists have discovered little, though there were doubtless Roman ironworks at Farnley, a few miles from the centre of the present city. Nor is there much to tell—from material memorials —of the days which followed the coming of the Saxon and the Dane. If we wish to go back to the first beginnings of the English in this part of the land, we shall find our best evidences of antiquity in the old Shire Oak at Headingley, and in the presence of many places in the outskirts of Leeds which have the termination of their names in *ley*—Bramley, Armley, Wortley, Farsley—deriving it from the Anglo-Saxon *leah*= an open place in the wood.

There is no dependable historical record of Leeds until we reach the time of the Domesday Survey of 1085. Therein, certain places which are now part of Leeds itself, and have, indeed, been so for many a long year, are described as being separate from the little town which doubtless stood, a mere collection of rude cots, between the present Kirkgate and the river. Hunslet, now in the centre of workaday Leeds, is so described; so is Headingley: Kirkstall, Holbeck, Burley were all far out of the town. Thanks to the surveyors' custom of setting down what a place had been in the days of Edward the Confessor we know what Leeds was before the Norman Conquest as well as what it was when Domesday Book was

compiled. About 1068 Leeds was evidently a purely agricultural domain, of about one thousand acres in extent; it was divided into seven manors, held by as many thanes; they possessed six ploughs; there was a priest, and a church, and a mill: its taxable value was six pounds. When the Domesday records were made, it had slightly increased in value; the seven thanes had been replaced by twenty-seven villains, four sokemen, and four bordars—the villains were what we should now call day-labourers: the soke or soc men were persons of various degrees, from small owners under a greater lord, to mere husbandmen: the bordars are considered by most specialists in Domesday terminology to have been mere drudges, hewers of wood, drawers of water. The mill, when this survey of 1085 was made, was worth four shillings. There were ten acres of meadow. And the great lord of the place was that Ilbert de Lacy to whom William the Conqueror had given vast possessions stretching widely across country from Lincolnshire into Lancashire, and whose chief stronghold was then building at Pontefract, a few miles to the south-east.

There is a significant fact attaching to what we know of the history of Leeds at this particular period. In 1085, when the Domesday Survey was made, the greater part of what had only recently begun to be called Yorkshire (and Yorkshire, says Stubbs—"Constitutional History," i. 109—was the only one of the existing sub-divisions of the old Northumbrian Kingdom styled as a shire before the Conquest) lay waste—the result of the terrible revenge which the Conqueror had wreaked on Yorkshire folk after the York rising

of 1070. But Leeds was evidently not waste. Nor were the various lands around Pontefract, nor, as far as we can gather, were any of the various manors which belonged to the de Lacy fee. The probability, then, is that the lands of the de Lacy ownership were all specially protected when the harrying of the North took place. Leeds accordingly profited by the fact that William had given it to one of his chief favourites. While the greater part of the county was absolutely destitute of human life, and all the land northward lay blackened as the effect of the fire which had burned thorpe and toft, homestead and cot, Leeds in 1085 had a population of at least two hundred people. But of any close connection between Leeds and the de Lacies there is little record: their chief history in Yorkshire centres in and around the great castle which they built at Pontefract. Many of their manors were sub-let: Leeds, at some period very soon after the Norman Conquest, was sub-let to one Ralph Paganel.

Of these Paganels we know much more, in connection with Leeds, than we know of the de Lacy overlords. Ralph Paganel, or Paynel, figures largely in the Domesday entries. He was one of the principal tenants-in-chief in Yorkshire; he had land in all these Ridings; he had properties in many other English counties; he held estates which had formerly belonged to the Canons of York Minster: the entries relating to him in Domesday Book are many. He is returned as holding a great deal of land of Ilbert de Lacy; he held Headingley and Sturton (in the parish of Aberford) as well as Leeds. He must, indeed, have been one of the chief mesne-tenants in Yorkshire

and he was High Sheriff of the county in the year 1110. He founded, and liberally endowed, the Priory of Holy Trinity at York, delivering it, and all the wealth he gave with it, "to Blessed Martin of Marmoutier and to his monks to be in their possession for ever for the soul of my Lord King William and of his wife Matilda and for the redemption and good estate of his son William, who has also willingly authorized this gift, with the assent of my wife Matilda, and my sons William, Jordan, Elias and Alexander . . . so that we may have in time to come a share of the Blessed Resurrection." The William Paganel here mentioned by his father imitated his pious example, and founded the Priory of Drax: other Paganels gave largely to the Abbey of Kirkstall.

It was from a descendant of the Paganels, described as Maurice de Gaunt, that the folk of Leeds received their first charter. This was in November, 1207. Two years earlier, when Maurice de Gaunt was still a minor, a suit was brought in his behalf against the Prior of Holy Trinity, York, in respect of the advowson of the parish church of St. Peter in Leeds, all the rights of which benefice had been included in Ralph Paganel's original grant to the Priory. By the time the Leeds charter was given, he had come of age, and, for the purposes of the charter, had for the nonce assumed the name of his maternal ancestors—the preamble of the charter, at any rate, is so worded . . . "I Maurice Paynall have given and granted and by this charter confirmed to my burgesses of Leeds and their heirs franchise and free burgage and their tofts and with each toft half an acre of land for tillage to hold these of me and my heirs

in fief and inheritance freely quit and honourably rendering annually to me and my heirs for each toft and half an acre of land sixteen pence at Pentecost and at Martinmas." So ran this preamble of the charter—various provisions in its body were for the appointment of a bailiff (*prætor*) to preside over a court of justice, to collect rents and dues, and to fine recalcitrants; others stipulated for aids when the lord needed monetary help, and placed tenants under obligation to grind corn at his mill and bake in his oven.

We know, accordingly, something of what Leeds was at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It had a lord who was powerful, though he was feudatory to a more powerful overlord. It had a parish church—a few years later that parish church was rebuilt; still a few years more, and we hear of a chantry of St. Mary Magdalene being founded in it. It had certain rights of self-government; it had burgesses who were freemen; it had at least one man in it at the time the charter was granted who was something of a scholar, for Ralph de Leeds, who signed it as witness, adds that he himself transcribed the charter. But the population was small in 1207: it remained scanty for a long time afterwards. At the time of the famous Poll Tax of 1379 it appears not to have exceeded three hundred persons at the very outside; it was certainly one of the smallest towns in Yorkshire, such places as Snaith, Ripon, Tickhill, and Selby exceeding it in importance. And by that time it had long passed out of the hands of the Paganels and the de Lacies. Maurice de Gaunt lost his rights by figuring on the wrong side at the battle of Lincoln in 1217; they passed from

him to Ranulf, Earl of Chester, and through him reverted to the original owners; when the de Lacy estates became merged by marriage in the Duchy of Lancaster they passed to the royal family, and, on the accession of Henry IV., were absorbed into the possessions of the Crown.

II. KIRKSTALL

WHILE Leeds was yet without its first charter, and only slowly growing out of its hamlet stage, there was already rising close by, in the valley of the Aire, one of those great Cistercian abbeys of which Yorkshire by the middle of the twelfth century possessed no fewer than eight. That century witnessed the firm establishment of the Cistercian order in England. In 1128 a few monks from Aumone, in the diocese of Chartres, settled at Waverley, in Surrey, under the protection of William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester —from Waverley sprang the daughter houses of Ford and Garendon, Combe and Thame; by the end of the century at least one hundred similar houses had been set up in different parts of the country. Of these none became so famous, none were on such a scale as those which were founded in certain wild and solitary places amongst the Yorkshire dales. Rievaulx, directly colonized from Clairvaux itself, under the supervision of the great St. Bernard, came first in 1131; Fountains followed in 1132; Byland was established in 1143 and Jervaulx in 1145; Salley was set up in 1146 and Roche and Kirkstall in 1147; Meaux, the one house in the East Riding, had its beginnings in 1150. All these houses were of great

size and importance; there are still considerable remains of all but Meaux; those of Kirkstall, now the property of the townsfolk of Leeds, show that it only ranked second to its magnificent neighbour of Fountains.

Kirkstall had its origin in a vow made in sickness by Henry de Lacy, whose family, since the time of Ilbert, had been distinguished for its benefactions to the church. Robert de Lacy was the virtual founder of the great Augustinian Priory at Nostell and of the Cluniac house at Pontefract; in Pontefract Edmund de Lacy established the Dominicans. Many of the notable parish churches between Leeds and the Barnsdale district owed their twelfth-century restoration to this family; most probably to Henry de Lacy, Ilbert's grandson: the foundation of Kirkstall, at any rate, is definitely associated with his name. Being stricken with a sore sickness about the year 1146–7 he made a vow that if God would grant him renewed health he would found a house of Cistercian monks in honour of the Blessed Virgin. His prayer being granted, he took counsel with the Abbot of Fountains, and arranged the establishment of a Cistercian house at Barnoldswick, a bleak and solitary spot amidst the wilds of Craven. Thither thirteen of the monks of Fountains—one, Alexander, being chosen abbot—and ten lay brethren duly repaired, and settled in May, 1147. But the experiment was not fortunate—at least, so far as the first site is concerned. The community appears to have got into trouble with the parish priest of Barnoldswick; its members complained of the bitterness of the Craven climate, and before long there was an appeal to Rome in the matter of

removal. That, however, came about in another fashion. Abbot Alexander, being on his travels, and passing through the lower stretches of Airedale, lighted upon a small body of hermits already established at Kirkstall, near Leeds. They were under the rule of one Seleth, with whom Alexander quickly came to terms: to Kirkstall, all things being arranged, he would transplant his dissatisfied community at Barnoldswick. Forthwith he repaired to Henry de Lacy, the new proposal in his mind. But Kirkstall belonged—probably was let—to one William Peytvin; Henry de Lacy acted as intermediary in securing his consent. Then came the removal from Craven; the absorption of the hermits into the brotherhood; somewhere about 1150–52 the great abbey began building. At the time of the resettlement at Kirkstall the community appears to have been housed in temporary wooden cells—the first church may even have been of wood. But there are vast stone-quarries in that neighbourhood, and by 1160 Kirkstall Abbey, as we know it from its considerable remains, was in process of erection, and according to architectural experts, few English monastic houses have been so little altered from the original plan and execution during the succeeding centuries. Of present monastic remains in England, none exceed Kirkstall in extent and magnificence, with the sole exception of Fountains, and almost everything that the visitor now looks upon is the work of the twelfth-century builders.

It is difficult for us of this generation to form any accurate idea of what the lower stretches of Airedale were like when Alexander and his monks came to it from Barnoldswick. Nowadays there

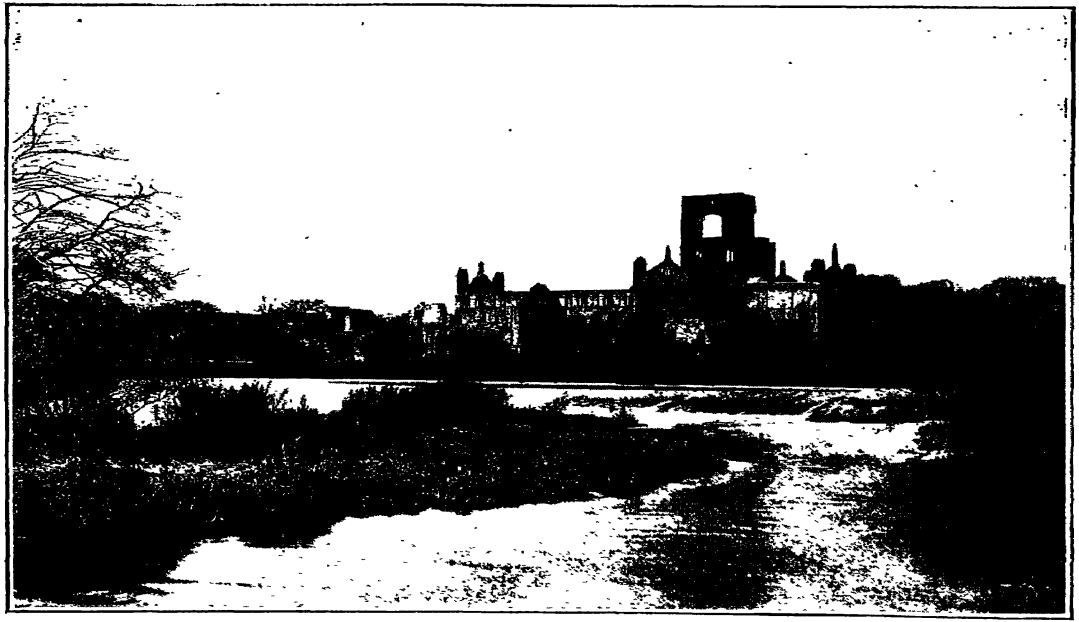
is an almost continuous line of town or suburb from Leeds to Shipley, and the evidences of industrialism in the shape of factory or forge are many on both sides of the river. But in those days anything outside Leeds, going northward, must have been in the nature of a solitude, and the Aire itself a clear and uncontaminated stream, as fresh at Kirkstall as when it poured out of its first sources in the Craven Hills. On the level sward by its eastern bank these founders built their church and cloister in the severe style peculiar to their order. There were similarities between Kirkstall and the earlier foundation at Fountains—the aisled nave, the north and south transepts with their eastern chapels, the short, aisleless chancel, the central tower at the crossing. Gradually all the distinctive features of a Cistercian house arose—the Galilee, the Cloister, the Chapter House, the Abbot's Lodging: much of it may be seen to this day. What may not be seen and can only be revived in imagination is the daily life spent here for four hundred years—the perpetual round of offices, the daily obligation, the daily task, the supervision of the trades and crafts to which the Cistercians in all their houses gave themselves up when they were not engaged in prayer. Here, as at Fountains, much trade was done in wool and farm produce; here, too, was a forge whereat iron was worked—forerunner of the great modern forge, close by, whose products are sent broadcast over the world.

Of various matters connected with Kirkstall we may gain some ideas and information from ancient documents, charters, and legal archives. Two of its Abbots were presumably Leeds men

—the thirteenth, William, who succeeded in 1269, and the twenty-first, Roger, who was elected 1349. In his Notes on the Religious and Secular Houses of Yorkshire extracted from the Public Records (Yorkshire Archæological Society's Record Series: xvii) Mr. W. P. Baildon gives numerous examples of how the Abbey came before public tribunals now and again in relation to its possessions, its rights, and—not seldom—in its differences with its neighbours. In 1269 Anketin Malure brings a suit against Abbot Simon, Ranulf de Berdesey and others for cutting down trees in his wood at Clifford to the value of 100 shillings: in 1284 the Abbot sues Luke de Ryther, Henry le Forester and others, of Ulleskelf, for cutting his trees at Cumpton to the value of £10. In 1285 Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarl, goes to law with the Abbot of Kirkstall, Brother Hugh de Grymeston, Brother William de Foleford, and others for seizing her cattle, to wit eight cows and four bullocks; they were driven, she pleads, to the Abbot's pound at Berdesey and there illegally detained, and she claims five pounds as damages. Four years later, the Abbot takes out process against Thomas de Eltoft and two others for forcibly rescuing one Robert, son of Richard Wigan, the Abbot's native, in his manor of Berdesey, whom the Abbot, for a certain act of insubordination, had put in the stocks previous to whipping him. In 1369 the Abbot charges John de Ledecombe, parson of the church at Castleford, and John Proctour of the same place, with mowing and carrying away the Abbot's corn and grass: in 1378 and again in 1385 he summons various persons, and amongst them a chaplain, Adam de

Shepeley, for entering his fee warrens at Horsforth, and Cookridge, and Headingley, and there helping themselves to his pheasants, partridges, rabbits, and hares. It would appear, indeed, that successive Abbots had much ado to look after the property of the house in various ways—one defendant, Richard Bayldon, of Snytall, is charged in 1399 in digging the Abbot's sea-coal at that place to the value of twenty pounds, a very considerable sum at that period.

Though never as rich nor as influential as Fountains, Kirkstall, as time went on, came to possess many lands and much wealth. Like Fountains, it had its time of poverty, but that time was a brief one. "Before the monks had been many months at Kirkstall," says Mr. W. T. Lancaster (Thoresby Society's Records, v, ix), "they had acquired valuable properties in Roundhay, Chapeltown, and Bramley, as well as in Headingley. Before they had been there a dozen years, the foundation of their great estate in Horsforth had been laid, the valuable grange of Micklethwaite had been established, and they had obtained considerable properties in the neighbourhood of Keighley and Cantley near Doncaster. By 1172 they had received their first grant in Cookridge, and some time afterwards Baldwin Fitz Ralph, Lord of Bramhope, was called to witness the cession of the whole of Cookridge to the monks by its owner, Roger Mustel." The various charters and documents appertaining to Kirkstall show that its possessions were spread over a considerable part of the West Riding—it had lands at Aberford, Adel, Armley, Arthington, Bardsey, Burley, Calverley, Collingham, Garforth, Pool, Pudsey, and



KIRKSTALL ABBEY

Photo. by C. R. H. Pickard

Pontefract, and a considerable tract in Wharfedale. When it was surrendered by Abbot John Ripley in 1540 its annual value was returned at a little over £500.

In the various State Papers relating to the Dissolution of the Monasteries there is not so much about Kirkstall as about certain other of the Cistercian houses in Yorkshire. It was duly visited by Thomas Cromwell's agents, Dr. Richard Layton and Dr. Thomas Legh, in 1536. Sent down to Yorkshire as commissioners under the new and extraordinary powers granted by Henry VIII. to Cromwell as Vicar-General, Legh and Layton arrived at York in the first weeks of that year, and immediately became active in inventing charges against the religious orders and in bribing some and terrorizing other superiors of monastic houses into submission. They made a remarkably speedy tour round the principal abbeys and priories —so speedy, indeed, that their visits to some could not have exceeded an hour in duration— and forwarded a report to Cromwell in which little more than bare mention of any place is recorded. All they have to say of Kirkstall in this account of their itinerary is in a few words: "Item to Chrystall Abbey of the Cystercyenes off the furat fundacyon off St. Pattfylld Pictaviensis, Knyght." In the unprintable *Compendium Compertorium* they say that the founder was the king. In the correspondence between Cromwell and the various Yorkshire gentlemen who acted as commissioners at the actual Dissolution a few years later there is scarcely any reference to Kirkstall. But when it had been dismantled, it was granted by Henry VIII. to Archbishop Cranmer, who also

got the possessions of the neighbouring Priory of Arthington—both these grants were confirmed anew under Edward VI. According to a note in Atkinson's "Life of Thoresby," Queen Mary took possession of Kirkstall on Cranmer's attainder, and in Todd's "Life of Cranmer" there is an urgent memorial from Cranmer's son to Queen Elizabeth, praying that it may be restored to the family. Eventually it came into possession of the Saviles, and from them to the Earls of Cardigan, in whose holding it remained until recent times, when, by the generosity of a native of Leeds, the late Colonel North, it was acquired for the townsfolk of Leeds and converted into a popular resort for the people.

Once a house of prayer and labour, now a playground, Kirkstall had at one period of its history a fairly constant visitor who took vast interest in its ruined walls. Ralph Thoresby's diary and letters show that the great antiquary was fond of spending a few hours at the ancient abbey which was but an hour's journey from his house in Leeds. He had no sentimental love of the memory of the Cistercians, for he was a somewhat narrow-minded and bigoted Protestant, but he had the born antiquary's true love of the ancient, and was, moreover, an inveterate collector of rarities. About 1714 he hears that a stone coffin has been found by the wall of the garden at Kirkstall, and hastens to see it. The head part of the coffin is covered by a slab of stone, the rest with "small tiles, though larger than the Romans', of various forms and colours." He is inclined to think that these tiles once formed part of a Roman tessellated pavement; having viewed the coffin he concludes

—rather rashly—that it is that of what he calls the "Master Pontificer" of the building. He contrives to secure some of the tiles: they go, of course, into his museum of curiosities. On the 2nd April, 1720, he walks out to Kirkstall, "and by the help of my friend Mr. Lucas got up some of the tiles lately discovered, wherewith the Abbey, at least that part nigh the High Altar, was paved; there were some rows of blue and yellow ones set chequer-wise under the last wall, as afterwards others, more in view, with fleur-de-lys painted on them. Of these latter we found none, but brought of the others home with me." He is there again a fortnight later, and does so much unearthing of more tiles and stones "that we were late and in the dark." He makes fresh discoveries now and then in wandering about. "Found a door open which I had never seen before, clambered up seventy-seven steps to a pinnacle; there are seven pillars on each side from there upon which the steeple stands to the west end; at the east three chapels for the several altars on either side of the high altar; in viewing the ruins . . . was pleased to find some of the British or Roman bricks." It was a favourite theory of Thoresby's that much Roman brick had been used at Kirkstall by the original builders—he collected many for his museum: they were, he notes, "eight inches broad and almost double the length." He also found another sort of bricks there, 11×5×2, which he thinks were laid down when the abbey was built. These, too, figured in the collection in his museum—a better receptacle, certainly, than the pig-stye or cow-house so often built out of ecclesiastical ruin. Leeds folk had a portion of the

ruins of Kirkstall in their midst for a long time, for, according to the Boke of Accompts kept by the Church Wardens from 1583, the stairs built on the west side of Leeds Bridge were of stone brought from " Chrisstall Abbey."

III. THE MEDIEVAL TOWN

BEFORE we endeavour to realize some notion of Leeds as it appeared during the Middle Age, it will be well to take a short view of Yorkshire as the county existed in the full tide of feudalism. It is difficult to imagine the sparcity of its population—especially when one bears in mind that there are now well over four millions of people living within the three Ridings. But in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries Yorkshire was as scantily populated, everywhere, as the most solitary stretches of the various Dales or the North York moors are to-day—as in their case, there was a small town here and there, a tiny hamlet, an isolated farm steading, and—though they were then in their full pride, and not, as now, in ruins—the castle of the nobleman, and the abbey or priory of the monk. At the time of the Domesday Survey the total population of the county was between 7000 and 8000: in 1379, the year of a notable Poll Tax, it probably did not exceed 90,000. There was then no town which we of this day would call large—in the reign of Edward III., York, the largest, could boast no more than 10,000 inhabitants; Pontefract, the next most important place, came a considerable distance behind. Of the present great cities—Leeds,

Bradford, Sheffield—we know little more than that they were small and insignificant places: the places of importance were towns like Tickhill, Hedon, Boroughbridge, Knaresborough, and the like, long since sunk to unimportance. Yet there were then features of the county which must have assumed a rare significance and importance in the eyes of those who saw them. By the end of the fifteenth century York Minster stood finished as we see it to-day. In the East Riding men marvelled at the beauties of Beverley; in the lower stretches of Wensleydale, at the plainer perfections of Ripon. Everywhere rose glorious parish churches—Hedon and Patrington, Rotherham and Hemingborough, Halifax and Tickhill; there was scarce a village in which the devotion of the people and the munificence of the private benefactor had not erected a temple worthy of Christianity. And in addition to the white walls of these newly built houses of peace there had risen all over the county the equally fresh walls of other buildings, raised for vastly different purposes—the great castles and square keeps of the Norman barons: Pontefract and Richmond, Knaresborough and Pickering, Scarborough and Sandal. Two powers were everywhere in evidence—the power of the Church, the power of the armed man.

York became principal town and centre of Yorkshire for two reasons—it was admirable as a military position, and its relation to the rivers and the North Sea rendered it a useful commercial centre. One or other of these reasons gave a spur to the progress of the other towns which became of importance in the Middle Age. But—for a long time, at any rate—Leeds was slow in growth.

Its site had no particular military advantages: the great strategic position of that part of Yorkshire was at Pontefract, close by. It had, at first, no commercial values—it may have been that its first beginnings in its staple trade sprang from the wool growing of the Cistercians at Kirkstall, on its borders. But during the first three or four centuries after the Norman Conquest the township was probably concerned with little more than agriculture, and such trade as it knew was confined to those retailings which establish themselves wherever communities spring up—dealings in the necessities of life, which, reduced to a minimum, are merely food and clothing. The town itself was small—it was probably confined within a triangle formed on the lines of the present lower Briggate, Kirkgate, and the river Aire, with the parish church at one angle—somewhere about, perhaps on, the site of the modern one. The streets would be narrow, unpaved, unlighted—some of them as narrow, no doubt, as the Friar's Wynd at Richmond, or the curious alleys of Great Yarmouth. The houses, in spite of the fact that stone is so plentiful in the district, would be of wood, as a rule, or of pot and pan work, whitewashed, and possibly, in many cases, thatched. All around the little town lay the open fields and meadows, cultivated on the principle of strip-farming. And beyond these lay the still thick woods of the old forest of Elmet—and well into the Middle Age the town swineherds would take out the burgesses' pigs to eat acorns in their glades, and the town woodman would ply his trade amongst the oaks and beeches for the good of the community.

The church at that time, as all through the Middle English period, would be the true centre of the town's life. Between town and parish, in terms, there was no difference, and as the church was centre of the parish, so it was centre-point of the town. It was, moreover, a centre of self-government—"the parish," says Bishop Hobhouse, "was the community of the township organized for Church purposes, and subject to Church discipline, with a constitution which recognized the rights of the whole body as an aggregate, and the right of every adult member, whether man or woman, to a voice in self-government." Naturally, therefore, the folk took a vast pride in their parish church. Much of the work necessary for its up-keep was done by themselves: masonry, woodwork, ironwork by the men; the mending—very often the making—of vestments, the care and cleaning of the interior by the women. The church was the scene of vestry meetings, the head office of the guilds; it was not a place to be sought perfunctorily on Sunday, but one to be used at all days and all hours. The Labourers' Mass was said in it every working-day morning: its door stood open from Mattins to Compline: in a true sense of the word it was Home. Here in Leeds the parish church had all the advantages of ancient foundation. We know from the Domesday record that it and its priest were in existence in the days of Edward the Confessor; there had probably been a church at the foot of Kirkgate from the days of St. Paulinus. By the end of the fourteenth century St. Peter's of Leeds had become a benefice of no little value; at the time of the Poll Tax of 1379 it was reckoned as being worth

£80 a year—a large sum in our money—and the Prior of Holy Trinity at York was then receiving from the Vicar of Leeds one annual pension of ten pounds. About this time, too, several chantries had been established in connection with the parish church, though not within the fabric, after the usual fashion. There was a chantry, dedicated to Our Lady, at the North Bar; a third, at the foot of Briggate, either on or near the bridge—probably founded and endowed for the use of travellers. Later, Thomas Clarell, vicar, founded the Chantry of St. Catherine in the parish church itself: his successor, William Evers, Evre, or Eure, vicar, founded the Chantry of St. Mary Magdalene at the north-east corner of Briggate. Even though Leeds had, when Leland visited it in 1536, but "one paroche church, reasonably well builded," it was never without church influence.

One great purpose the Church in those days carried into constant effect—it stood between the poor folk and their over-lords, who, if they were not oppressors by nature and choice, possessed powers of a most arbitrary description. Municipal life, outside the Church affairs, there was none—the lord of the manor was, in all intents and purposes, a supreme autocrat. He obliged the people to bake at his oven and grind at his mill. He could suddenly interrupt their business by calling on them to follow him to war. He had the first call on their labour. He imposed what taxes he pleased. He seized on their goods at his will, and threw them into prison if they made resistance to the seizing. No widow might take a new husband without his consent; no man become a burgess unless he approved. No inhabitant could

leave the township without his leave; all marriages of young people must be submitted to him. He made the laws of the markets and collected its tolls; in many places he had the power of life and death, and that Leeds was one of such places seems to be proved from mention of a place called Gallows Field in the Manor Rolls of 1650.

A part of the present Briggate—from time immemorial the principal thoroughfare of Leeds inasmuch as it leads straight from the bridge over the Aire through the heart of the town—seems from a very early period to have been the site of the Market, always a highly important place in a medieval town. Here, on any market day, the lord's collectors would be seen, moving from stall to stall, insisting on their dues, which, when they were collected, would be paid in to the toll-booth, where the head collector, or chief bailiff sat in supervision. There was much supervision in those days—officials were as numerous as they seem likely to become in these. There was an Assize of Bread—bakers whose loaves were not up to the standard, or who offended by giving short weight, met with summary punishment by being dragged through the streets on a hurdle, their loaves tied round their necks. There was an Assize of Ale—if the liquor brewed by the ale-wives failed to satisfy the palates of the ale-tasters, the vendors quickly found themselves in the pillory or subjected to a fine. There was an Assize of Measures—and somewhere in the township, usually against the wall of the church, there was a standard of length, against which the seller of fabrics must test his yard measure. In such a town as Leeds, when cloth began to be sold in quantity, we may

be sure that short length was jealously looked after.

While the people looked to the Church for protection against undue oppression, they also looked to it for something which, so far as we can see, they would never have got without it—rest. Our medieval forefathers of the dominant class had no niceties about labour—in their opinion the man whose lot was work must discharge his obligations from the rising of the sun to its setting. There was no talk in those times of eight-hour-days, nor even of half-holidays. But here the Church was powerful—no man might labour on her holy days. The holy days were many—far too many, in the opinion of some folk. But they were a welcome relief to the working folk, for their lot, in general, was a hard one. The glamour of distance is so thickly thrown around the Middle Age that we are apt to think of it as nothing but a romantic and picturesque period. Yet what would be the condition of a Leeds man of the common multitude in, say, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries? His home would be little better than a hovel, set in a miserable alley. His dress would be hose and tunic, gay enough in colour, no doubt, but poor and coarse in material; his wife would be clothed just enough for decency, his children would run about in rags, if not in semi-nudity. His food would be as coarse as his dress: he would throw the bones on his mud floor, just as unconcernedly as he would throw any and all household refuse and slops on the manure heap at his door. He fetched his water from the river—fortunately, the Aire in those days was still uncontaminated by the products of mills and

factories. He knew nothing of hygiene, nothing of sanitation. Hence the frightful epidemics which were always breaking out: hence the lazar-houses which existed in nearly every town. The Franciscans, bringing into England some simple knowledge of the healing art, found as much need to mend the body as to spur up the spirit when they fixed themselves in the poorer quarters of the cities. Looked at from a certain standpoint, the Middle Age was picturesque—but it was essentially an age of dirt and disease; of squalor, and of hard, dull, cheerless existence. It seems a curious, even a paradoxical thing to say, but it is wonderfully true that the medieval working man's chief recreation lay in practising his religion.

But always, out of the dirt and the disease, and the ceaseless toil, and the oppressions of the great, things moved forward, even in those days. Little by little, the people got some power to govern themselves. Sometimes they got concessions by favour; more usually they bought it with their hard-earned money. A new charter of rights; an enlarged market-charter; the exchanging of a fixed yearly payment for the vexatious collection of tolls and dues; the buying-out of the lord in some matter that affected him little, and themselves a great deal; the doing away with his bailiff, and the substitution of their own headman; finally, the winning of the best thing of all, a charter of incorporation and the setting up of a common council, presided over by a mayor—these were the various steps by which the communities advanced to freedom and liberty. But great assistance also came from the setting up of the Gilds. They began far back—as far as Saxon

times—and at first they were entirely associated with the parish church: they corresponded to the modern associations which are nowadays found in most well-regulated parishes. They buried the dead, they rang the bells, they nursed the sick, they sought out the poor. This successful banding together of men for a common object led to the establishment of secular gilds of craftsmen and tradesmen. In Yorkshire they were flourishing exceedingly by the beginning of the fifteenth century—there were then thirty-eight at Beverley and sixty at York. Their rules were strict; in some cases they seem harsh. But they made for the general welfare of the community, and they were a great protection against outside interference. They laid down regulations which protected men against master, and master against man; they encouraged that theory of economics which we now associate with the term "most favoured." As time progressed they became rich and powerful, associations to be held in respect by the authorities, whether municipal or land-owning. Men left money to them: the wills of that period show that it was quite a common thing for a man who was making his last testamentary disposition to remember the gild to which he had belonged. Some of the amounts so left seem to us ridiculously small, but they are typical and significant of the spirit of the times. Thomas Moor of Leeds leaves one shilling to the Jesu Gild in 1524; William Atkinson benefits it to the extent of three shillings and fourpence three years later; Gilbert Casson bequeathed to its priest twelvepence a little later still; similar benefactions are recorded in connection with the gilds in all the Yorkshire towns. When

the gilds were swept out of existence in the sixteenth century a vast wrong was committed; they, perhaps more than any other institution, had helped to free the many from the arbitrary rule of the individual.

IV. 1530–1661

THERE is a curious proof that at the beginning of what we may fitly call its period of transition, Leeds had not yet taken rank amongst even the smaller Yorkshire towns. In a document dated 1470 it is referred to as being "near Rothwell." Now, Rothwell is an ancient village in the neighbourhood, nowadays given up to coal-mining, and probably much bigger than it ever was at any period of its sufficiently long history, but it was no more than a village at the date just mentioned. What, then, was Leeds, to be written about as being "near" so insignificant a place? It had evidently not emerged from its chrysalis stage. But within the next half-century it made some emergence. Its trade in woollen cloths began to develop, and when Leland visited it in 1536 he was able to report of it that it was a pretty market town which stood most by clothing and was as large as Bradford, though not so "quik," by which he evidently meant not so enterprising. However, we know something definite about Leeds as it was during that eventful sixteenth century. Its boundaries had been extended. At the time of Leland's visit, it had widened itself as far as the present Upperhead Row in one direction and to what is now Park Row in another. The value of the tithes of the parish at the Dissolution of the

Monasteries amounted to £48. And that the population was steadily increasing is proved by the fact that in 1574 there were 133 baptisms, 32 marriages, and 78 burials recorded in the newly started registers of the parish church. Nevertheless, much of the old life and conditions still existed. The Crown was now over-lord, and had been so ever since the accession of Henry IV., and the folk still ground their corn at the King's mills and baked their bread at the King's oven. There was as yet no charter of incorporation, and though the people were rapidly approaching to conditions of liberty their lot was still not very appreciably different to that of their forefathers. Up to the end of the sixteenth century Leeds may be looked upon as existing in semi-feudalism.

The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in 1536–40, while it made a vast difference to Yorkshire generally, probably affected Leeds very little —unless it was to force an increasing amount of poor into its narrow streets. Within Leeds itself there had never been any monastic establishment. Houses of religion of one sort or another, from great abbeys to small cells, had existed in some one hundred and fifty separate places in Yorkshire —Leeds never knew one. Neither Dominicans nor Franciscans ever settled in her—she could not show a single religious hospital. Consequently there was no pulling down and rooting out in her midst. Her only connection with monastic institutions was with Kirkstall, which, close as it was, was yet outside her boundaries, and, through her parish church of St. Peter, with the Benedictine House of Holy Trinity at York. We know from the Calendar of State Papers (Henry VIII.) what became of the

Leeds lands and possessions which had belonged to the York priory. Thomas Culpeper got the advowson of the parish church of Leeds "to hold by the hundredth part of a knight's fee" (Calendar: xiii, ii, 282). It was, later, sold by Culpeper's son, Alexander, to Rowland Cowick, of London, who in his turn sold it to another London man, Thomas Preston, citizen and draper, who subsequently sold it to Edmund Darnley, citizen and haberdasher. Sir Arthur Darcy (son of the Lord Darcy who was beheaded for his share in the Pilgrimage of Grace) got the lands in Leeds, Holbeck, Kirkstall, Wortley, and in many other adjacent places. Henceforth the folk who had lived under the easy rule of the Churchmen were to pay their rents and dues to Henry VIII.'s new landed gentry.

There are no records of any provision for education in Leeds prior to the Reformation. But the lack of them by no means proves that there were no educational facilities. No greater mistake can be made than to suppose that there was no education in England for the common folk in the Middle Age. "Absolutely unlettered ignorance ought not to be alleged against the lower and middle classes of these ages," says Stubbs. "In every village reading and writing must have been not unknown accomplishments . . . schools were by no means uncommon things . . . towards the close of the Middle Ages there was much vitality in the schools." ("Constitutional History," iii, 608.) Mr. A. F. Leach, in his "English Schools at the Reformation," and in the two volumes of his "Early Yorkshire Schools," has abundantly proved that education was by no means in neglect in England in general and in Yorkshire in particular previous to the

sixteenth-century upheaval. Still, we get no mention of education in Leeds until 1552, when one William Sheafield, who seems to have been identical with William Sheaffield, chantry priest of St. Catherine in Leeds, left property in the town for the establishment of a learned schoolmaster who should teach freely for ever such scholars, youths, and children as should resort to him—with the wise proviso that the Leeds folk themselves should find a suitable building and make up the master's salary to ten pounds a year. Here is the origin of Leeds Grammar School which, first housed in the Calls, and subsequently in Lady Lane, had by the end of that century become an institution of vast importance and was to develop to even far greater things.

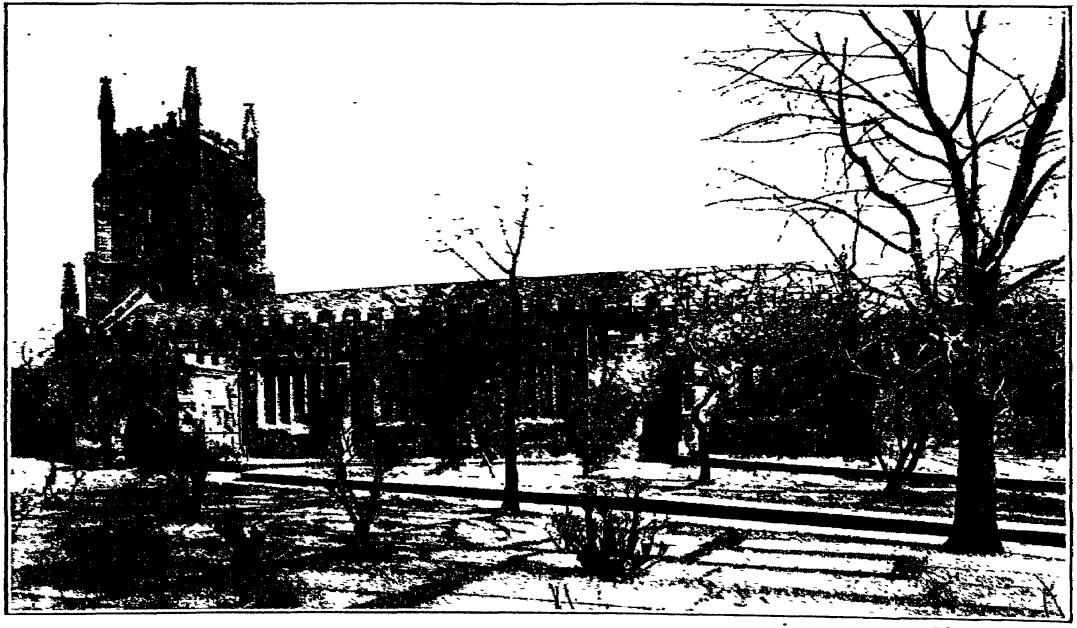
As the sixteenth century drew to a close, and while the seventeenth was still young, the townsfolk of Leeds secured—in the first instance at their own cost, in the second by a strictly limited Royal favour—two important privileges—the right of electing their own vicar and of governing themselves in municipal affairs. In 1583 the town bought the advowson of the parish church from its then possessor, Oliver Darnley, for £130, and henceforth the successive vicars were chosen by a body of trustees—the most notably successful experiment in popular election which has ever been known in the National Church. In 1626, Leeds received its first charter of incorporation from Charles I., whose father had made himself unpopular in the town by selling the Royal Mills to Edward Ferrers and Francis Philips a few years earlier. The charter, premising that Leeds in the County of York is an ancient and populous town,

whose inhabitants are well acquainted with the Art and Mystery of making Woollen Cloths, sets up a governing body of one Alderman, nine Burgesses, and twenty Assistants, the first Alderman being Sir John Savile of Howley, Knight. But the privilege for some years was a limited one: the Crown reserved to itself the rights of appointment to any of the thirty vacancies which might occur by death: popular election did not come for some time. Eighteen years after the granting of this charter Leeds joined with other towns in the neighbourhood in a Memorial to the King wherein he was besought to settle his differences with the rebellious Parliament. Of this no notice was taken, and in the earlier stages of the Civil War the town was garrisoned for the Royal cause under Sir William Savile.

We know something of what Leeds was like at this stage of its history. It was really a town of one long and wide street, Briggate, from which narrow lanes ran off on either side. At the foot of Briggate, on the old bridge over the river Aire, the cloth market was held on Tuesdays and Saturdays. On the left side of Briggate, going up the street, was Swinegate—on the flats between it and the river bank the cloth made in the town was stretched on frames called tenters. On the right was a narrow path known as The Calls—it led through the burgesses' gardens to St. Peter's Church. On the same side as Swinegate was Boar Lane—here several gentlemen of the county had their town houses. Opposite was Kirkgate—here, too, there were gentlemen's houses: Edward Fairfax, the poet and translator, lived in one, John Thoresby, father of Ralph, in another;

the great topographer himself was born in Kirkgate: at the end of this street was the vicarage, and close by it the parish church, which had a tower nearly one hundred feet in height. In the centre of Briggate stood the Moot Hall; at the top of Briggate was Upper Head Row, wherein was a notable house called Red Hall. Across the street was Nether Head Row, wherein was another fine house called Rockley Hall. There were narrow lanes and alleys in and about all these streets with gardens and open spaces here and there—and all outside was country. The places which are now swallowed up in modern Leeds were the villages and hamlets, quite a distance away from its centre. But already there were signs that Leeds was extending, for on the very edge of the town, just above Upper Head Row, John Harrison, a native, had, ten years before Marston Moor, built, at his own cost, a new church dedicated to St. John.

But it was a very small Leeds which Sir William Savile occupied for the King in January, 1643, having under him 500 horse and 1500 foot. He made somewhat elaborate preparations for the defence of the place, digging a six-foot trench from St. John's Church by Upper Head Row, Boar Lane, and Swinegate to the banks of the river: erecting breastworks at the north end of the bridge, and placing demi-culverins in a position to sweep Briggate. Against him on Monday, January 23, advanced the redoubtable Sir Thomas Fairfax, at the head of a Parliamentary force which appears to have numbered at least 3000 horse and foot. Finding the bridge at Kirkstall broken down, Fairfax crossed the Aire at Apperley Bridge, and came on to Woodhouse Moor, a mile



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH

Photo by E. Guy

out of the town, whence he despatched a trumpet to Savile, calling on him to surrender. Savile returned the answer which was doubtless expected, and in the teeth of a heavy snowstorm, Fairfax led his troops forward to the assault. The action began about two o'clock of the afternoon and appears to have developed on all sides of the town. It rapidly went in favour of the assailants, and by four o'clock the Parliamentarian leaders and their troops were in Briggate and Boar Lane, while Sir William Savile, Vicar Robinson, and Captain Beaumont were fleeing for their lives. Beaumont was drowned in crossing the Aire; Sir William and the vicar got safely to Methley. Fairfax took nearly 500 prisoners—and immediately released them on their promising not to take up arms against the Parliament on any further occasion. Not a very great affair this, nor a very sanguinary one, yet it settled the question of King or Commons so far as that part of the West Riding was concerned. The Puritan régime followed on the first successes of the Parliamentarians, and Leeds saw two Puritan ministers placed in the parish church and the new church of St. John. But in 1644 Leeds folk had something else to think about than the preaching of Presbyterian doctrines from the town pulpits: an epidemic, so serious as to rank with the medieval visitations of plague, broke out, and resulted in the death of 1300 inhabitants—not to speak of the mortality amongst animals. The weekly markets were discontinued, and deaths occurred with such startling rapidity that it was impossible to keep pace with them in the parish registers.

In 1646 Charles I. came to Leeds—a prisoner. After his surrender of himself to the Scottish generals

at Kelham, near Newark, he was led northward to Newcastle; on his return from that city, later, in charge of the Parliamentary Commissioners who conducted him to Holmby, he spent one night in the house called Red Hall, in Upper Head Row, a somewhat fine mansion of red brick with pointed gables which had been erected earlier in the century by Thomas Metcalf, who was one of the original Burgesses named in the King's charter of just twenty years previously. Of the unhappy monarch's short stay in Leeds two stories are told which may or may not be strictly true—they are none the less interesting. One is that a woman-servant so pitied the Royal captive that, finding an opportunity to speak with him in private, she offered to array him in her own clothes and convey him safely out of the town. Years later, when Charles II. had come to his own, this woman, being in London, contrived to acquaint him with the offer she had made to his father. Charles asked her of her husband's circumstances: she replied that he was then bailiff of Leeds (what official position this may have been the chroniclers do not tell), whereupon the King graciously said that henceforth he should be High-Bailiff of Yorkshire. The other story seems to be much more likely to be true—John Harrison, the wealthy Leeds man, of whom we shall presently hear more, called upon Charles I. at Red Hall on the evening of his arrival and craved permission to present his Majesty with a cup of ale, which he had brought in a fine silver tankard, having a lid to it. The King accepted Harrison's proffered hospitality, and lifting the lid of the tankard, found it filled, not with liquor, but with golden guineas, "which," says one of the

retailers of this story, "his Majesty did, with much celerity, hasten to secrete about his royal person."

It seems curious that up to the middle of the seventeenth century Leeds had never been directly represented in Parliament. Many now quite insignificant places in Yorkshire had sent members to the House of Commons from a very early period —Malton, Beverley, Northallerton had returned members as far back as 1298: Otley had had two members for centuries, and had once petitioned Henry VI. to be relieved of them, because of the expense. But it was not until 1654 that Adam Baynes, an army agent of some influence at Whitehall, was returned to sit at Westminster; he was returned again two years later with Francis Allanson as a second member. This representation came to an end at the Restoration in 1660, and Leeds had no more members of Parliament until the great Reform Act of 1832. But in 1661 it received some concession from the Crown which was perhaps of more importance to it—a new Municipal Charter. There had been some readjustment of the old one in 1642, but Charles II.'s Charter was of a far-reaching nature. It set up a Mayor, twelve Aldermen, twenty-four Assistants or Councillors, a Town Clerk, and a Recorder; it also provided for local election to vacancies. From the Charter of Charles I. and that of his son are derived the well-known arms of the town. The owls thereon are the Savile owls—famous throughout the county, where the Saviles have been legion: the mullets figured on the arms of Thomas Danby, first Mayor. The dependent sheep typifies the wool trade. Locally this Leeds coat-of-arms is vulgarly known as "three ullets an' a tup i' trouble."

V. TWO GREAT TOWNSMEN

IN the seventeenth and eighteenth century records of Leeds and its folk occur regularly the names of two men who did great things for their native town—John Harrison, Ralph Thoresby. One lived through the troublous times of the Civil War and died while Cromwell was still in full power; the other was born two years before the Restoration of the Monarchy and lived to see a statue of Queen Anne set up before the Moot Hall in Briggate. Each had certain tastes in common: the second was a warm admirer of the first: both left their mark on Leeds and its corporate life.

John Harrison was born in Leeds in 1579. He came of a stock which had acquired considerable property in the town—or, rather, on an edge of it which was soon to be absorbed. He was the owner of a large tract of land lying at the top of Briggate, beyond the streets now known as Upperhead and Lowerhead Rows. He was one of the first of the great Leeds merchants of cloth, and doubtless added largely to his inherited fortune by his ventures in the first considerable days of the staple trade. But in addition to his wealth in lands and money, he had other wealth in his gifts of character and talent. He appears to have been the first townsman of his time, universally respected, looked up to, and much depended upon

in all practical matters relating to the government of the place. When, in 1626, the first charter was obtained from Charles I., and Sir John Savile was appointed Alderman, the real duties of the office were performed by Harrison, as his deputy. A few years later, he and six other wealthy townsmen combined to buy the manorial rights of Leeds from the Crown: about that time he built a Market Cross at his own cost. During the whole of his life he appears to have been always to the fore in all matters relative to the improvement of the municipal life of Leeds: he is named in the first Charter, and his name constantly occurs in all records between 1626 and his death thirty years later.

It is somewhat difficult to find out which side Harrison really favoured when it came to a question of choosing sides between King and Parliament: if he was something of a wobbler, he was not the only Yorkshireman of note to be in such a predicament. He himself, charged by the Parliamentarians with favouring the Royal cause, pointed to the fact that he had used "a strong hand" in checking certain movements in favour of the King. There is little doubt that he made a money present to Charles I. when the King was in Leeds, but that may have been no more than a mark of generous sympathy towards a man in sore need and trouble. It is more certain that Harrison lent money to the Parliamentarians. Amongst the British Museum MSS. is the following curious Memorandum, which throws some interesting light on certain features of that period:—

"WHEREAS by Ordinance of Parliament bearing date the 24th day of November, 1642, The right honble Ferdinando Ld Fairfax (or whom he should

appoint Treasurer for that purpose) was enabled to engage the public faith of the Kingdom for all such Plate, Money, Armes and Horse as should be voluntarily lent or raysed for the service of the State in the Northern Counties. In pursuance of the said ordinance John Harrison of Leeds Esq., did in the yeare of our Lord 1642 furnish and lende the Sume of fower score and Ten poundes in money and also on [? an] Horse and Armes, being valued at Twenty Poundes, in all amounting to the sume of One Hundred and Ten Poundes, the Publique Faith of the Nation is to bee engaged unto the said John Harrison. In Testimony whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seale.

"W. Harrison, Treasurer,
"app^{td} by the s^{d} L^{d}
"Fairfax."

Whether "the Publique Faith of the Nation" ever made good his money to Harrison we do not know, but he probably cared little whether his loan of cash, horse, and arms was repaid or not. He was in the life-long habit of giving, and he gave in many directions. Leeds in his time was a growing place; it had many poor folk in it, and it was not much provided with hospitals for the sick and infirm amongst them. In 1643 one Jenkinson founded a hospital at Mill Hill: Harrison supplemented this, ten years later, with a home for indigent poor. But this was one of his last public benefactions; he had begun them—or made his first notable addition to them—in 1624, when he built a new home for the Grammar School first founded by William Sheafield. At that date the

JOHN HARRISON

PHILANTHROPIST

1579-1656

school was being taught in a building called New Chapel in Lady Lane: Harrison built a new home for it on a piece of his own property, on a site somewhere between the top of Briggate and Vicar Lane. That he was regarded within a short time after his death as a munificent patron of the Grammar School is proved by the fact that Ralph Thoresby speaks of him, in connection with it, as "the Grand Benefactor . . . never to be mentioned without Honour, the ever famous John Harrison."

Harrison is kept in mind of all modern Leeds folk by his statue in City Square, but his real and abiding memorial is in his church of St. John at the head of Briggate, which he built and endowed and saw consecrated by Richard Neile, Archbishop of York, on September 21, 1634. An incident occurred at this consecration day which shows the peculiar temper of those times. At the morning service the sermon was preached by John Cosin, then Archbishop's Chaplain and later Bishop of Durham; in the afternoon, by the first incumbent, Robert Todd, who was highly inclined to the Puritanical and Presbyterian notions. Todd made a fierce onslaught on the sermon to which he had listened in the morning. Neile immediately suspended him from his living for twelve months, and only forgave him at the direct intercession of founder Harrison and Sir Arthur Ingram. It is somewhat curious that no great beauty was attributed to St. John's in its youth—nor, indeed, for a long time afterwards. Whitaker, in his "Loidis and Elmete" (1816: a revised edition of Thoresby's famous "Ducatus Leodiensis), goes out of his way to pour scorn upon it, declaring

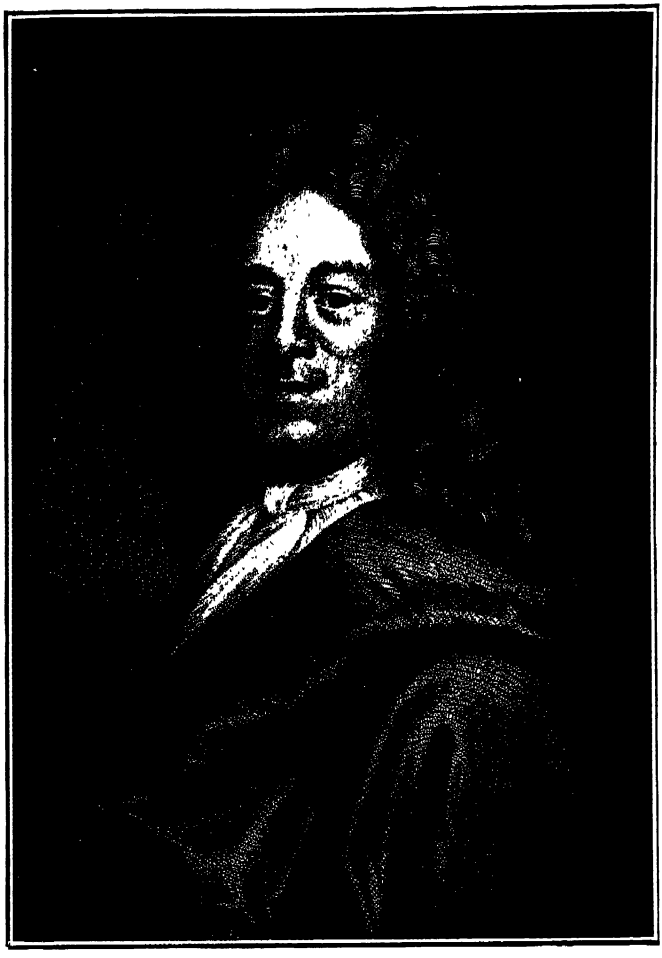
that it "has all the gloom and all the obstructions of an ancient church without one vestige of its dignity and grace." Such, however, is not the opinion of modern experts—Mr. J. E. Morris, one of the best and most dependable of them, in his "West Riding of Yorkshire," declares Harrison's church to be "a singularly interesting example—though far less pure, of course, in its architecture than Wadham College Chapel—of the last, faint flickering of the Gothic spirit; it is interesting, also, as affording us, in its sumptuous fittings, a good example of the Laudian revival." St. John's is, indeed, the finest and most notable church in Leeds, far exceeding the parish church in interest and architecture, and it is difficult to believe that, some few years ago, the town authorities actually had it in mind to pull it down. The Philistine spirit, however, sad though it is to have to confess it, is mightily strong amongst Yorkshiremen.

Ralph Thoresby was born two years after John Harrison died. His father was a well-known townsman. He came of an ancient family, which in its time had included a great prelate amongst its members—John Thoresby, successively Bishop of St. David's, Bishop of Worcester, Archbishop of York, Keeper of the Great Seal in the time of Edward III. Ralph Thoresby printed the genealogy of his family in his "Ducatus": he lets us see that he was not a little proud of it. As to Ralph himself he was born an antiquary, lived an antiquary, died an antiquary. Possessed for the greater part of his life of sufficient means, able all his life to devote himself to his favourite pursuits, he was perpetually investigating, searching, and collecting for his monumental works and his

cherished museum. He travelled much: he was often in London: he covered a great deal of paper: he stored up things in his museum until it assumed considerable proportions: he was as devoted to the past as Monkbarns himself. But he was something more than antiquary, topographer, and historian—he was a shrewd, observant, critical-minded man of the world, a sound and devoted Churchman —of a somewhat Tillotsonian sort, to be sure, and with a sneaking affection for a certain type of Nonconformist theology in which he had been trained before joining the Church—and a very good citizen. Leeds owes much to him beyond her debt for his big books about her history and her vicars, for he not only left diaries in which he tells much of his own times and of the town as he knew it, but did practical things towards municipal improvement. It may be that few of the minor folk of Leeds in his time knew Mr. Thoresby as famous savant and Fellow of the Royal Society, but one supposes that most of them were well acquainted with him, first as a business man, then as a retired gentleman living pleasantly in a comfortable mansion in Kirkgate, and, for a time at least, as a Town Councillor of the recently incorporated borough.

Thoresby was something of a Pepys in the keeping of his diaries—not above putting down small things. Therefore we are indebted to him for certain odd glimpses in the Leeds life of his time. He tells us of the sylvan surroundings of the lower end of Kirkgate in his day, and that Alderman Cookson has erected a very pleasant seat with terraced walks in the Calls; he records that on one February day, after perusing several

authors concerning the British affairs under the Roman Conquests, he repaired to Madame Dawkrey's dancing school to occupy himself in learning new steps; he gives a long, circumstantial account of Edward Preston, a Leeds butcher, famous as a runner, who could go twice round Chapel Town Moor (four miles) in fourteen minutes, and upon whose head as much as £3000 had been won in one race; he tells how, in January, 1684, the Aire was so thickly frozen that he and Mr. T. B. walked, with others, from the mills below the old (parish) church, all up the main river, under the bridge, as far as the upper dam, on the ice—the like having scarce or never been heard of. He tells how a House of Correction was built, which the lazy poor would look upon as a *Domus suppliciоum vel pœnæ*, and that later part of it was converted into a Charity School for boys and girls who were taught to know and practise the Christian Religion, as well as to read, write, spin, sew, and knit, and who had a seat in the north side of the parish church where they all sat "decently cloathed in blue." He duly records the erection in Kirkgate of the new "Hall for White Clothes . . . at near a Thousand Pounds charge by certain Merchants and Tradesmen in Town" —he himself had not a little to do with the building of this eminently useful meeting-place. In 1713 he tells how they celebrated the Peace of Utrecht at Leeds with a grand procession—the constables of the town; the Mayor's son carrying a silk streamer; the scholars on horseback; the Common Council men in black gowns; the Aldermen in theirs; the Town Clerk; the Sergeants, bearing their maces; the Mayor in scarlet; finally, the



RALPH THORESBY

HISTORIAN OF LEEDS

1658-1725

clergy, gentlemen, and merchants. That he was a true descendant of Pepys may be guessed from the following:—"*Mr. Thomas Bernard* of *Leedes* was 50 years old when he married, had 18 children, and was so brisk that he rid a Hunting when he was above an Hundred years of age . . . he could then read without spectacles."

Thoresby was a great traveller, had many learned correspondents, and in his time knew many great and notable men. He visited Holland in his youth, but his subsequent wanderings were confined to Great Britain, generally in search of rarities and inscriptions. He visited Durham, Northumberland, Scotland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Windsor, Oxford, Cambridge; he was familiar with many places in the Midlands, and he rode to all parts of his native county. But the favourite of his travel resorts was London—he was constantly there, dining and breakfasting with bishops, deans, scientists, literary men, scholars, and alumni of all sorts. When in London he was a great hand at hearing sermons: his records of sermons and services from his youthful Nonconformist days to those in which he was a confirmed Churchman are multitudinous. A good Christian, he was somewhat of a bigot—he mentions with horror that being in Pontefract, he looked into a "mass-house" there, and heard a priest preach a very good sermon on the dangers of keeping bad company, which, he says, he took as being very seasonable to himself, he having never been in such bad company before. However, he had very good company amongst his various correspondents —men like Gibson, Gale, Walker, de la Pryme, Lister, Evelyn, exchanged regular letters with

him; his own in reply are full of much rare information.

It is a profound pity that Thoresby's collection of curiosities and rarities was not bought by the authorities of Leeds at the time of his death. Thoresby himself left it, entire, to his eldest son, Dr. Thoresby, rector of Stoke Newington, upon whose death, some years later, it was sold by auction at the Exhibition Room in Spring Gardens, Charing Cross. The sale catalogue filled twenty pages. There were certainly a good many objects which were merely curious—such as, for instance, the reputed hand and arm of the Marquis of Montrose, and a Hairy Ball taken from the stomach of a Calf, and a Sea-Tortoise brought from the Isle of Ascension—but there was a fine gathering of gold and silver coins and medals, Roman, British, and Saxon; a quantity of lead and pewter medals; a large collection of tracts (twelve volumes of these related to Leeds itself) and of autograph letters from men like Hans Sloane, Boyle, Flamstead, Halley, Wren, Steele, Strype, Hearne; a number of manuscripts, and a special collection of objects "relating to the Romish Superstition," including a Bull of Pope Innocent VI. for the induction of William Donke into the Vicarage of Rotherham, dated from Avignon in 1361. Thoresby also possessed the great stone salt-cellar of Kirkstall Abbey, with eight triangular salts round the stem and a hollow at the top for a silver one. There were also amulets, charms, images, and a large quantity of bricks and objects in glass, jet, and pottery. There was at least one Roman altar and there were several urns. Everything was dispersed; a good deal of the collection, indeed, had been thrown

away as valueless before it reached the auction-room, and much of what was shown there was scoffed at as rubbish and trampled underfoot. But it would have been well if the whole could have been preserved to our times, in the state in which its collector left it, to be handed over to the care of the Thoresby Society which was founded in Leeds thirty years ago, whose members have done such good work on the lines which Thoresby himself first indicated.

VI. THE STAPLE TRADE

THERE are many trades and manufactures in modern Leeds—a list of them assumes considerable proportions—but from early Tudor times to the end of the eighteenth century there was but one of real note, the trade which is still paramount in spite of the development of many others—the trade in woollen cloths. When the sale of cloth first began in Leeds it is somewhat difficult to make out with any degree of certainty, but weaving had doubtless been introduced into the West Riding of Yorkshire during the reign of Edward III., to whom is usually attributed the introduction of woollen manufacture into England. But this is a mistake—Edward's share was a much needed revival of an ancient industry. The manufacture of wool into cloth was first practised in this country by the Romans: they had one large factory at Winchester, and they had others in Yorkshire. There was much spinning and weaving in Anglo-Saxon times—even ladies of high rank practised these arts. Numbers of Flemish weavers came into the country with William the Conqueror, chiefly settling about Norwich; it was in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex that the weavers brought over from Flanders by Edward III. made their fixed habitations. In course of time, the making of woollen goods spread to Gloucestershire and

Devonshire, and eventually to the country on either side of the Pennine Range which afforded abundant pasture for vast flocks of sheep and a plentiful supply of pure water for cleansing purposes. Before the beginning of the Tudor era the woollen industry of the West Riding had assumed considerable proportions, and towns like Halifax, Huddersfield, and Bradford began to increase greatly. Doubtless the work of the Cistercians, who were great sheep-farmers (Fountains usually possessed thousands of sheep, which were principally shorn at a regular sheering place set up at Kilnsey, in Wharfedale, and Bolton Priory had a flock of between 2000 and 3000 at the time of the Dissolution), helped towards the development of the wool industry, and the cloth woven from the Kirkstall fleeces may have been the first offered for sale in Leeds. The records are scanty, but we do know that by the time Leland came to the town, the cloth market was firmly established on the bridge over the Aire at the foot of Briggate, where vendors and purchasers met at stated times and under certain market rules.

But whence came the cloth there? Not from mills and factories, but from the lonely farmsteads and cottages of the sparsely populated dales and moorlands in the neighbourhood. The fabrics brought to Leeds in those days were essentially of home manufacture; the result of handicraft. In every house and cottage there was the spinning wheel and the hand-loom. All the processes—save, perhaps, dyeing and fulling—were done by the folk themselves. The sheep were shorn at home; the fleece was picked free of rubbish and sorted; it was carded or combed—carded if it was intended for woollen, combed if for worsted—by

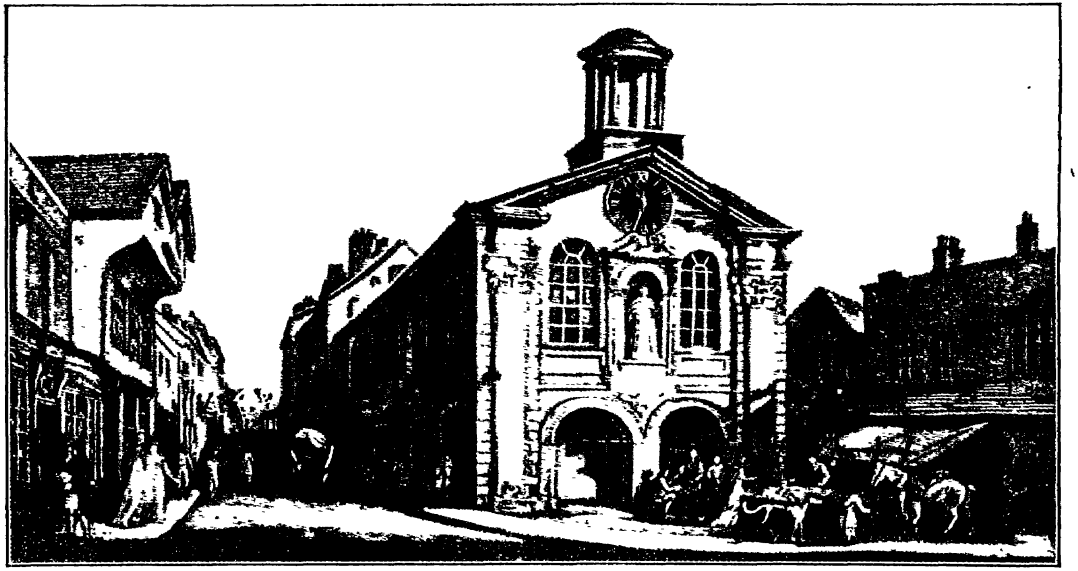
primitive, but presumably satisfactory, methods. Then it was spun into yarn—the old wheel and distaff came in here. Thence it passed to the weaver, whose hand-loom, with its shuttle cast from one hand to the other, was so narrow, necessarily, that no length of cloth offered on Leeds Bridge in the old days would exceed some twenty-eight inches in width. Then it was fulled; they did that at first by walking on the cloth (trampling on it in shallow troughs), hence our surname Walker: there was a Walker=fuller, in an obscure hamlet near Pontefract at the time of the Poll Tax of 1379, showing that fulling was carried on in very small places even then. Eventually fulling began to be done by machinery, and there seems to have been a fulling-mill at Leeds before the year 1400. After that was done came in the use of teazles, which were dragged over the surface of the cloth to raise a nap. Teazles were grown in large quantities for this purpose in the West Riding until elaborate mechanical contrivances superseded their use. And then the lengths of cloth were dyed, and ready for sale. Nearly all this work was home process. But there is a distinction to be made between woollens and worsteds. Woollens were made from beginning to end by the small producer: worsteds by spinners and weavers to whom it had been entrusted by an intermediate, the wool-stapler, who had previously bought his raw material from the growers of wool, the sheep-breeder or farmer. With worsteds, however, Leeds has never had much to do: Bradford is the capital of that industry: Leeds of woollen goods. And we may accordingly say with safety that the cloth which was exposed for sale in the

Leeds market of the old days, whether on Leeds Bridge, to begin with, or in what Thoresby on one occasion calls the "Broad Street" (*i.e.* the lower end of Briggate), or in the halls which eventually came to be opened, was handicraft work, fashioned with the old primitive appliances of wheel, distaff, and loom which are so ancient that no man knows when human ingenuity first devised them.

It is not difficult to reconstruct the scene which might be viewed on the old bridge at Leeds on the market mornings. A man who had cloth to sell, woven at his own hand-loom, would set off, his goods on his own back, or, if they were too heavy for that, on his pony's, from some lonely spot in the dales, or neighbouring village—possibly the night before, certainly in the very small hours. He would find more vendors, like to himself, at the bridge. At first they spread their wares on the parapet of that ancient and narrow structure; a little later on trestles set in the gutters. There was, of course, much crowding in so small a space; complaints began to be heard of, leading eventually to the leaving of the bridge and the transference of the market to the wider street. The seller would stand by his cloth till he got a buyer, and there would doubtless be some bargaining and chattering. When he had sold his goods he would put his money in his pocket and set out homeward, to make more cloth. But he would need to refresh himself, and there was good provision made for him. In those early days, and right into the eighteenth century, the publicans whose houses adjoined the bridge provided meals which were known far and wide amongst the clothing fraternity of sellers and buyers as Brig-End Shots. What

they were Ralph Thoresby himself tells us in his "Ducatus." About 1710 he was visited on one occasion by Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) Nicholson, who brought with him his cousin, Archdeacon Pearson. Thoresby showed them his collections and his museum, and then took them to the cloth market, after which he treated them and himself to the famous refection which was doubtless being well patronized at the time by the humbler folk from the adjacent dales. "The Brig-End Shots," he writes, "have made as great a noise among the vulgar, where the Clothier may, together with his Pot of Ale, have a Noggin of Porrage, and a Trencher of either Boil'd or Roast Beef for Two-pence, as the Market itself." Accordingly, Thoresby and his two Archdeacons lunched that day for sixpence all told.

Of the aspect of the Leeds cloth market at a somewhat later period, when it had been removed from the bridge itself to the wider spaces of Briggate, there is a very interesting and accurate account given by Daniel Defoe, who, in the early years of the eighteenth century, spent much time in travelling about the Yorkshire clothing districts. "Early in the morning," he writes, "tressels are placed in two rows in the street, sometimes two rows on a side, across which boards are laid, which make a kind of temporary counter 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 bring more than one piece, the market days being so frequent, they go into the inns and public-houses with it and there set it down. At about six o'clock in the summer and about seven in the winter, the clothiers being all come by that



THE MOOT HALL

From an old print

time, the market bell at the old chapel by the bridge rings; upon which it would surprise a stranger to see in how few minutes, without hurry, noise, or the least disorder, the whole market is filled and all the boards upon the tressels covered with cloth so close one another as the pieces can lie long ways, each proprietor standing behind his own piece, who form a mercantile regiment, as it were, drawn up in a double line in as great order as a military one. As soon as the bell has ceased ringing, the factors and buyers of all sorts enter the market and walk up and down between the rows as their occasion direct. Some of them have their foreign letters of orders with patterns on them in their hands, the colours of which they match by holding them to the cloths they think they agree with. When they have pitched upon their cloth they lean over to the clothier and by a whisper in the fewest words imaginable the price is stated: one asks, the other bids, and they agree or disagree in a moment . . . in a little more than an hour all the business is done." He mentions also that at this time Leeds traders were wont to go all over the country carrying large stocks of cloth on pack-horses, and selling it on credit to the shops, and that already an export trade had been begun with foreign countries.

At various times since the manufacture of woollen goods began to be encouraged by Edward III. stringent laws have been passed for its protection. That monarch himself (who did not a little private trading in wool and on one occasion made an enormous profit out of a single transaction) prohibited the export of wool from England to Flanders, and the prohibition remained in force

until the accession of Queen Elizabeth, when it was removed—only to be reinforced in 1660 and to remain so until 1825. Yet, in spite of this, there must have been some such export, for in 1742 the Leeds Corporation made a formal protest against conveying raw wool from Great Britain and Ireland to foreign countries. One of the most curious attempts to protect and encourage the woollen trade was the passing of an Act of Parliament in 1666 which ordered that henceforth all dead folk should be interred in shrouds of wool—and between this Act and the Thoresbys of Leeds there is an interesting connection, for John Thoresby, father of the famous topographer, was buried in non-compliance with its conditions. The Act of 1666, like many other Acts of Parliament, did not contain any provision for enforcement of its enactments. But in 1678 a supplementary Act was passed, which required an affidavit to be made on the occasion of every interment, certifying that the law of 1666 had been complied with—all such affidavits were to be noted in the parish register—hence the entries which one finds "buryed in woollen." If eight days elapsed without an affidavit having been made, the clergyman concerned was bound to notify churchwardens or overseers of the omission, and they were then to take measures for the enforcing of a fine of five pounds against the offending parties. When John Thoresby was interred in 1679 at Leeds parish church, no affidavit was recorded, but the register contains the notice of omission, and his executors were doubtless fined in accordance with the law.

Ralph Thoresby himself was actively engaged in the foundation of the first covered cloth-market

which Leeds possessed. The town had rivals in the cloth trade—Wakefield, Halifax, Huddersfield, Bradford—and at Wakefield in 1710 there was built a cloth hall which seemed likely to attract to its greater conveniences the clothiers who were in the habit of frequenting the open-air market in Leeds. On August 14, 1710, Thoresby writes: "Rode with the Mayor, cousin Milner, and others, to my Lord Irwin [this was the 3rd Viscount Irwin, who had inherited the neighbouring seat of Temple Newsam and the Manor of Leeds from the Ingram family] about the erection of a hall for the white cloths in Kirkgate, to prevent the damage to this town by one lately erected at Wakefield, with design to engross that affair, which is computed to bring about one hundred tradesmen every market-day to this town, which that would utterly prevent for the future if permitted. His Lordship gave all the encouragement imaginable." With Viscount Irwin's approval a title was obtained to "an old ruinous Hospital of an uncertain tenure and foundations" in Kirkgate, and on its site the White Cloth Hall was erected in the following year—May 22, 1711. It is described by Thoresby in the "Ducatus." Sixty-five years later it was given up, and the merchants in white cloths departed to a more pretentious hall built in the Calls; this served until the railways came in and wanted space, and was then abandoned for the modern hall which was built on a part of the grounds of the old Infirmary. In 1758 a mixed or coloured cloth hall was built near Mill Hill—there is an interesting account of it in the account of Leeds which is given in Hargrove's well-known "History of Knaresborough." It was a quadrangular building

enclosing an open area. It was 128 yards long and 66 wide: divided into six compartments, each containing two rows of stands: every stand was twenty-two inches in front and bore the name of the clothier to whom it belonged. There were 1800 stands in all: and they were originally let at three guineas, but, says Hargrove, they had been let at as much as £24. There were strict regulations as regards the hours of trading. The hall was opened at half-past eight in summer and half an hour later in winter by the ringing of a bell—a few minutes later, merchants and manufacturers began their trading. At the end of one hour afterwards, another ringing of the bell announced the approaching close of the market; fifteen minutes later, another ringing closed business for the day. Each seller then left the hall, on pain of a fine of five shillings for every five minutes that he stayed in it after the ringing of the last bell. There were similar regulations in the White Cloth Hall—they were intended, as is evident, to promote regularity, punctuality, and expedition. The White Cloth market opened when the Coloured market closed: strangers were permitted to enter both and to watch the proceedings, but no clothier could take a stand unless he had served his apprenticeship to the trade. Many people now living in Leeds can remember both these halls—the White Cloth Hall was sold only twenty-three years ago as a site for the Hotel Metropole; the Coloured Cloth Hall was pulled down in 1889 to make way for the General Post Office. Each was a notable, if ugly, landmark of a Leeds that was already fast on its way to disappearance.

VII. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

DURING the eighteenth century Leeds was not greatly concerned with such alarums and excursions as it had known in that January day in 1643, when Fairfax drove Savile and his fellow-loyalists out of the town and across the river. True, in 1745, it saw something of military life and of possible battle. General Wade, charged with the duty of preventing the southward advance of the Young Pretender, encamped his army in the neighbourhood of Sheepscar and Woodhouse for some time during the winter of that year, and that military operations were expected is proved by the fact that many Leeds people fled the town, some of them first burying their valuables in secure hiding-places. But during this hundred years—a period of prevalent dullness and drabness all over England—Leeds was chiefly concerned with its own domestic affairs. It was growing. Macaulay, reckoning its population from the hearth-money returns, estimates that in 1685 its population was not less than seven thousand. It had probably doubled by 1750; in 1775 it was about 17,000. During the last quarter of the century it increased by leaps and bounds, and when the first census was taken in 1801 it was 53,000.

Between the end of the Stuart period and the

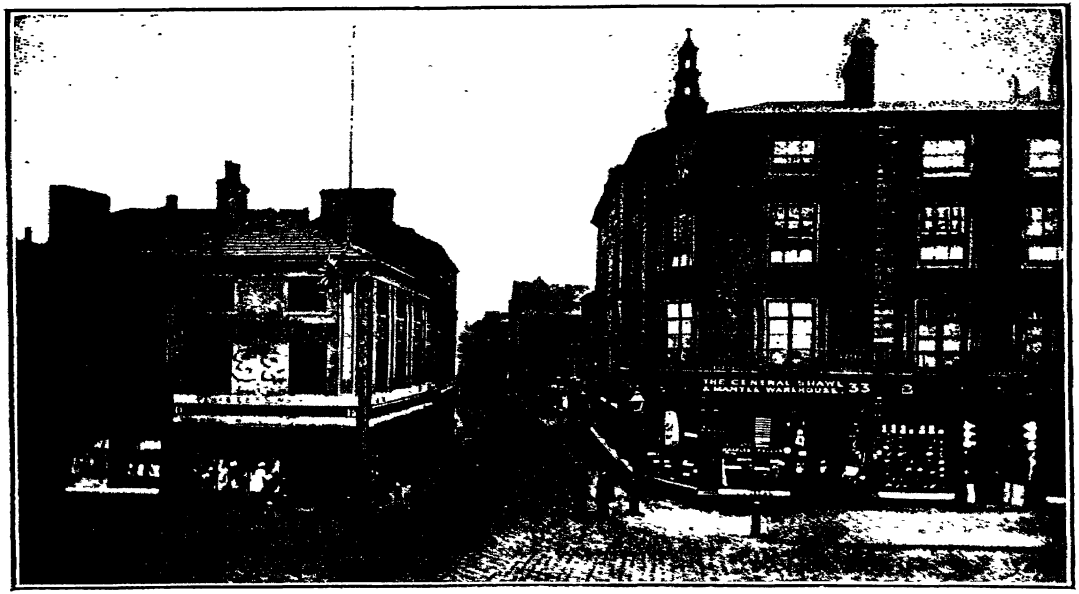
middle of the Georgian era nothing was so much improved in England as the means of communication between one place and another. We of this day can scarcely conceive the isolation of the various settlements and communities of the old days: men were born, they lived, they died in one place, knowing little of the outside world save by rumour which had much of the legendary in it. There was no penny post, no cheap telegram; there were no roads worthy the name, no canals, no railways. It was as serious a business to go from Leeds to Bradford—nine miles—as it now is to travel from Leeds to Edinburgh. Whitaker says, in his "Loidis and Elmete," that up to 1753 the roads in the neighbourhood of Leeds were no more than hollow ways, of the width of a mere ditch, just permitting the passage of a single vehicle; on one side was an elevated causeway, covered with flag-stones or boulders. Along these causeways the merchandise of the district was carried on the backs of horses—the pack-horse, indeed, was as familiar in Yorkshire and Lancashire as railways are now: at many of the wayside inns pack-horses were kept for hire. Matters certainly improved as regards transit and communication between the end of Charles II.'s reign and the beginning of George III.'s—the goods waggon and the stage-coach came into being. Of the early stage-coaches, Thoresby has much to tell in his Diary. He mentions a coach which ran between York and Hull in 1679; of another that did the twenty-four miles' journey between York and Leeds in eight hours. Later, the increasing trade of Leeds brought in a service of goods waggons which became organized into a good and dependable system; these waggons

made the journey between Leeds and London in thirty-six hours, passing through the principal towns of the Midlands, and the service was daily; there were also stage-coaches for passenger traffic which eventually did the same journey in twenty hours. But by that time the roads had been much improved—chiefly, as far as Yorkshire was concerned, by the extraordinary achievements of John Metcalf, better known as Blind Jack of Knaresborough, who, in spite of his life-long infirmity, built thousands of miles of fine highway in Yorkshire and Lancashire. One local specimen of his work is the road between Leeds and Chapeltown; another that between Harrogate and Harewood. And before his time the Turnpike trusts had come in and were improving the roads—not without much opposition. In 1753 a carter refused to pay toll at Beeston turnpike, was carried before the authorities in Leeds, and rescued from them by the mob; thereupon a riot ensued between populace and soldiery which resulted in the deaths of eight people. But the roads continued to improve; the existence of the toll-bar came to be regarded with equanimity, and there are many folk living, and not much above middle-age, who remember when these old-world institutions were much in evidence in this part of Yorkshire.

With the linking together of the towns by means of much improved roads came, in the last half of the eighteenth century, another scarcely less important method of communication—by water. There had been a certain amount of river trade in Yorkshire for some time: York, far away up the Ouse, had been regarded as a port; there was a considerable trade on the Ure, as far as Boroughbridge and Ripon; there was some trade on the

Aire itself. But it was not until the half-century had been passed, and Brindley had built the famous Bridgewater Canal between Manchester and the Duke of Bridgewater's coal-pits at Worsley, that the possibilities of water-transit seem to have struck the merchants and commercial men. England, indeed, had been curiously indifferent to the value of a system which had already found much favour in Italy and France, and had been in existence in Eastern countries for many centuries. But when the eccentric Duke and his scarcely less eccentric engineer had shown what could be done—and in face of great difficulties—in Lancashire, Yorkshire business men took up the idea, and the first result was the making of the great canal between Leeds and Liverpool, the entire course of which was surveyed by Brindley himself about 1765–6. The necessary Act of Parliament was obtained in 1768–9, and the directors offered the post of engineer to Brindley, but he was at that time so much occupied in other parts of the country that he was obliged to decline their offer. This highly important waterway, 130 miles in length, linking up Leeds and Bradford, with Wigan and Liverpool, and passing through many smaller centres of trade in Yorkshire and Lancashire, was not fully completed until 1816, but various portions of it were finished and in use forty years previously.

While the town was rendered more easily approachable—and leavable—by means of improved roads and the new canal system, the authorities were not slow to improve it internally. An Act of Parliament for the lighting and paving of the streets was obtained in 1755; in 1791, the town was lighted with oil. The names of streets



BOAR LANE

NOW DEMOLISHED

which are now household words began to emerge at this period: about the same time some of the ancient landmarks begin to disappear. In Briggate there was then what was known as Middle Row, an obstructing block of buildings, with narrow alleys on either side, known as the Shambles. At its lower end stood the Moot Hall; it had a new front given to it in 1710. Near it were such time-honoured institutions as the Common Bakehouse, the Prison, the Pillory, the Stocks. From purely archæological reasons one wishes they were still there, but in course of time they disappear before the ruthless utilitarian spirit. Other features gradually arise. Mill Hill is in evidence as far back as 1672, when a chapel is erected there. Park Place begins to be mentioned before 1780; Park Square by 1793; Albion Street seems to have been in some sort of existence by 1792. Boar Lane, which had been the Park Lane of an earlier age, having in it many elegant seats of gentlemen—town-houses of the Yorkshire country squires—was a narrow street in 1727, and remained of a mean sort for more than a century afterwards. In Thoresby's days, it had delightful gardens about and behind it: there is a record of a snake having been caught in one of these gardens in 1773.

The social improvement of any town may best be estimated by finding out what was done for the poorer folk by the authorities. As usual, everything that was done in Leeds in the beginning came from private charity—in the eighteenth century we were still a long way off from that temper of mind which insists that the State or the Corporation has some duties other than the collection of taxes. In Leeds Josiah Jenkinson set an example by

founding almshouses for aged and poor folk in 1643: his beneficiaries had £5 each per annum. John Harrison's Hospital provided a comfortable asylum for between sixty and seventy old women, each of whom received, in addition to lodging, fifty shillings a quarter. In 1737 one Mr. Potter founded almshouses for the widows of deceased Leeds tradesmen: each widow received twelve guineas a year. Eighteen years previously, another Leeds woman, Mrs. Dixon, founded a charity for the benefit of the widows of Leeds clergymen. But the great and all-important charitable work of the eighteenth century in Leeds was the founding of the Infirmary, which was opened for patients in 1767. It owed its origin to William Hey, a Leeds man who embraced medicine as his profession and made philanthropy his hobby. Its first provision was one of twelve beds, and within four years from its foundation it had spent just over £2000 in the relief of the sick: in the year 1900 it possessed 440 beds and it laid out £32,773. Since that first humble beginning, Leeds Infirmary—up to 1916—has dealt with 256,207 in-patients, and 953,500 out-patients, and has spent on them £872,159—all given by voluntary subscription.

But what of the very poor folk—the paupers? In 1629, Richard Sykes, Esquire, alderman of the borough, founded an institution which one chronicler euphemistically calls an "Asylum for Poverty." The word "asylum" has various meanings attached to it—one fears that the Leeds paupers were not regarded as being much other than nuisances until comparatively recent times. Some years ago, a member of a Leeds Board of Guardians who evidently possessed an antiquarian turn of mind,

searched the records of the Board which he then administered, and copied out certain extracts which showed that between 1750 and 1780 paupers accommodated in the Asylums for Poverty had anything but a pleasant life. They were frequently beaten. The whip was much in use for recalcitrant females, even for old women. Inmates who had not on Sunday presented themselves at a Protestant place of worship—where else they could have gone in those days it is difficult to conjecture—were condemned to forfeiture of their poor dinners. Obviously, the poor were considered to be little better, if at all better, than criminals. As to criminals and their treatment in Leeds we know something from John Howard, who says of Leeds Town Gaol that it consisted of "four rooms fronting the street, 12 feet by 9, and a smaller one," and that "two deserters lately escaped by filing the bars. Since [that] the windows are double-barred, so that no files can be conveyed to the prisoners" ("The State of Prisons," 414).

But in spite of curious notions—common to everybody, generally speaking, in those unenlightened days—as to how paupers and prisoners should be treated, Leeds saw many improvements and steps towards progress in the eighteenth century. For one thing, new churches began to lift their spires—or, at any rate, their roofs—not always in architecturally artistic fashion. In 1727, mainly through the instrumentality of Lady Elizabeth Hastings, who did much for higher education in Yorkshire by founding the well-known Hastings Exhibitions at Queen's College, Oxford, Holy Trinity in Boar Lane was opened; in 1793 St. Paul's in Park Square was built. By the end of

the century, then, Leeds had four churches. Meanwhile the various bodies of Dissenters had not been idle. As far back as 1672 the Presbyterians had opened a meeting-house in Mill Hill; it was closed in 1682 and reopened five years later. Of this congregation, which became Unitarian, the famous Joseph Priestley, scientist and philosopher, was minister from 1767 to 1773. In 1691 a chapel of the Independents was opened; eight years later the Quakers built a meeting-house in Water Lane. In 1742 John Wesley was preaching in Leeds; in 1751 his followers built their first chapel; in 1797 the seceders of the Methodist New Connexion went apart. In 1779 the first chapel of the Baptists was erected; and in 1790 the first Roman Catholic church was opened in Lady Lane. In 1794 that curiously shaped fabric afterwards known as St. James's Church was opened in York Street: it was then a chapel of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion; later, "being purchased by a clergyman of the Established Church," says an old chronicler of the period, "it was duly consecrated by the Archbishop of this Province"—for Leeds was still in the archdiocese of York. So where the Leeds folk began the century with three principal places of worship, they wound it up with quite a number, and of quite a variety in the matters of faith and practice.

There were other steps towards progress and civilization in Leeds during the eighteenth century. The newspaper made its appearance. In 1718 the *Leeds Mercury* was founded by James Lister as a sheet of twelve small pages, printed in very large type, and sold at three half-pence. Oddly enough, it at first contained very little local news—

it was largely made up in the paste-and-scissors fashion from the London journals. In 1755 it came to a stop, only to be revived by one Bowling in 1767: in 1794 he sold it to two partners named Binns and Brown, and at that time —it then being a weekly publication—it had a circulation of 3000 copies. In 1801 it was bought by Edward Baines, and in the hands of the Baines family it remained for a hundred years, becoming a tri-weekly in 1855, and a daily in 1861, and attaining a foremost position amongst provincial newspapers. From, say, 1850 it was one of the leading Liberal organs in England, and of vast weight with North Countrymen of Radical tendencies. Meanwhile, in 1754, the forerunner of the *Mercury's* great rival, the *Yorkshire Post*, was started under the title of the *Leeds Intelligencer*. Its founder was a Mr. Griffith Wright, whose successors eventually sold it to Messrs. Hernaman and Perring. It began its daily career as the *Yorkshire Post* in 1866, and under the successive editorships of three great journalists, the late Charles Pebody, the late H. J. Palmer, and Mr. J. S. R. Phillips, has come to rank with the *Scotsman*, the *Glasgow Herald*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Birmingham Daily Post*, as the five leading papers published out of London. In addition to libraries, books began to be in evidence—the now famous Leeds Library was started at a bookshop in Kirkgate in 1768, Dr. Priestley being its first secretary. Print and paper doubtless helped to improve the manners and morals of eighteenth-century Leeds—at any rate, William Wilberforce, making a note in his diary as regards Public Morality in 1796, writes, "Dr. Percival thinks . . . the manners of Leeds remarkably frugal,

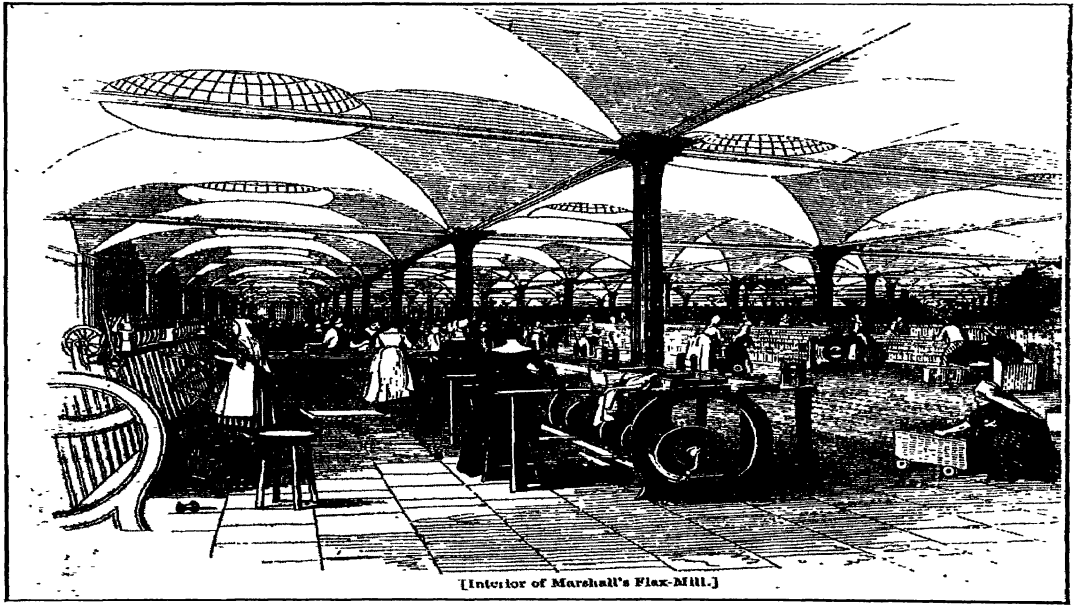
sober, and commercial. None of the merchants spend money, and it would be discreditable to attend public places." There is a certain note of priggishness about this, and it might have been well if the merchants had attended public places and had spent money amongst their poorer fellow-townsfolk. For at that time the working classes in Leeds were very badly housed, and ill-paid, and ill-fed, and the eighteenth century wound up there with serious Bread Riots.

VIII. THE NEW FORCES

DURING the last thirty years of the eighteenth century extraordinary changes were taking place with startling rapidity in the industrial centres of England, and especially in those districts, like the West Riding of Yorkshire and the south-eastern part of Lancashire, where textile fabrics were made. The day of the old handicraftsman, who wrought at home in his house on the moors or his cottage in the dales, and carried his work to market once or twice a week, was coming to an end. Machines, rather than men, were to be the all-important things—a man was only to be of value in relation to a machine. The old-fashioned hand-loom, which would only turn out pieces of cloth of a strictly limited width, was to yield place to the new mechanical inventions which could enable fabrics of any length and width to be manufactured in surprising quantity. The first innovations came in respect to cotton. The inventions of Kay—at one time a resident in Leeds—of Hargreaves, of Arkwright, and of Crompton in relation to flying shuttles, spinning machines, and looms, revolutionized the cotton trade of Manchester before the century was over. These inventions were first introduced into the woollen trade by a well-known Leeds family, the Gotts. As machines

multiplied, the factory came into existence—men no longer worked in their own houses but in herds in the grim, ugly buildings which sprang up in all the Yorkshire valleys where motive power was to be found in the watercourses which poured down the rugged hillsides. New features of industrial life showed themselves. Not only men poured into the factories, but women as well, and in time even young children. Hence arose the Factory system which for many years of the eighteenth and for nearly one-half of the nineteenth centuries was a disgrace to English civilization.

But the new machines and the new system would never have made the speedy headway which was so quickly on both had it not been for the introduction of steam as a motive power. Man had been experimenting with steam for ages, but never with any success worth considering until James Watt invented his first engine, and his successors, who were many, improved upon his notions. Steam was first applied to the pumping engines in coal-mines, then to the paddle-wheels of boats; before the end of the eighteenth century it was in considerable use in the factories. Certain factory-owners of Leeds, the Gotts, Wormalds, and Marshalls in particular, appear to have seen its possibilities at a very early period, and to have introduced it into their works. Arthur Young, the famous agricultural expert, who travelled widely over the country in George III.'s reign, says that, when he was at Leeds in 1796, there were at least eight steam-engines working in the woollen mills. At Marshall's flax mill at Holbeck one of Savery's steam-engines was at work in 1791; in 1792 one of Watt and Boulton's 28-horse-power engines was



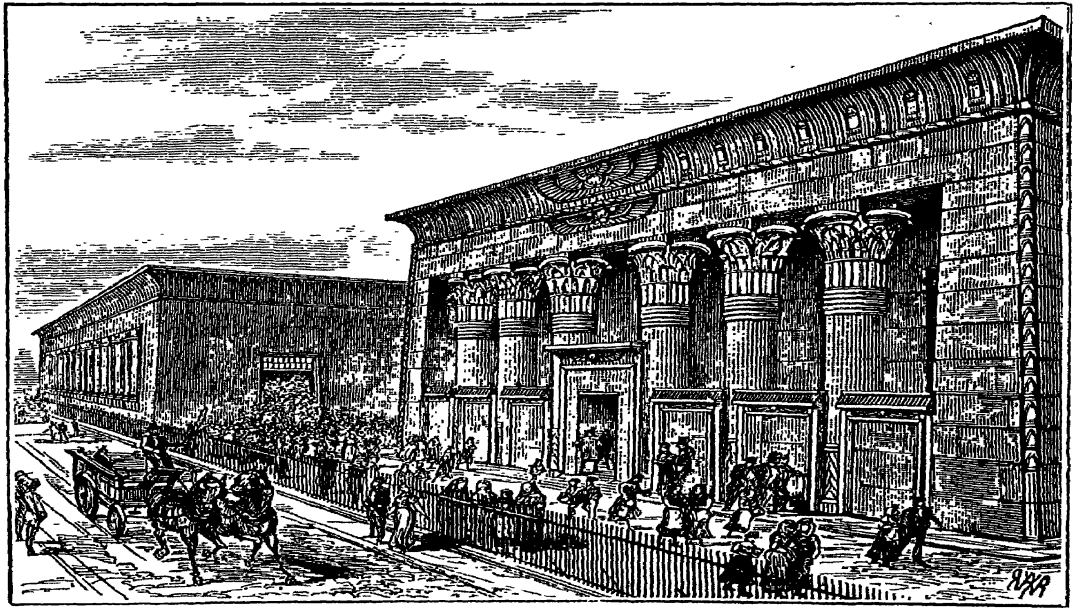
[Interior of Marshall's Flax-Mill.]

INTERIOR OF MARSHALL'S FLAX-MILL

introduced, and in the following year nearly a thousand flax-spindles were being run by steam at this factory alone. Leeds, indeed, was very much to the front in the use of steam. It was the first place in England in which a steam locomotive was used for railway traffic. In the time of George II. there was, at the Middleton Colliery, a little way out of the town, a tramway laid down, on which ran waggons drawn by horses; in 1812 a steam-engine was introduced which could draw 140 tons weight of coal at the rate of three and a half miles an hour. In the following year a steamboat was in use on the river Aire; but another twenty years had gone before Leeds saw its first steam railway engine.

With the increase in machinery and the introduction of steam as motive power, a number of new industries sprang up in Leeds. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the woollen cloth industry may be said to have monopolized the townsfolk's energies, but by 1800 various new manufactures and trades were in being. Pottery began to be manufactured in considerable quantity in 1760. The well-known family of Marshall, after beginning the spinning of flax by machinery at Scotland Mill, a few miles out of the town, set up flax and linen mills at Holbeck, whereat in time vast numbers of hands were employed—a fine memorial of this family exists in the beautiful church at Holbeck erected by one of its members at a later period. But the great feature of Leeds industrial life in the early years of the nineteenth century, outside its staple trade of woollen cloth manufacture, was its machinery—not merely as regards use, but in making. Nowadays Leeds is one of the chief machine-manufacturing cities in

the world. It sends out machinery and implements of all sorts, from gigantic locomotives down to the smallest articles, to all quarters of the globe. This development may be said to have begun when one Peter Fairbairn, a man of great skill, energy, and foresight, came to Leeds in 1828 and began a singularly successful career. But he developed what was already in existence. Thirty years before his coming, a mechanic, Matthew Murray, came into Leeds one night, on foot and penniless, to lay the foundations of a trade which has since assumed gigantic proportions. Murray at once obtained employment at Marshall's mills; later, he went into partnership with two men named Fenton and Wood as engineers; he introduced machinery widely in Leeds; he was responsible for the steam-locomotive (an improvement on Trevithick's well-known engine) at Middleton Colliery. He was a remarkable man, and did great things for Leeds; but Peter Fairbairn was the true pioneer of machine-making in the town. Beginning in very humble fashion in a small room in Lady Lane, with only two assistants, Fairbairn before many years were over had started the famous Wellington Foundry, whereat in course of time thousands of hands came to be employed. This was only the first of a number of other foundries and machine-making shops. Iron began to be worked in the immediate district, at Kirkstall and at Farnley, close by; at Low Moor and at Bowling, not very far away. Iron was therefore plentiful, and the opening out of the great Yorkshire coalfield, extending from Leeds to Barnsley, made fuel abundant. Other folks followed in Peter Fairbairn's wake. The history of industrial Leeds during



EXTERIOR OF MARSHALL'S FLAX-MILL

the nineteenth century is written in the archives and account books of the Kitsons, the Taylors, the Lawsons, the Greenwoods. By 1857, when James Kitson read a paper on this matter to the British Association meeting at Leeds, he was able to say that eleven thousand hands were being employed in the iron and kindred trades of the town.

It was necessary that, with all this development of trade, there should be improvement in the means of communication. Coal and iron are not to be carried on the backs of pack-horses, nor can heavy machinery be easily transported on waggons. The canal system was eagerly welcomed by the North Country manufacturers and pioneers, few, if any, of whom were able to look a few years ahead and see the coming of the railways and their steam-propelled locomotives. The usefulness of the canal as a means of convenient transit was unquestionable: William Jessop, a well-known engineer, declared in 1804 that "one horse upon a canal is capable of doing the work of fifty horses upon a road." And that canals were splendidly paying properties was soon proved by the case of the Duke of Bridgewater, who, in face of severe natural and financial difficulties, built his canals at a cost of £220,000 and was ere long realizing an annual income of £80,000 from them in dues and tolls. By 1790 a vast canal system had come into existence; of its benefit to the coasting trade some idea may be gained from the fact that in 1760 the tonnage cleared out of English ports was 470,000 tons; in 1790, 1,380,000. Naturally, what happened in the case of the railways, happened in the case of the canals. In 1790 began the canal mania. Single shares in companies reached preposterous

figures—a Leicester share touched £155; a Grand Trunk, £350; a Birmingham, £1150. Between 1791 and 1794, 81 Canal Acts were obtained, involving an outlay of £5,000,000; between 1794 and 1796, 45 more Acts were passed—all these in addition to the 30 obtained previous to 1790. Up to 1838, according to a calculation made by Rennie, the famous engineer, 2477 miles of canals had been constructed in Great Britain at an expenditure of £24,500,000. High dividends were paid: in 1818 Grand Trunk shares were yielding a dividend of £65. Benefits, of course, accrued to users of canals as well as to shareholders: Leeds merchants and manufacturers benefited greatly by the Leeds and Liverpool canal, by the Aire navigation, and by the smaller canals which connected the growing town with other parts of the country. But at the very height of canal business and prosperity, the railways came in, and as soon as George Stephenson had demonstrated the possibilities of the steam locomotive, the canal traffic was surely doomed—for the rest of the nineteenth century, at any rate. Nowadays we are making valiant efforts to revive it; no better example of our national want of foresight can be had than that afforded by the fact that for seventy years we allowed our waterways to lie comparatively idle.

George Stephenson made the railway line between Darlington and Stockton in 1825; the line between Manchester and Liverpool followed five years later. 1834 witnessed the introduction of railway life to Leeds in the form of a line made between Leeds and Selby. There is an account of its birth in the *Leeds Mercury* of a few days ater. "This stupendous public work," says the

writer, "was opened on Monday morning last. [The date of the opening was September 22, 1834.] The passengers numbered about 150. Upwards of two hours were spent in travelling the first four and a half miles. About two hours having been allowed for festivity and mutual congratulation, the train started on its return from Selby about a quarter past eleven, and reached Leeds at half-past twelve amidst the applause of the spectators. . . . For the greater accommodation of passengers the railway train will for the present start from Leeds precisely at half-past six in the morning and again at half-past one in the afternoon." The first Leeds station was at Marsh Lane; the present Wellington Station was opened in 1848; the Central in 1854; the New Station in 1869. Little by little the town was linked up with Hull, York, Sheffield, Bradford, Dewsbury; with the Durham and Northumberland towns; with Manchester and Liverpool; with the Midlands and London. Within fifty years of the first humble train's appearance, Leeds folk were looking at gorgeous Pullman cars wherein Leeds merchants could loll at their ease while the swift Midland engines hurried them from Leeds to London.

While much was done to develop communication between Leeds and other centres, near and far, little had been accomplished in the way of interior transit up to 1871. The town by that time had thrown itself out in all directions. It was no longer the hamlet clustering around the ancient bridge, nor the borough which in Ralph Thoresby's day was bounded by Timble Bridge in one direction, Mill Hill in another; the Aire in a third, the top of Briggate in a fourth. It had

spread from Hunslet to Kirkstall; from Farnley to Roundhay; it took in a vast area, with a population of quite a quarter of a million. As in other towns, the omnibus was in evidence, but omnibuses were already becoming as obsolete as stage-coaches and post-chaises. In 1871 certain private speculators, knowing that the tramway system was proving successful in various big centres (it had first been introduced into England at Birkenhead, in 1860, by Francis Train, and subsequently at Liverpool on a scale of some magnitude in 1868), and taking advantage of the Tramways Act of 1870, formed themselves into a private company and began a service of horse-drawn tramcars which was at first much welcomed and appreciated. But the usual difficulties attendant upon private enterprise soon arose; the Leeds folk began to be dissatisfied with the service, and there were frequent disputes between the tramway directors and the municipal authorities as to the repair of the roads. In 1894 the differences were settled and the difficulties solved by the Corporation acquiring the rights of the private company at a cost of over £100,000, and since then, first by the introduction of steam-driven, and afterwards by the use of electricity-propelled cars, Leeds folk have been able to journey from one confine of the city to another at their ease. They can, indeed, if they choose to waste their time in doing so, take a journey by tramcar from Leeds to Manchester—an adventure which has been accomplished more than once by the inquisitive.

This spirit of acquisition of aids to comfort and convenience has been much to the fore in Leeds during modern times. It seems an odd thing

to us of these upsetting and innovating days that such matters as water-supply, lighting, and sanitation should ever have been in the hands of private individuals in any big centre of population, but so it was until very recently. In the old days Leeds folk used to draw their water from the river Aire: it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that some private individuals constructed a reservoir at the top of Briggate; others were made, a long time afterwards, in the neighbourhood of the present Albion Street. In 1815, Sir John Rennie was called in, as an expert engineer, to advise on the Leeds water-supply—from his report one gains some interesting knowledge of Leeds as it was in those days. The population of 63,000 used 200,000 gallons of water per day: it was pumped up from the river by an old water-wheel which was past work. The three reservoirs just mentioned were in existence. Rennie—doubtless with fears and trembling—proposed to buy a steam-engine of sixteen horse-power for pumping, and to distribute the water through nine-inch mains: the cost of all this, he said, would be about £5700. Since then, the Leeds folk have bought out the private water-supplies (1852) for £250,000; have spent £4,000,000 on water-supply, and at the present time are supplying themselves (nearly half a million in number) with some 16,000,000 gallons of water *per diem*. As with water so with the means of lighting the town: the old Gas Company was bought out by the Corporation in 1870 for £750,000; the Corporation took over the Electric Lighting of their streets, homes, and workshops twenty years ago. Whether any private folk ever ran sanitation as a business we may well doubt;

nobody ever thought of sanitation until cholera came, as it did to Leeds in 1850. Now the municipal authorities are always sorely exercised about drains and sewers and insanitary areas and slum dwellings and open spaces, with the result that Leeds is well drained and carefully supervised and its inhabitants are well supplied with large and handsomely appointed public parks.

IX. REFORM

THE population of the United Kingdom at the general Census of 1831 was 24,392,485. The twenty-four millions were governed by a Parliament which, so far as the House of Commons was concerned, was supposed to be representative. In sober truth, in real fact, popular representation was a delusion. Out of close upon seven hundred members of the House of Commons nearly one-half was returned to Westminster by private patronage. Statistics, often appealed to in the pre-Reform warfare, proved that no less than three hundred and seven members of Parliament were returned by one hundred and fifty-four persons. There had been little change in the methods of election since the days of Henry VII.: whatever change had taken place had been to the advantage of the privileged rather than to that of the people. "Parliament," writes the late Mr. S. J. Reid in his "Life of Lord John Russell," "was little more than an assembly of delegates sent by large landowners. Ninety members were returned by forty-six places in which were less than fifty electors; and seventy members were returned by thirty-five places containing scarcely any electors at all. Places such as Old Sarum—consisting of a mound and a few ruins—returned two members; whilst Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, in

spite of their great populations, and in spite, too, of keen political intelligence and far-reaching commercial activity, were not yet judged worthy of the least voice in affairs. At Gatton the right of election lay in the hands of freeholders and householders paying scot and lot; but the only elector was Lord Monson, who returned two members." Similar instances to that of Gatton, or approximating very closely to it, might be recorded indefinitely: they occurred all over the country.

The injustice to Leeds was particularly glaring. It had returned two members for a limited period during the Commonwealth: since then it had had no direct representation. Such electors as lived within it—a limited number—were county electors, who, whenever an election came on, had to travel to York to record their votes. But in 1831 the population of Leeds had risen to 123,000, and amongst this vast body were men of acute intelligence who were keenly desirous of having some share in the government of the country through the power to vote. Yorkshiremen have always been keen politicians, and the spirits of unrest and of reform were very much abroad in the years which saw George IV. on the throne. The anomalies were as wicked as they were ludicrous. Here was a town with the largest population in the county and no representative in the House of Commons: a few miles away Knaresborough, a pocket-borough belonging to the Dukes of Devonshire, sent two members who were elected by a small parcel of burgage holders, nominees of the reigning Duke. Places of no commercial importance like Hedon and Boroughbridge returned two members each; at Thirsk forty-nine of the fifty burgage tenements

were held by one proprietor, who of course returned whomsoever he liked. That the case of Leeds and of other large unrepresented towns needed redress is proved by the introduction of a special Bill into the House of Commons in February, 1830, proposing to confer the franchise on Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester, as being the three largest unrepresented towns in the country. This Bill, introduced by Lord John Russell, was rejected by a majority of 48 in a house of 328 members. But there was seething discontent all over the land—had been both before and after the Peterloo affair at Manchester in 1819—and by 1832 the Reform Bill, after being introduced three times and rejected twice, passed into law, William IV. personally intervening to prevent the Lords from again throwing it out.

By the provisions of the Act of 1832, Leeds was accorded two members, and the number of electors placed on the registers was a little over 4000. The two contending parties were at that time labelled Whig and Tory. The Whigs already had one candidate in the person of Mr. Marshall, a member of the well-known firm which employed so much labour and machinery in Leeds. Anxious to give him a colleague of high standing in the political world, they fixed on Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay, a brilliant young gentleman of thirty-four years of age, who after a remarkable university career at Cambridge had distinguished himself as one of the most vigorous writers of the *Edinburgh Review*, had been called to the Bar, and had made some brief acquaintance with the unreformed House of Commons as member for Lord Lansdowne's pocket-borough of Calne in Wiltshire.

Macaulay was at that time a Commissioner in Bankruptcy, and he was not unknown as a barrister at some of the West Riding court-houses: already he was of some note in political circles as a promising man. "I hear," writes Disraeli in "The Young Duke," "that Mr. Babington Macaulay is to be returned. If he speak half as well as he writes, the House will be in fashion again." Macaulay received his invitation from the Leeds Whigs in October, 1831, and at once accepted it. The Leeds Tories brought out Mr. Michael Sadler, who had recently been prominently before the public in connection with the Duke of Newcastle's pocket-borough of Newark, and had been the subject of a smart attack in the *Edinburgh Review*. Owing to Macaulay's connection with the famous quarterly a good deal of personal bitterness was infused into the contest. In regard to his own relations to his possible constituents Macaulay adopted a singular amount of independence. He would give no pledges. "Under the old system," he writes in a letter sent to the Leeds electors, "I have never been the flatterer of the great. Under the new system I will not be the flatterer of the people." He had various passages at arms, not only with his opponent, but with his own party; but on December 12, 1832, he was able to write from Leeds to his sister: "The election here is going on as well as possible. To-day the poll stands thus: Marshall 1804; Macaulay 1792; Sadler 1353. The probability is that Sadler will give up the contest. If he persists he will be completely beaten." In the end Marshall and Macaulay were returned, and the future historian took his seat for Leeds when the first Reformed Parliament met in January, 1833.

QUEBEC BUILDINGS
NOW DEMOLISHED

But his connection with Leeds was short-lived; in 1834 he left England for India, as one of the members of the Supreme Council, and after his return, some years later, his relations with the House of Commons were resumed as member for Edinburgh.

Since Marshall and Macaulay were returned to represent Leeds in Parliament, many well-known men have sat for the growing town. The two members were increased to three in 1867; to five, in 1885. In one respect Leeds has faithfully carried out the idea of the first Reform Act, which was that towns should be represented by men who had a close connection with them. At one time or another she has been represented by publicists of much more than local fame, such as Mr. Gerald Balfour, Sir Lyon (afterwards Lord) Playfair, Mr. Herbert (now Viscount) Gladstone, but as a rule her members have been local men, such as Wheelhouse, Tennant, Barran, Jackson. One of the most remarkable and interesting elections ever known in Leeds was that of 1880, when Mr. W. E. Gladstone, who was then the recognized and formal candidate for the Midlothian division, was elected at Leeds, if not against his will, at least without any consent on his own part. Sir James Kitson had invited him to stand for Leeds as far back as March, 1878; Mr. Gladstone declined the offer. Later, a Leeds deputation waited on him in London, with a renewed invitation; Mr. Gladstone characteristically treated its members to a speech, and, says Lord Morley, in his "Life of Gladstone," "avoided any reference to the subject which they had come to handle." When the General Election of 1880 came, the Leeds Liberals nominated Mr.

Gladstone without his consent, and returned him at the top of the poll by an unprecedented vote of 24,622; the nearest Conservative candidate, Mr. W. L. Jackson (afterwards Lord Allerton), only receiving 13,331 votes. Mr. Gladstone, however, was duly elected for Midlothian, and chose to sit for that constituency: the Leeds vacancy was then filled by his son Herbert, who was elected without opposition and remained member for Leeds for many years.

Soon after the passing of the first Reform Act, Leeds had a share in reform which was just as necessary—far more so, indeed, in certain practical matters—as parliamentary readjustment. From its very beginning the Factory System of England had been a curse and an abomination. Men, women, and children were forced into the factories to work under conditions which were far worse than those under which the negro slaves of America laboured. "Persons of all ages and both sexes," writes Dr. Tickner, in his "Social and Industrial History of England," "were collected together in the new factories with a totally insufficient regard for their health and their morals. The rapid extensions of commerce led to long hours of labour by night as well as by day. The transference of work to women and children brought about a lowering of the standard of comfort in the homes of the people. The conditions of employment were in very many cases horrible; the hours of labour were long; the strength and intelligence demanded were quite beyond those of the children employed; whippings and worse punishments were used to keep them to their tasks after they were quite tired out; mind and body alike were neglected or, worse still, were

fatally injured. Worst of all was the condition of the pauper apprentices, who were taken in batches by the masters of the water-mills, whose position in out-of-the-way places made it difficult for them to obtain sufficient labour. The position of these poor apprentices was literally one of slavery, often of a very brutal type. Some of the stories of their life seem hardly believable: unfortunately they are proved true by the evidence of Royal Commissions of Inquiry."

Before the recommendations of the various Royal Commissions could be carried into effect, however, and while most people in England were utterly ignorant of the horrors and cruelties which were being perpetrated in the manufacturing districts, a cry for justice and redress had been set up in Leeds. Three Yorkshiremen had been profoundly stirred by the vile practices which obtained in the mills and workshops—John Fielden, a Todmorden manufacturer; Michael Thomas Sadler, a Parliamentarian of whom we have already heard, and Richard Oastler, a land-agent, who was a native of Leeds. On September 29, 1830—a day always to be remembered in the annals of factory reform—a letter appeared in the *Leeds Mercury* over the signature of Richard Oastler, in which attention was drawn to the slavery that was going on in the worsted and woollen districts—a state of slavery more horrid," said the writer, "than . . . that hellish system, colonial slavery." He poured scorn on the members of Parliament (of whom William Wilberforce was a type) who shed sentimental tears over the African slaves while they had not one word of pity for the slave-children at home. "The very streets," he wrote, "which

receive the droppings of the Anti-Slavery Society are every morning wet by the tears of innocent victims at the accursed shrine of avarice who are compelled, not by the cast-whip of the negro slave driver, but by the dread of the equally appalling thong or strap of the overlooker to hasten, half dressed, but not half fed, to those magazines of British infantile slavery, the worsted mills. . . . Thousands of little children, both male and female, but principally female, from seven to fourteen years of age, are daily compelled to labour from six o'clock in the morning to seven in the evening . . . with only thirty minutes allowed for eating and recreation." This letter rang like a clarion through the land. To it, and to the labours of Fielden, Sadler, and Oastler, may be primarily attributed the various reforms which within the next twenty years completely changed the life of the factory and workshop. Other men, and notably Lord Shaftesbury, joined in the movement, but to these three (who are commemorated, Sadler by a statue in Leeds parish church, Oastler by another at Bradford, Fielden by various memorials at Todmorden) was chiefly due the inception of the agitation which swept slavery out of the mills.

While reform was in the air as regards factory life, it also came to the front as regards the administration of the Poor Laws. In 1833 a Commission of Inquiry sat by order of Parliament, and after collecting a large mass of evidence issued a report as to how poor relief was being given and as to the economy of the workhouses. The commissioners declared that the workhouse of that day was no more than "a large almshouse in which the young are trained in idleness, ignorance, and vice;

the able-bodied maintained in sluggish, sensual idleness; the aged and more respectable exposed to all the misery that is incident to dwelling in such a society, without government or classification." This led to the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, which has subsequently been itself amended on the lines recommended by various Royal Commissions. The main provisions of the Act of 1834 were for the abolition of the old allowances, for the bringing of all able-bodied paupers to the workhouse, there to be set to proper tasks, and for the providing of out-door relief for widows and aged folk who could not be considered as able-bodied. It also grouped parishes into unions, each union having its own workhouses. Hence the Yorkshire workhouses came to be locally known as "t' Union": previously, it had been called, as often as not, and not without some significance, "t' Bastille." In towns of the size of Leeds many union workhouses have arisen since 1834, and various things have been said of them: according to certain writers, the poor have always held them in horror and detestation. But it chanced to the present writer, in the discharge of his professional duties some years ago, to have occasion to make a thorough examination of Yorkshire workhouses, and especially those of Leeds, and also to examine into the fashion in which Boards of Guardians discharge their trying and onerous duties, and his conclusion was that no institutions are better managed, and that kindness and consideration were as manifest as cruelty and oppression was evidently abundant in the days when Charles Dickens wrote "Oliver Twist." The truth is that public opinion has changed mightily

in respect to the poor, the imbecile, and the criminal. Kindness exists in the breast of the guardian, even in that of the modern representative of Mr. Bumble; instead of the idiot being chained and whipped, he is carefully housed in such palatial buildings as those at Menston and Wadsley, and if Armley Gaol is something of the old-fashioned, as modern prisons go, it is a vastly different prison to that old Yorkshire one of which Howard tells in which the unfortunate captives were sore put to it to avoid being eaten alive by rats.

X. THE REVIVAL OF CHURCH LIFE

ABOUT the time of reform in matters parliamentary there was much similar reform in matters religious. For three hundred years a great many Englishmen had suffered under serious religious disabilities. Nonconformists of all sorts, Roman Catholic and Protestant, had been obliged to practise their religion in more or less of a hole-and-corner fashion; even in the eighteenth century the Romanist priest was saying his Mass in fear and trembling in some obscure stable-loft or back room of an inn, while the itinerant Methodist preacher's sermon by the wayside was, as often as not, terminated by his being thrown into the nearest horse-pond. Where toleration was permitted by law, it was often ignored in particular places; the Yorkshire Nonconformist, Oliver Heywood, in spite of a licence signed by Charles II. and Mr. Secretary Arlington, was constantly harassed by local magistrates and more than once thrown into York Castle. But during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, matters began to mend. In 1828 the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed; 1829 witnessed Catholic Emancipation; in 1836, marriage in dissenting chapels was made legally valid; in 1858 Jews were allowed to enter Parliament; in 1871 religious tests were

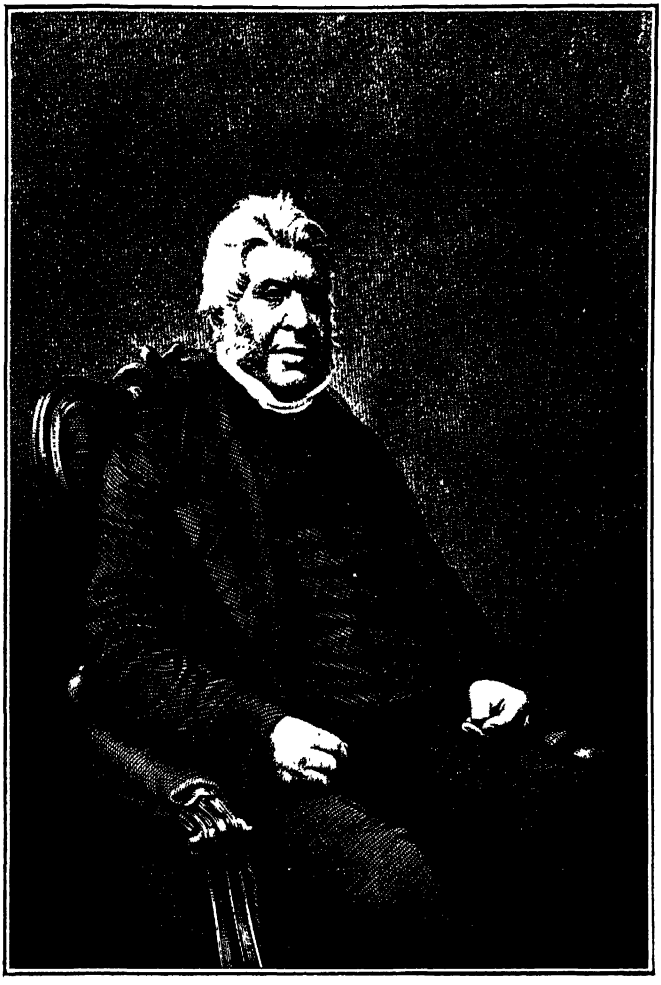
abolished at the Universities. Under the new order of things Nonconformity, in all its various shades and complexions, flourished exceedingly in Leeds. The principal Protestant dissenting bodies had already got a strong footing in the town during the eighteenth century: in the first half of the nineteenth they increased mightily in power—the Independents especially, who became a great political as well as a religious force: when Dr. Hook first went to Leeds, Nonconformists ruled the roost in everything; even in Church affairs. Nor was Roman Catholicism slow of growth in the town, once the old, savage penal laws were removed. Largely owing to a great influx of Irish labour into the town, new churches supplemented that first erected in honour of St. Anne in 1786, and various convents arose in various districts. When Pope Pius IX. restored the English Hierarchy in 1850, Leeds was one of the towns in the new diocese of Beverley; in 1878 that diocese was split into two new dioceses—Middlesborough being one, Leeds the other. Where there was one Roman Catholic church in Leeds in 1830, there are now a cathedral and fifteen other churches, a seminary, a theological college, and the houses of several religious orders. Within the modern city, or close on its boundaries, there are several well-known theological colleges or schools belonging to other religious bodies. In what one may call brick-and-mortar provision for religion, indeed, Leeds has been well served during the last hundred years: no city in the kingdom is better off, relatively, in the matter of churches, chapels, and religious institutions.

But the great revival of religion in Leeds during

the nineteenth century is chiefly associated with the National Church and due to the labours and genius of one of its very greatest men, Walter Farquhar Hook, of whom it may safely be said that while Leeds is Leeds his name will never be forgotten. Of the Church life of Leeds from the Reformation until his day, much might be written and most of it would be dull reading. It was, probably, not quite so bad as enthusiastic young Churchmen of these days are apt to make out. If we took as Gospel truth all that is written of Church life between 1560 and 1832, we might well believe that the Church of England was dead for three hundred years and was awakened to life only when the Oxford Movement began. Unfortunately, some of us are given to reading history rather carefully. Those of us who do, know that there never was a period in her history wherein the Church was quite dead: she had life in her under George III., and under Queen Anne, and she survived the Puritan persecution of 1642–1660. It has become quite the fashion amongst a certain school of writers to affirm that parish life was dead and done for under Queen Elizabeth, but there is a certain entry in the Churchwarden's Account Book of Leeds parish church, under date 1583, when Alexander Fawcet was vicar, which shows that it was quite alive in Leeds. It runs thus: "Two thousand and a halff of Breades to serve the Parish withal, 8*s.* 4*d.* *Item*, for Wyne to the same purpose, £5 16*s.* 6*d.*" There must have been a goodly number of regular communicants at Leeds in 1583. Moreover, that same account book shows that in 1608 the church was always well filled, and Thoresby records that, at about that period, all the vacant

places being filled with seats, and galleries being fitted in the nave, the parish church was "yet found too small for so numerous and unanimous a congregation." He also records that in 1723 they had a very grand (and evidently extremely inartistic and ugly) altar-piece in Leeds parish church, with gilt, velvet, and cherubs, "but," he adds, "the greatest ornament is a choir well filled with devout communicants."

Nevertheless, when Dr. Hook first came to Leeds in 1837 (the year following that which saw the foundation of the new Bishopric of Ripon, to which Leeds was allocated) Church matters and life were at a very low ebb. He had much to face. He had already made a great reputation as parish priest and impressive preacher at Coventry. The trustees of Leeds parish church knew his power: six of them, Wall, Becket, Gott, Banks, Tennant and Atkinson, repaired to Coventry on Sunday, March 12, 1837, to hear him preach. The result was that most of the trustees of the advowson favoured him but a certain minority did not. Neither did the ultra-Protestant Churchfolk of Leeds. He suffered the usual charges—he was a Papist in disguise; he held the doctrine of Transubstantiation; he was an avowed follower of Pusey and Newman; he was a Jesuit. A strongly worded memorial against his election was signed by 400 persons; it produced a counter-petition signed by 300. On March 20 the trustees were assembled in the parish church vestry; in the church itself a great crowd of parishioners awaited the result. At last the chairman, Mr. Henry Hall, appeared in the choir and declared the trustees' decision—Dr. Hook was elected by 16 votes out



DR. W. F. HOOK

VICAR OF LEEDS, 1837-59

of 23. The cries of applause were mingled with certain murmurs of dissatisfaction, but overhead the bells rang out a merry peal, and Mr. Hall set straight out for Coventry to carry the news of his election to the new vicar.

What sort of Leeds was it—as a Church town—that Dr. Hook came to in the July of 1837, when he took up his residence at the house in Park Place which was to be his home for twenty-two years? Dean Stephens has given us a succinct account of it in his Life of his revered father-in-law. "The provision on the part of the Church for the spiritual necessities of the place," he writes, "was and had long been miserably inadequate. The parish comprehended the whole of the town and a large portion of the suburbs. In 1825 there were only four churches in the town besides the parish church, and nine in the suburbs. The total number of the clergy was eighteen. Ten years later the town churches had been increased to eight by the erection at considerable cost of three large and ugly Peel churches, which proved to be total failures. They were without endowment, the congregations were very scanty, and the stipend derived from pew-rents was next to nothing. The town churches were mere chapels of ease to the parish church: no districts were assigned to them, the patronage of nearly all was vested in the vicar, and most of the baptisms, marriages, and funerals were performed at the parish church." But the entire staff of the parish church consisted of the vicar, one curate, and a clerk in orders. Nearly the whole of their time was taken up in discharging merely mechanical functions—they were at the church every morning from 8 to 11.30 for marriages; they baptized and

churched twice a day; funerals were of daily occurrence; the school accommodation was wretched; the churchwardens were nearly all valid Dissenters; the services had been rendered in a slovenly and neglectful manner; as to Church spirit, the whole number of communicants when Dr. Hook arrived was little more than 50, and most of these were women; a clergyman who had been vicar of St. John's for thirty years affirmed that he had never seen a young man at the Lord's Table. Much disgrace attached to confirmations. Instead of being regarded in their true light and significance they were looked upon as occasions for merry-making; "they were frequently," writes Dean Stephens, "the occasions of scandalous festivities and improprieties, and many of the candidates returned to their homes initiated in vice instead of being confirmed in goodness." One may judge from these facts what sort of Churchmanship it was that Dr. Hook found at Leeds in 1837. "The real fact is," he wrote to his friend W. P. Wood [Lord Hatherley] within a week or two of his arrival, "that the established religion in Leeds is Methodism, and it is Methodism that all the most pious among the Churchmen unconsciously talk."

One of Dr. Hook's first great difficulties was with his churchwardens. The first vestry meeting held after his appointment as Vicar of Leeds resulted in the election of churchwardens, most of them Dissenters or "men otherwise unfavourable or indifferent to the interests of the Church." Then began the troubles which many—the new vicar included—had foreseen. "The parish churchwarden," writes Dean Stephens, "proved

true to the spirit in which they had been elected. The vicar . . . found the surplices in rags and the service books in tatters, but the churchwardens doggedly refused to expend a farthing upon such things. When they assembled at the church for a vestry meeting, they, and others like-minded, piled their hats and coats upon the holy table, and sometimes even sat upon it; but the new vicar, with stern resolution, quickly put a stop to such profane outrages. He told them that he should take the keys of the church, and that no meetings would be held there in future. 'Eh!' said one, 'but how will you prevent it? We shall get in if we like.' 'You will pass over my dead body, then,' replied the vicar." This was precisely the spirit in which to deal with these highly objectionable persons—your Yorkshireman, determined enough himself, is always sharp enough, too, to recognize a still more determined man and to see reason in him. Later that year, Dr. Hook found himself confronting a mob of 3000 parishioners assembled as a parish meeting in the Old Cloth Hall Yard and full of "malignant hostility to the church and the vicar. A statement was made of the probable expenses for the coming year. They amounted to £355 11*s.* 6*d.* A halfpenny rate was proposed and seconded. A Baptist preacher named Giles then rose and delivered a furious harangue, directed partly against Church rates and partly against the vicar." Dr. Hook heard this out, rose, and after pointing out that the question of Church rates was no concern of his, but lay between the parishioners and the churchwardens, turned to Mr. Giles's attack upon himself. "With regard to the second part of my friend's speech,"

he said, "that which consisted of personal abuse, I would remind you that the most brilliant eloquence without charity may be but as sounding *brass*" (the tone of his voice, and the twinkle of his eye as he uttered these words are described by an eye-witness of the scene as irresistibly comic), "and," he proceeded, "I am glad to have this early opportunity of publicly acting upon a Church principle—a High Church principle—a very High Church principle indeed"—(a pause, and breathless silence amongst the expectant throng)—"I forgive him"; and so saying he stepped up to the astonished Mr. Giles and shook him heartily by the hand, amidst roars of laughter and thunders of applause. . . . The day was gained. The rate was passed, and a vote of thanks to the chairman was carried with loud acclamation. None could appreciate better than a crowd of Yorkshiremen the mixture of shrewdness, good humour, and real Christian feeling by which he had extricated himself from the difficulties of his position and turned the tables on his opponents.

But this was only the beginning and there was much to face. Still, Dr. Hook's whole career in Leeds between 1837 and 1859 may be said, in spite of difficulties and occasional drawbacks and temporary defeats, to have been one long and brilliant victory. The congregations at the parish church soon became so large that there was not even standing room. A proposal to improve the church led to its being pulled down, and to the building of the present parish church, which was completed and opened in 1841. The outside estimate of cost was originally £9000; it rose to £15,000; finally to £28,000: a new peal of bells

cost £1200. But Dr. Hook had a genius for organization and for raising money, and when, in 1851, he reviewed in a sermon at the parish church the work of the past ten years he was able to quote some truly remarkable figures, giving the credit to those whom he addressed. "After expending £28,000 in rebuilding this . . . you have in the course of ten years erected ten new churches, some of them at a cost of not less than £15,000 or £20,000. . . . Assisted by a legacy of £20,000 [from Mrs. Mathewman] you have erected seventeen parsonage houses . . . the parish of Leeds, one and undivided when this church was consecrated, has already been formed into seventeen parishes, all of them endowed, and the clergy have increased from twenty-five to sixty. . . . You have during the last ten years provided school accommodation for 7500 children." But Dean Stephens sums up Dr. Hook's work in Leeds in a sentence which has often been quoted and will bear endless quotation: "He found it a stronghold of Dissent, he left it a stronghold of the Church; he found it one parish, he left it many parishes; he found it with fifteen churches, he left it with thirty-six; he found it with three schools, he left it with thirty; he found it with six parsonage houses, he left it with twenty-nine."

Since Dr. Hook's day the Vicarage of Leeds has been regarded as a certain step to an episcopal throne. One after another, almost without exception, his successors have gone from Leeds to assume the mitre in one or other of our cathedrals —Woodford to Ely, Atlay to Hereford, Gott to Truro, Jayne to Chester, Talbot to Southwark: a one time parish church curate is now Archbishop

of York. Dr. Hook himself wound up his career as Dean of Chichester. The man who of all English Churchmen of his time was most worthy of the chair of St. Augustine spent his last days in writing the "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," whose long roll would have been honoured by the addition of his name. Even in those last quiet years at Chichester he knew the troubles of money-raising which he had grappled with so ably at Leeds. He saw the ancient spire of the cathedral fall as he watched from his Deanery windows; he was largely responsible for the great sums necessary to its rebuilding. There are worthy monuments to him in Chichester cathedral and in Leeds parish church, and in the All Souls' (Hook Memorial) church at Leeds, of which his son, Cecil, until recently Bishop of Kingston, was for some years vicar. He himself lies in the little churchyard of Mid-Lavant, in an unpretentious tomb, near which this slight account of his great work has been written.

XI. THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS EDUCATION

IN spite of his admitted love of money and his no less admitted belief in utilitarianism —derived in large from the influence which Jeremy Bentham exerted upon his forefathers some ninety years ago—the Yorkshireman possesses a soul for higher matters than "brass," and there is no other county in England (not even the jealously eyed rival, Lancashire) in which the impulse towards learning has been more shown or developed than in Yorkshire. Certain trite maxims are as firmly believed in by Yorkshiremen as old women used to believe in the magic virtues of a key and a Bible, brought into conjunction for purposes little short of witchcraft. "When land is gone, and money spent, Then learning is most excellent."—"Learning is better than house or land"—these copy-book maxims are secretly, if not openly, trusted in no small degree, for your average Yorkshireman is a mighty shrewd person, and he knows that this world is run by the men in whose headpieces knowledge has been safely stored, and that the ignorant are bound to go very close to the wall. And in the old days, before education was provided in such generous measure, thousands of Yorkshire operatives might be found painfully endeavouring

to get such book-learning as was available at night schools or from the poorly equipped libraries of the first mechanics' institutes; the desire for knowledge was keenly alive amongst the working classes of the North long before much opportunity for its acquisition was afforded them. Knowledge, they knew, meant power.

Popular education in England may justly be said to have begun with the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1698. Within fifty years this society had some 1500 free schools at work in various parts of the country. Later the efforts of Robert Raikes of Gloucester brought into existence the first Sunday schools, wherein some secular education was given in addition to religious instruction. At the beginning of the nineteenth century two highly important enterprises came into existence—those of the British and Foreign School Society in 1805, and of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England in 1811. The British schools, as they came to be called, originated in the work of one Joseph Lancaster; the National schools in that of Dr. Bell, a retired Indian chaplain. A British school was established in Leeds, near Boar Lane, in 1811; a National school in connection with the parish church, two years later. Some of the dissenting communities opened schools in the town: by 1830 there was a good deal of provision for poor folks' children. But it was not until 1833 that Government was brought to see that the State had some duties in this matter. The first Government grant of money in aid of education was made in 1833—a miserable and contemptible

donation of £20,000. In 1839 a Board of Education was constituted and supplied with £30,000 to distribute amongst all denominations, and children were ordered to be taught two hours a week. Even by 1870 the State grant had only risen to £500,000, but the principle had been established and slow progress was being made. The Education Department was established in 1856; the first Code issued in 1860. And in 1870 Mr. Forster's famous Education Act provided Board Schools. These were for many years a subject of fierce contention—they have now become Council Schools, and there have been contentions about them, too. But education has progressed, and when Mr. Fisher brought his first proposals to the House of Commons last year he was able to ask a quite amenable assemblage for £40,000,000 —just two thousand times as much as the House had granted ninety years before.

Where, in Leeds, one hundred years ago, there was nothing but the poorly equipped schools of the National Society and the British Society, admirably intended, but handicapped in every way by State neglect and public indifference, there are now schools by the score, splendidly built and lighted and warmed, furnished with every adjunct to education that expert knowledge has been able to devise. Had any man suggested in the pre-Reform time that a poor boy should be enabled to pass from the elementary school through higher grade schools to the Universities he would have been regarded not merely as a madman but as a most dangerous innovator. It would have been useless to point out that in earlier days there had been many facilities for such a course and that

previous to the upheaval of the sixteenth century there had been Archbishops and Chancellors who had risen to their eminence from the labourer's cottage and the craftsman's workshop by means of the free schools attached to cathedrals and chantries. In the days when Adam Smith was the Englishman's patron saint and the principles of the *laisser faire* school of economists were paramount, the education of the poor was a highly dangerous thing—their job was to work at grey shirtings or cotton fabrics, and not at printed books. But nowadays, any Leeds boy of ability, no matter what his origin, can make his way to a University without let or hindrance—the achievement lies with himself. For in addition to the elementary schools, the last fifty years has seen the development of the secondary school, the all-important step between the first and last grades in education. The Grammar School of Leeds was rebuilt in 1823; thirty-six years later it was removed from its old site near Briggate to a fine position on Woodhouse Moor; it was once more rebuilt fourteen years ago: its boys have the advantages of many exhibitions and scholarships. Attached to its foundation nowadays is the Girls' High School, first established by voluntary effort, as were also the Modern School and the Middle Class School—the latter founded by the Parish Church authorities in 1876—both now the property of the Corporation. Still more advanced teaching is available in Leeds, on certain definite lines, at the Leeds Clergy School (1876), the Roman Catholic Seminary (1876), the Roman Catholic College (1909), and the Wesleyan College at Headingley (1868). There is also a Central Technical School,

and there is a valuable aid to self-improvement in education in the various classes and facilities of the Leeds Institute, which, originally founded in 1824, has developed into an establishment of note and capability.

There is no need for Leeds boys to cast longing eyes on the older Universities, though, as long as England is England, no young Englishman of a certain temperament will be kept from Oxford and perhaps not from Cambridge by the fact that he has a University at his own door. Since 1904, Leeds has had a University of her own. It was the first University founded in Yorkshire—a curious fact, considering that the School of York had a European reputation as far back as the eighth century. An attempt to found a University at York for the benefit of the northern counties was made in 1652, when Parliament was petitioned without result. This project was again mentioned early in the nineteenth century: about the same time there was a similar proposal made as regards Leeds. In some sort, the present University of Leeds may be said to have had its origin in 1831 when the Leeds Medical School was founded. Forty-three years later, the Yorkshire College of Science came into existence in temporary buildings in Cookridge Street; in 1884 the Yorkshire College and the Medical School were amalgamated, and in the following year the new college buildings in College Road were opened by the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII.). In 1837 the Yorkshire College united with similar institutions at Manchester and Liverpool in forming the Victoria University: after seven years of life, this came to an end, and in 1904 the University of Leeds received its charter.

It receives a handsome annual grant from the Leeds Corporation, and it has always owed much of its success to the generous benefactions of certain great Companies and to the donations of wealthy Yorkshiremen, though it bears, and rightly, the name of Leeds, it is to all intents and purposes a county university. It provides some twenty-five professorships in Arts, Law, Commerce, Science, and Technology, and twelve in Medicine, and it has proved of vast benefit to Yorkshire students.

"Any real education the poor created for themselves," writes Mrs. Green in her Epilogue to her husband's famous "Short History," "in working men's clubs, mechanics' institutes, debating societies, industrial classes, Sunday schools, or little libraries where the student paid a shilling a month for books and conferences." Many institutions of this humble nature sprang up in Leeds before the Government gave its beggarly £20,000 to education in 1833 (not much credit to the first Reformed Parliament), and they have been largely increased and augmented and in some cases have developed out of all knowledge. The mechanics' institutes in their day did invaluable work—that day, of course, was before we got free libraries, picture galleries, and museums. A mechanics' institute was founded in Leeds in Basinghall Street, in 1825; by 1830 it had a good library and was giving instruction in chemistry, mathematics, and drawing. But the great educational institution of this sort in Leeds has been the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, founded in 1819, and still pre-eminent for its museum, its library, and its lectures. Many other learned societies have arisen — the Yorkshire Archæological Society; the

LEEDS UNIVERSITY

Photo. by C. R. H. Pickard

Thoresby Society; the Parish Register Society—all doing most valuable work after their own fashion. And since the first free library was opened in Leeds in 1868, Leeds folk have had plenty of books—a Leeds man has literally hundreds of thousands of the very best books at his command: he has, as it were, nothing to do but to put out his fingers and take them down. Any man who cares to spend his spare time in the most profitable of all pursuits can read to his heart's content in Leeds, and at no cost to his pocket.

Then there has been the educative value of newspapers. Some people would have us believe that we should have been all the better if the newspaper tax had never been abolished and if the liberty of unlicensed printing had never been given to us: one hears of very superior people who never open a newspaper. It is quite true——no one knows it better than an old journalist—that our newspapers have degenerated; that most of them are of an exceeding vulgarity; that the importation of American ideas and methods has made many of them unfit for a gentleman to spend a penny upon, that they certainly seem, nowadays, to be written by office-boys for the delectation of shop-boys. But in the nineteenth century the newspapers of the big north-country towns were blessings, unmitigated, undiluted, to the north-country working man. And in Leeds, at any rate, one newspaper has lost nothing of its old dignity nor sacrified to the present god of vulgarity—the *Yorkshire Post* is still what it was in the days of Pebody and Palmer. Leeds has owed a great deal to its press. The *Leeds Mercury*, as long as it belonged to the Baines family, was a great

educational force, beloved of the Radical working man, yet sane and sober in its Liberalism. And there were, during the nineteenth century, other Leeds papers which made for culture and had, at one time or another, celebrated men in connection with them. Alaric Watts, somewhat celebrated in his time as a poet and a critic, was once editor of the *Leeds Intelligencer*, forerunner of the *Yorkshire Post*. Robert Nicol, another poet, was on the staff of the *Leeds Times*, which was subsequently edited by Samuel Smiles, afterwards one of the most widely-read authors of his day. In the old *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*, and in the *Yorkshire Weekly Post*—still appealing to a large circle of readers—Leeds and Yorkshire folk have possessed two excellent budgets of good and sound reading, in which fiction has ranged with archæology and the news of the world with pages for the children.

But Leeds folk have had still more educational advantages during the last half-century than those which are to be derived from schools, colleges, books, and newspapers. They have had education through eye and ear, in pictures, architecture, and music. It would astonish an ancient Councillor of the Thoresby period to find in the Municipal Art Gallery of Leeds a fine collection of paintings—put there, free of cost, for the poor folk to look at, admire, and study: in such a man's day, the mere notion that Art was a thing in which working people could or should take a delight would have been scouted as preposterous. But Leeds folk began to look at pictures quite a hundred years ago, in certain exhibitions held in the town between 1809 and 1824 by a worthy association

calling itself the Northern Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts. It has, perhaps, not produced many great artists, so far, though it has something of a "school." But Cope was a native of Leeds, and so was Benjamin Wilson; so, too, was Lodge, the famous engraver. And of late years Leeds people, in addition to pictures, have had some good architecture to look at—an excellent thing, for folk who grow accustomed to look at fine architecture will not willingly allow their own immediate surroundings to wax drab and sordid. There is the Town Hall, opened by Queen Victoria in 1858, by which time it had cost £133,000. It is sufficiently Roman-Corinthian to remind one of Italy and Greece, just as the Unitarian Church, in Park Row, is sufficiently Gothic to remind one that its architect, Pugin, designed it in the Perpendicular Style of the fifteenth century. Many of the modern churches are of a good style and would be notable in any surroundings—the Roman Catholic Cathedral; the Church of the Immaculate Conception; St. John at Holbeck; St. Chad at Headingley; the Hook Memorial Church; St. Martin at Potternewton. There is at least one imposing street—Park Row; there are massive and satisfactory buildings in the vast Infirmary and the new Post Office; Leeds is no longer the dingy place spoken of by Horace Walpole in 1756. And to the delights of the eye it has added the delights of the ear. It is a veritable education in church music to attend the services at Leeds parish church; the Leeds Musical Festivals are famous the world over; at the Leeds College of Music all that love of the art which is born in Yorkshire men and

women is sedulously fostered and encouraged under the ægis of Mr. Edgar Haddock; there is music everywhere in Leeds, from the superior and high-class subscription concerts to the music of the bands in the parks. Vastly different—and how far better!—all this to the state of affairs which existed in Leeds at the end of the eighteenth century, when all was dull and wretched and unlovely, and the working folk were rioting for bread.

XII. THE GREAT MEN

THE little hamlet of the Domesday Survey has now become the sixth largest town in England. It was elevated to the rank of city in 1893; since that year its chief magistrate has borne the proud style and title of Lord Mayor. In 1085 its population was—perhaps—two hundred souls, all told; its taxable value, between six and seven pounds: in 1917, according to the reference books, the population numbered 459,260; the rateable value was £2,258,486. Two hundred years ago there was scarcely a good road into Leeds; now it is served by at least five great railway lines, and is connected by canals with the Mersey in one direction and the Humber in another. In 1750 there was only one trade of importance in the town; in 1900, in addition to its two great industries in wool and iron, Leeds was manufacturing flax and canvas, rope and thread, leather and linen, glass and earthenware, tools and machinery. It is, in short, one of the biggest, busiest, most industrious towns in the world; its goods are to be found in every continent, perhaps in every country. All this has been wrought by its own folk, and we can close this brief account of the town itself in no better fashion than by writing down a few words about some—only some—of the more notable amongst them.

The Vicarage of Leeds has been filled at one time or another by men who, if not as notable nor as vigorous in labour as Dr. Hook, are at least interesting from the historian's point of view. Robert Cooke (*ob.* 1615), a native of Benton, probably educated at Leeds Grammar School, was at the time of his appointment a Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford; he was also a Master of Arts and a Bachelor of Divinity. He succeeded Alexander Fawcet in 1589, and ere long attained considerable fame as a trenchant disputant and controversialist in the differences with Rome: a Roman Catholic treatise of the period styles him "Captain Minister of the Yorkshire Preachers." In 1610 he held a public disputation with a well-known priest named Cuthbert Johnson, before the King's Council at York. He wrote a big book on the "Counterfeited Works of the Fathers": it was published in 1614, with a dedication to James, Bishop of Durham, who rewarded its author with a prebendary in Durham Cathedral. Robert Cooke was succeeded by his brother Alexander, concerning whose appointment there was much vexatious litigation before Lord Verulam—Sir Francis Bacon. Alexander Cooke was a Fellow of University College, Oxford: at Oxford he was greatly celebrated as a preacher. Like his brother he was a keen controversialist, and from 1617 to 1630 he published a good many curious works, all in quarto, which Ralph Thoresby possessed. Both these vicars were book-collectors and they possessed a large number of painted books and manuscripts which had once belonged to the Cistercians of Kirkstall. These, with their own collections, came into the hands of their next

successor, Henry Robinson, nephew of John Harrison. The Cookes and Robinsons were, of course, Leeds men. A Leeds man, too, who attained considerable fame in the Church in recent years was John Gott, who came of the well-known merchant family of that name. In Dr. Hook's diary of March 29, 1849, there is a note (the tenth of his appointments for that day): "Mr. William Gott, to consult about sending his son to Oxford." The son proceeded to Oxford, and in due course became Vicar of Leeds, Dean of Worcester, and Bishop of Truro. It has already been remarked that Leeds has in modern times supplied many bishops to the episcopal bench: one vicar of Leeds in previous times attained a fame which has gathered around few English prelates. John Lake, a Halifax man, who was vicar for a short time after the Restoration, and subsequently Bishop of Bristol, and, later, of Chichester, was one of the Seven Bishops who upheld English liberty against the ill-advised demands of James II. Many notable men have been associated with what is perhaps the most important public institution in Yorkshire —Leeds Infirmary. William Hey, who was chiefly responsible for its foundation in 1767, was a famous physician of the town, and twice Mayor of Leeds. He was the first President of the Leeds Philosophical Society, founded in 1783; he was a Fellow of the Royal Society. At the time of his death, in 1819, he had been surgeon to the Infirmary for 45 years. In the same year died Matthew Talbot, father-in-law of the first Edward Baines —he had been secretary to the Infirmary for 33 years: he was a man of learning, and a linguist, and was well versed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

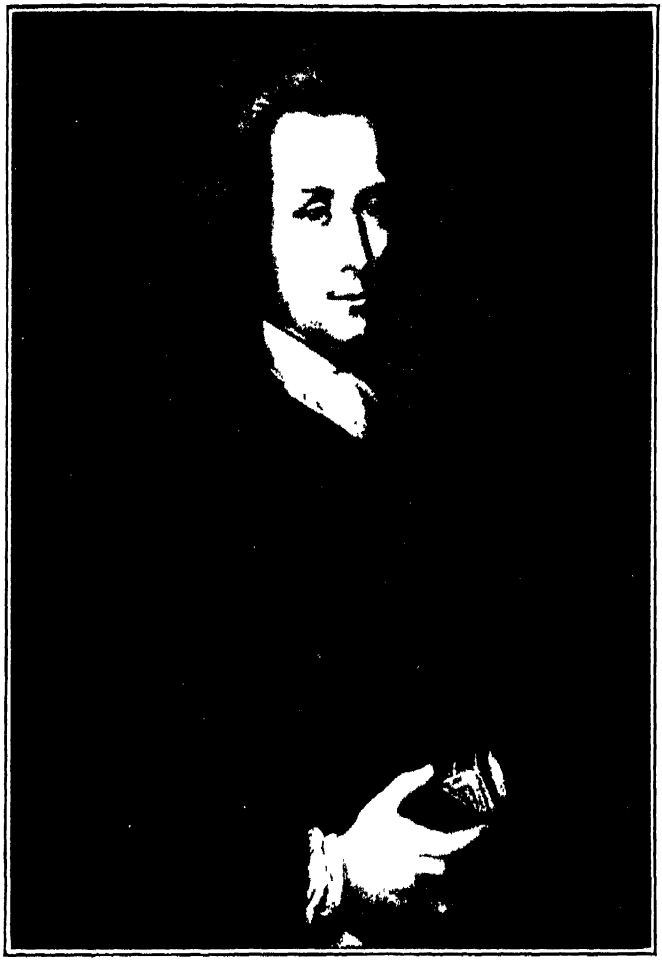
Two other Leeds doctors, Samuel Smith and Thomas Pridgin Teale (who, like Hey, was a Fellow of the Royal Society), served the Infirmary assiduously, one for 45 the other for 33 years; so, too, for a long time—as leading physician—did Sir Thomas Clifford Allbutt, editor of one of the best-known standard works on medicine, introducer to English practice of the ophthalmoscope and the reduced clinical thermometer, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge. Of benefactors Leeds Infirmary can show a great list of names—the somewhat eccentric Leeds millionaire, Robert Arthington, gave it £12,000 in 1900; a year later a Leeds provision merchant, C. S. Weatherill, left it £117,000. And for twenty-eight years, as either chairman or treasurer, Robert Benson Jowitt gave to the work a devotion and a care rarely equalled in the history of town charities.

If Leeds has no very long roll of names eminent in art or letters, she has at least some of notability and interest. Joseph Milner (1744–1797), after a successful career at Cambridge in classics and mathematics, became Headmaster of Hull Grammar School, afternoon lecturer at Holy Trinity in that town, and eventually, by the influence of William Wilberforce, vicar of Hull. He became celebrated a hundred years ago by his "History of the Church of Christ," chiefly valuable, in spite of defects, for its references to the Early Fathers. Much of it was, however, the work of his younger brother, Isaac (1750–1820), who, at Cambridge, "was not only the best man of his year, but had the unique honour of the epithet *Incomparabilis* attached to his name at the head of the Mathematical Tripos in 1774, and there it remained in the Cambridge

Calendar for many years" (Overton and Relton: "Hist. Eng. Church," 1714–1800). Isaac Milner won many distinctions at Cambridge. He was first Smith's Prizeman. He was Fellow of Queen's, 1776; first Jacksonian Professor of Natural Experimental Philosophy, 1783; and President of Queen's, 1788. In 1791 he was appointed Dean of Carlisle. He wrote a life of his brother; his own life was written by his niece, Mary Milner. Although of Leeds origin, it will be noted that the work and lives of the two Milners had little to do with Leeds—the same remark applies to two or three other Leeds natives who became eminent in the world of letters. Bryan Waller Proctor (1787–1874), under his pseudonym of "Barry Cornwall," produced one or two volumes of poems and a tragedy, "Mirandola," which had a run of sixteen nights at Covent Garden in 1821; his daughter, Adelaide Ann, became more celebrated than her parent, chiefly by her contributions to *Household Words* and the *Cornhill Magazine.* Richard Holt Hutton (1826–1897), the son of a Unitarian minister, was educated at University College School with a view to following in his father's footsteps: finding the ministry unsuited to him he became for a time Principal of University Hall, but found his true vocation in 1861, when, in conjunction with Meredith Townsend, be began to edit the *Spectator.* Henceforth he became a remarkable force in modern circles and wrote much on religious and literary matters, and notably on such leaders as Newman, George Eliot, Carlyle, Maurice, and Matthew Arnold. Alfred Austin (1835–1891), the son of a Leeds merchant, was born at Headingley and educated at Stonyhurst

and London University. He was called to the Bar in 1857, but in 1861 published a satirical poem, "The Season," and thenceforward devoted himself to poetry and journalism. He was one of the principal writers on the *Standard* in its palmy days, and for some years edited the *National Review*. In 1896, four years after the death of Tennyson, he was appointed Poet-Laureate—the only Yorkshireman who has ever held that distinguished appointment.

Three very famous men have been closely connected with Leeds without being actually of it. Richard Bentley (1661–1742) has often been associated with Wakefield, because he was educated at its grammar school, but his birthplace, Oulton, is so close to Leeds as to entitle Leeds folk to claim this great critic, scholar, and divine as one of themselves. After an academic career at St. John's College, Cambridge, Bentley became tutor to a son of Bishop Stillingfleet, and accompanied his charge to Oxford, where he himself pursued his studies and was admitted to a Master's degree. In 1692 he was appointed keeper of the King's Library: in 1694 Boyle Lecturer; in 1700 he entered upon his famous Mastership of Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1717 was elected Regius Professor of Divinity. His career was distinguished by vast evidences of learning and by constant quarrelling, and though Pope put him into the "Dunciad," he was not far from being the greatest scholar of his age. Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), born at Fieldhead, began his career as a Unitarian minister at Needham Market in 1755; in 1758 he had a chapel at Nantwich; in 1767 he came to Leeds as minister at Mill Hill Chapel and remained in Leeds for six years, during which time he exerted



JOSEPH PRIESTLEY
1733-1804

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great influence on the literary and philosophic life of the town. He received the degree of LL.D. from Edinburgh University in 1764, and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1766. He was one of the foremost experimental chemists of his day, and was the inventor of the pneumatic trough and the discoverer of oxygen. He was a minister in Birmingham from 1780 to 1791: it was during his residence in that town that a mob of roughs, resenting his sympathies with the French Revolution, burnt his house, his scientific instruments, his library, and his valuable collection of manuscripts. Soon after this catastrophe Priestley, being left a considerable fortune, emigrated to America and settled in Pennsylvania, where he died fourteen years later. Contemporary with Priestley was John Smeaton (1724–1792), who was born at Austhorpe, near Whitkirk, just outside Leeds. Originally intended for the law, he became a mathematical instrument maker, but quickly turned his attention and undoubted genius to engineering. He built the great lighthouse on the Eddystone, outside Plymouth, constructed the Forth and Clyde Canals, undertook the improvement of Ramsgate Harbour, and built some of the most important bridges in England and Scotland.

In recent times three Leeds men have attained great fame in three different directions. James Theodore Bent (1852–1897), educated at Repton and at Wadham College, Oxford, after travelling in Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor, went in 1891 to South Africa and made extensive explorations amongst the Great Zimbabwe ruins; two years later he carried out similar investigations in Abyssinia and Arabia. He published three important

travel works, "The Cyclades," 1885; "The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland," 1892; and "The Sacred City of the Ethiopians" in 1893. Ernest Crofts (1847–1911), educated at Rugby, studied painting, first under Clay in London, and subsequently under Hünter at Düsseldorf, and, possibly because of Hünter's influence, began to exhibit his well-known military pictures in the early 'seventies, with the result that he was elected Associate of the Royal Academy in 1878, and Royal Academician in 1896. His pictures are well known by the engravings of them: "Morning of the Battle of Waterloo"; "Charles I. on his way to the Scaffold"; "Napoleon and the Old Guard"—and one, at least, has a Yorkshire setting—"Cromwell at Marston Moor." An artist of a totally different sort was Philip William May (1864–1903), a Leeds boy of humble parentage, who after various remarkable adventures in Australia, to which he had been taken at an early age, appeared in London about 1890 and rapidly made his name as one of the greatest of English caricaturists. A perfect master of line, gifted with a sure, certain, and curious sense of humour, he became a regular contributor to *Punch*, published an Annual of his own, and earned vast sums of money—which he was by no means slow to give away to his fellow-Bohemians. One of our very greatest masters of black-and-white, he stands in a group of which the only other members are Hogarth, Keene, and Leech.

Surely the proudest boast of any great town should be that its great men have closely identified themselves with the welfare of their native place. In this respect Yorkshire towns have been singularly fortunate. No one thinks of Halifax without

remembering the name of Crossley and Ackroyd; of Hull without thinking of the Wilsons; of Sheffield without reflecting on the careers of John Brown and Mark Firth; of Bradford without recollecting the romantic stories of Holden and Lister, Salt and Foster. All these men made vast fortunes in their respective towns; each gave liberally, nay, royally, to their improvement and for the benefit of the poorer folk in them. Leeds has not been behind Hull or Bradford, Halifax or Sheffield in this matter. The names of such men as Marshall, Fairbairn, Fowler, Kitson, Baines, Barran, Beckett, Jackson occur at once. All, in one degree or another, were great pioneers of industry, great employers of labour, wise, far-seeing, as keenly alive to the interests of their town as to their own. They developed the commerce of Leeds, they represented her interests in the municipal council chamber and in the House of Commons; two of them, at any rate, carried the Leeds energy, the Leeds practicality, to the House of Lords. It is a wonderful story altogether, that story of Leeds in the nineteenth century, with its chapters of commercial enterprise, of corporate development, of infinite resource, and all the men who took part in the things which have gone to make it up were of rare grit and quality. There are statues to some of them in the public places and buildings, but their best and most enduring memorial is the town itself, with its well-ordered government, its solid prosperity, and its sure prospect of still greater achievements.

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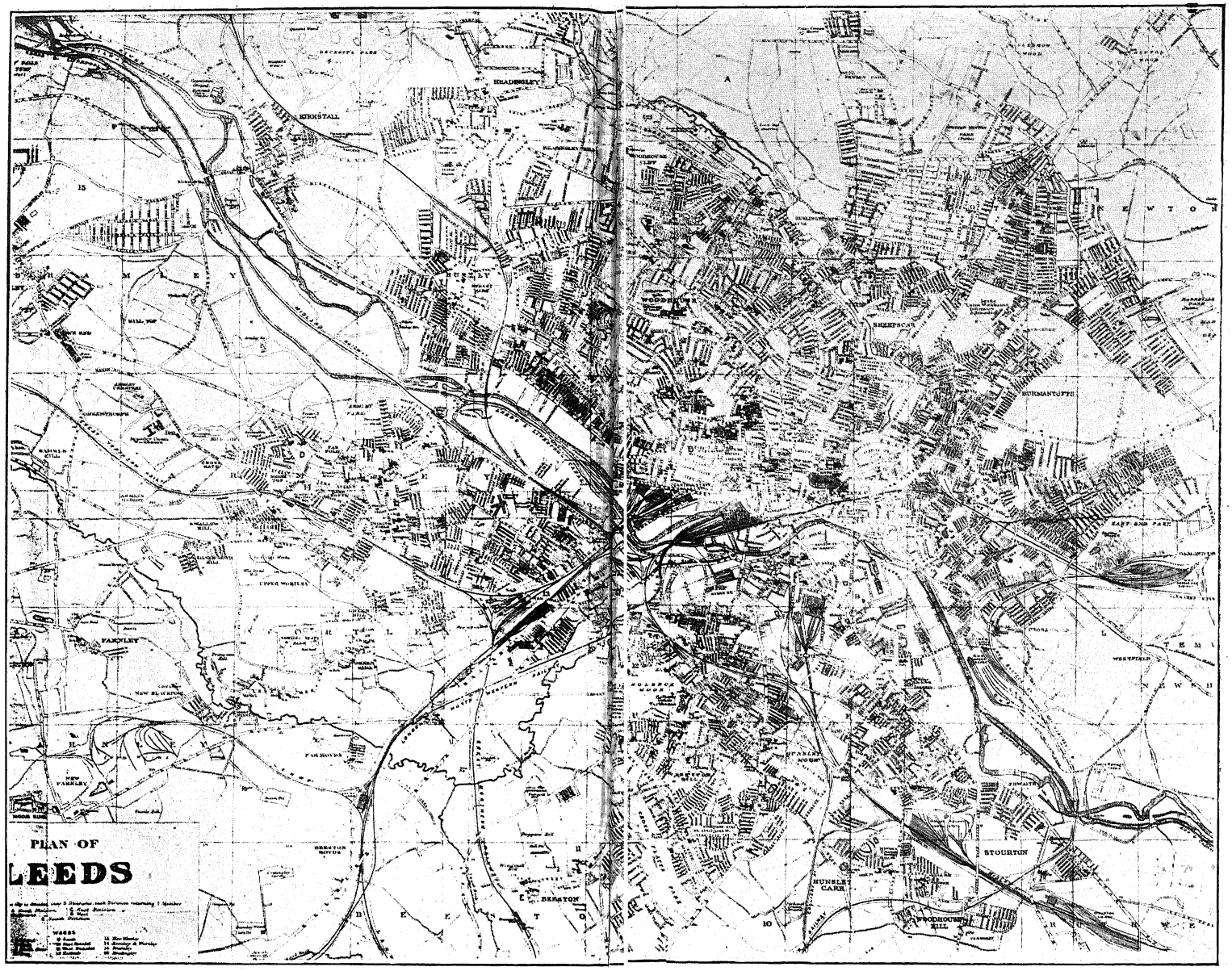

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